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(Eds.)



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Globalization and Environmental Challenges

Reconceptualizing Security
in the 21st Century

 Springer

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and Environmental Security and Peace**

Vol. 3

Series Editor: Hans Günter Brauch

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(Editors)

Globalization and Environmental Challenges

Reconceptualizing Security in the 21st Century

With Forewords by Stavros Dimas, Commissioner for the Environment, European Union; Professor Hans van Ginkel, former Rector of the United Nations University and Under-Secretary General of the UN (1997-2007); Professor Klaus Töpfer, former Executive Director, UNEP and Under-Secretary General of the UN (1997-2006)

With Prefaces by Ambassador Jonathan Dean; Professor Úrsula Oswald Spring, former Environment Minister, Morelos, Mexico; Dr. Vandana Shiva, Alternative Nobel Prize; Dr. Narcis Serra, former Vice President of the Government and former Defence Minister of Spain

With 85 Figures

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Foreword

The title of this volume – *Globalization and Environmental Challenges: Reconceptualizing Security in the 21st Century* – sums up many of the dilemmas and challenges facing policy-makers today. First, environmental change is global; no part of the world is spared. Second, we have to face change now; ignoring the challenge is not an option if our children are to thrive. Third, in an increasingly connected world, security is more than just the absence of war; it depends on diverse, but linked – indeed, often competing – factors such as political, social, economic, and environmental interests. Central to these, as the title of this book suggests, is the environment.

As a large and economically powerful union, the EU enjoys economies of scale. These can be exploited to address environmental threats – at local, national, and Union levels. It is sobering to recall, however, that even the enlarged EU is not autonomous and that the health of the European environment also depends on policies and practices in other parts of the world. Nowhere is this more evident than with climate change. Changes and challenges are now global, and thus our policy responses must be global too. Our security is indivisible, but our responses remain all too clearly fractured and divided.

Second, the concept of ‘sustainable development’ shows that time is a crucial factor in environmental security. The future can only be secured insofar as we act responsibly now; prevarication will have costs which future generations will pay. This implies urgent choices now. Fortunately, the developing science of costing environmental goods and services suggests that taking action on the environment not only has costs, but also has significant short- to medium-term financial and other benefits. Nonetheless, questions remain as to when best to take action and how such action can accommodate political and economic timetables.

Third, the environment is indeed a key component of modern security. Environmental degradation may destabilize societies by reducing economic opportunity. Degraded environments can be breeding grounds for other social ills, such as impaired human health or declining social cohesion. Developing countries with populations directly dependent on environmental resources are also particularly vulnerable to conflict over access to limited or declining resources. Environment is thus central to modern security, but also needs to be integrated with other factors such as energy, mobility, and food requirements. The question for policy-makers is how, in practical terms, to align these diverse interests.

Since the end of the Cold War, the security debate has changed fundamentally. A study which addresses the new challenges and suggests responses will therefore be a welcome addition to the policy-maker’s toolkit. For this reason, I warmly welcome this volume.

Brussels, in June 2007

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Stavros Dimas'.

Stavros Dimas
Commissioner for the
Environment, European Union



Foreword

This volume on *Globalization and Environmental Challenges: Reconceptualizing Security in the 21st Century* implements the mission of the United Nations University of advancing knowledge for human security, peace, and development. This volume, written by over 100 experts from all continents, combines the two research programmes of UNU on ‘environment and sustainable development’ as well as on ‘peace and governance’.

It addresses the question whether the fundamental change of the international order since the end of the Cold War has triggered a reconceptualization of security not only in the OECD world but also in Africa, Asia and Latin America as it has been perceived by scholars from many disciplines as well as by government and international organization officials.

This book addresses the conceptual linkages between the four key goals of the United Nations system of security, peace, development and the environment, the conceptualization of security in Confucianism, Buddhism, Hinduism as well as in Jewish, Christian and Muslim thinking, in the philosophical and ethical traditions in the Orient and Occident as well as in the pre- and post-Columbian philosophy in Latin America. The book discusses also the spatial context and dimensions of security concepts, their reconceptualization in different disciplines and in international organizations within the UN system, OSCE, the European Union, OECD and NATO, and the conclusions that have been drawn in different regions and by regional organizations since 1990 and how this is reflected in alternative perspectives on future security.

The nine editors of this major scientific reference book – three women from India, Mexico and Kenya as well as six men from Europe, North America and the Arab world – offer multidisciplinary and multicultural analyses to key concepts of the UN Charter: ‘international peace and security’ and how these concepts have changed since 1990.

This reconceptualization debate on security was partly triggered by several reports of two Secretaries-Generals of the United Nations: *The Agenda for Peace* by Boutros Boutros-Ghali in 1992 and by the report *In Larger Freedom* by Kofi Annan in 2005 as well as by initiatives by UNDP, UNESCO and also by research conducted by the United Nations University.

This volume is the third in the *Hexagon Series on Human and Environmental Security and Peace*. The ‘hexagon’ is also the logo of the UNU system that combines under the goal of human security five research areas on peace, governance, development, science, technology and society as well as the environment.

This unique compilation of global scholarship deserves many readers and should be available in all major university and research libraries in all parts of the world and for all scholars also on the Internet.

Tokyo, June 2007

Hans van Ginkel
Rector, United Nations University and
United Nations Under-Secretary-General



Foreword

This volume on *Globalization and Environmental Challenges: Reconceptualizing Security in the 21st Century* in the *Hexagon Series on Human and Environmental Security and Peace* argues that the most immediate concerns for most human beings are soft threats to our common security, including those posed by environmental problems. Poverty, environmental degradation, and despair have killed people, and affected societies and nations in the global South.

As security policies insufficiently address environmental concerns a complementary approach based on North-South cooperation through sustainable development is needed. Sustainable development has become the precautionary aspect of peace policy.

UNEP's work on environment and conflict was based on three pillars: a) its *Post-Conflict Assessment Unit*, which assesses environmental conditions in post-conflict zones; b) the *Environment and Security Initiative* (ENVSEC) by UNEP, UNDP and OSCE in Southeast Europe, the Caucasus and Central Asia; and c) UNEP's *Division on Early Warning and Assessment* (DEWA) that launched an 'Environment and Conflict Prevention Initiative'.

Environmental conflict and cooperation are still under-theorized, and many case studies on the sub-national level are needed. The research community should identify risk factors of environmental conflict and best practices for environmental cooperation that can support the efforts of international organizations. For Kofi Annan 'soft' threats can be more pressing concerns than traditional dangers for national security.

In this volume 92 scholars and officials from all continents are assembled by an able team of nine co-editors from nine countries, among them three women from New Delhi, Nairobi and Cuernavaca and six men from Germany, Hungary, the Netherlands, Poland, Tunisia and the United States. They analyze the new conceptual and policy linkages that have been added to the initial task of the UN system to maintain 'international peace and security', i.e. development and the environment. Environmental challenges due to climate change, desertification, water scarcity and degradation have increasingly posed new security threats, vulnerabilities and risks that ignore national borders. They can only be mitigated by effective global and regional multilateral cooperation. Avoiding these new types of conflicts triggered by these new security dangers and concerns by environmental cooperation and peacemaking must become a political priority of utmost urgency for the 21st century.

This book deserves many readers in all parts of the world, especially in those countries where university and research libraries may not be able to afford such reference books. It is hoped that these scientific and policy-relevant messages can again be made available with the support of private foundations and donors to the young generation in the global South that will experience many of these challenges to their security and survival during this century.

Höxter, June 2007

Klaus Töpfer
Former Under-Secretary General of the United Nations and Executive-Director, United Nations Environment Programme (1997-2006)

The Graveyard of Fallen Monuments

P. H. Liotta

*"By understanding many things,
I have accomplished nothing."
– the final words of Hugo Grotius, 1645¹*

Here, in the graveyard of fallen monuments, we always talk of war and peace. This is where empires – and the forgotten, too – come to when they have to die. Alexander said that place was Afghanistan, but he was wrong. (Well, at least he wasn't fully right.) The Miracle of Holland knew it best, it seems: That rule of law, and the order of things, best distinguish man from beast. The monuments represent the failures of our lives, collective grief.

Here, in the first circle of the fallen, denial constitutes a simple grief. The burning Bush, two million skulls in Pol Pot's image, the crestfallen Lenin bust. Peace, here, never passes understanding. Shantih, shantih ... the beast within proclaims – but doesn't practice. From El Alamein to Abu Ghraib, we'd rather die than accept an error. Blindly, we stand ready to carry out all that seems simple to abide by: What matters most now matters least.

And so, in the second stage, anger starts to bubble up and reason seems to matter least. We take "it" out on anyone, or anything, to satisfy our starving grief. The structure of a culture, land, belief, and God . . . all ripping at the seams. O heartless world that has such creatures in it, where perpetual war and permanent peace are batted about in broken minds and still-born souls. Feast on this. We die together or alone. The choice is yours, and ours, and any beast's.

In the third descending spiral, things get tough. We begin to bargain with the beast that is ourselves. We believe everything we knew was wrong, but now belief least becomes the path to get things done. Mission accomplished, and we follow on to grief. World order is so easy: just push off into heartbreak and go on believing till you die. To prepare for war, don't always talk of peace. Abide by what others might proclaim is wrong. What seems

most unseemly, when you pass through the Scylla and Charybdis of depression, the seams of space and time and truth clawing you inside, is this: Recognize the beast we were, the human we might wish to be. Is there something wrong with peace? The triumph of the spirit comes when each proclaims victory for the least, the powerless hung, each, on the tree of a soul. Something good can come from grief. If not a rule of law, this is something we could learn before we die.

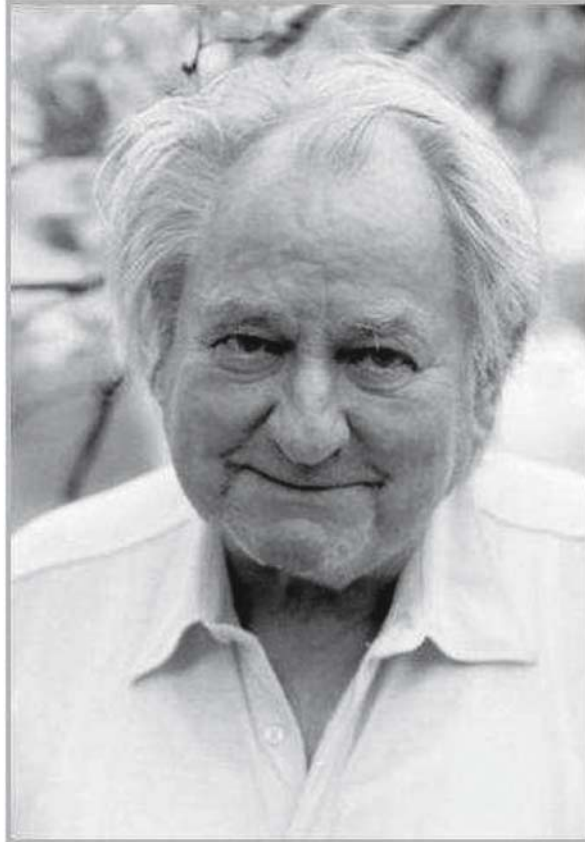
Perhaps there are some truths that never truly die.
Perhaps there are some practices that stitch together all the seams of differences, and distance, the burden of accepting grief.
Perhaps tonight, the *Geist* of all the errors of our past will rise like some great beast to bear our grievance toward those who matter most, and listen least.
Perhaps tomorrow, in the story's told, the war within was waged for peace.

In the graveyard of fallen monuments, we learned least to live before we died. We talked of peace but always practiced war. Pity the beast; embrace the grief: skilled at everything, to seem to have done nothing. The world was our beginning. The world must be our end.

for Ambassador Jonathan Dean

1 Grotius, theorist and founder of what is today called international law, was committed in his lifetime to conflict resolution, compromise, negotiation. He is often called "The Miracle of Holland."

For Prof. Dr. Georg Zundel (1931-2007)



17 May 1931 in Tübingen (Germany)
† 11. March 2007 in Salzburg (Austria)

His work as a natural scientist and philanthropist
for disarmament and international cooperation,
for peace and reconciliation among peoples and
his support for peace and conflict research
will be remembered.

We the nine editors from nine countries

coming from four continents:

Hans Günter Brauch (Germany),
Navnita Chadha Behera (India),
Béchir Chourou (Tunisia),
Pál Dunay (Hungary),
John Grin (The Netherlands),
Patricia Kameri-Mbote (Kenya),
P. H. Liotta (USA),
Czesław Mesjasz (Poland),
Úrsula Oswald Spring (Mexico),

dedicate this volume to

our children or godchildren

- representing all children of the globe -

who will experience

during the 21st century

whether

the messages of these

joint scientific efforts will become reality.

For

Ananya, Andrés, Anna,

Barbara, Chloe, Gaia,

Hanna, Hela, Ian,

Melanie, Micha, Natalia, Nathan,

Omar, Serena Eréndira, Slim, Ulrike

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Acknowledgements

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In his speech, at a meeting of this foundation to honour its sponsor at his 75th birthday on 30 September 2006, Hans Günter Brauch announced this book as a belated intellectual birthday present.² However, Prof. Zundel died on 11 March 2007 and thus could not receive this gift anymore. In an obituary the AFES-PRESS board³ wrote about Prof. Dr. Georg Zundel:

His impressive personality; his work as a distinguished and concerned natural scientist and as a socially responsible entrepreneur; as a policy-oriented philanthropist interested in peace issues and as a sponsor of independent, innovative and policy-relevant peace research in Germany will be remembered by his admirers, friends and grant recipients.

The work of AFES-PRESS and the publication of the *Hexagon Series on Human and Environmental Security and Peace* was made possible by several grants funded by the Berghof Foundation he established in 1971.

We mourn for a generous human being with extraordinary charisma and are grateful for his persistent support for peace oriented initiatives for international rapprochement and reconciliation, for interdisciplinary cooperation as well as his openness for new and courageous initiatives in applied peace research. We will continue to adhere to his mission and contribute as scientists and concerned citizens to a realization of his scientific and policy goals for a better world adhering to his motto in his memoirs “Much has to be done.”

This book is dedicated to the memory of this distinguished natural scientist for his philanthropic work for independent peace research in Germany and Austria.

1 The contributions have been documented for the workshop in Montreal at: <http://www.afespress.de/html/download_isa.html>; for the workshop in Sopron at: <http://www.afespress.de/html/download_sopron.html> and for the workshop in The Hague at: <http://www.afespress.de/html/the_hague_programme.html>.

2 See the text of this speech at: <http://afespress.de/pdf/Brauch_Zundel_Rede.pdf>.

3 See the text at: <http://afespress.de/pdf/Zundel_web_dedication.pdf>.

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Jonathan Dean

Responding to 1989: Towards Cooperative Security

The main business of human society is to safeguard the life of its members. This rich and fascinating volume surveys the many ways of protecting humankind against the threats to human life in today's world – armed conflict in all its forms, inhumane treatment, disease, natural catastrophe, the consequences of man-made environmental degradation, and scarcity of food, water and health care. The emphasis of the book is on the years since the end of the Cold War in 1989-90, and on the challenges to security, old and new, with a special focus on environmental and human security, which have arisen in that period.

As we will describe further, a pattern of transatlantic cooperation among governments and civil society groups to cope with security challenges began to emerge in Europe after the Napoleonic Wars. With important exceptions, this pattern continued in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and into the post-cold war period. This trend confirmed Grotius' analysis of the human condition – the global nature of human society, its solidarity in agreeing on rules and new forms of cooperation to meet challenges to human life, and its emphasis on the importance of individuals and groups as well as of states, which – despite devolution of their powers to supra- and sub-national entities – remain the main units of the international system.

The events of the years since 1989-90 have in general shown a worldwide trend of cooperation in dealing with man- and nature-made crises. They have largely repudiated the Hobbesian use-of-force approach. At the same time, they have provided renewed evidence that the world is not ready for a cen-

tral governmental authority. Although efforts to control war showed some improvement in this period, attempts to deal with human-caused environmental degradation made little progress in blocking a process which in time may make this planet uninhabitable for human population. Rapid increase of that population is one cause of the problem.

New Security Challenges: Unilateral American Responses

The major events of the years since 1989-90 included a worldwide cooperative effort in the 1991 Gulf War to repulse the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. The widespread terrorist attacks on Western and other targets from the early 1990's to the present have failed to bring the popular uprisings in the Muslim states in support of the fundamentalist cause hoped for by terrorist leaders. However, they did elicit worldwide anti-terrorist cooperation of police, intelligence, and finance control, and the beginnings of cooperative efforts to deal with some of the underlying causes of terrorism. Fears of terrorist use of WMD remain widespread, although in fact the main terrorist weapon has remained conventional high explosives.

The U.S. military action in Afghanistan following the 9/11 attacks on New York and Washington, although deliberately unilateral and refusing many offers of help, was quite widely supported in world opinion. However, the U.S.-UK military action against Iraq in March 2003 broke radically with the pattern of cooperative engagement of previous U.S. administrations. It showed the costly effects of a go-it-alone policy, including inability to use the international institutions – UN weapons inspection and the Security Council – which might have neutralized the

Iraqi regime. The consequence was U.S. inability to elicit more than token military, political, and economic cooperation in dealing with Iraq, capped by unwillingness of the Bush administration to devote the military and economic resources needed to cope with the task in Iraq. This outcome clearly showed the limits of U.S. 'super-power' and the unambiguous need for a cooperative approach.

Grotius on Preventive Attack

It is interesting to recall that wide international disapproval of the Bush administration's doctrine of preventive attack had been foreshadowed by Hugo Grotius (1625), when he said "to maintain that the bare probability of some remote or future annoyance from a neighbouring state affords a just grounds of hostile aggression, is a doctrine repugnant to every principle of equity." (*On the Law of War and Peace*, Book II, Chapter I, para. XVII).¹ Pointing to the crucial difficulty of obtaining accurate intelligence about an adversary's intentions, Grotius points out that action in self-defence is not justified "unless we are certain, not only regarding the power of our neighbour, but also regarding his intention." (Book II, Chapter 22, para. IV).

Natural Disasters of 2004/2005 and Cooperative Security Responses

Natural catastrophes in the form of the December 2004 Tsunami in the Indian Ocean, equally devastating hurricanes in the Gulf of Mexico in late summer 2005, and a huge earthquake in Kashmir and Northern Pakistan in October of 2005 brought cooperative efforts to temper the disasters. There was during 2005 worthwhile cooperation between the U.S. government, WHO, the EU, and Asian governments in preparing defences against the avian flu. After long delays in each case, the United States joined Japan, South Korea, Russia and China in negotiating to curb the nuclear capabilities of North Korea, and with the UK, France and Germany in seeking to prevent development of nuclear weapons by Iran.

1 See: Grotius (1625, 1975, 1990) for free download at: <http://www.geocities.com/Athens/Thebes/8098/>; on Grotius: Bull/ Kingsbury/Roberts (1992); Edwards (1981), Onuma (2001), Tuck (2001, 2005).

But the devastation of New Orleans and the Gulf Coast revealed the existence of an underprivileged underclass, while in November 2005, youth riots in Muslim suburbs of French cities suddenly exploded out of years of low social regard and extremely limited job and career opportunities and could portend serious confrontations ahead.

Two Hundred Years of Cooperative Security

I have mentioned the emergence of cooperative efforts to control war in the Napoleonic period. Two hundred years ago, as the Napoleonic wars were bringing casualties of millions and huge political disruption, a new phenomenon emerged in the history of war. It consisted of two components. The first was establishment of multinational public peace societies proposing a wide range of institutions for avoiding or controlling war, like compulsory arbitration by a neutral international umpire and agreed limitation of arms.

Often in history there has been intense public opposition to specific wars, for example, the opposition in Russia to continuing World War I which led to the Bolshevik Revolution, and the opposition to the Vietnam War in the United States and elsewhere. But what happened in the early nineteenth century after acceptance of war over millennia as desirable or at least as a given component of human history, was the emergence of organizations which categorically opposed war as such. The names and dates of the new organizations in the U.S. and UK were significant: *The Massachusetts Peace Society* (1814), the *New York Peace Society* (1815), the *London Peace Society* (1816), and the *American Peace Society* (1828). These associations agitated for peace and against war through public meetings, pamphlets and tracts, and by lobbying with governments. From the outset, and throughout the nineteenth century, these associations collaborated with organizations in the United States on the one hand and organizations in Great Britain, France, Belgium and Germany on the other, forming a transatlantic community of peace interests. The Western European peace associations were from the outset sceptical of the efforts to achieve categorical rejection of war energetically pursued by the Americans, preferring to promote specific measures to avoid or limit war.

Cooperative Security since the Vienna Final Act of 1815

The second component was the radical innovations of ongoing cooperation among the victors in war, in this case the victors over Napoleon, to maintain the peace. A large part of the credit for this change was due to far-sighted British policy. Prime Minister William Pitt the Younger began to plan the post-war peacekeeping structure in the 1790's. British cash was used to pay off the other main victors over Napoleon – the governments of Austria, Prussia, and Russia – to keep them engaged in the peace process. The four governments formed the Quadripartite Alliance and negotiated the 1815 Vienna Final Act setting forth the terms of the European peace settlement. The British urged that representatives of the four victorious powers meet periodically to discuss and decide on issues arising from the implementation of the Vienna Final Act and to ensure the peace of Europe. To keep a friendly eye on France and to engage French resources in the post-war settlement, France was later admitted to the Quadripartite Alliance, much as defeated Federal Germany was admitted to the NATO alliance over a century later. Continuing Pitt's far-sighted cooperative approach to security, British Foreign Secretary Canning extended to the Western hemisphere a prohibition against territorial acquisition by European states. Cooperation between the British Navy and a much weaker U.S. Navy created a transatlantic zone of peace.²

Over the years, European and American peace associations and governments collaborated in a series of agreements limiting war, like the 1856 Paris Declaration Respecting Maritime Law, the first Geneva Convention (1864) and the agreements at the first and second Hague Peace Conferences. The Concert of Europe lasted only until 1822 in its full form, but for many years peacetime coordination by ambassadors and senior officials continued and reached many agreements. The important innovation of ongoing peacetime coordination of international security by the victors in war was replicated and expanded by the victors in World War I and World War II in the form of the League of Nations and of the United Nations.

As we have seen, by the middle of the nineteenth century, Western – i.e. American, British and Western European – governments and public associations were nagged in close dialogue, exchange of ideas, and in intermittent collaboration on preventing and

controlling war and were establishing institutions and treaties to this end. In fact, a rudimentary global security system was emerging through this transatlantic collaboration.

This collaboration continued throughout the nineteenth century. And, in fact, despite, or because of, the failure of World War I and of World War II, it continued through the twentieth century.

This is not the place to attempt to describe the reasons why, after thousands of years of warfare throughout human history, a revolutionary change in public and also governmental attitudes toward war began to emerge in the early nineteenth century, but at least some of the underlying causes for this radical change seem evident. They include: (1) technological weapon innovation and the mounting carnage, destruction, and cost of war; (2) modern communications and media, which rapidly brought news of military events to publics as well as government officials; (3) social factors, including rising levels of income and education after the Industrial Revolution – this broadened the intellectual horizons of governmental officials and encouraged participation of publics in issues of war and peace; (4) changing, shared values of government officials and publics. These included the emergence of the Grotean idea of a known planet occupied by members of a single species. Finally, (5) the growth of democratic governments and institutions enhanced the influence of the electorate on security and other issues, and the openness of governments to public opinion. Growing understanding and cooperation in the especially difficult area of controlling war and armed conflict was accompanied by the growth of a habit of international cooperation in coping with natural disasters.

Shift from Cooperative to Unilateral Security Policy?

The trend toward global cooperation in a wide variety of areas was continued after the end of the Cold War by skilful diplomacy in the administration of George H.W. Bush, with the unification of Germany and the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the first Gulf War. But the trend toward increasing international cooperation was then sharply broken by the second Bush administration, intoxicated by its situation as the sole superpower, and determined to wield its power without the limitations imposed by allies.

To find the reasons for this sharp break in U.S. policy, we have to go back to the foundation of the

2 See e.g.: Holsti 1991; Kissinger 1994; Osiander 1994.

United States in revolution against established power, its population by political refugees of all kinds, and to the growth of the concept that the United States were especially favoured by divine providence in its institutions and values. At the outset of the twentieth century, a large (25 per cent) component of the American electorate was characterized by attitudes of suspicion and superiority to the outside world and a desire to be isolated from it. But for over 75 years, from World War I to the end of the Cold War, public manifestation of the isolationist position in the U.S. was considered unpatriotic and suppressed through public disapproval. During this period, the reality of the outside world and of American military power became evident to all, including the isolationists. The end of the Cold War removed the pressure of public disapproval and abruptly released the pent-up forces of American isolationism in the transmuted form of heavily armed, highly nationalistic unilateralism,

which captured control of the Congress in 1994 and of the presidency in 2000.

Returning to the Cooperative Tradition of Security Policy

Policy errors, military reverses, denial of cooperation by foreign governments, and the growing disaffection of the American electorate have tempered some of the hubristic excesses of the administration of George W. Bush. The chances are good that after one or two congressional election cycles and a presidential election, the United States will rejoin its own cooperative tradition of the past century and that the trend toward a cooperative world security system will be resumed, with greater U.S.-European collaboration at the UN, in controlling armed violence, and in coping with the environment.



Peace, Development, Ecology and Security IPRA 40 Years after Groningen

Úrsula Oswald Spring

Four Objectives: Peace, Development, Ecology and Security

We the peoples of the United Nations determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, ... and to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, and to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be obtained, and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom.

The preamble of the Charter of the United Nations, signed on 26 June 1945 in San Francisco, foresaw the conceptual tension between “*we the peoples*” as the reference object of the political debate and scientific discourse on ‘human security’ and the ‘states’ or ‘nations’ as the key actors and objects of activities related to ‘national’ and ‘international security’. ‘National’ vs. ‘human security’ has been in the centre of the political debate and scientific discourse on ‘reconceptualization of security’ that has emerged since the various turns in world history in the late 20th century: the end of the Cold War (1989), the implosion of the Soviet Union (1991) that ended the prevailing bipolar structure of global politics where nuclear deterrence, doctrines of mutual assured destruction (MAD) and an intensive arms race determined by fear, uncertainty as well as technological imperatives, and driven by a security dilemma absorbed more than 1,000 billion US dollars annually for a huge militarized global economy with ‘baroque’ (Kaldor 1982) features.

In Latin America the major turning points have been the end of the military dictatorships, the third

wave of democratization in the 1980’s, and the ‘lost decade’ due to the long-lasting economic crises; in East Asia the end of the Maoist period in China and the financial crisis of the 1990’s, and in Africa the peaceful transformation of South Africa as well as the progressing failure of the state, and the increase of internal violence dominated by warlords and their criminal allies.

This duality is also reflected in the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter where Art. 1 stated: “to maintain international peace and security”, “to develop friendly relations among nations”, “to achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion”. To achieve “international peace and security” have been the guiding principles of the United Nations since 1945, while the “international problems” of development and environment have been added later into the UN agenda with the process of decolonization and national independence, and the concern for environmental challenges since the Stockholm Conference on the Environment in 1972.

This preface essay briefly sketches the contextual changes and the lost utopias of the 20th century, the increasing global development gap leading to new development and security linkages before turning to the fragile democracies in Latin America, with poverty and intensifying social cleavages. The preface then turns to peace research, to the first forty years of the International Peace Research Association (IPRA) and the impact of peace researchers on the peace process in Latin America.

Contextual Changes and Lost Utopias in the 20th Century

During the 20th century, the Mexican Revolution (1910), followed by the October Revolution in Russia (1917), created a socialist utopia with the goal to redistribute political and economic power to peasants and workers. The *Russian Revolution* led by Lenin and later Stalin, divided the world into capitalism and communism. During the Stalinist regime in the Soviet Union, internal repression and purges crushed any criticism. In Europe, the competition for imperial dominance between the German and the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the United Kingdom and France led to the First World War (1914–1918), which changed the global geopolitical order, the political context in Europe and in the colonies. The gradual emergence of two new world powers: the United States and the Soviet Union with competing political, economic and social systems, could not avoid World War II. The alliance between Britain, France and United States on one side, and the Soviet Union on the other, defeated Nazi Germany in 1945. However, the trauma of two devastating wars with 20 million deaths after the First and 50 million deaths after the Second World War left deep wounds.

In order to consolidate world peace, 51 nations founded the United Nations Organization (UNO) with a Security Council which is tasked to respond to threats of peace and to foster peaceful cooperation among and to prevent the emergence of conflicts. But at the summit of Yalta in February 1945, a new division of Europe in two spheres of influence was created that evolved into a bipolar global order with an intensive arms race. The competition between both ideological blocks stimulated the growth of science and technology, especially in the military and aerospace sector. In 1957, the Soviet Union launched ‘Sputnik’ as an initial step for the conquest of outer space. During the war and post-war period the knowledge in medicine, pharmacy, vaccines against polio, smallpox and measles, and antibiotics grew rapidly.

In 1989, the euphoria after the fall of the Berlin wall and the hope for a less conflictive world was quickly drowned in old and new-armed confrontations. Instead of using the financial resources as a peace dividend for resolving poverty and its consequences, new conflicts and international terrorism gave birth to a new arms build-up primarily by the sole remaining superpower, comprising weapons of mass destruction (WMD).

Today seven countries are recognized nuclear weapons states (US, Russia, UK, France, China, India, Pakistan), one country is assumed to have nuclear weapons (Israel) and a few other countries have been claimed by the US as ‘rogue states’ trying to acquire such weapons (Iran, North Korea) while no weapons of mass destruction were found in Iraq in 2003, and Libya has given up its ambitions to acquire such weapons.

The conflictive situations in South East and East Asia with the Korean (1950–1953) and the Vietnam War (1963–1975), in the Middle East between Israel and its Arab neighbours as well as between Iraq, Iran and Kuwait (1980–1988, 1990–1991), in Africa and in many countries of Asia (Riegel 2001) have led to a systematic reflection on peace, conflict resolution and non-violence that has led during the Cold War to the emergence of a value-oriented and critical scientific research programme focusing on peace and conflict research with the goal to overcome this global conflict structure with peaceful change.

Development and Security: The Development Gap

After five decades of development strategies and multiple programmes the North-South gap in terms of GDP has grown, as has the income gap between rich and poor within countries (CEPAL 2004). This gap is especially critical for those countries with high levels of poverty, malnourishment, subsistence crops, raw material exports, and insufficient educational facilities and infrastructure, leading often to failing state institutions in the so-called ‘Fourth World’ (Nuscheler 1995; Arnsprenger 1999). Old colonial structures have undermined independence through inherited borders dividing people, neo-colonialism and warlords, linked to the personal interest of elites and “belly politics” (Bayart 1993), thus transforming parts of Sub-Sahara Africa into ‘failed states’ (Tetzlaff 2003). Most industrialized countries have remained indifferent to this human drama that has become even more urgent due to the HIV/AIDS pandemic that has killed millions of people and worsened social and political conditions in many countries (Ngoma/Le Roux in this volume; Poku 2008), thus mortgaging the future socio-economic development of these countries (Horkheimer/Adorno 1947).

In this complex socio-economic and environmental context, new threats for collective and personal security have emerged. They have been further aggra-

vated by global climate change, increase of disasters, chaotic urbanization, unemployment, terrorist acts, organized crime, illegal migration, structural discrimination of women, and violence in families that often led to survival strategies of young people. The coexistence of these phenomena offers scientists and peace researchers a renewed opportunity to rethink the importance of development processes with the goal to improve environmental and human security.

Undoubtedly the development paradigm has become more complex (Küng/Senghaas 2004), but also more similar between developing countries and the poor. It has been homogenized by the process of globalization and characterized by instant world communications (Castells 2002; Habermas 2001a), financial flows (Mesjasz 2003), and increasing trade interdependence (Solis/Diaz/Ángeles 2002), controlled by multinational enterprises (Kaplan 2003; Saxe-Fernandez 2004). Free market ideology, private competition, deregulation and increasing privatization processes and mergers of enterprise (WB, IMF, G-7), linked to a shrinking state intervention, are the new 'growth motors' championed by multinational enterprises and the multilateral organizations of Bretton Woods (World Bank, International Monetary Fund), as well as the World Trade Organization.

This economic model of late capitalism (Habermas 1995; Saxe Fernández 2003; Oswald Spring 2004) has concentrated income and wealth but also augmented unemployment, increasingly excluding young and old people from the labour market, and relying on temporary female workers with lower standards. This model has been politically and military supported by a superpower and its allies and the economic elites in developing countries. Military superiority and an increasing homogenized culture based on consumerism and mass media manipulation (Castells 2002) have created four main conflict foci: a) poverty, marginalization and exclusion; b) militarism and physical violence; c) gender, indigenous and minority discrimination; and d) environmental destruction with natural resource depletion.

Fragile Democracies, Poverty, and Income Gap in Latin America

In the 1960's and 1970's, dependency theories emerged from Latin America that have been developed further into a centre-periphery approach by Senghaas (1972) and to a 'structural imperialism' by Galtung (1975). Asia contributed its experiences with non-

violence and 'ahimsa' that led first to independence of India and later to peace education. The non-violent movement for racial liberation in the US, inspired by Martin Luther King, provided another input. In the rainbow nation of South Africa, the peaceful transition from Apartheid and repression to democracy was crucial for future peace efforts in Latin America (e.g. in El Salvador, Nicaragua and Guatemala) and in Asia (India, Pakistan and other internal conflicts) during the 1990's. The reconciliation processes between victimizers and victims created models of multidimensional integration and 'Truth Commissions' promoting democratization processes.

Nevertheless, the results of five decades of development are disappointing, with at least two lost decades in Latin America. The increasing concern with poverty, urbanization, and climate change has led the *United Nations Development Programme* (UNDP 1994) to shift the traditional narrow security focus linked to nation states to a new concept, directly related to people, it termed as 'human security' to complement its goal of 'human development'. For UNDP human security focuses on life and dignity instead of military threats, and includes "protection from the threat of disease, hunger, unemployment, crime, social conflict, political repression and environmental hazards" (UNDP 1994: 23).

The Canadian and Norwegian governments have promoted 'human security' as part of a new foreign policy and *Weltanschauung* with a focus on 'freedom from fear' in order "to provide security so individuals can pursue their lives in peace" (Krause 2004). According to the Canadian Foreign Ministry "Lasting security cannot be achieved until people are protected from violent threats to their rights, safety or lives". The threats are posed by interstate and intrastate conflicts, crimes, domestic violence, terrorism, small arms, inhumane weapons and antipersonnel landmines, which requires a strict application of the rule of law with transparent national, regional and local judicial courts and mechanisms, the fulfilment of human rights law and education, including good governance, democracy, respecting minorities and conflict prevention (Dedring in this volume).

The Japanese approach has focused on 'freedom from want' and it "comprehensively covers all menaces that threaten human survival, daily life, and dignity ... and strengthens efforts to confront these threats", such as diseases, poverty, financial crises, hunger, unemployment, crime, social conflict, political repression, land degradation, deforestation, environmental hazards, population growth, migration, ter-

rorism, drug production and trafficking. At the initiative of Japan a *Commission on Human Security* (CHS) was established in 2001 promoting public understanding, engagement, and support for human security; developing the concept as an operational tool for policy formulation and implementation, and proposing concrete programmes to address critical threats. *Human Security Now* (CHS 2003) supports the Millennium Development Goals within a people-centred security framework, by offering 2.8 billion persons a prospect for a life with dignity that suffer from poverty, bad health, illiteracy, and violence (Shinoda 2008).

With regard to Latin America the economic crises and the persistence of poverty – closely related to the neoliberal model adopted by most governments and their elites – has widened the internal income gap, destroyed the middle class, and reduced the job prospects for most young people. The euphoria with overcoming the military regimes and electing democratic governments collapsed with the increasing crises. In the early 21st century most people seem to prefer an authoritarian government and economic stability over a democratic system of rule (see chapter 26 by Oswald in this volume).

Latin America has the most unequal income distribution in the world, with a concentration of wealth in small elites. Between 1990 and 2002, only five countries improved their economic situation; seven lost and six maintained it (CEPAL 2004). A tendency prevails to concentrate wealth in the upper class, making the middle class and the poor highly vulnerable. Urban and rural women have coped with these crises with their own survival strategies (Oswald 1991). Furthermore, a large number of peasants abandoned their rural livelihood, migrated to urban slums or left illegally for the US.

IPRA 40 Years After Groningen and the Peace Process in Latin America

In 1959, the *Peace Research Institute* in Oslo (PRIO) was founded, and different peace initiatives from the Scandinavian countries have emerged. Their link to women's emancipation movements and the declaration of human rights prepared the soil for a more systematic and international reflection on peace.

In 1962, the *Women's International League for Peace and Freedom* (WILPF) established a Consultative Commission on peace research. The International Peace Research Newsletter (IPR-N) appeared the fol-

lowing year, and a preliminary meeting was held in Switzerland. In 1964 the *International Peace Research Association* (IPRA) was founded in London and in 1964, Bert Røling (1970) organized its first international meeting in Groningen (The Netherlands).¹ Elise Boulding (1992, 2000) and Kenneth Boulding (USA) were among the intellectual pioneers of peace research and of IPRA in the US.

In the 1960's, new peace research institutes were founded in Northern Europe and in the early 1970's in Central Europe. In Sweden in 1966, the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) was launched by Gunnar and Alva Myrdal. In 1967 in Copenhagen (Denmark) a small private peace research institute emerged that was later replaced by the Copenhagen Peace Research Institute (COPRI) that became in 2003 part of the Danish Institute of International Studies (DIIS), and in 1970 in Finland the Tampere Peace Research Institute (TAPRI) was set up with the support of the Finnish Parliament. Peace and conflict research institutes and programmes were later set up at several other Scandinavian universities, e.g. in Uppsala, Göteborg, Tromsø. Somewhat later, in Germany several peace research institutions were founded.²

Since the 1970's, peace research institutes, programmes, units and societies were established in many universities in Europe (e.g. the Swiss Peace Foundation), in North America (), in Mesoamerica (),

1 See: IPRA's history at: <http://soc.kuleuven.be/pol/ipra/about/history.html>: Founded in 1964, IPRA developed from a conference organized by the 'Quaker International Conferences and Seminars' in Clarens, Switzerland, 16–20 August 1963. The participants decided to hold international Conferences on Research on International Peace and Security (COROIPAS). Under the leadership of John Burton, the Continuing Committee met in London, 1–3 December 1964. At that time, they took steps to broaden the original concept of holding research conferences. The decision was made to form a professional association with the principal aim of increasing the quantity of research focused on world peace and ensuring its scientific quality. An Executive Committee including Bert V. A. Røling, Secretary General (The Netherlands), John Burton (United Kingdom), Ljubivoje Acimovic (Yugoslavia), Jerzy Sawicki (Poland), and Johan Galtung (Norway) was appointed (Galtung 1998). This group was also designated as Nominating Committee for a 15-person Advisory Council to be elected at the first general conference of IPRA, to represent various regions, disciplines, and research interests in developing the work of the Association. See also Kodama (2004) at: http://soc.kuleuven.be/pol/ipra/downloads/notebook_attachments/IPRApath.pdf.

in Africa (), and in Asia (Kodama 2004). Later the *International Peace Research Association* (IPRA) was assisted by regional peace research societies, such as the *European Peace Research Association* (EUPRA) and the *North American Consortium on Peace Research, Education and Development* (COPRED) that in 2001 merged with the *Peace Studies Association* (PSA) to become *The Peace and Justice Studies Association* (PJSJA), the *Latin American Council on Peace Research* (CLAIP), the *Asia-Pacific Peace Research Association* (APPRA) as well as the *African Peace Research Association* (AFPRA). In 1974, IPRA organized its first International Peace Research Association (IPRA): congress in Varanasi (India), in 1977 in Oaxtepec (Mexico), in 1988 in Rio de Janeiro (Brazil), and in 1998 in Durban (South Africa), thus gradually overcoming its original basis in OECD and in Socialist countries, learning from the South on issues like non-violence, conflict resolution, and conciliation processes with Truth Commissions. During the 1970's, peace educators joined peace researchers in IPRA and in the 1980's, peace movements generated a third pillar of the organization.

After 42 years, the balance of IPRA has been positive. Several study groups have changed their initial research subject adapting to the different threats to peace, and other groups have started studying new themes. As an example, the *Food Study Group* changed after 10 years to the *Human Right to Food Group* and finally, split into two commissions: one studying international human rights, especially collaborating with the rights of children and women; and the other group started including environmental rights and the new threats of global warming, water scarcity, and environmental pollution in war and after war regions. This last commission changed four years ago and is presently known as the *Ecology and Peace Commission*.

In 2006 at its 21st conference in Calgary, IPRA's work was taking place in 19 standing Commissions: Art and Peace ; Conflict Resolution and Peace-Building; Eastern Europe ; Ecology and Peace; Forced Migration; Gender and Peace; Global Political Economy; Indigenous Peoples' Rights; Internal Conflicts; International Human Rights; Nonviolence (Kelly/Paige/Gilliart 1992; Glenn 2002); Peace Culture and Communications; Peace Education; Peace History; Peace Movements; Peace Theories; Reconciliation; Religion and Peace; and the Security and Disarmament Commission.

The interrelation of peace education with practical peace learning courses brought peace researchers together with peace movements and gave new dynamism into the organization. Changes in the General Secretariat and Presidency of IPRA from Europe (1964-1979, 1995-2000, 2005-) to Japan (1979-1983, 2000-2005), the US (1983-1987, 1989-1994), to Latin America (1987-1989, 1998-2000) and the Pacific (1994-1998) is a sign that international networks exists and are active in the field of conciliation and theory development. If sometimes tense relations have existed between members, study commissions exist; this itself is a dynamic expression of the complexity of peace research and a challenge for applying theoretical knowledge into practice. However, the critical financial situation of IPRA has made it difficult to designate a Secretary-General from a Southern country, since host universities have to cooperate with the running administrative costs and offer some staff to organize and promote international conferences. This fact is especially important in order to maintain the equilibrium between regions as well as gender balance. During its 42-year history only one Secretary-General and one President of IPRA were women (table 1); however, five of six vice-presidents (1994-2000) were women from Hungary, Germany, Lebanon, Chile and Togo.

In 1977, IPRA held its first international conference in Oaxtepec (Mexico) at a time when this country had accepted refugees from almost all Latin American countries that were expelled by repressive military dictatorships. In 1977, with more than 120 Latin American scholars present, the *Latin American Council of Peace Research* (CLAIP) was created. Its activities were linked to the democratization processes occurring in Latin American nations, and international denunciations of torture, human right infractions, massacres and disappearances of social and political leaders were made internationally (CLAIP, 1979; Mols 2004). Gradually, during the 1980's and

2 In Germany, at the initiative of Federal President Gustav Heinemann a German Society for Peace and Conflict Research (DGFK) was set up in 1970, in 1971 the Peace Research Institute in Frankfurt (HSFK or PRIF), and the Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg (ISFH) were founded. Later peace research units and programmes were developed at several German universities, e.g. in Tübingen (1970), Münster, Marburg, and Duisburg and as independent non-profit scientific institutions, e.g. AFES-PRESS in 1987; Brauch/Bräunling/Hermle/Mallmann 1969; Brauch 1979; Rittberger/Zürn 1990; Wasmuht 1999. In 2001 an independent German Society for Peace Research (DGFF) was set up in Osnabrück.

Table 1: IPRA Conferences, Secretary Generals and Presidents. **Source:** IPRA Website

IPRA General Conferences		IPRA Secretary Generals/Presidents	
1.	Groningen, the Netherlands (1965)	1964 – 1971	Bert V. A. Roling (the Netherlands)
2.	Tallberg, Sweden (1967)	1971 – 1975	Asbjorn Eide (Norway)
3.	Karlovy Vary, Czechoslovakia (1969)	1975 – 1979	Raimo Väyrynen (Finland)
4.	Bled, Yugoslavia (1971)	1979 – 1983	Yoshikazu Sakamoto (Japan)
5.	Varanasi, India (1974)	1983 – 1987	Chadwick Alger (USA)
6.	Turku, Finland (1975)	1987 – 1989	Clovis Brigagão (Brazil)
7.	Oaxtepec, Mexico (1977)	1989 – 1991	Elise Boulding (USA)
8.	Konigstein, FRG (1979)	1991 – 1994	Paul Smoker (USA)
9.	Orillia, Canada (1981)	1995 – 1997	Karlheinz Koppe (Germany)
10.	Gyr, Hungary (1983)	1997 – 2000	Bjørn Møller (Denmark)
11.	Sussex, England (1986)	2000 – 2005	Katsuya Kodama (Japan)
12.	Rio de Janeiro, Brazil (1988)	2005 –	Luc Reyckler (Belgium)
13.	Groningen, the Netherlands (1990)		
14.	Kyoto, Japan (1992)		
15.	Valletta, Malta (1994)		
16.	Brisbane, Australia (1996)		
17.	Durban, South Africa (1998)		
18.	Tampere, Finland (2000)		
19.	Suwon, Korea (2002)		
20.	Sopron, Hungary (2004)		
21.	Calgary, Canada (2006)		
		Presidents	
		The first IPRA President was Kevin Clements (New Zealand, 1994 – 1998).	
		His successor was Úrsula Oswald Spring (Mexico, 1998 – 2000).	

1990's, many researchers returned to their countries with democratically elected governments, bringing peace messages with them.

But structural, physical and cultural violence still remained, linked now with organized crime, drug trafficking, gangs, post-war traumas, extreme poverty, chaotic urbanization, and often-illegal international migration. CLAIP members and Latin American (LA) universities are studying these processes of violence, and become directly involved in peace-building processes in South and Central America. The complex situation brought up national and sub-regional peace associations at *FLACSO* (Secretary-General Francisco Rojas) with affiliates in Chile, Argentina, Brazil, Costa Rica, Cuba, El Salvador, Guatemala, Mexico and the Dominican Republic; the *Pontífica Universidad Católica* of Peru (Felipe Mac Gregor); the *University of Brasilia* (Nielsen Paolo de Pires) and the *Holistic University in Brazil* (Peter Weil); the *University of Peace in Costa Rica*; *Respuesta para la Paz* in Argentina (Sara Horowitz and Diana de la Rúa); and the *Institute of International Relations and Peace Research* (IRIPAZ, Luis Alberto Padilla) in Guatemala. They are researching peace, conflicts and conflict resolution; regional conflict resolution (Haiti, Peru-Ecuador, Bolivia); public policy of conflict prevention and peace; education and peace formation; mediation and nego-

tiation; international relations, development and horizontal cooperation in LA; ongoing changes and threats in Latin America; sustainable development, ecology and disasters; technology of information; globalization, transnationalization and corruption; social exclusion; integration of LA and LA Parliament; defence, small and light armaments and humanitarian aid. Peace efforts in LA were systematized (CLAIP 1979); globalization and peace research reviewed (Oswald 2000); peace was linked to security and democratization processes in LA (Oswald 2002) and non-violent conflict resolution between indigenous and minorities explored (Oswald 2004 and 2004a).

The positive experience of CLAIP, given its links with universities and social movements in the subcontinent, induced the establishment of the *Asian Pacific Peace Research Association*, and the highly conflictive situation in Africa stimulated also the creation of an *African Peace Research Association*. In 1998, the international congress was held in Durban, South Africa, in order to learn from the peaceful transition processes, led by Nelson Mandela. His leadership in Africa involved multiple peace efforts and reconciliation processes between historically divided ethnic groups and struggling clans.

The complexity of socio-economic, environmental, and political conflicts brought IPRA through its

regional associations a larger field of research. New challenges to peace education (Reardon 1996; Reardon/Norland 1994), a growing field to analyze and participate in worldwide peace activism; alternative bottom-up models of governance and women struggling for dignified life conditions obliged IPRA to widen its research perspectives. IPRA showed governments and international organizations that human beings want to live in peace and use processes of non-violent conflict resolution. Conflicts are motors of change and development, but when reoriented to personal ambitions and geopolitical interests mismanaged conflict and change dynamics (Gluckman 1965) can destroy the entire world. Physical and structural violence is inherent in the highly competitive free-market system and its present laws of globalization, where specifically women were affected by the loss of human security.

In summary, the socialist utopia was destroyed by a repressive and bureaucratic communist regime. Which utopia is left to develop ethic principles, communitarian responsibility and environmentally sustainable development processes, in order to induce 'post-modern democracy of consensus', with equity, cultural diversity, real citizen representation, life quality and human, gender and environmental security (HUGE; Oswald 2001)?

The history of wars, domination, and destruction brought poverty and death. Will the emerging civilization guarantee diverse, just, equitable, and sustainable coexistence caring for the vulnerable? This is the challenge for peace researchers, educators and actors, and IPRA together with CLAIP has to reinvigorate its effort to find concrete answers to these new challenges.



Globalization from Below: Ecofeminist Alternatives to Corporate Globalization

Vandana Shiva

Introduction

Corporate globalization is a transfer of knowledge and natural resources, like seeds and water held, conserved, and used collectively by women for their communities, to global corporations. This transfer of wealth goes hand in hand with the transformation of nature, society, and women's status. Biodiversity and water are transformed from commons to commodities. Women, the creators of value, the providers of basic needs are turned into a dispensable sex. As women's rights to seed and water, their rights arising from providing food and water are eroded, women are devalued in society. When the sacred Ganga becomes a commodity, women, the water providers become dispensable. When agriculture is chemicalized and corporatized, women's work in agriculture is destroyed. As women are displaced from work, they not only lose their right to work, they also lose their right to live.

The practice of female feticide started in Punjab in the late 1970's as a consequence of the convergence of the commodification of agriculture, and with it the commodification of culture, women's displacement from productive roles in agriculture, and the rise of new technologies. In the last two decades female feticide has denied more than 10 million women their right to be born. Every year about 500,000 unborn girls are aborted.¹ India's population grew 21 per cent between 1991 and 2001 to 1.03 billion people. While the population grew, girls were disappearing. The change in sex ratio combined with population growth reveals there are 36 million fewer females in the pop-

ulation than would be expected. This is half the world's 60 million 'missing' women - those women who were not allowed to be born because of sex-selective abortion. And female feticide is most prevalent in rich, high growth areas like Punjab, Haryana, Delhi, and Gujarat. These are the areas where the culture of the market is the defining source of value. And in this marketplace women have no value but just a market price. In a market calculus it is cheaper to abort a female fetus than pay a dowry for a daughter.

The spread of dowry - used largely for purchasing consumer goods such as cars, televisions, and refrigerators - is contemporaneous and contiguous with the spread of the culture of consumerism. But women are not just victims of corporate globalization. They are also its strongest resisters and creators of alternatives.

Women's Rights to Knowledge and Biodiversity

Globalization and technological change is changing women's rights at two levels. Firstly, it is eroding women's rights to knowledge and creativity, to natural wealth like biodiversity and water. Women in India are the seed keepers and water keepers. They are also the keepers of traditional knowledge. The emergence of new forms of property as 'intellectual property' is allowing the piracy of centuries of traditional knowledge by global corporations. This in effect is a transfer of knowledge from women to corporations, and is an undermining of women's knowledge and creative rights. That is why I have spent the last decade fighting illegitimate forms of 'intellectual property' based on biopiracy as illustrated below in the three cases of *neem*, *basmati*, and wheat.

1 See: "10 million girls missing in India", in: *Asian Age*, 9 January 2006; "Female Feticide in India crossed 1 crore in 20 years", in: *Indian Express*, 9 January 2006.

On 8 March 2005, International Women's Day, we won a major victory in a biopiracy case after a 10-year legal battle in the European Patent Office. The United States Department of Agriculture and W.R. Grace jointly claimed to have 'invented' the use of the *neem tree* (*Azadirachta indica*) for controlling pests and diseases in agriculture. On the basis of this claim they were granted patent number 436257 by the European Patent Office.

Neem, or *azad darakht* to use its Persian name, which translates as free tree, has been used as a natural pesticide and medicine in India for over 2,000 years. As a response to the 1984 disaster at the Union Carbide's pesticide plant in Bhopal, I started a campaign with the slogan: "no more Bhopals, plant a *neem*." A decade later we found that because W.R. Grace was claiming to have invented the use of *neem*, the free tree was no longer going to be freely accessible to us. We launched a challenge to the *neem* biopiracy and more than 100,000 people joined the campaign. Another decade later, the European Patent Office revoked the patent.

Our success in defeating the claims of the US government and US corporations to traditional knowledge and biodiversity came because we combined research with action, and we mobilized and built movements at the local level. Three women working in global solidarity - Magda Aelvoet, former president of the Greens in the European Parliament; Linda Bullard, the president of the International Federation of Organic Agriculture Movements (IFOAM); and myself - saw the case through for over a decade without losing hope. Our lawyer, Dr. Dolder, a professor of intellectual property at Basel University, gave his best without expecting typical patent lawyer fees.

The *neem* victory throws light on one of the most pernicious aspects of the current rules of globalization - the WTO's *Trade Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights* (TRIPS) agreement. TRIPS allows global corporations to patent anything and everything - life forms, seeds, plants, medicines, and traditional knowledge. Patents are supposed to satisfy three criteria: novelty, non-obviousness, and utility. 'Novelty' requires that the invention not be part of 'prior art' or existing knowledge; 'non-obviousness' requires that someone familiar in the art would not take the same step. Most patents based on the appropriation of indigenous knowledge violate these criteria, because they range from direct piracy to minor tinkering involving steps obvious to anyone trained in the techniques and disciplines involved. Since a patent is an exclusive right granted for an invention, patents

on life and traditional knowledge are twice as harmful and add insult to injury. Such patents are not based on inventions; they serve as instruments for preventing the poor from satisfying their own needs and using their own biodiversity and their own knowledge.

Patents on seeds not only allow monopolies on genetically engineered seed, they allow patenting of traditional varieties and properties used by farmers over millennia. This biopiracy is illustrated in the cases of rice and wheat.

Basmati Biopiracy

The Indian subcontinent is the biggest producer and exporter of superfine aromatic rice: *basmati*. India grows 650,000 tons of basmati annually. Basmati covers 10 to 15 per cent of the land area under rice cultivation in India. Basmati and non-basmati rice are exported to more than 80 countries across the world. Basmati exports were 488,700 tons and amounted to US \$ 280 million. Non-basmati rice exports in 1996-1997 were 1.9 million tons and amounted to US \$ 450 million. The main importers of Indian basmati are the Middle East (65 per cent), Europe (20 per cent) and the US (10 to 15 per cent). Fetching US \$ 850 a ton in the European Union (EU) compared with US \$ 700 a ton for Pakistani basmati and US \$ 500 a ton for Thai fragrant rice. Indian basmati is the most expensive rice being imported by the EU. Basmati has been grown for centuries on the subcontinent, as is evident from ancient texts, folklore, and poetry. One of the earliest references to basmati is made in the famous epic of *Heer Ranjha*, written by the poet Varis Shah in 1766. This naturally perfumed variety of rice has been treasured and possessively guarded by nobles, and eagerly coveted by foreigners. It has evolved over centuries of observation, experimentation, and selection by farmers who have developed numerous varieties of the rice to meet various ecological conditions, cooking needs, and tastes. There are 27 documented varieties of basmati grown in India. The superior qualities of basmati must predominantly be attributed to the contributions of the subcontinent's farmers.

On 2 September 1997, Texas-based RiceTec was granted patent number 5663484 on basmati rice lines and grains. The patent of this 'invention' is exceptionally broad and includes 20 claims within it. The patent covered the genetic lines of basmati and includes genes from the varieties developed by farmers. It thus automatically covered farmers' varieties and allowed

RiceTec to collect royalties from farmers growing varieties developed by them and their forefathers.

RiceTec's strain, trading under brand names such as Kasmati, Texmati, and Jasmati, possess the same qualities – long grain, distinct aroma, high-yield, and semi-dwarf – as our traditional Indian varieties. RiceTec is essentially derived from basmati; it cannot be claimed as 'novel' and therefore should not be patentable. Through a four-year-long campaign, we overturned most of RiceTec's patent claims to basmati.

Wheat Biopiracy

Monsanto's biopiracy of Indian wheat forms an integral part of the life of most Indians. It has been the principal crop in several regions of India for thousands of years. India is the second-largest producer of wheat (73.5 million tons) after China. Twenty-five million hectares of wheat are cultivated in India. In addition to being the staple food of most Indians, wheat is closely associated with religious ceremonies and festivals. Each traditional variety has its own religious or cultural significance. The different varieties of wheat, the use of different wheat preparations in rituals, and the medicinal and therapeutic properties of wheat have all been documented in ancient Indian texts and scriptures.

Monsanto's patent registered with the European Patent Office claims to have 'invented' wheat plants derived from a traditional Indian variety and products made from the soft milling traits that the traditional Indian wheat provides. Monsanto's patent claims its plants were derived from varieties of traditional Indian wheat called Nap Hal. There is no traditional Indian wheat called Nap Hal. In Hindi the word would mean 'that which gives no fruit' and could be a name for Monsanto's terminator seeds. 'Nap Hal' is evidently a distortion of 'Nepal', since the wheat varieties were collected from near the Nepal border.

In February 2004, the Research Foundation and Greenpeace filed a legal challenge against Monsanto's biopiracy. By September 2004, Monsanto's patent had been revoked. These victories do not mean our work is over. Corporations continue to patent life forms and pirate traditional knowledge. They also continue to impose unjust and immoral seed and patent laws on countries. Parallel to the struggle to defend women's rights to biodiversity and knowledge is the struggle to defend the women's right to water.

Women's Right to Water

Women in a small hamlet in Kerala succeeded in shutting down a *Coca-Cola* plant. "When you drink Coke, you drink the blood of people," said Mylamma, the woman who started the movement against Coca-Cola in Plachimada. The Coca-Cola plant in Plachimada was commissioned in March 2000 to produce 1,224,000 bottles of Coca-Cola products a day and issued a conditional license to install a motor-driven water pump by the *panchayat*. However, the company started to illegally extract millions of litres of clean water. According to the local people, Coca-Cola was extracting 1.5 million litres per day. The water level started to fall, dropping from 150 to 500 feet below the earth's surface. Tribals and farmers complained that water storage and supply were being adversely affected by indiscriminate installation of bore wells for tapping groundwater, resulting in serious consequences for crop cultivation. The wells were also threatening traditional drinking-water sources, ponds and water tanks, waterways and canals. When the company failed to comply with the panchayat request for details, a show cause notice was served and the license was cancelled. Coca-Cola unsuccessfully tried to bribe the panchayat president A. Krishnan, with 300 million rupees.

Not only did Coca-Cola steal the water of the local community, it also polluted what it didn't take. The company deposited waste material outside the plant which, during the rainy season, spread into paddy fields, canals, and wells, causing serious health hazards. As a result of this dumping, 260 bore wells provided by public authorities for drinking water and agriculture facilities have become dry. Coca-Cola was also pumping wastewater into dry bore wells within the company premises. In 2003, the district medical officer informed the people of Plachimada that their water was unfit for drinking. The women, who already knew their water was toxic, had to walk miles to get water. Coca-Cola had created water scarcity in a water-abundant region.

The women of Plachimada were not going to allow this hydro piracy. In 2002 they started a *dharna* (sit-in) at the gates of Coca-Cola. To celebrate one year of their agitation, I joined them on Earth Day 2003. On 21 September 2003, a huge rally delivered an ultimatum to Coca-Cola. And in January 2004, a World Water Conference brought global activists like Jose Bové and Maude Barlow to Plachimada to support the local activists. A movement started by local

adivasi women had unleashed a national and global wave of people's energy in their support.

The local panchayat used its constitutional rights to serve notice to Coca-Cola. The Perumatty panchayat also filed public interest litigation in the Kerala High Court against Coca-Cola. The court supported the women's demands and, in an order given on 16 December 2003, Justice Balakrishnana Nair ordered Coca-Cola to stop pirating Plachimada's water. Justice Nair's decision stated:

The public trust doctrine primarily rests on the principle that certain resources like air, sea, waters, and the forests have such a great importance to the people as a whole that it would be wholly unjustified to make them a subject of private ownership. The said resources being a gift of nature, they should be made freely available to everyone irrespective of their status in life. The doctrine enjoins upon the government to protect the resources for the enjoyment of the general public rather than to permit their use for private ownership or commercial purpose. Our legal system – based on English common law – includes the public trust doctrine as part of its jurisprudence. The State is the trustee of all natural resources, which are by nature meant for public use and enjoyment. Public at large is the beneficiary of the sea-shore, running waters, airs, forests, and ecologically fragile lands. The State as a trustee is under a legal duty to protect the natural resources. These resources meant for public use cannot be converted into private ownership.

On 17 February 2004, the Kerala chief minister, under pressure from the growing movement and a drought-aggravated water crisis, ordered the closure of the Coca-Cola plant. The victory of the movement in Plachimada was the result of creating broad alliances and using multiple strategies. The local movement of women in Plachimada triggered recognition of people's community rights to water in law, while also triggering movements against the 87 other Coca-Cola and Pepsi plants where water is being depleted and polluted.

Plachimada Declaration

Water is the basis of life; it is the gift of nature; it belongs to all living beings on earth.

Water is not private property. It is a common resource for the sustenance of all.

Water is the fundamental human right. It has to be conserved, protected, and managed. It is our fundamental obligation to prevent water scarcity and pollution and to preserve it for generations.

Water is not a commodity. We should resist all criminal attempts to marketize, privatize, and corporatize water. Only through these means can we ensure the fundamental and inalienable right to water for people all over the world.

The water policy should be formulated on the basis of this outlook.

The right to conserve, use, and manage water is fully vested with the local community. This is the very basis of water democracy. Any attempt to reduce or deny this right is a crime.

The production and marketing of the poisonous products of the Coca-Cola and Pepsi-Cola corporations lead to total destruction and pollution and also endangers the very existence of local communities.

The resistance that has come up in Plachimada, Puduchery, and in various parts of the world is the symbol of our valiant struggle against the devilish corporate gangs who pirate our water.

We, who are in the battlefield in full solidarity with the adivasis who have put up resistance against the tortures of the horrid commercial forces in Plachimada, exhort the people all over the world to boycott the products of Coca-Cola and Pepsi-Cola.

Plachimada created new energy for local resistance everywhere. In May 2004, groups from across India fighting against water mining met in Delhi to coordinate their actions as the *Coca Cola Pepsi Quit India Campaign*.

Commodification of Our Rivers

Delhi, India's capital has been sustained for centuries by the river Yamuna. The 16th century poet Sant Vallabhacharya wrote the *Yamunastakam* in praise of the Yamuna.

I bow joyfully to Yamuna, the source of all spiritual abilities.

You are richly endowed with innumerable sands glistening from contact with lotus-feet of Krishna.

Your water is delightfully scented with fragrant flowers from the fresh flowers from the fresh forests that flourish on your banks.

You bear the beauty of Krishna, Cupid's father, who is worshipped by both the gods and demons.

You rush down from Kalinda Mountain, your waters bright with white foam.

Anxious for love you gush onward, rising and falling through the boulders.

Your excited, undulating motions create melodious songs, and it appears that you are mounted on a swaying palanquin of love.

Glory be to Yamuna, daughter of the sun, who increases love for Krishna.

You have descended to purify the earth.

Parrots, peacocks, swans, and other birds serve you with their various sons, as if they were your dear friends.

Your waves appear as braceleted arms, and your banks as beautiful hips decorated with sands that look like pearl-studded ornaments.

I bow to you, fourth beloved of Krishna.

You are adorned with countless qualities, and are praised by Siva, Brahma, and other gods.

Two decades of industrialization have turned the Yamuna into a toxic sewer. Instead of stopping the pollution, the World Bank, using the scarcity created by the pollution, pushed the Delhi government to privatize Delhi's water supply and get water from the Tehri Dam on the Ganges, hundreds of miles away. A privatized plant that could have been built for 1 billion rupees has cost the public 7 billion rupees.

The privatization of Delhi's water supply is centered around the Sonia Vihar water treatment plant. The plant, which was inaugurated on 21 June 2002, is designed at a cost of 1.8 billion rupees for a capacity of 635 million litres a day on a 10-year build-operate-transfer (BOT) basis. The contract between Delhi Jal Board and the French company *Ondeo Degremont* (a subsidiary of the *Suez Lyonnaise des Eaux* Water Division – the water giant of the world), is supposed to provide safe drinking water for the city.

The water for the Suez-Degremont plant in Delhi will come from the Tehri Dam through the Upper Ganga Canal to Muradnagar in Western Uttar Pradesh and then through a giant pipeline to Delhi. The Upper Ganga Canal, which starts at Haridwar and carries the holy water of the Ganga to Kanpur via Muradnagar, is the main source of irrigation for this region.

Suez is not bringing in private foreign investment. It is appropriating public investment. Public-private partnerships are, in effect, private appropriation of public investment. But the financial costs are not the highest costs. The real costs are social and ecological. The Ganga is also being transformed from a river of life to a river of death by the ecological consequences of damming and diversion. The Tehri Dam, located in the outer Himalaya, in the Tehri-Garhwal district of Uttaranchal, is planned to be the fifth highest dam in

the world. If completed, it will be 260.5 metres high and create a lake spread over an area of 45 square kilometres of land in the Bhagirathi and Bhilangana valleys. The dam will submerge 4,200 hectares of the most fertile flat land in those valleys without benefiting the region in any way.

Additionally, the area is earthquake prone and the huge Tehri Dam is located in a seismic fault zone. Between 1816 and 1991, there have been 17 earthquakes in the Garhwal region, with recent ones occurring in Uttarkashi in 1991 and Chamoli in 1998. The International Commission on Large Dams has declared the dam site "extremely hazardous."

If the dam collapses from an earthquake – or from any other fault, such as a landslide – the devastation will be unimaginable. The huge reservoir will be emptied in 22 minutes. Within an hour Rishikesh will be under 260 metres of water. Within the next 23 minutes Haridwar will be submerged under 232 metres of water. Bijnor, Meerut, Hapur, and Bulandshahar will be under water within 12 hours. The dam is potentially dangerous for large parts of North-western India, and large areas in the Gangetic Plain could be devastated.

Delhi's ever growing water demands have already led to major diversions of water from other regions. Delhi already gets 455 million litres from the Ganga. With the Sonia Vihar plant's demand for 635 million litres, 1,090 million litres per day are diverted from the Ganga. Further diversions of three billion cubic metres per second from the Ganga are built into the Sharda and Yamuna river link. Delhi is also demanding 180 million litres per day to be diverted from Punjab's Dhakra Dam. Water will also be diverted to Delhi from the Renuka Dam on the Giri River (1,250 million cubic litres per day) and Keshau Dam on the Tons River (610 million cubic litres per day). These diversions will have huge ecological and social costs. On 13 June 2005, five farmers were shot while protesting the diversion of water from Bisalpur dam for Jaipur city through an Asian Development Bank project. The mega diversion for water waste by the rich in Delhi could trigger major 'water conflicts'.

Building water democracy means building alliances. When advertisement for the inauguration of Suez's Sonia Vihar plant appeared on 2 June 2002, I started to contact citizens groups in Delhi and people's movements along the Ganges. Each group helped frame the struggle against privatization and everyone's issue became a key to resistance. The 100,000 people displaced by Tehri Dam were linked to the millions of Indians who hold the Ganges as a

cred, who, in turn, were connected to farmers whose land and water would be appropriated. Millions signed petitions saying, "Our Mother Ganga is not for sale." We organized a Jal Swaraj Yatra (a water democracy journey) from 15 to 22 March, World Water Day. We did Ganga Yatras to rejuvenate the living culture of the sacred Ganges. A million people were reached; 150,000 signed a hundred-metre 'river' of cloth to protest privatization.

The government of Uttaranchal (where the Tehri Dam is located) and the government of Uttar Pradesh (from where the water was to be diverted) refused to supply water to the Suez plant in Delhi. We do not need privatization or river diversions to address Delhi's water problems. We have shown how with eq-

uitable distribution and a combination of conservation, recycling, and reduction in use, Delhi's water needs can be met locally. We need democracy and conservation. The seeds for the water democracy movement in Delhi have been sown. We now have to nurture them to reclaim water as a commons and a public good. When Paul Wolfowitz visited India as the President of World Bank, women were there to tell him and the World Bank to keep their hands off our water.

As we defend our seed and knowledge, our food and water, we are shaping another world - a world centred on women and nature, a world sustaining the life of all beings.



Towards a Human Security Perspective for the Mediterranean

Narcís Serra

The Mediterranean presents many challenges in terms of security, as it is a focus for many of the political, economic, and social tensions that can also be found on a global scale. Thus in 1995, the leaders of European and Mediterranean countries decided to launch the Barcelona Process with the aim of working together to build an area of peace, shared prosperity, and human exchange. Today, these objectives are still unresolved issues. European and Mediterranean actors will have to continue in their efforts to reach this goal, at the same time as updating these objectives and making use of any new instruments that become available. In terms of security, for example, the Mediterranean cannot be excluded from the growing interest in the concept of human security.

The 'human security' concept was first used in the 1994 UNDP report on human development. Since then there has been a growing consensus that in a world in which both the concept of threat and the nature of armed conflict have undergone significant transformation, it is the individual citizen who should be made the main object of protection. Particularly since the end of the Cold War, challenges in the area of international security have gone from focusing on purely military-based protection of the interests of the state and its territory to a concept based on the need to guarantee people's security through what is commonly expressed as 'freedom from fear' and 'freedom from want'. The doctrine of human security, therefore, has widened the traditional debate in this field, a debate that has been dominated since the Second World War (and particularly during the Cold War) by the doctrine of national security. It was in the mid-20th century that international security assumed a distinctly political and military nature, since attacks from other countries had become the main threat to state sovereignty and the international order. Now, in con-

trast, the greatest threats come from failed states that have become mired in 'new wars' in which the civilian population ends up as the main victim of any armed conflict. It is these threats, together with those of international terrorism, human rights abuses, extreme poverty, and infectious diseases that now represent the main challenges to the well-being of individual citizens.

The *European Security Strategy* (ESS), adopted by the European Council in December 2003, is one of the best examples of the transformation of security challenges that the European Union has had to face at the dawn of the 21st century. In the words of the Council document, "Europe faces new threats which are more diverse, less visible and less predictable." These threats include terrorism, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, regional conflicts, the breakdown of the state, and organized crime. At the same time, none of these threats is of a solely military nature, nor can they be countered by using only military instruments. In this respect, the Strategy entitled *A Secure Europe in a Better World* advises facing up to these threats in the knowledge that "the first line of defence will often be abroad", at the same time as calling for the creation of security in neighbouring countries and for the reinforcement of effective multilateralism as the framework of the international order.

In September 2004, a group of academics, diplomats, and experts headed by Mary Kaldor, a professor from the London School of Economics, presented a report to Javier Solana, the EU High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy, which was entitled *A Human Security Doctrine for Europe*. In this report, the *Study Group on Europe's Security Capabilities* proposes that human security should be consolidated as the narrative strategy of the Union's foreign policy, thus granting it with the necessary ca-

pabilities. In this way, emphasis is placed upon the void that exists between the real needs in the area of security and the capabilities currently available (which basically consist of armed forces designed to fight against foreign armies and to safeguard state borders). By adopting a human security doctrine, the European Union will be contributing to the creation of a more secure global order, in the full knowledge that “Europeans cannot be secure while others in the world live in severe insecurity,” as the report states.

In order to implement the *European Security Strategy* in the direction proposed, the document “A Human Security Doctrine for Europe” establishes five key principles with which all human security operations should comply. The first of these states the primacy of human rights, thus echoing the proposals of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty report *The Responsibility to Protect*, published in December 2001. The second principle is the establishment of a clear political authority. The third espouses multilateralism, or giving priority to the international legal order. The bottom-up approach that is to say, taking action while bearing in mind the needs of the local population, is the fourth principle for human security operations. Finally, the last principle refers to the need to adopt a regional focus when dealing with crisis.

The report also proposes the creation of a “Human Security Response Force” made up of 15,000 men and women, of whom one third would be civilians, in addition to establishing a new legal framework which would decide when intervention should take place, as well as coordinating operations on the ground.

Shortly after the publication of this document, the European Parliament’s Committee on Foreign Affairs published a report on the European Security Strategy, presented by the MEP Helmut Kuhne. The report acknowledges the importance of the civil-military missions proposed by the *Study Group on Europe’s Security Capabilities* within the framework of the ESDP, as well as the introduction of a civilian component into the Human Security Response Force, called the “Human Security Volunteer Service”. In the light of the content of the Kuhne report, many points of contact exist between the *European Security Strategy* and the document *A Human Security Doctrine for Europe*, especially in terms of the ability of the human security doctrine to implement the European Security Strategy.

At this point, it remains to be seen whether, in the Mediterranean region, the 2003 Strategy succeeds in

incorporating an approach that complies with the principles of human security. As this document acknowledges, the Mediterranean is a key region in terms of the Union’s external relations. Europe’s commitment to its neighbouring regions (Eastern Europe and the Mediterranean countries) is one of the Union’s strategic components in its attempts to guarantee its security and that of its neighbouring countries. In the words of the Strategy, “the European Union’s interests require a continued engagement with Mediterranean partners, through more effective economic, security and cultural cooperation in the framework of the Barcelona Process.”

Nevertheless, in spite of the Mediterranean’s importance for European security, and also despite the existence of a political and security dimension in the framework of the Barcelona Process, advances made in recent years have been few. By way of illustration, conflicts such as the Arab-Israeli, the situation in the Western Sahara, and the division of Cyprus are all still unresolved. Unfortunately, it cannot be claimed that the Mediterranean is a more secure place for its states and citizens in 2007 than it was in 1995.

In fact, in recent years, even greater emphasis has been placed on the need to advance through cooperation with respect to security in the Mediterranean, and by incorporating the approach of human security. In the Near East, in spite of the positive signals produced following Israel’s unilateral withdrawal from Gaza, the Israeli position hardened in 2006, culminating in the war with Lebanon that summer. Three members of the Barcelona Process (Israel, the Palestinian Authority and Lebanon) were plunged into a military escalation which clearly showed that the possibility of achieving one of the objectives laid down in the Barcelona Declaration, to create an area of peace in the Mediterranean, was long way off. The situation also highlighted the fact that in the event of a military escalation as the one in the Near East, it was not only the security of the state that was endangered, but also and particularly that of its citizens. The conflict in Lebanon, by which we refer both to the Israeli attack in July 2006 and the later struggle between the Lebanese army and the terrorist networks in the Naher el Bared Palestinian refugee camp, demonstrates that it is always the civilian population that suffers most from such a climate of insecurity. At the same time, the situation of insecurity in the region has meant that progress with discussions promoted by the Barcelona Process on the subject of security has been hampered. This is why it has become vitally important to break this vicious circle. But that can only be achieved

through large doses of political determination and leadership and, within this context, discussions on points directly linked to human security (such as the protection of civilians and mine clearance) might represent a good opportunity to recommence the dialogue on security.

In the Maghreb region, threats to the security of citizens and states are increasingly related to the proliferation of terrorist networks. The 2007 attacks in Morocco and Algeria raised fears of a fresh outbreak of violence in the western Mediterranean basin, and recalled the nightmare situation experienced by Algeria in the first half of the 1990's; but what is even worse, they showed how the terrorist methods used in Iraq and Afghanistan were being increasingly imported into the region. These events highlighted the need to increase cooperation in the area of security between the north and south of the Mediterranean, as well as between the southern countries themselves. Having said that, it should be borne in mind that the objective of such cooperation is not only to maintain the stability of the state, but also to safeguard the lives of citizens. As a consequence (and in accordance with agreements made at the 2005 Euro-Mediterranean Summit in Barcelona), such cooperation should never be carried out at the expense of respect for human rights or the fundamental freedoms of European and Mediterranean citizens.

In view of this context, the EU and its Mediterranean partners will have to redouble their efforts in order to move forward towards a shared security agenda that incorporates the protection of citizens as one of its main priorities. This should be undertaken in a transversal manner, within the framework of the Barcelona Process, the European Neighbourhood Policy, and the bilateral relations that exist between EU member states and their Mediterranean partners.

To this end, there are three points that should be given particular consideration, both at a political and an academic level. The first is the problem of coherence and consistency. For a number of years the Barcelona Process has coexisted alongside the European Neighbourhood Policy, and yet neither the European nor the Mediterranean partners have managed to arrive at a clear conclusion on the subject of 'who does what' or, more to the point, 'who is better prepared to do what'. Thus some serious thought should be given as to which of these frameworks (not to mention the criteria used to decide on the division of labour) will produce the best results in terms of promoting a human security agenda in the Mediterranean. Furthermore, care should be taken to avoid a

situation in which contradictions exist between the two agendas in the area of security, or any unnecessary overlap of responsibilities. Finally, it should be stressed that the main challenge in terms of coordinating the agendas of the Barcelona Process and the European Neighbourhood Policy is for the EU to adopt a common foreign policy. At this point in time, close attention should be paid to developments in the current constitutional crisis, to see whether the solution of the simplified Treaty (which is expected to be debated by the European Council in June 2007) will lead to the creation of the post of Foreign Affairs Minister, thereby providing Europe with a necessary (albeit still insufficient) instrument for establishing a true common foreign and security policy.

The second idea derives from observing one of the aforementioned conflicts: Lebanon. The Lebanese crisis in the summer of 2006 highlighted, once again, Europe's shortcomings in terms of coordination and shared vision. The EU has begun to compensate for this deficiency with its determined involvement in the pacification and progress in the region through the deployment of troops by countries such as France, Italy, and Spain, as part of the new UN mission. Nevertheless, time will demonstrate (and in fact, it is already doing so) that an exclusively military approach has little chance of achieving the desired results. Missions of a civilian nature and those military missions in which civilians play a greater role might help to guarantee not only state security in Lebanon, but also more effective protection of its citizens' rights.

The third point for consideration is linked to a subject that is awakening increasing interest in works on European integration: strengthened cooperation. Following the successive enlargements of the EU, and the growing plurality of the states of which it is comprised, it has become clear that the only way to move forward is through strengthened cooperation initiatives. This means that a group of states could opt to embark on such a cooperation project without all the states having to join them, though they would leave the door open for any other country to sign up to the initiative. This may prove to be the most effective strategy for moving ahead towards a Mediterranean human security agenda, given that neither all the EU states nor all their Euro-Mediterranean partners will be as keen (or as reluctant) to agree on policies in this field. Strengthened cooperation can bring about gradual but constant advances in aspects that have been neglected until now (such as the security sector reform), or in issues that have not been sufficiently ex-

plored (such as protection of civilians and mine clearance). The establishment of pilot schemes that would enable us to go into the dialogue on security in greater depth could represent a decisive show of determination to create a human security doctrine for the Mediterranean.

Finally, and by way of conclusion, it must be stressed that the *European Security Strategy* adopted in December 2003 does not impose human security, but rather it accepts or enables it. The doctrine of human security facilitates an implementation that is best

suited to the Strategy's principles and, in this sense, the Mediterranean represents the greatest challenge for the ESDP. This is the main region that demands action from the EU, action that could facilitate the definition and application of Europe's role in foreign policy. Furthermore, the Mediterranean is the field in which the principles of human security promise to be most effective, especially given the fact that a large proportion of the security challenges in this region involve the protection of the human rights of its population.

**Part I Introduction: Theoretical
Contexts for Security
Reconceptualizations
since 1990**

**Chapter 1 Introduction: Globalization and
Environmental Challenges:
Reconceptualizing Security in
the 21st Century**
Hans Günter Brauch

Chapter 2 Security as Attributes of Social Systems
Czesław Mesjasz

1 Introduction: Globalization and Environmental Challenges: Reconceptualizing Security in the 21st Century

Hans Günter Brauch

1.1 Introductory Remark

This book focuses on the *reconceptualization of security in the 21st century* that has gradually evolved since the end of the East-West conflict (1989–1991) and that has been significantly influenced by processes of globalization and global environmental change.

This global turn has resulted in the end of the Cold War (1946–1989), which some historians have interpreted as a ‘long peace’ (Gaddis 1987, 1997) with a highly armed bipolar international order, the collapse of the Soviet Union (1991) and of a competitive global ideology, system of rule and military superpower. These events brought about a fundamental and peaceful change in international order that made the reunification of Germany (1990) and of Europe with the Eastern enlargement of the EU (2004, 2007) possible.

This turn has been portrayed either as a ‘victory’ of US superiority (Schweitzer 1994) or as an outcome of a ‘political learning’ (Grunberg/Risse-Kappen 1992) based on a new thinking (*‘Perestroika’*) of Gorbachev that contributed to the first major peaceful global change in modern history. This ‘global turn’ (1989–1991) has been the fourth major change since the French Revolution that was instrumental for the emergence of a new international order. Three previous turning points in modern history were the result of revolutions (1789, 1911–1918) and of wars (1796–1815, 1914–1918, 1931–1949) resulting in a systemic transformation.

This fourth peaceful turn triggered a peaceful (Czechoslovakia) and violent disintegration of multi-ethnic states (USSR, Yugoslavia); it contributed to the emergence of ‘failing’ states (e.g. Somalia, Afghanistan) and to ‘new wars’ (Kaldor/Vashee 1997; Kaldor 1999; Münkler 2002, 2005). Besides the events in Europe during 1989, events in other parts of the world had no similar impact on the new global (dis)order during the 1990’s, e.g. the death of Mao Zedong (1976) and the economic reforms of Deng Xiaoping

in China (1978–1990); the end of the dictatorships and the third wave of democratization in Latin America; and the many new wars in Africa due to weak, failing or failed states where warlords took over control in parts of West (Liberia) and Eastern Africa (Somalia), as well as in Asia (Afghanistan).

This chapter aims at a mental mapping of the complex interaction between this most recent global structural change and conceptual innovation that have occurred in academia, in international organizations as well as in the declarations and statements of governments since 1990 up to spring 2007. It refers only briefly to the term and concept of security (1.2, see for details chapters 3–9 in this volume), to the contextual context: events, structures, concepts and action (1.3), to the theme of contextual change, conceptual innovation as tools for knowledge creation and action (1.4), to the drivers and centres of conceptual innovation (1.5), to four scientific disciplines: history, philosophy, social sciences, and international law (1.6), to the *Hexagon Series on Human and Environmental Security and Peace* and to the goal of the three related volumes (1.7), to the goals, structure, authors, and audience of this book (1.8) as well as to the expected audience of this book (1.9).

1.2 Object: Term and Concept of Security.

Security is a basic *term* and a key *concept* in the social sciences that is used in intellectual traditions and schools, conceptual frameworks, and approaches. The term ‘security’ is associated with many different meanings that refer to frameworks and dimensions, apply to individuals, issue areas, societal conventions, and changing historical conditions and circumstances. Thus, security as an individual or societal political value has no independent meaning and is always related

Table 1.1: Vertical Levels and Horizontal Dimensions of Security in North and South

Security dimension \Rightarrow Level of interaction \Downarrow (referent objects)	Military	Political	Economic	Environmental \Downarrow	Social
Human \Rightarrow			Social, energy, food, health, livelihood threats, challenges and risks may pose a <i>survival dilemma</i> in areas with high vulnerability		
Village/Community/Society				$\Downarrow \Uparrow$	
National	"Security dilemma of competing states" (National Security Concept)		"Securing energy, food, health, livelihood etc." (Human Security Concept) combining all levels of analysis & interaction		
International/Regional				$\Downarrow \Uparrow$	
Global/Planetary \Rightarrow					

to a context and a specific individual or societal value system and its realization (see chap. 4 by Brauch).

Security is a societal value or symbol (Kaufmann 1970, 1973) that is used in relation to protection, lack of risks, certainty, reliability, trust and confidence, predictability in contrast with danger, risk, disorder and fear. As a social science concept, "security is ambiguous and elastic in its meaning" (Art 1993: 821). Arnold Wolfers (1962: 150) pointed to two sides of the security concept: "Security, in an *objective* sense, measures the absence of threats to acquired values, in a *subjective* sense, the absence of fear that such values will be attacked."

For the constructivists, security is *intersubjective* referring to "what actors make of it" (Wendt 1992, 1999). Thus, security depends on a normative core that can not simply be taken for granted. Political constructions of security have real world effects, because they guide action of policymakers, thereby exerting constitutive effects on political order (see chap. 4 by Wæver, 37 by Baylis, 51 by Hintermeier in this vol.). The 'security concept' has gradually widened since the 1980's (Krell 1981; Jahn/Lemaitre/Wæver 1987; Wæver/Lemaitre/Tromer 1989; Buzan/Wæver/de Wilde 1995, 1998; Wæver/Buzan/de Wilde 2008; chap. 38 by Albrecht/Brauch). For Wæver (1997, chap. 4 and 44) security is the result of a speech act ('securitization'), according to which an issue is treated as: "an existential threat to a valued referent object" to allow "urgent and exceptional measures to deal with the threat". Thus, the "securitizing actor" points "to an existential threat" and thereby legitimizes "extraordinary measures".

'Security in an objective sense' refers to specific *security dangers*, i.e. to 'threats, challenges, vulnerabilities and risks' (Brauch 2003, 2005, 2005a) to specific *security dimensions* (political, military, economic, so-

cial, environmental) and *referent objectives* (international, national, human) as well as *sectors* (social, energy, food, water), while 'security in a subjective sense' refers to *security concerns* that are expressed by government officials, media representatives, scientists or 'the people' in a speech act or in written statements (historical sources) by those who securitize 'dangers' as security 'concerns' being existential for the survival of the referent object and that require and legitimize extraordinary measures and means to face and cope with these concerns. Thus, *security concepts* have always been the product of orally articulated or written statements by those who use them as tools to analyse, interpret, and assess past actions or to request or legitimize present or future activities in meeting the specified security threats, challenges, vulnerabilities, and risks.

The Copenhagen School (Buzan/Wæver 1997; Wæver 1997; Buzan/Wæver/de Wilde 1998; Wæver/Buzan/de Wilde 2008), distinguished among five dimensions (*widening*: military, political, economic, societal and environmental), and five referent objects ('whose security') or levels of interaction or analysis (*deepening*: international, regional, national, domestic groups, individual). They did not review the *sectorialization* of security from the perspective of *national* (international, regional) and *human security* (Brauch 2003, 2005, 2005a; table I.I).

Influenced by different worldviews, rival theories and mindsets, security is a key concept of competing schools of a) *war, strategic or security studies* from a realist perspective, and b) *peace and conflict research* from an idealist or pragmatic view (chap. 40 by Albrecht/Brauch). Since 1990, interparadigm debates emerged between traditional, critical, and constructivist approaches. Within the UN and NATO, different concepts coexist, a state-centred political and

Table 1.2: Expanded Concepts of Security (Møller 2001, 2003; Oswald 2001, 2007)

Concepts of security	Reference object (security of whom?)	Value at risk (security of what?)	Source(s) of threat (security from whom/ what?)
National Security [political, military dimension]	The state	Sovereignty, territorial integrity	Other states, guerilla, terrorism (substate actors)
Societal security [dimension]	Nations, societal groups	National unity, identity	(States) Nations, migrants, alien cultures
Human security	Individuals, humankind	Survival, quality of life	State, globalization, GEC, nature, terrorism
Environmental security [dimension]	Ecosystem	Sustainability	Humankind
Gender security	Gender relations, indigenous people, minorities, children, elders	Equality, equity, identity, solidarity, social representations	Patriarchy, totalitarian institutions (governments, religions, elites, culture), intolerance, violence

military concept, and an extended security concept with economic, societal, and environmental dimensions. A widening and deepening of the security concept prevailed in OECD countries, while other countries adhered to a narrow military concept

Not only the scope of ‘*securitization*’ (Wæver 1997, 1997a) has changed, but also the referent object from a ‘national’ to a ‘human-centred’ security concept, both within the UN system (UNDP 1994; UNESCO 1997, 1998, 1999, 2001, 2003; UNU 2002; UNU-EHS 2004), and in the academic security community.

In European security discourses, an ‘extended’ security concept is used by governments and in scientific debates (Buzan/Wæver/de Wilde 1998). Møller (2001, 2003) distinguished a ‘national’ and three expanded security concepts of ‘societal, human, and environmental security’. Oswald (2001, 2007, 2008) introduced a combined ‘human, gender and environmental’ (HUGE) security concept (table 1.2).

While since the 19th century the key ‘actor’ has been the state, it has not necessarily been a major ‘referent object’ of security which is often referred to as ‘the people’ or ‘our people’ whose survival is at stake (Brauch chap. 3; Albrecht/Brauch chap. 38). From 1947 to 1989 national and military security issues became a matter of means (armaments), instruments (intelligence) and strategies (deterrence). Wæver (1995: 45) argued that environmental issues may pose threats of violent conflicts and that they may also put the survival of the people at stake (e.g. by forced migration) without a threat of war.

Whether a threat, challenge, vulnerability, and risk (Brauch 2005a, 2006) becomes an ‘objective security danger’ or a ‘subjective security concern’ also depends

on the political context. While in Europe climate change has become a major security issue, in the US, during the administration of George W. Bush this problem was downgraded. Labelling climate change a security issue implies different degrees of urgency and means for coping with it.

The traditional understanding of security “as the absence of existential threats to the state emerging from another state” (Müller 2002: 369) has been challenged both with regard to the key subject (the state) and carrier of security needs, and its exclusive focus on the “physical - or political - dimension of security of territorial entities” that are behind the suggestions for a horizontal and vertical widening of the security concept.

The meaning of security was also interpreted as a reaction to globalization and to global environmental change. In Europe, several critical approaches to security gradually evolved as the *Aberystwyth* (Booth, Wyn Jones, William), *Paris* (Bigo, Badie) and *Copenhagen* (Wiberg, Wæver, Møller) schools that led to the development of a *New European Security Theory* (NEST, e.g. Bürger/Stritzel 2005) and a ‘networked manifesto’ (CASE 2006; chap. 38 by Albrecht/Brauch).

1.3 Events – Structures – Concepts – Action

Political and scientific concepts, like security, are used within a complex context (Koselleck 2006). These concepts have a temporal and systematic structure, they embody and reflect the time when they were used and they are thus historical documents in the

persistent change in the history of short events (*histoire des événements*) and long structures (Braudel's (1949, 1969, 1972) *histoire de la longue durée*). Concepts are influenced by manifold perceptions and interpretations of events that only rarely change the basic structures of international politics and of international relations (IR).

The political events of 1989, the rare coincidence of a reform effort from the top and a yearning for freedom and democracy from the bottom, as part of a peaceful upheaval in East Central Europe toppled the Communist governments in all East Central European countries within three months, and thus were instrumental for the collapse of the Soviet Union and the dissolution of the Warsaw Treaty Organization and the Comecon (1991).

The Cold War bipolar order of two rival highly armed political systems with the capability to destroy the globe with its weapons of mass destruction based on nuclear deterrence doctrines became obsolete as well as the traditional security legitimizations with the arms of the other side. This structural change of the international order influenced the security policy agendas and provoked a global political and scientific debate on the reconceptualization of security. This debate has been global, stimulated by many policy actors, scientists and intellectuals. The results of this process are documented in the national security doctrines and strategies (e.g. in the US) and in defence white papers of many countries (e.g. in Germany 1994, 2006). They have also been an object of analysis of the scientific community that gradually emancipated itself from the US conceptual dominance (Wæver 2004; Wæver/Buzan 2006). But these Northern discourses on security have been unaware and ignored the thinking of the philosophical traditions in Asia, Africa, Latin America, and in the Arab world.

While Huntington in his 'clash of civilization' (1993, 1996) succeeded to 'securitize culture' from the vantage point of US national security interests and strategies, the critical responses (Said; Chomsky; Ajami) reflected the cultural and religious diversity of the other five billion people that have been primarily an object of security thinking and policy during and after the Cold War.

This reconceptualization of security has impacts on international agendas and thus on political action on many different levels. UNDP (1994) introduced a 'people-centred' human security concept that was subsequently promoted by the *Human Security Network* (as 'freedom from fear'), and by the *Human Security Commission* (as 'freedom from want'), to which Kofi

Annan added as a third pillar: 'freedom to live in dignity' and the *United Nations University* (UNU) as the fourth pillar: 'freedom from hazard impact' (Bogardi/Brauch 2005; Brauch 2005, 2005a).

An effort of the only remaining superpower to regain control over the security discourse in its 'war on terror' by trying to politically adapt scientific evidence on climate change and to constrain scientific freedom has failed. Other efforts by a leading neo-conservative think tank to pay scientists a fee for challenging the fourth IPCC Report (2007) to downgrade and thus to de-securitize these new dangers posed by anthropogenic climate change may also fail.¹

The increasing perception of global environmental change (GEC) as a 'threat' to the survival of humankind and the domestic backlash in the US against the narrow security concepts and policies of the Neocons has widely established a widened, deepened, and sectorialized security concept that increasingly reflects the existing cultural and religious diversity also in the political debate on security as well as in scientific discourses. In this context, this volume has a dual function: a) to map this global conceptual change; and b) to create a wide scientific and political awareness of the new threats, challenges, vulnerabilities and risks that often differ from the perception of the present political elite in the only remaining superpower.

Thus, conceptualizing security concepts and defining the manifold security interests and preferences, structures the public policy discourse and legitimates the allocation of scarce financial resources to 'face' and 'cope' with major security dangers and concerns that threaten the survival of states, human beings or humankind and thus require 'extraordinary' political action.

1.4 Contextual Change, Conceptual Innovation as Tools for Knowledge Creation and Action

A key analytical question to which all authors were invited to reflect is to which extent the structural change in the global and regional international order

1 See: Ian Sample: "Scientists offered cash to dispute climate study", in: *The Guardian*, 2 February 2007; Elisabeth Rosenthal; Andrew C. Revkin: "Science Panel Calls Global Warming 'Unequivocal'", in: *The New York Times*, 3 February 2007; Juliet Eilperin: "Humans Faulted For Global Warming International Panel Of Scientists Sounds Dire Alarm", in: *Washington Post*, 3 February 2007.

was instrumental, triggered or contributed to this conceptual innovation and diversity in the global security discourse since 1990 or to which extent other events or regional or national structural changes have initiated a conceptual rethinking.

From the perspective of this author, major changes in the international order for the past 500 years have been:

- The *Hispanic World Order*: Expulsion of the Arabs and conquest of the Americas (1492–1618) by Spain and Portugal that resulted in a global order dominated by the Christian ‘civilized world’ that perceived the South as ‘primitive barbarians’;
- The *peace of Münster and Osnabrück* (1648) after the religious Thirty Years War (1618–1648), and the emergence of the Westphalian European order based on territorial states and an emerging international law;
- The *Utrecht Settlement* and the century of war and peace in the order of Christian princes (1715–1814).

After the independence of the United States (1776), the French Revolution (1789), and the wars of liberation in Latin America (1809–1824) and the emergence of many new independent states (1817–1839) in Europe four major international orders and major global structural and contextual changes can be distinguished:

- The *Peace Settlement of Vienna* (1815) and the European order of a balance of power based on a Concert of Europe (1815–1914) in an era of imperialism (Africa, Asia) and the post-colonial liberation in Latin America.
- The *Peace of Versailles* (1919) with a collapse of the European world order, a declining imperialism and the emergence of two new power centres in the US and in the USSR with competing political, social, economic, and cultural designs and a new global world order based on the security system of the *League of Nations* (1919–1939).
- The *Political Settlement of Yalta* (February 1945) and the system of the United Nations discussed at the Conferences in Dumbarton Oaks (1944), *Chapultepec* (January/ February 1945), and adopted at *San Francisco* (April/June 1945).

With these turning points during the European dominance of world history, the thinking on security changed. External and internal security became major tasks of the modern dynastic state. With the French Revolution and its intellectual and political conse-

quences the thinking on ‘*Rechtssicherheit*’ (legal predictability guaranteed by a state based on laws) gradually evolved. With the Covenant of the League of Nation ‘*collective security*’ became a key concept in international law and in international relations (IR).

Since 1945, this ‘national security’ concept has become a major focus of the IR discipline that gradually spread from iAberystwyth (1919) via the US after 1945 to the rest of the world. The Cold War (1946–1989) was both a political, military, and economic struggle and an ideological, social, and cultural competition when the modern ‘security concept’ emerged as a political and a scientific concept in the social sciences that was intellectually dominated by the American (Katzenstein 1996) and Soviet (Adomeit 1998) strategic culture. With the end of the Cold War, the systemic conflict between both superpowers and nuclear deterrence became obsolete and its prevailing security concepts had to be reconsidered and adjusted to the new political conditions, security dangers, and concerns.

This process of rethinking or ‘reconceptualization of security concepts’ and ‘redefinition of security interests’ that was triggered by the global turn of 1989–1991 and slightly modified by the events of 11 September 2001 (Der Derian 2004; Kupchan 2005; Risse 2005; Müller 2005; Guzzini 2005) and the subsequent US-led ‘war on terror’ has become a truly global process.

The intellectual dominance of the two Cold War superpowers has been replaced by an intellectual pluralism representing the manifold intellectual traditions but also the cultural and religious diversity. In this and the two subsequent volumes authors representing the five billion people outside the North Atlantic are given a scientific ‘voice’ that is often ignored in the inward oriented national security discourses that may contribute little to an understanding of these newly emerging intellectual debates after the end of the Cold War.

According to Tierney and Maliniak (2005: 58–64): “American scholars are a relatively insular group who primarily assign American authors to their students.”² In an overview of three rival theories of realism, liberalism and idealism (constructivism), Snyder (2004: 53–62) listed among the founders of realism (Morgenthau, Waltz) and idealism (Wendt, Ruggie) only Americans but of liberalism two Europeans (Smith, Kant). Among the thinkers in all three schools of realism (Mearsheimer, Walt), liberalism (Doyle, Keohane, Ikenberry) and idealism (Barnett and the only two women: Sikkink, Finnemore) again only Americans

qualified. This may reflect the prevailing image of the 'us' and 'they'. But in a second survey Malinak, Oakes, Peterson and Tierney (2007: 62–68) concluded that:

89 per cent of scholars believe that the war [in Iraq] will ultimately decrease US security. 87 per cent consider the conflict unjust, and 85 per cent are pessimistic about the chances of achieving a stable democracy in Iraq in the next 10–15 years. ... 96 per cent view the United States as less respected today than in the past (Malinak/Oakes/Peterson/Tierney 2007: 63).

A large majority of US IR scholars opposed unilateral US military intervention and called for a UN endorsement. Seventy per cent describe themselves as liberals and only 13 per cent as conservative. Their three most pressing foreign-policy issues during the next 10 years reflect the official policy agenda: international terrorism (50 per cent), proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (45 per cent), the rise of China (40 per cent). Only a minority consider global warming (29 per cent), global poverty (19 per cent) and resource scarcity (14 per cent) as the most pressing issues.²

These snapshots refer to a certain parochialism within the IR discipline which made the perception of the global process of reconceptualization of security, and of new centres of conceptual innovation on security more difficult. But the thinking of the writers outside the North Atlantic and their different concerns matter in the 21st century when the centres of economic, political, and military power may shift to other parts of the world (see part IX in this book).

1.5 Drivers and Centres of Conceptual Innovation

The drivers of the theoretical discourse on security and the intellectual centres of conceptual innovation have moved away from both Russia (after 1989) but gradually also from the United States. During the 1980's, the conceptual thinking on 'alternative se-

curity' or 'defensive defence' in Europe was looking for political and military alternatives to the mainstream deterrence doctrines and nuclear policies (Weizsäcker 1972; Afheldt 1976; SAS 1984, 1989; Brauch/Kennedy 1990, 1992, 1993; Møller 1991, 1992, 1995). It was a major intellectual force behind the independent 'peace movement' that called for both disarmament and human rights in both camps (e.g. END, 1980–1989).

In 2007, the discourses on security are no longer a primarily American social science (Crawford/Jarvis 2001; Hoffmann 2001; Nossal 2001; Zürn 2003). The critiques of peace researchers and alternative security experts in Europe during the 1970's and 1980's, but also new national perspectives during the 1990's, e.g. in France (Lacoste, Bigo, Badie), in the UK (Buzan, Booth, Smith, Rogers), Canada (Porter 2001), Germany (Albrecht, Czempiel, Senghaas, Rittberger) challenged American conceptualizations of national security. Since the 1990's in Southern Europe a re-emergence of geopolitics (France, Italy, Spain) could be observed (Brauch, chap. 22). In other parts of the world a critical or new geopolitics school emerged (O'Tuathail, Dalby) but also a spatialization of global challenges (ecological geopolitics or political geo-ecology). In Germany there has been a focus on progressing debordering, or deterritorialization of political processes (Wolf, Zürn) primarily in the EU while new barriers were directed against immigration from the South in both the US (toward Mexico) and in Europe (in the Mediterranean).

Groom and Mandaville (2001: 151) noted an "increasingly influential European set of influences that have historically, and more recently, informed the disciplinary concerns and character of IR" that have been stimulated by the writings of Foucault, Bourdieu, Luhmann, Habermas, Beck and from peace research by Galtung, Burton, Bouthoul, Albrecht, Czempiel, Rittberger, Senghaas, Väyrynen. Since the 1980's, the conceptual visions of African (Nkruma, Nyerere and Kaunda) and Arab leaders (Nasser), as well as the Southern concepts of self-reliance and Latin American theories of 'dependencia' of the 1960's and 1970's (Furtado 1965; Marini 1973; Dos Santos 1978) had only a minor impact on Western thinking in international relations and on security.

Since 1990 the new centres of conceptual innovation are no longer the US Department of Defense or the US academic centres in security studies in the Ivy League programmes. The effort by US neo-conservatives to reduce the global security agenda to weapons

2 They claimed: "The subject may be international relations, but the readings are overwhelmingly American. Almost half of the scholars surveyed report that 10 per cent or less of the material in their introductory courses is written by non-Americans, with a full 10 per cent of professors responding that they do not assign any authors from outside the United States. Only 5 per cent of instructors give non-Americans equal billing on their syllabuses" (Tierney/Malinak 2005: 63). While one third in the US IR field are women, among the 25 most influential scholars are only men, among them many are considered leading security experts.

of mass destruction and to the 'war on terror' has also failed, and many scholars share the scepticism.

However, most journals on security studies (e.g. *International Security*) are produced in the US and the North American market has remained the biggest book market for the security related literature. Since 1990 new journals on IR and security problems have evolved elsewhere, and since 1992 the triennial pan-European Conferences on International Relations (ECPR) in Heidelberg (1992), Paris (1995), Vienna (1998), Canterbury (2001), The Hague (2004) and Torino (2007) have supplemented the Annual International Studies Association conferences in North America where the intellectual debates on both security, peace, environment, and development are taking place. In August 2005 ECPR and ISA with partners in other parts of the world organized the first world conference on international relations in Istanbul.

In the political realm, the US as the only remaining superpower – irrespective of its 48 per cent contribution to global arms expenditures (SIPRI 2006) – has lost its predominance to set and control the international security agenda and US scholars no longer set the theoretical, conceptual, and empirical agenda of the scientific security discourse. In Europe and elsewhere new centres of intellectual and conceptual innovation have emerged in the security realm:

- In Europe, *Aberystwyth*, *Paris*, and *Copenhagen* have been associated with three new critical 'schools' on security theory (Wæver 2004).
- The *Copenhagen School* combined peace research with the Grotian tradition of the English School, integrating inputs from Scandinavian, British, German, and French discourses (Buzan/Wæver/de Wilde 1997; Wæver/Buzan/de Wilde 2008).
- The *human security concept* was promoted by Mahub ul Haq (Pakistan) with the UNDP report of 1994 and then developed further with Japanese support by the *Human Security Commission* (2003) and promoted both by UNESCO and UNU globally.
- Civil society organizations in South Asia developed the concept of *livelihood security*.
- International organizations introduced the sectoral concepts of *energy* (IEA, OECD), *food* (FAO, WFP), *water* (UNEP) and *health* (WHO) security (see Hexagon vol. IV).
- In the US and Canada, and in Switzerland and Norway the concept of *environmental security* as

security concerns emerged during the 1980's and 1990's.

- Since 1990 the epistemic community of the *Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change* (IPCC) provoked a global scientific and policy debate on climate change.
- The *Earth System Science Partnership* (ESSP) and its four programmes: IHDP (*International Human Dimensions Programme*), IGBP (*International Geosphere-Biosphere Programme*), WCRP (*World Climate Research Programme*) and *Diversitas* and its project GECHS (*Global Environmental Change and Human Security*) resulted in global scientific networks that address new security dangers and concerns.

Trends in the *reconceptualization of security* that will be mapped in the Hexagon Series are:

- *widening, deepening, and sectorialization* of security concepts;
- shift of referent object from the state to human beings or humankind (*human security*);
- perception of *new security dangers* (threats, challenges, vulnerabilities, and risks) and *securitization* of new security concerns due to an articulation by national and international organizations, scientific epistemic communities, and an attentive public with a progressing decentralization and diversity of information control through the internet;
- search for new non-military strategies to face and cope with these newly perceived security dangers and concerns and new environmental dangers, hazards, and disasters that pose no classical security dilemma (Herz 1950, 1959, 1962) for states but a 'survival dilemma' (Brauch 2004, chap. 40) for people.

These new drivers and centres of conceptual innovation have fundamentally challenged the narrow state-focused security concept of the traditionalists and realists in the Cold War.

1.6 History, Social Sciences, Philosophy, International Law

Events, structures, and concepts stand for three different historical approaches of:

- a *history of events* (of states and government elites) in diplomacy, conflicts, and wars focusing on the activities of states during wars;

- a *history of structures* (history of ‘longue durée’ and of conjunctural cycles) in the accounts on social, societal, and economic history;
- a history of ideas (*Ideengeschichte*) and concepts (*Begriffsgeschichte*).

1.6.1 Contextual Change and Conceptual History

The history of concepts was instrumental for a major German editorial project on key historical concepts (Brunner/Conze/Koselleck 1972–1997). Koselleck (1979, 1989, 1994, 1996, 2000, 2002, 2006) addressed the complex interlinkages between the temporal features of events, structures, and concepts in human (societal) history but also the dualism between experience and concepts (chap. 3 by Brauch). ‘

Conze (1984: 831–862) reviewed the evolution of the meaning of the German concepts security (*‘Sicherheit’*) and protection (*‘Schutz’*) that evolved – based on Roman and Medieval sources – since the 17th century with the dynastic state and was closely linked to the modern state. Since 1648 internal security was distinguished from external security which became a key concept of foreign and military policy and of international law. During the 17th and 18th centuries internal security was stressed by Hobbes and Pufendorf as the main task of the sovereign for the people.

In the American constitution, safety is linked to liberty. During the French Revolution the declaration of citizens’ rights declared security as one of its four basic human rights. For Wilhelm von Humboldt the state became a major actor to guarantee internal and external security while Fichte stressed the concept of mutuality where the state as the granter of security and the citizen interact. Influenced by Kant, Humboldt, and Fichte the concept of the *‘Rechtsstaat’* (legally constituted state) and *‘Rechtssicherheit’* (legal predictability of the state) became key features of the thinking on security in the early 19th century (Conze 1984).

The concept of ‘social security’ gradually evolved in the 19th and 20th centuries, especially during F.D. Roosevelt’s New Deal as a key goal to advance the security of the citizens: “the security of the home, the security of the livelihood, and the security of the social insurance.” This was addressed in the *Atlantic Charter* of 1941 as “securing, for all, improved labour standards, economic advancement and social security.” In 1948 social security became a key human right in Art. 22 of the General Declaration of Human Rights.

The ‘national’ security concept in the US resulted in the emergence of the American security system (Czempiel 1966), or of a national security state (Yergin 1977). It was used to legitimate a major shift in the mindset from the isolationism of the 1930’s to the internationalism in the post-war years, i.e. from a fundamental criticism of military armaments to a legitimization of an unprecedented military and arms build-up and militarization of the mindset of post-war foreign policy elites.

The changes in the thinking on security and their embodiment in security concepts are also a semantic reflection of the fundamental changes as they have been perceived in different parts of the world and conceptually articulated in alternative or new and totally different security concepts. Competing securitization efforts of terrorism or climate change are behind the transatlantic and global security policy debate and the global scientific conceptual discourse.

1.6.2 Conceptual Mapping in the Social Sciences

In the social sciences, the security concept has been widely used in *political science* (chap. 37 by Baylis in this vol.), and *economics* (chap. 36 by Mursheed and 43 Mesjasz) that focus on different actors: on the political realm (governments, parliaments, public, media, citizens); on society (societal groups) and on the business community (firms, customers, economic and fiscal policies). In political science, the security concept has been used in its threefold context: *policy* (field of security policy), *politics* (process on security, military, and arms issues), and *polity* (legal norms, laws, and institutions on the national and international level). The US National Security Act of 1947 (Czempiel 1966, Brauch 1977) and its adjustments has created the legal and institutional framework for the evolution of the ‘national security state’, sometimes also referred to as a military-industrial complex (Eisenhower 1972). This evolution has been encapsulated in the US debate on the concepts of ‘national’ and since 2001 also ‘homeland’ security.

1.6.3 Analysis of Concepts and their Linkages in Philosophy

The evolution and systematic analysis of concepts has been a major task of political philosophy and of the history of ideas. In German several philosophical publications documented the contemporary philosophy and its concepts in its interrelationship to their hi-

historical structure and the sciences.³ From a philosophical perspective after the end of the Cold War, Makropoulos (1995: 745–750) analysed the evolution of the German concept ‘Sicherheit’ from its Latin and Greek origins and its evolution and transformation during the medieval period, after the reformation as a concept in theology, philosophy, politics and law, with a special focus on Hobbes, Locke, Wolff, Rousseau, and Kant. In the 20th century he reviewed the prevention and compensation of genuinely social and technical insecurity as well as new social risks. While this article briefly noted the concept of ‘social security’ the key concept of ‘national security’ or the more recent concepts of ‘human security’ were not mentioned.

1.6.4 Security Concepts in National Public and International Law

Since the 18th century the security concept was widely used in the context of constitutional or public law for the legal system providing ‘*Rechtssicherheit*’ for the citizens in their engagement with the state. The concepts of ‘international peace and security’ have been repeatedly used in the Covenant and in the UN Charter where Art. I,1 outlines its key purpose:

to maintain international peace and *security*, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace ... 2. to develop friendly relations among nations ... 3. to achieve international cooperation ... [and] 4. to be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends.

Wolfrum (1994: 51) points to the subjective and objective elements of ‘international security’, the pursuit of which “implies a transformation of international relations so that every state is assured that peace will not be broken, or at least that any breach of the peace will

be limited in its impact.” In addition he referred to the “defining characteristic of the concept of collective security [as] the protection of the members of the system against a possible attack on the part of any other member of the same system,” and he noted that “the distinction drawn between the concepts of collective security and collective self-defence has been blurred to some extent in practice, and it also has lost relevance with respect to the United Nations” because due to the universal nature of the UN system “any distinction based upon external or internal acts of aggression [have been rendered] meaningless.”

1.6.5 Debate on Security Concepts within the United Nations

In a report of the Secretary-General on *Concepts of Security* (UN 1986)⁴ that was prepared by government experts from Algeria, Venezuela, Sweden (chair), China, GDR, Romania, Uganda, USSR, Argentina, Yugoslavia, Malaysia, India and Australia security was defined as:

a condition in which States consider that there is no danger of military attack, political pressure or economic coercion, so that they are able to pursue freely their own development and progress. International security is thus the result and the sum of the security of each and every State member of the international community; accordingly, international security cannot be reached without full international cooperation. However, security is a relative rather than an absolute term. National and international security need to be viewed as matters of degree (UN 1986: 2).

Secretary-General Pérez de Cuéllar noted that “concepts of security are the different bases on which States and the international community as a whole rely for their security” and he observed that “the

3 See e.g. the historical dictionary of philosophy (*Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie*) published first in 1899 by Rudolf Eisler, and its fourth edition (1927–1930). A different approach was pursued in the new *Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie*, launched and edited by Joachim Ritter and written by a team of more than 1,500 scholars that has been published in twelve volumes between 1971 and 2004. It includes four types of contributions: a) terminological articles, b) key concepts with minor changes in history, c) combined concepts in their systematic context (e.g. in logic), and d) historical method for more detailed articles that track the continuity and change of concepts from Classical Greek to contemporary philosophical treatments.

4 The GA in Res. 37/99 of 13 December 1983 called for “a comprehensive study of concepts of security, in particular security policies which emphasize cooperative efforts and mutual understanding between states, with a view of developing proposals for policies aimed at preventing the arms race, building confidence in relations between states, enhancing the possibility of reaching agreements on arms limitation and disarmament and promoting political and economic security (UN DOC A/40/533).” This resulted in several reports published by the Secretary-General on the “Relationship between Disarmament and International Security” (Disarmament Study Series No. 8, 1982); on “Concepts of Security” (Disarmament Study Series No. 14, 1986) and on “Study on Defensive Security Concepts and Policies” (Disarmament Study Series No. 26, 1993).

group recognized the different security concepts [that] have evolved in response to the need for national security and as a result of changing political, military, economic and other circumstances.” He summarized the group’s common understanding on six elements of a security concept:

- a) All nations have the right to security.
- b) The use of military force for purposes other than self-defence is no legitimate instrument of national policy.
- c) Security should be understood in comprehensive terms, recognizing the growing interdependence of political, military, economic, social, geographical and technological factors.
- d) Security is the concern of all nations and in the light of the threat of proliferating challenges to global security all nations have the right and duty to participate in the search for constructive solutions.
- e) The world’s diversities with respect to ethnic origins, language, culture, history, customs, ideologies, political institutions, socio-economic systems and levels of development should not be allowed to constitute obstacles to international cooperation for peace and security.
- f) Disarmament and arms limitation...is an important approach to international peace and security and it has thus become the most urgent task facing the entire international community (UN 1986: v-vi).

Since 1990, Secretaries-General Boutros Ghali (1992, 1995) and Annan (2005) have conceptualized ‘security’ and ‘human security’ that according to Annan’s report *In Longer Freedom* is based on ‘freedom from want’, ‘freedom from fear’ and ‘freedom to live in dignity’.

For the post Cold War (1990–2006) years, Michael Bothe (chap. 35) reviewed the changes in the use of the concept of security in UNSC decisions on activities that have been considered as threats to ‘international peace and security’ or as ‘breaches of peace’. Jürgen Dedring (chap. 46) reviewed the introduction of the ‘human security’ concept in the deliberations of the Security Council as a result of the activities of Canada on the protection of civilians in armed conflicts while Fuentes (2002; 2008) analysed the activities of the Human Security Network in the promotion of a common human security agenda within and outside of the UN system.

In the scientific disciplines reviewed in this volume, key changes could be noticed in the meaning of the concept of security as well as in the five dimen-

sions of a wider security concept. This process of reconceptualizing security since 1990 could also be observed in statements of international organizations (UN, OSCE, EU, OECD, NATO) and in the interfaces between security and development. Much evidence could be found for the working hypothesis that the global turn has resulted in a reconceptualization of security.

1.6.6 Reconceptualization of Regional Security

New security concepts have been adopted with the *Declaration of the Organization of American States* in October 2003 in Mexico (chap. 69 by Rojas), with the *European Security Strategy* of 2003 (chap. 51 by Hintermeier) by the European Union, by the United Nations in 2005 (chap. 47 by Einsiedel/Nitschke), as well as by NATO (chap. 55 by Dunay; chap. 56 by Bin) but also new collective security tasks have been taken up by the UN Security Council.

However, this retrospective analysis is not sufficient. With the ongoing globalization process, new transnational non-state actors (from transnational corporations, to terrorist and crime networks) have directly affected objective security dangers and subjective concerns. It is not only ‘international terrorism’ that has become a major new security danger and thus the major object of securitization in many US national security policy statements and in numerous UN and other resolutions by IGOs, threats to ‘human security’ in other parts of the world are also posed by the impact of global climate change via an increase in the number and intensity of natural hazards and disasters (storms, cyclones, hurricanes but also drought) that are caused by anthropogenic activities that are partly responsible for the misery of those affected most by extreme weather events (e.g. by cyclones in Bangladesh or by drought in the Sahel zone). These events have contributed to internal displacement and migration and have thus reached the North as new ‘soft’ security problems (Brauch 2002; Oswald 2007).

All these developments caused by global environmental change have contributed to the emergence of a new phase in earth history, the “anthropocene” (Crutzen 2002; Crutzen/Stoermer 2000; Clark/Crutzen/Schellnhuber; Oswald/Brauch/Dalby 2008) that poses new security dangers and concerns, and for many people in the South and for some of the most vulnerable and affected also a ‘survival dilemma’ (Brauch 2004, and chap. 42).

Thus, besides the global turn of 1990, several regional and national structural changes, the impacts of globalization, and with global environmental change a new set of dangers and concerns for the security and survival of humankind are evolving. The perception of or the securitization of these new security dangers as threats for international, regional, national, and human security have all contributed to a reconceptualization of security.

1.7 Three Volumes on Reconceptualizing Security

This book is the first of three volumes that address different aspects of an ‘intellectual mapping’ of the ongoing process of reconceptualizing security. The two related volumes address:

- *Facing Global Environmental Change: Environmental, Human, Energy, Food, Health and Water Security Concepts*;
- *Coping with Global Environmental Change, Disasters and Security – Threats, Challenges, Vulnerabilities and Risks*.

These three books in the *Hexagon Series on Human and Environmental Security and Peace* (HESP) aim to achieve these scientific goals: a) a global *North-South scientific debate on reconceptualizing security*; b) a *multidisciplinary debate and learning*; and c) a *dialogue between academia and policymakers* in international organizations, national governments and *between academia and nongovernmental actors* in civil society and in social movements on security concepts. These three volumes focus on the conceptual thinking on a wide notion of security in all parts of the world that is used to legitimate the allocation of public and private resources and to justify the use of force both to ‘protect’ and to ‘kill’ people in the realization of major values.

The ‘hexagon’ represents six key factors contributing to global environmental change – three nature-induced or supply factors: soil, water and air (atmosphere and climate), and three human-induced or demand factors: population change (growth and decline), urban systems (industry, habitat, pollution) and rural systems (agriculture, food, nature protection). Throughout the history of the earth and of the homo sapiens these six factors have interacted. The supply factors have created the preconditions for life while human behaviour and economic consumption patterns have contributed to its challenges (increase in

extreme weather events) and fatal outcomes for human beings and society. The Hexagon series will cover the complex interactions among these six factors and their extreme and in some cases even fatal outcomes (hazards/disasters, internal displacements and forced migration, crises, and conflicts), as well as crucial social science concepts relevant for their analysis.

Issues in three research fields on environment, security, and peace, especially in the environmental security realm and from a human security perspective, will be addressed with the goal to contribute to a fourth phase of research on environmental security from a normative peace research and/or human security perspective (Brauch 2003; Dalby/Brauch/Oswald 2008). This book series offers a platform for scientific communities dealing with global environmental and climate change, disaster reduction, environmental security, peace and conflict research, as well as for the humanitarian aid and the policy community in governments and international organizations.

1.8 Goals, Structure, Authors and Audience of this Book

The basic research questions this global reference book addresses are threefold:

- Did these manifold structural changes in the political order trigger a rethinking or *reconceptualization* of the key ‘security concept’ globally, nationally, and locally?
- To which extent were two other global processes instrumental for this new thinking on security: a) the process of economic, political, and cultural *globalization* and b) the evolving perception of the impact of *global environmental change* (GEC) due to climate change, soil erosion, and desertification as well as water scarcity and deterioration?
- Or were the changes in the thinking on security the result of a scientific revolution (Kuhn 1962) resulting in a major paradigm shift?

1.8.1 Theoretical Contexts for Security Reconceptualizations

The first two chapters introduce into the international debate on reconceptualizing security since 1989. *Czeslaw Mesjasz* approaches the reconceptualizing of security from the vantage point of systems theory as attributes of social systems.

1.8.2 Security, Peace, Development and Environment

Hans Günter Brauch (chap. 3) introduces a conceptual quartet consisting of *Security, Peace, Environment and Development* that are addressed by four specialized research programmes of peace research, security, development, and environmental studies. After an analysis of six linkages between these key concepts, four linkage concepts will be discussed: a) the *security dilemma* (for the peace-security linkage); b) the concept of *sustainable development* (for the development-environment linkage); c) *sustainable peace* (peace-development-environment linkage) and the new concept of a d) *survival dilemma* (security-environment-development linkage). Six experts review the debates on efforts to reconceptualize these six dyadic linkages: 1: peace and security (chap. 4 by *Ole Wæver*); 2: peace and development (chap. 5 by *Indra de Soysa*.); 3: peace and environment (chap. 6 by *Úrsula Oswald Spring*); 4: development and security (chap. 7 by *Peter Uvin*); 5: development and environment (chap. 8 by *Casey Brown*); and 6: security and environment (chap. 9 by *Simon Dalby*).

While since the French Revolution (1789) many political concepts (including *peace* and *security*) were reconceptualized, the political concepts of *development* and *environment* have gradually evolved since the 1950's and 1970's on national and international political agendas. The authors of chapters 4 to 9 were invited to consider these questions:

- a) Has the peace and security agenda in the UN Charter been adapted to a global contextual change with the disappearance of bipolarity and the emergence of a single superpower? Has the understanding of the classic concepts affecting peace and security: sovereignty, non-use of force (Art. 2,4) and non-intervention (Art. II,7 of UN Charter) changed with the increase of humanitarian interventions and peacekeeping operations?
- b) Which impact did the increase in violence in Europe since 1991, the emergence of new asymmetric, ethno-religious, internal conflicts, and the challenge by non-state actors in a rapidly globalizing world have on the theoretical debates on the six dyadic linkages?
- c) Which impact did the change in the peace-security dyad have on environment and development concepts? Did environment and development policies benefit from the global turn? Was it instrumental for the increase in 'failing states' (Somalia, Afghanistan)?

- d) Have the summits in Rio de Janeiro (UNCED, 1992) and in Johannesburg (UNSSD, 2002), and the formulation of the *Millennium Development Goals* benefited from the turn?
- e) Has the attack of 11 September 2001 on the US changed the priorities of security and development policies, nationally, regionally and globally?

Not all authors have responded to these questions, rather they discussed questions they considered the most relevant from their respective scientific and research perspective. They have widened and deepened the concepts from disciplines and have introduced southern perspectives to the security discourse.

1.8.3 Philosophical, Ethical, and Religious Contexts for Reconceptualizing Security

During the Cold War national and international security was a key policy concept for allocating financial resources and legitimating policies on the use of force. During this period the thinking on security of American and Soviet scholars dominated the paradigms and conceptual debates in the West and East, but also in the divided South. With the end of the Cold War this conceptual dichotomy was overcome. In the post Cold War era, prior to and after 11 September 2001, theoreticians have reconceptualized security in different directions.

Samuel P. Huntington's (1996) simplification of a new 'Islamic-Confucian threat' used cultural notions to legitimate military postures to stabilize the Western dominance and US leadership. Huntington provoked many critical replies by scholars from different regions, cultures and religions. Instead of reducing 'culture' to an object for the legitimization of the military power of one country, the authors in part III have been asked to review the thinking on security in their own culture or religion as it has evolved over centuries and has and may still influence implicitly the thinking and action of policymakers in their region.

Introducing part III, *Úrsula Oswald Spring* (Mexico, chap. 10) compares the thinking on peace in the East, West, and South. Eight chapters were written by authors representing different cultures and religions: *Eun-Jeung Lee* (Korea, chap. 13 on: Security in Confucianism and in Korean philosophy and ethics); *Mitsuo* and *Tamayo Okamoto* (Japan, chap. 14 on: Security in Japanese philosophy and ethics); *Naresh Dadhich* (India, chap. 15 on: Thinking on security in Hinduism and in contemporary political philosophy and ethics in India); *Robert Eisen* (USA, chap. 16 on security in

Jewish philosophy and ethics); *Frederik Arends* (Netherlands, chap. 17: security in Western philosophy and ethics); *Hassan Hanafi* (Egypt, chap. 18: security in Arab and Muslim philosophy and ethics); *Jacob Emmanuel Mabe* (Cameroon/Germany, chap. 19: Security in African philosophy, ethics and history of ideas); *Georgina Sánchez* (Mexico, chap. 20: Security in Mes- oamerican philosophy, ethics and history of ideas); *Domício Proença Júnior* and *Eugenio Diniz* (Brazil, chap. 21: The Brazilian view on the conceptualization of security: philosophical, ethical and cultural contexts and issues); while *Michael von Brück* (Germany, chap. 11: security in Buddhism and Hinduism), and *Kurt W. Radtke* (Germany/Netherlands, chap. 12: Security in Chinese, Korean and Japanese philosophy and ethics) compare the thinking on security in two eastern religions and the thinking in Chinese, Korean, and Japanese philosophy and ethics. The authors were invited to discuss these questions:

- a) Which security concepts have been used in the respective philosophy, ethics, and religion?
- b) How have these concepts evolved in different philosophical, ethical, and religious debates?
- c) What are the referents of the thinking on security: a) humankind, b) the nation state, c) society, or d) the individual human being?
- d) How are these concepts being used today and do these religious and philosophical traditions still influence the thinking of decision-makers on security in the early 21st century?
- e) Did the global contextual change of 1990 as well as the events of 11 September 2001 have an impact on the religious, philosophical, and ethical debates related to security?

The goal of this part is to sensitize the readers not to perceive the world only through the narrow conceptual lenses prevailing primarily in the Western or North Atlantic debates on security concepts and policies. Rather, the cultural, philosophical and religious diversity that influence the thinking on and related policies may sensitize policymakers.

1.8.4 Spatial Context and Referents of Security Concepts

During the Cold War the narrow ‘national security’ concept has prevailed (table 1.2). Since 1990 two parallel debates have taken place among analysts of *globalization* (in OECD countries) focusing on processes of de-territorialization and de-borderization as well as proponents of new ‘spatial’ approaches to internatio-

nal relations (*geo-strategy*, *geopolitics*, *geo-economics*). There was no significant controversy between both schools. Both approaches may contribute to an understanding of the co-existence of pre-modern, modern and post-modern thinking on sovereignty and its relationship to security. The major dividing line between both perspectives, often pursued in the tradition of realism or pragmatism, is the role of ‘space’ in international affairs (see chap. 22 by Brauch).

In the Westphalian system sovereign states may be defined in terms of a) territory, b) people, and c) government (system of rule). Thus, the territorial category of ‘space’ has been a constituent of modern international politics. No state exists without a clearly defined territory. ‘Spatiality’ is the term used to describe the dynamic and interdependent relationship between a society’s construction of space on society (Soja 1985). This concept applies not only to the social level, but also to the individual, for it draws attention to the fact that this relationship takes place through individual human actions, and also constrains and enables these actions (Giddens 1984). During the 1960’s and 1970’s, spatial science was widely used in geography and it attracted practitioners interested in ‘spatial order’ and in related policies (Schmidt 1995: 798–799). However, the micro level analyses in human geography are of no relevance for international relations where the concept of ‘territoriality’ is often used as:

a strategy which uses bounded spaces in the exercise of power and influence. ... Most social scientists ... focus on the efficiency of territoriality as a strategy, in a large variety of circumstances, involving the exercise of power, influence and domination. ... The efficiency of territoriality is exemplified by the large number of ‘containers’ into which the earth’s surface is divided. By far the best example of its benefits to those wishing to exercise power is the state, which is necessarily a territorial body. Within its territory, the state apparatus assumes sovereign power: all residents are required to ‘obey the laws of the land’ in order for the state to undertake its central roles within society; boundaries are policed to control people and things entering and leaving. Some argue that territoriality is a necessary strategy for the modern state, which could not operate successfully without it (Johnston 1996: 871; Mann 1984).

This very notion of the ‘territoriality’ of the state has been challenged by international relations specialists. Herz (1959) argued that the territorial state could easily be penetrated by intercontinental missiles armed with nuclear weapons. In the 1970’s, some globalists announced the death of the state as the key actor of international politics, and during the recent debate some analysts of *globalization* proclaimed the end of

the nation state and a progressing deborderization and deterritorialization have become key issues of analysis from the two opposite and competing perspectives of globalization and *geopolitique* but also from critical geopolitics. For the deborderized territories a new form of *raison d'état* may be needed.

The authors of part IV have been invited to address the following questions:

- a) Has the debate on security been influenced by the two schools focusing on globalization and geopolitics as well as by pre-modern, modern, and post-modern thinking on space?
- b) To which extent have there been changes in the spatial referents of security, with regard to global environmental change, globalization, regionalization, the nation state, as well as sub-national actors, such as societal, ethnic and religious groups, terrorist networks, or transnational criminal groups active in narco-trafficking?

The authors of the twelve chapters address two competing approaches of globalization vs. critical geopolitics or ecological geopolitics vs. political geo-ecology (chap. 22 by *Hans Günter Brauch*); on a structural setting for global environmental politics in a hierarchical international system from a geopolitical view (chap. 23 by *Vilho Harle* and *Sami Moiso*); the role and contributions of the Global Environmental Change and Human Security (GECHS) project within IHDP (Chap. 24 by *Jon Barnett*, *Karen O'Brien* and *Richard Matthew*); globalization and security: the US 'Imperial Presidency': global impacts in Iraq and Mexico (chap. 25 by *John Saxe-Fernández*); and on: Globalization from below: The World Social Forum: A platform for reconceptualizing security? (chap. 26: by *Úrsula Oswald Spring*).

Mustafa Aydın and *Sinem Acikmese* (chap. 27) discuss identity-based security threats in a globalized world with a focus on Islam, while *Björn Hettne* (chap. 28): in world regions as referents reviews concepts of regionalism and regionalization of security. *Bharat Karnad* (chap. 29) addresses the nation state as the key referent with a focus on concepts of national security, while *Varun Sahni* (chap. 30) provides a critical analysis of the role of sub-national actors (society, ethnic, religious groups) as referents. *Gunhild Hoogensen* (chap. 31) focuses on terrorist networks and *Arlene B. Tickner* and *Ann C. Mason* (chap. 32) on criminal narco-traffic groups as non-state actors as referents and finally *Jacek Kugler* (chap. 33) offers his ideas on reconceptualizing of security research by integrating individual level data.

1.8.5 Reconceptualization of Security in Scientific Disciplines

The security concept is used in many scientific disciplines and programmes. In this part *Jean Marc Coicaud* (chap. 34) contemplates on security as a philosophical construct, *Michael Bothe* (chap. 35) offers an empirical review of the changing security concept as reflected in resolutions of the UN Security Council, while *S. Mansoob Murshed* (chap. 36) discusses the changing use of security in economics, *John Baylis* (chap. 37) reviews the changing use of the security concept in international relations, and *Ulrich Albrecht* and *Hans Günter Brauch* (chap. 38) reconstruct the changes in the security concept in security studies and peace research. The authors were invited to discuss these questions:

- a) Did a reconceptualization of security occur in these scientific disciplines and programmes?
- b) Did the global turn of 1990 and the events of 11 September 2001 have an influence or major impact on a reconceptualization of security or have other developments (e.g. globalization or demography) or events been more instrumental?
- c) Which other factors were instrumental for a reconceptualization, e.g. of risk, risk society and modernity, that directly influence the scientific debate on security?

1.8.6 Reconceptualizing Dimensions of Security since 1990

Laura Shepherd and *Jutta Weldes* (chap. 39) introduce into the sixth part by discussing security as the state (of) being free from danger, and *Hans Günter Brauch* (chap. 40) contrasts the state-centred 'security dilemma' (Herz 1959) with a people-centred 'survival dilemma'. Barry Buzan, Ole Wæver and Jaap de Wilde (1998) distinguished among five sectors or dimensions of security of which they analyse in this book the military (*Buzan*, chap. 41), societal (*Wæver*, chap. 44), and environmental (*de Wilde*, chap. 45) security dimensions while the political one is discussed by *Thomaz Guedes da Costa* (chap. 42) and economic one by *Czesaw Mesjasz* (chap. 43). They were invited to reflect on these questions:

- a) To which extent have new theoretical paradigms, approaches, and concepts in different parts of the world influenced the reconceptualization of security dimensions?

- b) To which extent have different worldviews, cognitive lenses, and mindsets framed the securitization of the five key sectors or dimensions of security?
- c) To which extent has the conceptualization of the five sectors or dimensions of security been influenced by the global turn of 1989 and by the events of 11 September 2001?
- d) Has there been a fundamental difference in the perception of the impact of both events in Europe, in the USA, and in other parts of the world for the five security dimensions?
- e) Has the policy relevance of different security dimensions contributed to competing security agendas, and were they instrumental for the clash among conflicting views of security in the UN Security Council since 2002, prior to and after the war in Iraq?

1.8.7 Institutional Security Concepts Revisited for the 21st Century

With the end of the Cold War, the bipolar system that relied primarily on systems of collective self-defence (Art. 51 of UN Charter) has been overcome with the dissolution of the Warsaw Treaty Organization in 1991. In a brief interlude from 1991–1994, the systems of global and regional collective security were on the rise, and even NATO, the only remaining system of collective self-defence, was ready to act under a mandate of the CSCE, or since 1994 of the OSCE. However, with the failure of the UN and OSCE to cope with the conflicts in the post Yugoslav space, since 1994 NATO's relevance grew again, and with its gradual enlargement from 16 to 27 countries, NATO has again become the major security institution for hard security issues while the role of the UN system and of its regional collective security organizations expanded also into the soft 'human' security areas.

Since 1994, when UNDP first introduced the human security concept, this concept has been debated by the UN Security Council (see chap. 46 by *Jürgen Dedring*), in reports by the UN Secretary-General (chap. 47 by *Sebastian Einsiedel*, *Heiko Nitzschke* and *Tarun Chhabra*) and has been used by UNDP as well as by UNESCO and other UN organizations such as UNU (Bogardi/Brauch 2005, 2005a). The reconceptualization of security in the CSCE and OSCE since 1990 is documented by *Monika Wohlfeld* (chap. 49).

Four chapters review the complex reconceptualization of security by and within the European Union, from the perspective of the chair of the EU's Military Committee (Chap. 50 by General *Rolando Mosca*

Moschini) who presents its comprehensive security concept, while *Stefan Hintermeier* (chap. 51) focuses on the reconceptualization of the EU's foreign and security policy since 1990 and *Andreas Maurer* and *Roderick Parkes* (chap. 52) deal with the EU's justice and home affairs policy and democracy from the Amsterdam to The Hague Programme and finally *Magnus Ekengren* (chap. 53) focuses on the EU's functional security by moving from intergovernmental to community-based security concepts and policies.

Two chapters focus on the reconceptualization of security in NATO since 1990 (*Pál Dunay*, chap. 55) and on NATO's role in the Mediterranean and the Middle East after the Istanbul Summit (*Alberto Bin*, chap. 56). The security and development nexus is introduced by *Peter Uvin* (chap. 8), the coordination issues within the UN system is addressed by *Ole Jacob Sending* (chap. 48) and the harmonization of the three goals of peace, security, and development for the EU by *Louka T. Katseli* (chap. 54). From the perspective of Germany *Stephan Klingebiel* and *Katja Roehder* (chap. 58) carry the considerations further by discussing the manifold new interfaces between development and security, while *Ortwin Hennig* and *Reinhold Elges* (chap. 57) review the German Action Plan for civilian crisis prevention, conflict resolution, and peace consolidation as a practical experience with the reconceptualization of security and its implementation in a new diplomatic instrument. The authors of part VII were asked to consider these questions:

- a) Which concepts of security have been used by the respective international organizations in their charter and basic policy documents? To which extent has the understanding of security changed in the declaratory as well as in the operational policy of this security institution? To which extent was the global turn of 1989 instrumental for a reconceptualization of security by the UN, its independent global and regional organizations and programmes?
- b) Has there been a shrinking of the prevailing post Cold War security concept since 11 September 2001, both in declaratory and operational terms? To which extent has there been a widening, a deepening or a sectorialization of security since 1990 in OSCE, EU and NATO, and to which extent has this been reflected in NATO's role in the Mediterranean and in the Middle East? And to which extent did the security institutions adopt the concepts of environmental and human security in their policy declarations and in their operative policy activities?

1.8.8 Reconceptualizing Regional Security for the 21st Century

A major reconceptualization of security has been triggered by the fundamental global contextual change that occurred with the end of the Cold War. The narrow Hobbesian view of security threats posed by the military capabilities and intentions of the other military alliance has been overcome and replaced by a widening, deepening and sectorialization of the regional thinking on security. The security concepts offer a framework for the analysis of hard security threats and manifold political, economic, environmental security challenges, vulnerabilities and risks. The redefinition of security interests by security institutions as influenced by the conceptual lenses that influence the subjective security perception.

Among the authors of part VIII are the foreign minister of Nigeria *Joy Ogwu* who offers a regional political security perspective from and for Western Africa (chap. 62) while *Alfred Nhema* and *Martin Rupiya* (Zimbabwe, chap. 63) provide a grim regional security perspective from and for the Horn, Eastern and Southern Africa, and *Naison Ngoma* and *Len le Roux* (Zambia, South Africa, chap. 64) offer a regional security perspective from and for Southern Africa.

The regional security in Europe in the 21st century is analyzed by *Sven Biscop* (Belgium, chap. 59), while *Mustafa Aydin* and *Neslihan Kaptanolu* (Turkey, chap. 60) discuss three concepts of regionalization of great power security concerns for the intertwining between the new neighborhood, the near abroad, and the greater and wider Middle East while *Bechir Chourou* (Tunisia, chap. 61) contributes a regional security perspective from and for the Arab world. Three regional security perspectives for three sub-regions in Asia are offered by *Navnita Chadha Behera* (India, chap. 65) for South Asia, by *Eu-Jeung Lee* (chap. 66) for China, South and North Korea and Japan and by *Liu Cheng* and *Alan Hunter* (China/UK, chap. 67) for China for the early 21st century. *Kevin P. Clements* and *Wendy L. Foley* (Australia, New Zealand, chap. 68) review the regional security debate in the South Pacific on peace and security with alternative formulations in the post-Cold War era and *Francisco Rojas Aravena* (Chile, chap. 69) assesses the key regional security issues on the American continent, its challenges, perceptions, and concepts and *P.H. Liotta* (USA) and *James F. Miskel* (USA) offer thoughts for an ethical framework for security. The authors of part VIII were invited to consider these questions:

- a) Which impact did scientific and political security discourses and communication processes have on the reconceptualization of regional security?
- b) How relevant have security concepts been for the formulation of security interests in international politics and international relations? Which role has the rethinking of security in the new millennium played in regional debates on peace and security in Europe, in the Neighbourhood, Near Abroad, and Greater or Wider Middle East?

1.8.9 Reconceptualizing Security and Alternative Futures

This part will carry the discussion on security concepts into the future from a theoretical perspective on prediction in security theory and policy by *Czesaw Mesjasz* (chap. 71), from the vantage point of two military officers, *Heinz Dieter Jopp* and *Roland Kaestner* (chap. 72), and of an environmental and hazard specialist *Gordon A. McBean* (chap. 74) who discusses the role of prediction with regards to natural hazards and sustainable development. *Heikki Patomäki* (chap. 73) debates from a hypothetical scenario on learning from possible futures for global security.

1.8.10 Summary Conclusions

In this final part *Úrsula Oswald Spring* and *Hans Günter Brauch* (chap. 75) summarize the results of this global mapping of the rethinking on security. Based on the analysis of the trends in global thinking the authors discuss the policy relevance of security concepts for the structuring of the security debate and for policy-making both in national governments and in international organizations.

1.9 Editorial Process

As indicated above (1.7) this book differs from available publications on security by aiming at a fourfold dialogue. Such an ambitious effort may transcend the narrow professional or institutional horizon of some reviewers who often expect that such a project should be developed within the mainstream methodological approaches of international relations.

The editors pursue three goals: a) to contribute to *problem awareness* for the different security concepts in North and South, on hard and soft security issues, on non-military, primarily environmental challenges and environmental security problems; b) to stimulate

and encourage interdisciplinary scientific research and political efforts to resolve, prevent, and avoid that environmental factors may contribute to violent conflicts (both scientific and political *agenda-setting*); and c) to contribute to a better understanding of the complex interactions between natural processes, nature and human-induced regional environmental changes (*learning*).

While power has once been defined by Karl Deutsch (1963, 1966) as not having to learn, during the 20th century the resistance to any *anticipatory* learning by those who control the resources over outcomes has been significant. In history, it often required severe foreign policy and domestic crises (e.g. in the US in the 1970's during the Vietnam War and in the former Soviet Union in the 1980's during the Afghanistan War) to stimulate major re-assessments of existing foreign and security policies and to launch fundamental revisions.

Several scientists (E.U. von Weizsäcker 1989; E.O. Wilson 1998) have described the 21st century as the century of the environment. For the new century, Edward O. Wilson (1998a) has referred to a growing *consilience*, i.e. the interlocking of causal explanations across disciplines, what implies that the interfaces of disciplines become as important as the disciplines. Ted Munn (2002), in his preface to the *Encyclopedia of Global Environmental Change*, argued based on Wilson:

that this interlocking amongst the natural sciences will in the 21st century also touch 'the borders of the social sciences and humanities'. In the environmental context, environmental scientists in diverse specialties, including human ecology, are more precisely defining the area in which that species arose, and those parts that must be sustained for human survival (Wilson 1998).

Anticipatory learning must acknowledge this need for a growing *consilience* that causal explanations across disciplines may contribute to new understanding and knowledge that will be needed to cope with the challenges of the 'international risk society' (Beck 1992, 1999, 2007).

All authors of this and subsequent volume were specifically invited by the lead editor in consultation with John Grin and Czesaw Mesjasz to contribute to three workshops on reconceptualizing security at the:

- 45th Annual ISA Convention in Montreal, Quebec, Canada, 17-20 March 2004⁵;
- 20th IPRA Conference in Sopron, Hungary, 5-9 July 2004⁶;

- 5th Pan-European Conference on International Relations (ECPR) in The Hague, the Netherlands, 8-11 September 2004.⁷

At these workshops all papers were critiqued by discussants and by the audience. All chapters in this volume have been peer reviewed by at least two anonymous reviewers, and subsequently all chapters in this volume have been revised by the authors.

This book is not addressed *only* to the political science, international relations, strategic studies, peace research, development, and environmental studies community in the OECD world. Its scope is broader and more ambitious. It intends to broaden the scope and to sensitize the reader to the thinking in different disciplines, cultures, and global regions, especially on nature and humankind. The editors have worked hard that these three related books on 'reconceptualizing security' will be of relevance for scholars, educators and students and the more generally academically trained audience in many scientific disciplines, such as: *political science* (international relations, security studies, environmental studies, peace research, conflict and war studies); *sociology* (security conceptualization and risk society); *economics* (globalization and security); *philosophy, theology, comparative religion and culture* (security conceptualization); *international law* (security conceptualization), *geosciences* (global environmental change, climate change, desertification, water), *geography* (global environmental change, population, urbanization, food); *military science* (military academies).

The global thinking on security is also of importance for policymakers and their advisers on the national and international level in: a) foreign, defence, development, and environment ministries and their policy-oriented think tanks; b) international organizations: NATO, European institutions, UN, UNESCO, FAO, WHO, UNDP, UNEP, IEA, UNU, et al.; c) for the *Human Security Network*; d) for the environment and security network of the representatives of 27 EU foreign ministries; and in e) nongovernmental organizations in the areas of foreign and defence, development and environment policies; as well as for f) diverse social and indigenous movements. The thinking on security and on the specific security policies of countries, alliances, and international organizations are also a special focus for educators (at all levels) and media specialists.

5 See the presentations at: <http://www.afes-press.de/html/download_isa.html>.

6 See the presentations at: <http://www.afes-press.de/html/download_sopron.html>.

7 See the presentations at: <http://www.afes-press.de/html/the_hague_programme.html>.

2 Security as Attributes of Social Systems

Czeslaw Mesjasz

2.1 Introduction

As in other areas of social sciences, in security studies theory follows the unfolding processes and provides descriptions and interpretations. Causal explanations are rare or superficial. Predictions or normative approaches are even more difficult to find. It may be claimed that in the contemporary discussion on security, analytical properties of that concept too often are either concealed in a broad ideological discourse, or are deriving from common sense reasoning. Attention is paid to the universalization of security, political, doctrinal, and even ideological issues and to critical approaches, with a lack of care for definitions. Too frequently the questions are asked what we think about this or that definition of security. What political doctrine and/or scientific paradigm does it conform to? Less attention is being paid to the most fundamental question: What security is about?

Bearing in mind broader reflections on security, it is necessary to reflect upon more specific facets of security – the identification of threats and risks, the limits of prediction, actions taken to maintain or to restore security, consequences of securitization or desecuritization, validity of policy recommendations.

It is impossible to answer whether the broad idea of security can be refined to fulfil the needs of more rigorous theorizing. But it is possible to study the analytical properties of the broadened definitions of security, i.e. to which extent they can be used for description, explanation of causal relationships, and prediction of phenomena in various social collectivities, not solely in international relations. Since security theory by definition has a normative character, thus expectations are going even further and analytical properties of the concept of security should facilitate normative applications.

Usually security is treated as an attribute of different social entities (collectivities) – states, groups of states, society (defined in different ways), or as in the case of human security, as a property of living condi-

tions of individuals. It is then necessary to discuss security not as a broad and fuzzy normative idea, but as a property of the status of social entities and of their elements (individuals). Security treated as a feature of social systems can be viewed both in terms of ‘objective’ properties, as well as a construct emerging in the discourse of the external observers and/or participants.

This chapter addresses the following questions: How security treated as a property of social systems and of their elements (individuals) can be described and studied. Whether there exists any set of universal properties, a kind of ‘core concept’, which can be identified in all circumstances when the term ‘security’ is applied.

In a kind of mirror approach, in identifying links between security-related issues and complex systems studies, Murray Gell-Mann (2002), a Nobel Prize winner and specialist in complexity studies, saw an obstacle in a too broad definition of security (Alberts/Czerwinski 2002). Systems thinking, systems approach, and complex systems studies can be used in security theory and policy as sources of analogies, metaphors, and mathematical models. Using another approach, four of Wittgenstein’s (2002) ‘language games’ emerge including: (1) the meaning of security, (2) the meaning of system, (3) the meaning of ideas where the concepts of system and security are jointly applied, and (4) the meaning of complexity.¹

In the first part of the chapter interpretations of the notion security are briefly presented (2.2). In the second part, the core concept of security is developed into a collection of attributes of social systems, of their elements and of their environment (2.3). Security-related attributes of social systems are treated as an introduction to the assessment of possible analytical properties of various kinds of security, from human to military security. Complex systems studies are

1 Applications of the concept of language game in IR theory have been recently analysed by Fierke (2002).

proposed as a foundation for description, explanation of causal relations, prediction, anticipation, normative approach, prescription, retrospection, retrodiction, control and regulation in security-oriented discourse (2.4).

2.2 Interpretations of Security

Security and politics have been important areas of applications of various ideas drawn from systems thinking.² The newly emerging military and non-military threats such as low-intensity conflicts, regional conflicts, terrorism, environmental disturbances, etc. cannot be embraced without ideas taken from modern complex systems studies.

2.2.1 Evolution of the Concept of Security

It is impossible to elaborate a comprehensive and unequivocal definition of the security concept. The approaches presented below reflect a twofold evolution of the applications of the term 'security'. In the first group security is associated with international relations and either treated as an 'objective' attribute of a situation of the state or as an outcome of social discourse, as an 'act of speech' – performative utterance, a result of 'securitization' (see chapters by Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde in this volume).

The second group includes a rank of ideas either deriving from the international security discourse, or developed independently: 'internal security' within a country, security in military considerations, security as a public good, and security in an universal sense (of any individual and of any social entity) – societal security, and first and foremost, human security.

Etymological discussions on the origins of the English notion 'security' are twofold and reflect a discrepancy already existing in Latin interpretations of the term *securus* (Brauch 2003, 2005, 2005a) (Liotta

2002). In the first interpretation, the term security derives from Latin *securus* safe, secure, from *se* without + *cura* care - the quality or state of being secure or as a freedom from danger (freedom from fear or anxiety). In the second interpretation, the English word 'security' originates from the Latin word '*securus*' but a different interpretation. '*Se*' means 'without' and '*curus*' meaning 'uneasiness' or 'full of cares or worries'.

The difference of interpretations stems from the absence of an unequivocal interpretation of the term *cura* (*curas*) – cares and/or worries. The Latin term *cura* can be also interpreted in French as 'soin' or 'souci' (Touchefeu 2005). According to Maldonado (2000): "The prefix *se-* occurs in the word *securus* 'safe, free from worry', and appears to be formed from the word *curas*, 'cares or worries'. I say 'appears' since the inflectional suffixes (*-as* and *-us*, here) are also changed; whether *se-* attaches to the noun *cura* or whether there was once an adjective *curus* meaning something like "full of cares or worries" and *securus* is the only adjective remaining."³ 'Security' originally meant liberation from uneasiness, or a peaceful situation without any risks or threats. The term 'security' has many meanings, including 'to feel safe' and 'to be protected', and is used to describe a situation without risks or worries.

The traditional interpretation of security is deriving from foreign policy and international relations – 'objective' or 'military security'. This sense of security can be extended by the concept of internal security, i.e. absence of threats to the state system and to the everyday life of its citizens caused by political and or military disturbances within the borders of a country. After 11 September 2001 a broadened concept of 'homeland security' embodying both external and internal threats was institutionalized in the US on 25 November 2002, when President George W. Bush signed the Homeland Security Act. The second term 'military security' can to a large extent be associated with both traditional meanings of security – external and internal. In numerous cases all combat-related military activities are given a security context in its traditional sense as national (state) security.

2 The impact of systems concepts can be found in peace and security-related research summarized in Mesjasz (1988): the first models of military conflicts and wars by Frederick Lanchester (1916) and Lewis F. Richardson (1960), universal models of Pitirim Sorokin (1970) and Quincy Wright (1965), national and military security (origins of RAND Corporation), development of game theory-based conflict studies (Rapoport 1960), classical security studies by Morton A. Kaplan (1957) and Karl W. Deutsch (1966), and in contemporary studies on widened security concepts proposed by the 'Copenhagen School' (Buzan/Wæver/de Wilde 1998).

3 This discrepancy is also reflected in some other languages, e.g. in Polish *bezpieczeństwo* (without care (in Polish, *bez* – without, *piecza* – care) and in Russian *безопасность* (without threat) (in Russian *bez* – without, *опасность* (o) – threat). Further studies on etymology of security in other languages could also provide more insights in the studies of deepened and broadened interpretations of security.

In the 1990's, after the collapse of the Soviet empire, a new security approach or paradigm emerged. Widening of the security concept was proposed from a constructivist point of view by the Copenhagen School (Buzan/Wæver/de Wilde 1998; see also chapters in this volume). Security lost its traditional 'objective' character and is perceived as an 'act of speech' or a result of 'securitization'. Security is thus a self-referential practice, because an issue becomes a security issue – not necessarily because a real existential threat exists, but the issue is depicted as a threat.

A discourse that presents something as an existential threat to a referent object does not by itself create securitization. It is solely a securitizing move and the issue is securitized only if and when the audience accepts it as such. Securitization studies aims to gain understanding of who securitizes, on what issues (threats), for whom (referent objects), why, with what results and under what conditions (Buzan/Wæver/de Wilde 1998). 'Desecuritization' can be defined as a process where a 'threat' which under one 'speech act' compels extraordinary measures in another 'speech act' is presented as not requiring such measures (Wæver 1995)⁴.

Deepening the agenda of security studies means moving either down to the level of individual or human security or up to the level of international or global security, with regional and societal security as possible intermediate points. Paradoxically, deepening of security was proposed by a realist scholar, Ken Booth (1991), who was even later called a 'fallen realist'.

The widest and deepest security concept is 'human security' (UNDP 1994: 23), which has two basic aspects: safety from chronic threats as hunger, disease, and repression ('freedom from want') and protection from sudden and harmful disruptions in the patterns of daily life ('freedom from fear'). According to Sen (2000: 1), human security focuses on "...survival, daily life and dignity of human beings." Its strong universal normative interpretation has an ethical and political impact, and its universal character makes it disputable in more rigorous applications (Burgess/Owen 2004).

Such universal applications have often led to a misuse or abuse of the security concept in the scientific and political discourse. To preserve and enhance the usefulness of that concept in theory and in practice, an eclectic or 'common-sense' approach is proposed to combine the declared objective value of the neo-re-

alist security concept with the constructivist approach, and its 'widened' and 'deepened' features viewed as an 'act of speech'. Such an approach is needed to refer to security not only as a political and ideological category, but in operational terms, relevant for research and policy-making. Security can be also viewed as a socio-economic category of a public good (Kaul/Conceição/Le Goulven/Mendoza 2003), and a new emerging challenge of security of information society, including security of information systems ('informational security') is also addressed.

2.2.2 The Core Security Concept

Adding to the survey of reconceptualizations of security (see Brauch 2003, 2005 and chapters 1 and 4 in this volume) it is worthwhile to rethink what security is about. The following questions can be a point of departure for further considerations:

1. What are the characteristics of a social collectivity (or system) which can be depicted as secure?
2. How can those characteristics be specified in a more detailed form, not only with a broad but superficial and sometimes contradictory meaning?

If the term 'security' is assigned to a wide variety of social categories, then the question is whether there is a common denominator, a core concept, in all applications of that term. If this is true, what are the causes that the same term is assigned to different states of social systems and their elements? What interpretations can be assigned to the metaphor of security? Even an introductory linguistic inquiry allows concluding that security is not a dead metaphor, but a dormant and perhaps even an extended metaphor.⁵

If security is not a dead metaphor, then three transformations of its metaphorical sense can be presented. *First*, new characteristics were added to the initial meaning of security in international relations ('state' and 'internal' security), and they are selected in various processes of securitization as a kind of

4 These concepts are supplemented with complacency or 'non-securitization' of apparent threats (Buzan/Wæver/de Wilde 1998: 57).

5 In a 'dead metaphor' a transferred image is not present, e.g. money, because it was first minted at the temple of Juno Moneta. In a 'dormant metaphor' the initial idea has been lost, e.g. the strategy originally derived from Greek 'strategos', general or leader. An 'extended metaphor' sets up a principal subject with several subsidiary subjects or comparisons, e.g. our house is a castle, a fortress and a nest. For discussions on metaphors in social sciences see: Ortony (1979); Lakoff/Johnson (1980); Mirowski (1989, 1994); Morgan (1996).

'menu for choice' with some constraints, such as threats as disturbances requiring unusual activities.

The *second* rationale for its widespread applications is that the collection of characteristics to describe a positive perception of a state of any social entity and/or individual as security embodies so many characteristics that it is becoming too universal, if not trivial, pointing to security as all the good in the world. It may be even stated that such a definition of security and of human security in particular, is becoming a substitute for other ethical and religious norms referring to the quality of life.

The *third* assertion is used here as a point of departure. Despite extended and deepened contemporary interpretations of security, a limited collection of common attributes of that notion related to social systems and their elements can be defined in systemic terms. Those systemic attributes of security are associated with existence of social systems and their elements, e.g. individuals. Accordingly, the core concept of security is a kind of an invariant element of all situations when the term security is spelled out. In terms of a semantic analysis this invariant is the link between all meanings of security treated as dormant and extended metaphors. Thus the core element of security can be treated as a foundation of securitization treated as an 'act of speech' or a performative utterance.

Presence or absence of security of any social system or an individual, i.e. of circumstances threatening their existence and compelling to undertake extraordinary activities, can be translated into a collection of simple systemic characteristics. This collection can be called the 'core concept' of security since all its elements can be identified in any attempt to define security both objectively and stemming from various securitization discourses.

The expectation for the continued existence of any social system is the key element of the assessment of its security. Of course, for living systems and some social systems, the predicted termination of its existence is also a part of its set of norms. If survival or the predicted decay is the aims of existence, a kind of desired state, then any disturbance negatively affecting that process requires countermeasures. Thus a normative notion disturbance (disruption) – actual or potential, could be associated with such terms as danger, threat, challenge, vulnerability, and risk (Brauch 2005a), whose meaning also requires further elucidation. To guarantee clarity of considerations several ideas from systems thinking such as stability, instability, discontinuity, complexity, and several others are

not applicable at this level of general considerations. But a closer look at their meaning may identify numerous simplifications and contradictions (Mesjasz 1999).

'Disturbance' refers to any object and can be caused by internal and external factors, or by a mixture of both. The disturbance should be identified by any observer-participant (internal, external), and if securitized – regarded as threatening an actual status (existence?) of the system (individual), should lead to appropriate actions.

The control theory is used irrespective of its deficiencies due to constructivist limitations. Social systems are treated as constructs made by observers or participants initially in their cognitive processes and later in the social discourse. The term social systems is used interchangeably with collectivities since in a constructivist approach the systems are created by observers or participants from any social collectivities, e.g. a system constructed solely for the purpose of the study. This approach does not allow responding unequivocally what social systems are but permits to circumvent the search for a universal definition of those systems.⁶

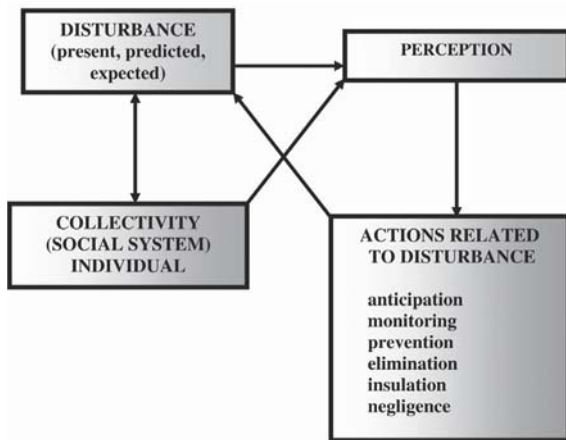
Similarly, in order to limit the too general character of the core concept of security, a neutral concept of an impulse influencing a system is replaced with a negatively valued notion of disturbance. Thus, the core concept of security is a kind of framework for all normative discussions on existence and survival of any social collectivities and individuals. Although it is designed for ordering the discourse on relatively well-defined, 'technical' aspects of security, it can also be helpful to introduce an additional rigour in the discussions on security based on broadly defined terms, like identity, or 'freedom from fear'. To discuss such ideas it is necessary to understand the sense of the word 'game'. The 'core scheme' of security can be extended in various directions by a combination of these attributes

1. *Reference object*: state, region, alliance, society, various social groups, nations, minorities, ethnic groups, individuals, global system;
2. *Areas where existential disturbances (threats) are emerging (sectors)*: political, military, economic, ecological, societal, informational.

⁶ An epistemological and ontological background for this application of the systems approach can be found in Midgley (2003).

3. *Methods of prediction (identification) of disruptions*: from search for 'objective' threats to subjectively perceived threats, also resulting from social discourse ('securitization').
4. *Methods of planning and performing extraordinary actions (anticipation)* aimed at monitoring, preventing or eliminating existential threats (figure 2.1):.

Figure 2.1: The Core Concept of Security



Additional attention must be paid to changing interpretations of the scheme in 'widening' and 'deepening' the meaning of security. In classical, state-oriented interpretations of security, the disturbance (threat) could be resulting from purposive actions by a clearly defined 'threatener' undermining actual or potential existence of a threatened object (system). In the widened and deepened interpretations of security, the disturbances are not so easily identified. If security is understood as the absence of unusual disturbances requiring extraordinary measures, then the questions are arising what is unusual (threatening) disturbance, how it can be identified (predicted), and what does extraordinary mean?

In systemic terms an idea of securitization is equivalent to the identification of external and internal changes perceived as actually or potentially disturbing a given state (equilibrium?), and in an ultimate resort terminating the existence of a social system and of its elements (individuals). Here it can only cursorily be mentioned that prediction of disturbances in the process of securitization also requires more precise considerations. Securitization allows defining the extraordinary character of actions which are to be undertaken in response to the disturbances.

In the process of universalization of the sense of security two doubts are arising. If too broadly defined

categories are applied to depict some processes (events) as disturbing for social systems, e.g. threats to identity, or 'freedom from want, freedom from fear', then their sense of exceptionality is lost. By the same token, the actions undertaken in consequence of such broadly defined disturbances can lose their extraordinary character, or on the contrary, actions taken as normal can gain an exceptional sense.

This phenomenon is reflected in the discourse on societal, economic and human security. The categories used for defining security constitute a certain continuum - from more or less specifically defined categories in the classical security discourse, through less precise terms used in political, economic, societal to vaguely depicted characteristics of human security.

The core security concept remains relevant for the continuum of interpretations of security. In the process of securitization it is always the difference between a desired state and the actual state which is securitized in the discourse. The less precisely the desired state is described, the more the disturbances concern not the actual state but predictions and/or norms and even basic values of securitizing actors. One of the arguments used against securitization of environmental threats is that they are linked to long-term predictions for which no valuable proofs can be given at present. Similarly, the disturbances equivalent to differences between desired and actual states are gaining a more abstract character, e.g. 'freedom from fear', preservation of identity, etc. As a result, securitization is becoming even more dependent on the social discourse, or in other words, more 'constructivist' and exposed to distortions.

Consequences of universalization on human security require further studies.⁷ Nevertheless, it can be concluded that the core concept of security can be treated as a relevant foundation for any kind of security, from state-oriented ones to the most universal human security.

2.2.3 Systemic Interpretation of Security

The core concept of security (figure 2.1) is a point of departure for developing a broader framework idea of security which can be used for studying the links between security treated as attributes of social systems and various concepts defined as systems thinking, systems approach or complex systems studies (figure 2.2). This scheme cannot capture all aspects of secu-

⁷ Insights of the meaning of human security were presented in: *Security Dialogue*, 35, 3 (September 2004).

ity but offers a foundation for more rigorous considerations on security and its attributes, and for the discourse on all concepts associated with security. A collection of these concepts is given below.

1. *Reference object*:

- social entity (subsystem) and individual as an element of a system;
- dimensions of security (survival, identity, coherence, or perhaps a broadly defined identity).

2. *Disturbance* (threat, risk, danger):

- semantic distinctions between threat, danger and risk;
- relations between meaning of those terms;
- securitization of social phenomena: threats, dangers and risks.

3. *Vulnerabilities*:

- vulnerability as a systemic property;
- relations between vulnerabilities and threats, risks and dangers.

4. *Prediction (identification) of threat (risk, danger)*:

- classical approach: risk and uncertainty;
- threat, risk and uncertainty, and methods and limits of their prediction;
- known threat (risk, danger): known consequences and unknown consequences;
- unknown (hidden) threat, unknown features and consequences.

5. *Actions*:

- prevention, pre-emption, securitization, desecuritization;
- negligence;
- elimination.

6. *Structural aspects of security of social systems*:

- links between military, political, economic, environmental, and societal domains of security (relations between domains);
- links between security of elements and security of collectivities (security of individuals and of collectivities).

7. *Attributes of a 'secure' reference object (system of reference objects)*:

- minimization of uncertainty, continuity, survival, increased capabilities of prediction;
- stability as synonymous to desired status with predictable future states.

8. *Inter-system relational aspects of security*:

- typology of systems - units (states, other social entities - ethnic groups, etc.);
- security dilemma, relations with other social systems, relations with natural environment.

The attributes of security as a property of social systems will be developed in further research.⁸ It will provide a 'framework' for a discussion of applications of various ideas of systems thinking in security theory and policy research:

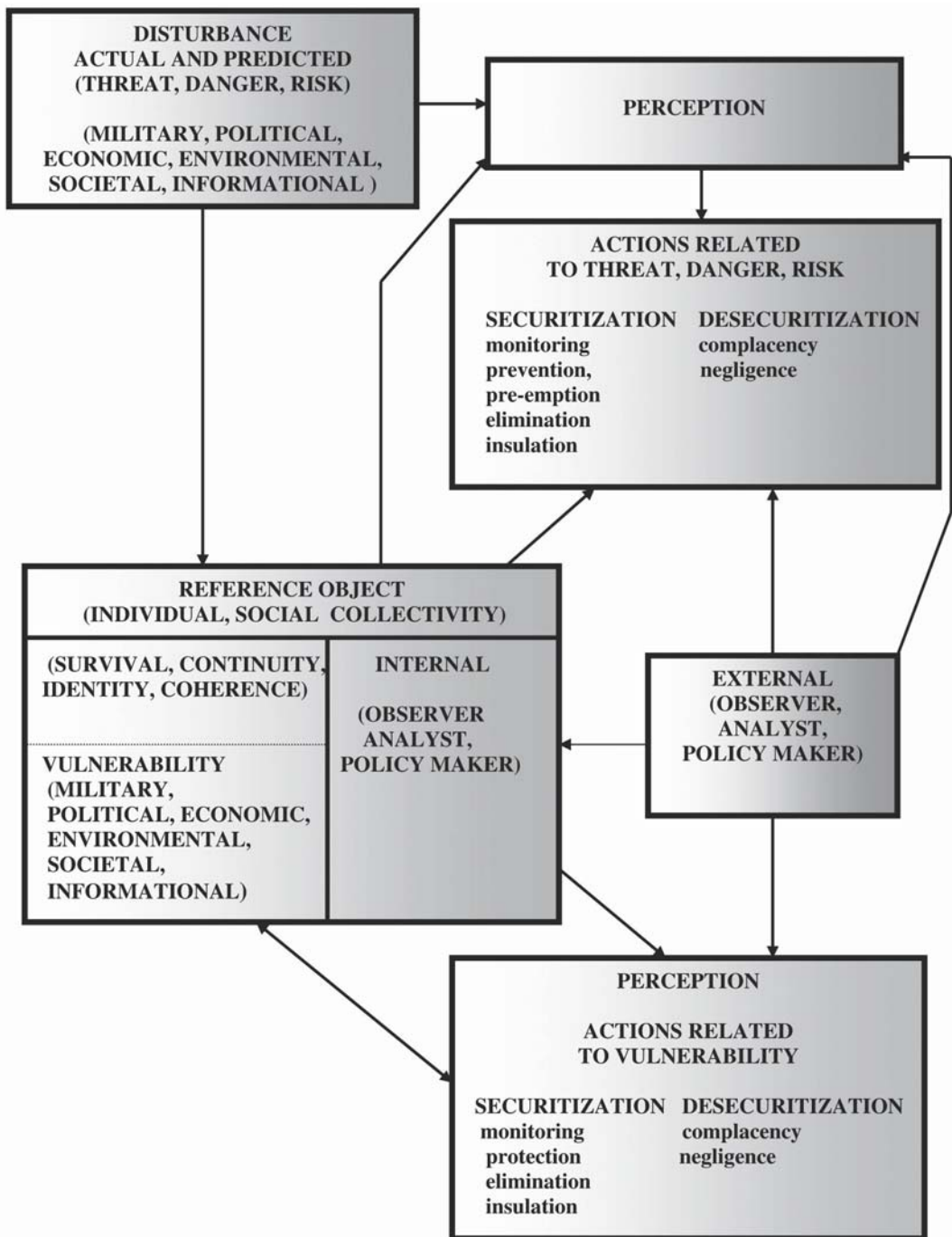
- the concept of stability in IR and links with various ideas of security (peace);
- bipolarity vs. multipolarity;
- power cycle theory;
- systems thinking and hegemonic stability;
- turbulence and chaos in globalizing world politics;
- evolutionary systems, world politics and security;
- systems thinking, governance (global governance) and security;
- democratic peace and systems thinking;
- thermodynamics, peace and war;
- new mathematical ideas and security: catastrophe theory and fuzzy systems;
- applications of computer simulation models in security-oriented research;
- complexity theories and concepts of security;
- social learning, complex systems and security;
- systems thinking and military security (theory, combat and non-war military operations);
- vulnerability of social systems;
- systems approach and identification of threats of terrorism;
- applications of systems approach in preventing terrorism.

2.3 Complex Systems and Security

Systems thinking exerted a strong impact upon security theory and policy in a direct and in an indirect way. Due to misinterpretations and abuses, it seems necessary to present a brief overview of basic ideas of systems thinking which can be found in security-related discourse in theory and policy making. Sys-

8 The attributes of the systemic idea of security will be developed in several texts published in a forthcoming volume of the Hexagon series, including the author's monograph with working title: *Stability, Turbulence or Chaos? Systems Thinking, and Theory and Policy of Security*, forthcoming.

Figure 2.2: Systemic Framework of Security.



tems thinking and complexity studies literature can be divided into several streams, beginning from the advanced writings for specialists, usually loaded with mathematical reasoning and ending with simplified, popular works.

2.3.1 Defining Systems and Complexity

There are various interpretations of cybernetics and systems thinking, but according to Ludwig von Bertalanffy (1968) the former can be regarded as part of the latter. To avoid unnecessary typological considerations, it is also assumed that complex systems studies are regarded

as a part of systems thinking (Mesjasz 1988; Midgley 2003). Even more difficult are definitions of 'studies of complexity' and 'complex systems studies'. The author does not use the terms 'complexity theory', or 'complexity science' although an idea of the "emerging sciences of complexity" was proposed (Waldrop 1992). These challenges were referred to by Horgan (1995) in: "From Complexity to Perplexity". There is no commonly accepted definition of complexity that seems neither needed nor achievable.⁹

Complex systems exhibit non-linear behaviour that is frequently referred to as positive feedback where internal or external changes to a system produce amplifying effects. Non-linear systems can generate a specific temporal behaviour which is called chaos. Chaotic behaviour can be observed in time series as data points that appear random, and devoid of any pattern but show a deeper, underlying effect. During unstable periods, such as chaos, non-linear systems are susceptible to shocks (sometimes very small). This phenomenon, called 'sensitivity to initial conditions' and popularized as the Edward Lorenz's 'butterfly effect', exemplifies the cases, where a small change may generate a disproportionate change (Gleick 1997).

Among the most recent ideas of complex research are scale-free networks discovered by Albert-László Barabási (2003). After finding that various networks, including social and biological ones, had heavy-tailed degree distributions, Barabási and collaborators coined the term 'scale-free network' to describe the class of networks that exhibit a power-law degree distribution, which they presumed to describe all real world networks of interest.

Complexity can be also characterized by a multitude of other ideas such as artificial life, fractals, bifur-

cations, co-evolution, spontaneous self-organization, self-organized criticality, chaos, edge of chaos, instability, irreducibility, adaptability, and far-from-equilibrium-states. These concepts are associated predominantly with the research by scholars at the Santa Fe Institute, and with the works of Ilya Prigogine on thermodynamics (dissipative structures, far-from-equilibrium systems), and of Herman Haken (2004) on synergetics.

These ideas can be called 'hard' complexity research in analogy to 'hard' systems thinking.¹⁰ The 'soft' complexity research, or 'soft' systems thinking, includes ideas of complexity elaborated in other areas of cybernetics and systems thinking, social sciences, and in psychology. Initially, they were developed independently but after the growing impact of CAS and chaos, their authors began to treat the 'hard' complexity concepts as a source of new ideas.

Subjectivity is the first aspect of complexity in the 'soft' approach. Following this reasoning, from the perspective of the second-order cybernetics, or in a broader approach, constructivism (Glazersfeld 1995; Biggiero 2001), complexity is not an intrinsic property of an object but rather depends on the observer.

To identify a meaning of complexity based on some properties of the relationships between observers (human or cognitive systems) and observed systems (all systems) Biggiero (2001: 3) treats predictability of behaviour of an entity as the fundamental criterion for distinguishing various kinds of complexity. He proposes three classes of complexity: (a) deterministically or stochastically unpredictable objects; (b) predictable objects with infinite computational capacity; and (c) predictable objects with a transcomputational capacity. From this typology, he defined 'observed irreducible complexity' (OIC) as those states of unpredictability, which allow to classify an object in one of these three classes. This definition distinguishes complexity semantically in the new sense.

Biggiero's typologies lead to two conclusions for studying social systems. *First*, self-reference characterizes the first class, which relates to many forms of undecidability and interactions among observing systems (Foerster 1982). This property favours the subjective interpretations of complexity. *Second*, human systems are characterized by the presence of all sources and types of complexity. Thus, human systems are the "complexities of complexities" (Biggiero 2001: 4-6).

9 First attempts to study complex entities go back to Weaver (1948: disorganized and organized complexity), Simon (1962: Architecture of Complexity) and Ashby (1963: Law of Requisite Variety). In explaining complexity Seth Lloyd (1989) identified 31 definitions. Later, according to Horgan (1997: 303) this number increased to 45. Numerous definitions of complexity have been offered (Waldrop 1992; Gell-Mann 1995; Kauffman 1993, 1995; Holland 1995; Bak 1996; Bar-Yam 1997; Rosser 1999; Biggiero 2001). The impossibility to decomposit this entity and its incomprehensibility are facets of complexity. According to Gell-Mann (1995) complexity is a function of the interactions between elements in a system. Nicolis and Prigogine (1989) prefer measures of complexity based on system 'behaviour' rather than system interactions. Behaviour is also a basis of analysis and description of Complex Adaptive Systems (CAS; Holland 1995).

10 The term soft complexity science is used, among others, by Richardson and Cilliers (2001).

In the social sciences, and particularly in sociology, special attention is given to the concepts of complexity of social systems proposed by Niklas Luhmann. As one of a few authors, he attempted to provide a comprehensive definition of a social system based solely on communication and on the concept of *autopoiesis* (self-creation) of biological systems. According to Luhmann, a complex system is one where there are more possibilities than can be actualized. *Complexity of operations* means that the number of possible relations becomes too large with respect to the capacity of elements to establish relations. It means that complexity enforces selection. The other concept of complexity is defined as a problem of *observation*. If a system has to select its relations itself, it is difficult to foresee what relations it will select, for even if a particular selection is known, it is not possible to deduce which selections would be made (Luhmann 1990: 81). The idea of complexity of Luhmann is also used in defining risk in social systems. The large number of elements in a given system means that not all elements can relate to all other elements. Complexity means the need for selectivity, and the need for selectivity means contingency, and contingency means risk (Luhmann 1993).

Complexity of social system developed by Luhmann is strongly linked to self-reference since reduction of complexity is also a property of the system's own self-observation, because no system can possess total self-insight. This phenomenon is representative for epistemology of modern social sciences, where observation and self-observation, reflexivity and self-reflexivity, and subsequently, self-reference are playing a growing role. According to this interpretation, social systems are becoming self-observing, self-reflexive entities trying to solve arising problems through the processes of adaptation (learning).

An interesting definition of complexity was proposed by biologist Robert Rosen, who also elaborated the concept of anticipatory system, i.e. a system containing a predictive model of itself and/or its environment, which allows it to change the state at an instant in accord with the model's predictions pertaining to a latter instant (Rosen 1985: 341). According to Rosen (1998: 392) a system is simple if all its models are simulable. A system that is not simple, and that accordingly must have a non-simulable model, is complex. Rosen's anticipatory systems have been supplemented by the ideas of incursion (inclusive or implicit recursion) and hyperincursion (incursion with multiple solutions) developed by Daniel Dubois (1998).¹¹

2.3.2 Complex Systems and Security: Mathematical Models, Analogies and Metaphors

There is a specific factor allowing the distinguishing of traditionally defined systems thinking from complexity research, at least until the mid-1980s. While systems thinking sought for holistic ideas and universal patterns in all kinds of systems, complexity research defined its goals in a more specific manner. A common theoretical framework, the vision of underlying unity illuminating nature and humankind is viewed as an epistemological foundation of complexity studies (Waldrop 1992: 12-13).

This claim for unity results from an assumption, that there are simple sets of mathematical rules that when followed by a computer give rise to extremely complicated, or rather complex, patterns. Thus it can be concluded that simple rules underlie many extremely complicated phenomena in the world. With the help of powerful computers, scientists can root those rules out. Subsequently, at least some rules of complex systems could be unveiled. Although such an approach was criticized, as based on a seductive syllogism (Horgan 1995; Richardson/Cilliers 2001), it appears that it still exists explicitly or implicitly in numerous works in the hard complexity research. Another important epistemological contribution of complexity, and of nonlinearity in particular, is if not impossibility, then at least very limited capability of prediction and control which are viewed as the most important characteristic of complex systems.

Ideas originated in systems thinking and complexity studies are used in security-oriented research as models, analogies, and metaphors. According to this distinction, the term *model* is used only for mathematical structures. Mathematical models in complexity studies can be applied in three areas: computing-based experimental mathematics, high precision measurement made across various disciplines and confirming *universality* of complexity properties and

11 Using Luhmann's concept of complexity, Qvortrup has introduced the concept of hypercomplexity. He linked Simon's 'bounded rationality' as a limitation to choice (selection) with the complexity resulting from impossibility to make that selection. Hypercomplexity is complexity inscribed in complexity, e.g. second-order complexity. It is the result of one observer's description of another observer's descriptions of complexity, or it is the result of a complex observer's description of its own complexity (Qvortrup 2003: 7).

rigorous mathematical studies embodying new analytical models, theorems and results.

Models, analogies and metaphors deriving from systems thinking and complexity studies are gaining a special significance in the social sciences. They are treated as 'scientific' and obtain supplementary political influence resulting from 'sound' normative (precisely prescriptive), legitimacy in any debate on security theory and policy.

Models, analogies, and metaphors are instruments of theories in social sciences and are applied for description, explanatory of causal relations, prediction, anticipation, normative approach, prescription, retrospection, retrodiction, control and regulation.

Bell, Raiffa, and Tversky (1988) have proposed to discern between the normative approach resulting from mathematical models, predominantly game models, and the prescriptive approach reflecting recommendations resulting from decision analysis, including also qualitative aspects. Following the distinction from traditional cybernetics, control and regulation approach can also be proposed. In management this approach is expressed in a way that the dominant analogy or metaphor influences control of a system, i.e. they differ for mechanistic, evolutionary or learning system (Senge 1990; Palmer/Dunford 1996).¹²

Complexity associated with non-linear dynamics adds some new elements to our knowledge of social dynamics. We not only become aware that social systems are uncontrollable, but even desirability of such control is already doubted. Self-organization is regarded as the desired pattern of dynamics in economics and politics. This was already reflected in Hayek's (1967) interest in complexity of social systems as an argument against a centrally planned economy. Another lesson of non-linear dynamics and complex systems is that social changes are produced by both deterministic historical factors and chance events that may push social phenomena to new patterns of behaviour. Thanks to a better understanding of the confluence of chance and determinism in social systems we may better learn what kind of actions we have to undertake, or even perhaps, what kind of norms we have to apply.

Analogies and metaphors of rather loosely interpreted nonlinearity, chaos, complexity, self-organization, etc. in many instances have become the backbone of the post-modernist (post-structuralist) science. Reaffirmation of limited predictability has become an epistemological foundation of the discourse-based science. Numerous examples can be quoted but as an illustration it is worthwhile to recall the work by Dobuzinskis (1992) or synthesis of Braudel and Priogogine made by Wallerstein (2000: 160-169).

These epistemological links between complexity research and social sciences are predominantly associated with 'hard' complexity. The input to this area exerted by the 'soft' complexity research is equally significant. Reflexive complexity of society has become one of the foundations of post-modern social theory.

Unfortunately, various abuses and misuses may occur, when analogies and metaphors drawn from 'hard' complexity research, and to a lesser extent from 'soft' complexity research, are treated too carelessly even by eminent social theoreticians of post-modernism/post-structuralism. Several examples of such abuses are mirrored in the so-called 'Sokal Hoax' and other examples widely described by the originator of that hoax (Sokal/Bricmont 1998). Its warning message conveyed is of a special importance since broadening and deepening the concept of security contributed to the development of critical security research frequently referring to as post-modernism, and sometimes to complex systems research (Albert/Hilkermeier 2003).

Summarizing the discussion on the links between complexity research and security theory and policy, the following premises must be taken into account in further considerations. *First*, 'grand theories' of security and of the complexity of social systems are lacking. *Second*, social systems are mental constructs of the observers (participants) as interpretations of behaviour of their components and entities. If studies concentrate on 'tangible', observable attributes of social systems, then 'hard' complexity methods, mainly mathematical models, including simulations, can be applied. Otherwise, the discussion must include self-reflexive ideas taken from 'soft' complexity studies.

2.3.3 Complex Systems in Security Theory and Policy: Can Expectations be fulfilled?

An overview of security-related expectations to complex systems studies should open with a sociological survey where this question will be answered: Who and

12 Limitations of the prediction of behaviour, design and control of complex systems impose also other approaches to complex systems. Axelrod and Cohen (1999: xvi) proposed to "harness" complexity of social systems: "to convey a perspective that is not explanatory but active - seeking to improve but without being able fully to control."

what is expecting from whom? What can be delivered by those to whom the expectations are addressed?

Expectations towards complex systems research are often articulated by specialists in International Relations, in security studies, and peace and conflict research. All those disciplines are eclectic, thus complexity studies naturally enrich the epistemology of those sciences. Complex systems are applied by representatives of mainstream security studies, who treat it as a kind of extension of rational choice-based considerations (Axelrod/Cohen 1999), and by critical approaches in security research, and in International Relations (Albert/Hilkermeier 2003).

Policy makers are the second group who, rather indirectly, through academic research and/or advisors express hopes to ameliorate their understanding of the world with the use of complex systems ideas. Some expectations of the military community resemble those of policy makers, especially at the strategic level. Numerous expectations of the military are derived from their will to adapt complexity methods at all levels to situations where military units can be used, not only in military conflicts but also in post-conflict situations and in various emergency situations. It is also necessary to mention the media and the societies, or the general public, who are also awaiting new insights from complexity research.

Who is the addressee of those expectations and questions? First and foremost, it is a very incoherent community of academics, advisors, and other professionals. The second group are professional military analysts who are involved in developing new methods of accomplishing functions of military systems at all levels of their hierarchy.

In the relations between complexity research, and security theory and policy, three phenomena can be observed. *First*, applications of ‘fancy’ analogies and metaphors in the jargon of security writers, frequently without deeper understanding of the terms. *Second*, simplifying uses of complex systems by specialists familiar with the complex systems methods but not too familiar with the existing body of knowledge in the social sciences. *Third*, a majority of policy makers using such terms as stability, turbulence, chaos, etc. are not aware that the origins of their ideas are rooted in mathematical theory of automatic control, which, in turn, can be viewed as a part of cybernetics and/or systems theory (Bellman 1953; Ashby 1963).

Due to a very wide scope of meaning of security, and to a multitude of complexities, it is obviously impossible to enumerate all expectations towards the complex systems research. The fundamental expecta-

tion is simple. Although increasing complexity is viewed as a law of nature and society, after the end of the Cold War the process of ‘complexification’ of the world system has accelerated substantially. Social systems of the turn of the centuries are more complex and are labelled as chaotic society, or “risk society” (Beck 1992, 1999). Reflected in all prognoses, uncertainty, speed of change and complexity of political and economic affairs, as well as environmental challenges contribute to the incomprehensibility of the world at all levels of its internal hierarchy (Glenn/Gordon 2006).

Since its very beginning, the complexity research was perceived as a source of a certain promise, a source of a new language and at the same time contributed to such perception, that there were some patterns in complexity, which could be disclosed by the mathematical models taken from a new field of science. This intellectual and emotional incomprehensibility and an appeal for new approaches are well-reflected by the metaphor of *The Ingenuity Gap* proposed by Homer-Dixon (2002).

Assuming that security is always associated with an unusual disturbance undermining the existence (functioning) of an individual or system it may be assumed that in all security-oriented theories and policies, three basic human desires are expressed:

1. Reduction of uncertainty by enhancing predictive capabilities and strengthening the potential of anticipatory activities.
2. Identification of patterns of functioning of the social systems and their components, allowing the enhancement of protection against the disturbances, ex ante and ex post.
3. Elaboration of norms and methods allowing an improved functioning of social systems and of their components.

This triad reflects the essence of any normative social discipline, yet for studies of security it has a special meaning due to the fundamental sense of security. Complex systems ideas can be applied in all areas of security theory and policy in descriptive, explanatory, predictive, normative, prescriptive, retrodictive, retrospective, control and regulatory approaches.

In traditional state-centred security studies based upon ‘simplicity’, expectations if not hopes for enhanced capabilities of prediction were the main goal of applications of ‘scientific’ methods, including the ideas borrowed from early systems thinking: stability, polarity and hegemonic stability. More sophisticated descriptions and analyses based on systems thinking,

e.g. the bipolarity vs. multipolarity dispute of the 1960's and 1970's, were to a large extent refined by applications of traditional systems thinking. Concepts drawn from the 'older' systems thinking had and still have multiple applications in security-related considerations, e.g. the discourse on international stability (Mesjasz 1988).

The basic ideas of complex systems research applicable in security studies in all areas and at all levels of social hierarchy are represented by the following characteristics: self-organization and emerging properties, adaptation and co-evolution, the power of small events, sensitivity to initial conditions, nonlinearity, reflexivity and self-reflexivity, edge of chaos, What are the peculiar advantages and disadvantages of applications of complex systems research in contemporary security-oriented discourse, and in policy making?

2.3.3.1 Description and Explanation

Due to the fact that description and explanation of causal relationships are difficult to separate, both approaches are discussed together. Analogies and metaphors that are drawn from complex systems research have significantly enriched the security discourse. It is now commonly accepted that only in few cases mechanistic explanations of functioning of social systems can be applied. Terms as complexity, self-organization, the edge of chaos and the like have influenced the security discourse. In most of these considerations it is not clearly stated what is truly chaotic (what attributes of social systems?) but undoubtedly such metaphors are a heuristically valuable instrument. As stated above, the notions taken from complex systems studies have substantially enriched the hermeneutics of the security discourse based on non-mechanistic interpretations of social systems.

In this point it is almost impossible to distinguish between the impact of 'hard' and 'soft' complexity. The latter referring to reflexivity opens up the possibility to study cognitive aspects of social systems and the processes of communication as the basic instrument of applications of learning systems in security studies.

Communication offers an interesting link between complex systems research and contemporary security policy. Politicians, scholars, the general public and journalists seek for utterances reflecting their perceptions of uncertainty and incomprehensibility. The term 'chaos' is a good example as a well-known metaphor reflecting some properties of nonlinearity. The scholarly community has offered works with titles responding to that demand: "Hidden Order" (Holland

1995), "The Origins of Order" (Kauffman 1993), "End of Certainty" (Prigogine 1997), "Is Future Given?" (Prigogine 2003), and many similar ones. The need for understanding by lay readers and the demand for marketable titles are obvious, but recognized scholars presenting such concepts have participated in this specific social discourse. It remains an open question to which extent such new terms allow for the naming of new social phenomena.

As an example the metaphor 'order out of chaos' can be cited. The meaning of chaos, the Greek term, is associated with disorder, as well as chasm and void. This word has a strong emotional appeal and almost immediately was applied in security discourse. 'Order out of chaos' may have two meanings; the first refers to the emergence of order while the second can be interpreted as disclosure of a hidden order concealed by irregular behaviour.

Complex systems research has provided a new understanding of explanation. It especially concerns the possibility of explanation/prediction of the phenomena at the macro-level from the behaviour of the elements at the micro-level. A good example of this strategy is the Sugarscape project where the question "can you explain it?" is asked along with the question as "can you grow it?" (Epstein/Axtell 1996: 177).

It is also worthwhile to pay attention to the relation between the notion 'complexity' and the notion of 'the order parameter' introduced by Landau and the 'slaving principle' formulated by Haken (2004) in his 'synergetics'. When a complex system is close to an unstable point, the behaviour of this system can be described and understood in terms of order parameters (the most unstable variables of the system). Since the number of order parameters is much smaller than the number components of the system, an enormous compression of information takes place. Therefore we can describe the behaviour of a self-organizing complex system only with a few equations. This may support some expectations for security studies that perhaps some of those parameters can be identified in social systems in studies of risks, threats, and vulnerabilities.

2.3.3.2 Prediction

Enhanced capabilities of prediction, or even early warning, are undoubtedly the most important desire of security policy, and subsequently of the majority of strands of security-related studies. Therefore the term stability borrowed from control theory has become a buzzword of security theory and policy. Stability in its original sense can be treated as equivalent to increa-

sed predictability. First of all it is necessary to recall that predictability is dependent on an observer while determinism is not. In its most radical form prediction implies connections of necessity, not of probability, between non-perfectly well-defined states, of the system separated by finite time intervals. It means that in order to predict the future of the system we must know its present state. But present knowledge is never perfect and there are always the measurement errors in any determination of the present state (Saperstein 2002: 38).

It should also be mentioned that the divide linear is predictable and non-linear is not predictable, is a simplification. For instance, Newton's equations for the two-body Kepler problem (the Sun and one planet) are non-linear and yet explicitly solvable. It means that nonlinearity does not always lead to chaos. At the same time the fundamental equation of quantum mechanics, the Schrödinger's equation, is absolutely linear (Sokal/Bricmont 1998: 144-145). Saperstein (2002) using a relatively simple model of a bipolar arms race shows how including disturbance in such a model may help in predicting occurrence of unpredictability in a (model) situation which was to some extent predictable beforehand. It means that in such a situation non linear models provide a specific additional knowledge about the limits of predictability.

The complex adaptive systems (CAS), the basic idea of complexity theory have numerous applications in modelling the behaviour of social systems. Since the results of CAS simulations are to a large extent not replicable then more advanced methods can be used to improve their usefulness in prediction. It can be achieved directly by improving data gathering, relevance of parameters, better understanding of the links between micro- and macro-levels, although it is always of limited validity. The CAS models are also helpful as an instrument supporting heuristic processes. Not all paths of developments can be predicted by qualitative human reasoning. Therefore new patterns of phenomena achieved thanks to complex systems can add new solutions difficult to develop, or unachievable otherwise. CAS has another advantage in prediction. They can simulate learning processes both at the level of elements as well as at the level of entire systems.

The discourse on the predictive capability of complexity ideas and their limitations is predominantly built upon mathematical models. However, it is not the only advantage of complex systems research. The language of analogies and metaphors used for explaining the mathematical models and deriving from those

models can also be seen as a significant tool allowing for the enhancement of cognitive and heuristic capabilities of academics and political actors. The complexity thinking with more attention paid not to general solutions but for local equilibria undoubtedly strengthens the predictive capabilities of policy makers by enriching their mental models with new, less plausible counterintuitive options, which could have been otherwise omitted in the decision-making process. This phenomenon has been very popular in management, where training management in (complex) systems thinking is an important instrument of increasing efficiency (Senge 1990).

2.3.3.3 Normative and Prescriptive Approach

Security studies and associated domains have a strong normative bias. Norms in security can be analysed at several levels. They may result from ideology, interests, epistemological determinants, and purely individual motivations and rules. Norms in security studies concern: (1) prediction of threats (what is the threat, risk, danger?); (2) prevention and pre-emption of emergence of threats; (3) rules of behaviour when threats are affecting the system (individual); and finally (4), what to do to minimize the consequences of the materialized threats.

Similarly, as for all approaches, normative consequences of applications of complexity models in security-related theory can be found in two areas: a) in general security considerations and b) in military aspects of security.

In general security theory and policy complexity studies were the final impulse for abandoning the search for universal and stable patterns. It was a natural consequence of the limited predictability resulting from nonlinearity. The central norm is at present not how to protect against the impact of a broadly defined environment but how to adapt to it dynamically in a most efficient way. The norms of behaviour are identified with the rules of social learning.

In military applications complex models contributed to the changing approach to combat which is perceived in non-linear terms, not as a clash of hard balls, but rather as an interaction of swarms. In consequence the centralized visions of command are replaced with decentralization and command is viewed as one of the stimulants of self-organization (Moffat 2003).

2.3.3.4 Retrospection and Retrodiction

Retrospection or *post hoc* explanation as the basic instrument of methodology of historical studies is not a frequent approach in security discourse. Only when the need for better understanding of the current status is needed explanations of examples from the past are used in helping to understand better the present phenomena. Although from the epistemological point of view retrospection and retrodiction are different, in preliminary methodological considerations the differences are not so important. Similarly to retrospection, retrodiction, or the 'what if' approach, is not too widely approved in security theory. It is always treated as too speculative for scientific considerations.

An opposite tendency can be observed in military thought. Retrospection and retrodiction are indispensable in case studies and/or war gaming, and complexity-based models have become one of the most efficient instruments of studying achievements and errors of command in historical battles (Ilachinski 1996a; Czerwinski 2003), or within the framework of the Project Albert run by the Marine Corps Warfighting Laboratory (see at: <www.projectalbert.org>).

2.3.3.5 Control and Regulation

Although in classical cybernetics control and regulation are separated, in this survey they are discussed together. Similarly to prediction, any expectations that results of complexity research might help in significant improving control of social systems proved unjustifiable. The strive for rigid, centralized control has been replaced by approaches aiming at improvements of learning processes. Hierarchies are replaced by networks and this is common both in non-military security considerations as well as in military theory and practice. A shift from hierarchical to distributed command and control. In general security theory, it is mirrored both in more sceptical views of traditional security – awareness of limits of capabilities, even of the superpowers. Widening and deepening of security, and especially the impact of post-modernism on security theory (security resulting of 'securitization'), can also be viewed as a sign of resignation from expectations for far-reaching control at all levels of societal hierarchy.

2.4 Complex Systems and Security Theory and Practice

2.4.1 General Concepts

Variety and scope of the meaning of security along with the multitude of complexity-related models and methods help elaborate a preliminary survey of the links between both areas. The links are illustrated with works, which are to some extent representative for the given class. This survey should be seen as a foundation of a more comprehensive and detailed typology.

Applications of complex systems in security are found both in non-military security theory and policy, and in military thought on security. In a very extensive approach, all military theory could be viewed as security-oriented. By the same token, it is sometimes difficult to discern between military and non-military applications of systems models. However, in the proposed surveys, this traditional divide has been maintained. Since the applications of systems thinking predates the origins of developed complex systems studies, only the works where complexity is explicitly referred to are quoted.

2.4.2 Direct Links between International Security and Complex Systems

Most representative for this area are the following works, where complexity-based metaphors are applied for a thorough description and analysis of processes in international relations with a strong emphasis put on security at various levels (Rosenau 1990, 1997; Snyder/Jervis 1993; Jervis 1997; Wilson 1999). Similar efforts to apply complex systems ideas in security theory and policy were also made by the US military research community. A rank of works in which both civilian security issues as well as military applications of security are described began to appear in the 1990's and are published continuously (Alberts/Czerwinski 2002).

2.4.2.1 Indirect Links between International Security and Complex Systems

Several examples exist of indirect links between security and complex systems. Due to size and scope of the chapter only one case is referred to. Although systems thinking was always an indispensable element of Wallerstein's work, in his recent studies an interesting example can be found when he discusses the specific

features of the forthcoming phase of the Kondratieff cycle and the prospect of the world with the concepts of chaos, bifurcation, and emerging ideologies (Wallerstein 2000: 435-471).

2.4.2.2 Complex Systems Modelling and Widened Idea of Security

This part of the survey requires further specification. In this area, the applications of Complex Adaptive Systems are frequently drawing upon the pioneering work by Epstein and Axtell (1996) and concentrate upon a large variety of issues associated with internal security (homeland security), with stress put on terrorism and civil violence.

Another area of the use of complexity models is the study of the threats emerging in an 'information society'. Two fields of applications of complexity models can be quoted. The first, including the security of information processing, storing and gathering, and the second, including the applications of advanced information technology concepts and systems in security-related theory and practice. In the second area, in addition to specific models, broader conceptual approaches should be specified. New threats and the vulnerability of the information society are associated with various forms of asymmetric warfare. One of its facets depicted in the second part of this chapter is the use of the internet-based networks, an idea that has been drawn from complexity theory and IT theory on terrorism and organized crime.

One of the widest reaching proposals for using complex systems was proposed for the intelligence services by Andrus (2005). He suggests that due to the development of new information, distributing internet-based tools which are functionally similar to CAS such like the Wiki and the Blog can be an inspiration for similar self-organized, complex tools for the intelligence community. It is worthwhile to mention that perhaps due to the difficulties with defining human security the applications of complex models in the studies of that specific kind of security seem to be difficult to identify.

2.4.3 Complex Systems in Military Applications

2.4.3.1 Military Security: Theories of Warfare, Conflict, Combat, Command, and Control

Systems thinking in various forms, beginning from systems analysis and ending with complex systems re-

search, had numerous military applications in the period after World War II. First and foremost it is necessary to recall the RAND Corporation which already in the 1940's and 1950's was the pioneer centre of systems analysis. Applications of complex systems research in various areas still remain an important area of interest for the RAND Corporation (RAND Workshop 2000).

Several widely popularized examples showing the consequences of nonlinearity in various mathematical models of conflicts and arms races models were presented by Saperstein (1984, 1991, 2002). Another example of applications of non-linear systems was presented by Beyerchen (1992) who identified nonlinearity in the theories of war developed by Clausewitz. In this work and in similar ones, a simple, coordinated classical war is viewed as a counterpart of a war treated as a non-linear phenomenon.

Several surveys of possible applications of complexity in warfare theory were prepared by military specialists, such as Ilachinski (1996, 1996a), Czerwinski (2003), and Moffat (2003). Two organizations are of special importance for research on complexity and the military. The first is the US Department of Defense Control and Command Research Program publishing the *Information Age Transformation Series*. The second is the Center for Naval Analyses Corporation (CNA) (see at: <www.cna.org>), whose research is represented by two projects: ISAAC (Irreducible Semi-Autonomous Adaptive Combat) and EINSTEIN. ISAAC is a simple multi-agent-based 'toy model' of land combat that was developed to illustrate how certain aspects of land combat can be viewed as emergent phenomena resulting from the collective, nonlinear, decentralized interactions among notional combatants. EINSTEIN (Enhanced ISAAC Neural Simulation Tool) has been designed as an advanced continuation and extension of ISAAC.

From many ideas described in the writings on complexity and military security the most representative seems to be the comparison of 'traditional' land warfare with the modern, 'non-linear' land warfare. The essential difference between the two can be expressed with the metaphor: "combat collision of Newtonian billiard balls vs. combat as self-organized ecology of living fluids" (Czerwinski 2003: 68).

A comprehensive approach to the combat theory was presented by Moffat (2003) that provided a comprehensive overview of actual and potential uses of Complex Adaptive Systems in combat command planning and control. Some of the models presented in

this book, e.g. knowledge flow and knowledge representation, are directly linked with the more or less precisely defined 'Information Age'. The essence of that approach, representative for all uses of complexity in military applications, is depicted in table 2.1.

Table 2.1: Relation between Complexity and Information Age Warfare. **Source:** Moffat (2003: 49).

Complexity Concept	Information Age Force
Nonlinear interaction	Combat forces composed of a large number of nonlinearly interacting parts.
Decentralized control	There is no master 'oracle' dictating the actions of each and every combatant.
Self-organization	Local action which often appears 'chaotic' induces long-range order.
Non-equilibrium order	Military conflicts, by their nature, proceed far from equilibrium. Correlation of local effects is key.
Adaptation	Combat forces must continuously adapt and co-evolve in a changing environment.
Collectivist dynamics	There is a continual feedback between the behaviour of combatants and the command structure.

All military applications of complex systems have been summarized by Ilachinski (1996a) in a concept of eight tiers of applicability of complex systems theory to warfare:

1. General metaphors for complexity in warfare;
2. Policy and general guidelines for strategy;
3. 'Conventional' warfare models and approaches;
4. Description of the Complexity of Combat;
5. Combat technology enhancement;
6. Combat AIDS;
7. Synthetic combat environment;
8. Original conceptualizations of combat.

2.4.3.2 Asymmetric Warfare

In the modern world new kinds of conflicts are becoming more frequent. One part is dominating but due to different reasons, the weaker part can potentially inflict heavy harm on its stronger counterpart. This new category of threats is called asymmetric warfare (Kaldor 1999). It is predominantly used in the United States as an unmatched superpower of the

present but can be also extended to other circumstances.

One of the concepts of asymmetric warfare directly associated with complexity models is netwar that refers to an emerging model of conflicts and crime at the societal level, involving measures short of traditional war, where the protagonists use network forms of organization and related doctrines, strategies, and technologies attuned to the information age. They are composed of dispersed groups communicating via the internet and other advanced means of communications. They differ from traditional guerilla organizations which although dispersed, had centralized hierarchical organizations, doctrines, and strategies (Lesser/Hoffman/Arquilla/Ronfeldt/Zanini/Jenkins 1999).

Terrorism can be studied from five conceptual perspectives: (1) terrorism as/and crime; (2) terrorism as/and politics; (3) terrorism as/and warfare; (4) terrorism as/and communication; and (5) terrorism as/and religious fundamentalism. In addition, the sources of terrorism constitute a hierarchy - from global issues to religious fanaticism. Terrorism treated as a method of warfare is an exemplary example of asymmetric warfare, or of the netwars. Although each perspective has its specificity, in this survey of applications of complexity methods they are not separated.

Paradoxically contemporary terrorism is to some extent possible thanks to the technological development - exploiting vulnerabilities of the 'complex information society', and using modern techniques of communication. So just naturally various networks models have become the fundamental instrument of anti-terrorism activities. Prediction, the basic challenge of security theory and policy, in anti-terrorist activities must be supported by identification of hiding people, concealed organizations (networks), and strategies.

For Russell Ackoff the systems approach is vital for combating terrorism at all levels of societal hierarchy (Knowledge Wharton 2002; Mesjasz 2002). Coming out from such a general assumption many specific applications of complex systems in prediction, anticipation, prevention, elimination and damage minimizing of terrorism have been proposed. The importance of complexity studies in anti-terrorism campaign is reflected in the fact that the *Terreo*, a digital art commentary on the Homeland Security Advisory System based upon principal ideas of complexity and, e.g. strange loops, directly links complex systems and terrorism (see at: <<http://www.terreo.com/about/default.shtml>>).

Terrorism is based upon networks and that is why the networks models have become a fundamental instrument of anti-terrorist research. The simplest model is built upon Social Network Analysis (SNA) - a mathematical method for 'connecting the dots'. SNA allows us to map and measure complex, and sometimes covert, human groups and organizations. Since terrorist networks are more complex, therefore the scale-free networks seem to be a relevant instrument for analysis of terrorism and for developing counter-terrorism measures (Barabási 2003; Fellman/Wright 2004). They are particularly useful in helping to understand the logic of operations of terrorist networks. Similarly, in more general terms, complex adaptive systems also can be applied for anti-terrorist activities. Many ideas on the topic have been already presented both by civilian authors (Ahmed/Elgazzar/Hegazi 2006) and, what is obvious, by the US military research institutions (Horne/Johnson 2003) or the Project Albert of the US Marine Corps. Attempts were made to include modelling of cognitive mechanisms in the models. An example of the sophistication of complexity-related models that were applied in studies of terrorism is the adaptation of the percolation models to study clandestine social phenomena including terrorism (Galam 2003).

2.4.3.3 Non-war Military Operations

Due to the changing role of the armed forces, e.g. asymmetric warfare, peacekeeping, peace enforcing, policy duties and humanitarian assistance, applications of complex systems in military thought have also been expanded to all activities called *Military Operations Other Than War* (MOOTW). Decision-making processes are becoming decentralized and more is left for the initiative of the individuals. This phenomenon is leading to increased complexity. Therefore it is natural that all these activities have become a subject of modelling with the use of complexity models, and especially with Complex Adaptive Systems (Goodman 2000).

2.4.4 Complex Systems in Other Non-Military Applications

As mentioned in the earlier part of this chapter, applications of ideas from complex systems research can be extended to all areas of security discourse - economic, societal, environmental, and human security. It must be underlined that in all of them the core concept of security maintains its validity.

Two areas of security require special attention. The first one is environmental security. Relations between systems and its environment and/or holistic views of nature and society as well as the challenges of sustainability of social and natural systems have naturally made complex systems ideas a part of discourse on environmental security (see for example the chapter by Casey Brown in this volume) or the strong impact of systems rethinking upon the approach developed by Homer-Dixon, as to quote from a few of many writings. Due to a large number of issues and vast literature this area of research has to be left for separate considerations.

Another new domain of applications of complex systems concepts is related to human security. Although analytical aspects of the concept of human security are still being discussed, due to the universal properties it can be expected that in more rigorous approaches complex systems ideas will find their relevant role. This chapter can be thus treated as an encouragement and introduction to further studies of human security based upon complex systems epistemology.

2.5 Conclusions

Considerations presented in the chapter allow us to formulate two fundamental conclusions. Firstly, complex systems studies have become an indispensable part of the epistemology of security theory, and eventually, a useful instrument of security policy at the cognitive (language) level. It concerns both the impact on action and the impact on the processes of social communication, although it would be rather difficult to measure that impact. The uses of complexity-related mathematical models and analogies and metaphors have broadened the epistemological foundations of security research.

Secondly, systems thinking can help in better understanding security discourse by concentrating upon the universal characteristics of security reflected in the core concept of security.

Obviously it does not mean that the systems approach directly responded to the expectations of security studies in prediction, explanation of causal effects, prediction, prescription, normative approach, retrospection, retrodiction and in enhancing (always limited), capabilities to influence the social phenomena. It only means that in all of the approaches it may be used in a manner more relevant to social reality.

The applications of the systems ideas in the security discourse have several weaknesses of which two are most important. *First*, too high expectations from security theory and policy, and *second*, mutual misuses and abuses. Security specialists, journalists and politicians too frequently treat the systems and/or complexity-related utterances as an element of the new, modern and to some extent 'magic' language. By the same token, scholars familiar with mathematical complex systems models reduce social phenomena to very simple patterns, irrelevant to reality. Reference to nonlinearity, self-organization and chaos allows deepening the understanding of all social phenomena. But they are of a special significance in security-oriented research where they provide some response to the need for prediction and normative, policy oriented studies.

The significance of complex systems models is especially visible in deepening the knowledge of prediction and of its limitations in the social sciences. The traditional security studies, represented by realism and neo-realism, were built upon (neo)-positivism and rational choice theory, which included expectations towards increased predictive capabilities achievable in security studies. The constructivist approach denies the role of prediction in security discourse – how to predict categories constructed in the discourse. Therefore, the ideas drawn from complex systems research may have a special twofold function in security theory. On the one hand they teach rational choice advocates about the limits of prediction, but at the same time they enrich the discourse of constructivists with the terms which in an implicit form assume a certain degree of prediction.

The discussion in the chapter shows that more attention must be paid to efficiency, if not legitimacy of applications of complex systems in security theory and policy. Thanks to the ideas associated with the variously defined systems approach, including complexity research, the epistemology of security studies has been enriched with instruments helpful for description and explanation. New social phenomena in the information society have received the names facilitating their understanding and the processes of social communication about them. Some causal relations could have been also better described with the conceptual apparatus of complex systems research, e.g. consequences of nonlinearity. At the same time, the language, if not the 'jargon', of complexity, by permeating the language of security policy has a strong impact on policy measures. The examples of such terms as stability, turbulence, nonlinearity, self-organization,

chaos, edge of chaos, etc. used in the language and in practice of policy making strengthen the argument favouring the use of complexity ideas for explaining and shaping security.

Although complex systems research provided the final argument of the impossibility of any far reaching predictions in security research, at the same time it showed the methods of enriching predictive capabilities either with the use of mathematical models, or with applications of heuristically stimulating analogies and metaphors.

Studies of applications of complex systems in security-related studies allow also for formulating directions of further research. The most important ones are as follows:

- comprehensive studies of the links between security-related research and systems thinking in the 20th and 21st centuries,
- development of advanced methods of modelling enabling the study of more complex behaviour of individual elements of Complex Adaptive Systems (complex behaviour along with simulation of cognitive processes of actors),
- development of applications of complex learning systems in security-oriented research,
- use of complex systems methodology as a new instrument of studying widened and deepened security concepts, including environmental security and human security.

**Part II The Conceptual Quartet:
Security, Peace, Development
and Environment and its
Dyadic Linkages**

**Chapter 3 Conceptual Quartet: Security and its
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Hans Günter Brauch

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3 Conceptual Quartet: Security and its Linkages with Peace, Development, and Environment

Hans Günter Brauch

3.1 Introduction¹

As a political term and as a scientific concept ‘security’ has been closely related to ‘peace’, the combined goals in the UN Charter. The other two concepts ‘development’ and ‘environment’ have been added to the national and international agenda in the 1950’s and since the 1970’s. In colloquial language, and in national and international politics, as well as in the scientific analysis of international relations these four concepts form a conceptual quartet and with each of these basic concepts a specialized research programme is associated: of security studies, peace, development, and environmental research. While these concepts have been widely used in the social sciences (sociology, psychology, economics, political science, international relations) systematic conceptual analyses of these four terms have been rare in international relations and in the four policy-oriented research programmes (Wæver 2006).

In the scientific literature ‘objective’ and ‘subjective’ (Wolfers 1962; Art 1993) as well as ‘inter-subjective’ (Wendt 1992; chap. 51 by Hintermeier) concepts of security have been distinguished. From a constructivist approach ‘securitization’ has been referred to as a ‘speech act’ (Wæver 1995, 1997) by which an individual, or representatives of the state (government, parliament, courts), of political parties, interest groups, non-governmental organizations, of civil society, social movements, and the media attribute to a specific danger or concern ‘utmost importance’ (chap. 1 by Brauch, 2 by Mesjasz, and 4 by Wæver) that require extraordinary efforts for coping with and overcoming a specific threat, challenge, vulnerability, and risk (Brauch 2007a). Speech acts con-

sist of terms and concepts with multiple meanings and in most cases they can be analysed in historical written documents as well as oral expressions in the recorded media. In politics these four basic concepts have been used to describe and explain the positions and activities of social groups and parties to express basic values and goals, and to legitimize past actions and future oriented programmes in the name of security, peace, development, and the environment.

This chapter develops a conceptual framework (3.2) by analysing the meaning and evolution of these basic terms (3.3) and scientific concepts as well as their six dyadic linkages (3.4) and the four pillars of a *widened, deepened, and sectorialized* security concept (3.5.) as a conceptual contribution for a fourth phase of research on human and environmental security and peace (HESP) where gender issues are also considered (3.6).

3.2 Methods: Conceptual History and Context

The analysis of colloquial terms and concepts requires a combined methodological approach of etymology (3.2.1), concept formation (3.2.2), conceptual history (3.2.3), and a systematic conceptual mapping (3.2.4).

3.2.1 Etymology of Terms

Etymology, derived from the Greek ‘*étymos*’, refers to the ‘original meaning of a word’ that has become a major research field of comparative linguistics analysing the origins, basic meaning, historical evolution of words, and its relationship with similar words (synonyms) in different languages. Etymology has a long tradition in Greek philosophy and drama that was carried over to the Middle Ages by Isidore of Seville (*Etymologiae*).

1 The author is grateful for comments and suggestions to Úrsula Oswald Spring (Mexico) and Czesaw Mesjasz (Poland) and their references to the use of these concepts in pre-Hispanic, Spanish, and Slavonic languages.

The scientifically based etymology which started in the 19th century uses methods and findings of historical and comparative linguistics. According to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (15. ed., 1998, vol. 4: 587) the principles in contemporary etymology are, i.a. “The earliest form of a word, or word element, must be ascertained, as well as parallel and related forms,” and “any shift in meaning that has occurred in the historical transmission of the word must also be explained.” *Internal etymology* refers to the relationship of a word family to related words, while *external etymology* includes the words in related languages (Brockhaus Enzyklopädie, 21st ed., vol. 8, 2006: 473). The etymological roots of the four concepts are discussed in 3.3.²

3.2.2 Concept Formation

There is a basic difference between ‘words’ or ‘terms’ and scientific ‘concepts’. In linguistics, a ‘word’ is the basic element of any language with a distinct meaning. A ‘term’ (from Latin ‘terminus’), in logic, is the subject or predicate of a categorical proposition or statement. The word ‘concept’ according to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (15. ed., 1998, vol. 31: 514) is used in the analytic school of philosophy as “logical, not mental entities.” Concept formation refers to “the process of sorting specific experiences into general rules or classes” where in a first phase “a person identifies important characteristics and in a second identifies how the characteristics are logically linked.”

The German word ‘Begriff’ combines the meaning of the English words ‘concept’, ‘term’, and ‘idea’. It is defined in the *Brockhaus Enzyklopädie* (21st ed., vol. 3, 2006: 491) as “an idea of objects, attributes and relations that have been obtained by an abstraction of unchangeable characteristics” and thus acts as a basic element of thinking and cognition. A ‘Begriff’ describes an object not in its totality but focuses on its characteristics with regard to its content (intention) and scope (extension). Thus, a concept requires a mental effort that separates the essential from the irrelevant features. Since Descartes pure (a priori) con-

cepts and those based on empirical experience have been distinguished. For Kant the interaction between concept and contemplation produces cognition and knowledge. He also distinguished between empirical concepts and categories based on reason. The modern logic of concepts analyses primarily the extensional relations between concepts. Concept formation refers to a psychological process where the essence and function of an object or situation are covered. Charles E. Osgood distinguished between perceptive, integrative, and representative concepts that involve three cognitive processes of: 1. discrimination, 2. abstraction and 3. generalization. Concept history was first used by Hegel for a historical and critical research of the development of philosophical and scientific concepts.

3.2.3 Conceptual History

The history of concepts or conceptual history as inspired by Lucien Febvre and Marc Bloch of the French school of the *Annales* (‘les choses et mots’) was instrumental for a major German editorial project on key historical concepts (Brunner/Conze/Koselleck 1972–1997) that was masterminded by Koselleck (1979, 2002, 2006) who addressed the complex interlinkages between the temporal features of events, structures, and concepts in human (societal) history but also the dualism between experience and concepts.

Schultz (1979: 43–74) pointed to four possibilities linking concepts and factual context: a) both the context and the concept remain unchanged; b) the context changes but the concepts remain unchanged; c) the meaning of concepts changes while the context remains unchanged; and d) the factual contexts (‘Sachverhalte’) and the meaning of concepts totally disintegrate. This volume deals with a fifth possibility where a contextual change triggers a conceptual innovation. In some cases, the social and economic context had fundamentally changed while the concepts (e.g. of Marxism) remained unchanged, but with the collapse of the regimes the Soviet Marxist-Leninist ideology collapsed as well in 1990. This dualism differed with regard to the state, its factual evolution and conceptual development from the 17th to the 20th century.

A major focus of Koselleck’s (2006: 86–98) work of the editorial project on historical concepts dealt with the temporal structures of conceptual change. In the introduction to his last book *Begriffsgeschichten* (histories of concepts) Koselleck (2006: 529–540) argued that it is essential for conceptual history to de-

2 The authors in this volume have been encouraged to trace the etymological development of the term security. Arends has traced the meaning of the word and concept in Greek, Latin and in English, Mesjasz pointed to the specific meanings in Polish and Russian, Okamoto, Radtke, and Lee review the meanings in Japanese, Chinese, and Korean while von Brück discusses the meaning in Buddhism and Hinduism, Eisen in Hebrew and in the Old Testament, and Hanafi in the Qur’an.

velop hypotheses with the goal to show their internal semantic structure, to develop hierarchies of conceptual fields to point to the power of some concepts to structure the context. At the same time on the semantic level concepts reflect experiences and expectations in different scientific disciplines. Thus, the language (or ‘speech act’) becomes an important tool to document conceptual changes as they are perceived, articulated, and documented at a certain moment or over a period of time. The semantic documentation of experiences is scientifically linked to contexts.

A methodological challenge is to understand the specific semantic contribution in order to understand the nonverbal phenomena (facts) as well as the challenge of the nonverbal predispositions that require a semantic or conceptual response. Conceptual history, Koselleck argued, “opens a way to empirically check these differentiations”. He pointed to the contextual nature of concepts that gain in precision from their relationship to neighbouring and opposite concepts. Furthermore, he argued that conceptual history looks for key and corner points that illustrate an innovative strength that can only be observed from a longer-term perspective.

Influenced by Koselleck, Wæver (2006) drafted a conceptual history of security for international relations relying primarily on the Western intellectual tradition from its Greek and Roman origins up to the present in which he also documented the different reconceptualizations with a special focus on launching the ‘national security’ concept in the 1940’s that was later taken up by Russia, Japan, Brazil (as a doctrine), and other countries. The chapters in part III broaden the focus to non-Western cultures, religions, and intellectual traditions.

Both the temporal evolution and systematic analysis of concepts has been a major task of philosophy, and especially of political philosophy and of the history of ideas that links one subfield of political science with broader philosophical endeavours and trends. In German there have been several philosophical efforts to document the contemporary philosophy and its concepts in its interrelationship to their historical structure and the sciences.³

3.2.4 Conceptual Mapping: Contextual and Theoretical

This book aims at a ‘conceptual mapping’ of the use of the concept of security in different countries, political systems, cultures and religions and scientific disciplines, in national political processes, within civil soci-

ety and social movements, but also as a guiding and legitimating instrument within international organizations. Any conceptual mapping has to reflect the specific context in time and space that influence the meaning and the use of concepts.

In the social sciences, especially in the debate in security studies, the meaning of the concept of security is theory-driven. For this reason all authors in this volume have been asked to define the concept of security as they use it in their respective chapter. The ‘conceptual mapping’ of security in relation to peace, development, and environment is a task of political science that requires the knowledge of other disciplines (linguistics, history, philosophy) with a specific focus on the theoretical approaches prevailing in the social and political sciences.

3.3 Four Key Concepts of International Relations: Peace, Security, Development, and Environment

Below the four key concepts of the conceptual quartet: peace, security, development, and environment will be reviewed, relying on the knowledge gained from etymology, conceptual history, and conceptual mapping to which these volumes will contribute: In a next step the six dyadic linkages between these concepts will be examined on the background of the contextual change(s) in world history and theoretical innovations (constructivism, risk society, etc.).

3.3.1 Concepts of Peace

The word ‘peace’ (3.3.1.1) is a key *term* (3.3.1.2) and a crucial religious (chap. 10 by Oswald) and scientific concept in philosophy, theology, history, international law, and in international relations as well as in peace research (3.3.1.3), and it has been a declared goal of

3 See e.g. the historical dictionary of philosophy (*Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie*) published first in 1899 by Rudolf Eisler, and its fourth edition (1927–1930). A different approach was pursued in the new *Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie*, edited by Joachim Ritter that was published in 12 volumes (1971–2004). It includes a) terminological articles, b) key concepts with minor changes in history, c) combined concepts in their systematic context (e.g. in logic), and d) historical method for more detailed articles that track the continuity and change of concepts from the classic Greek to contemporary philosophy.

national policy-making, of international diplomacy, and of the activity of many international institutions (3.3.1.4). Since 1990 the yearning for 'peace' has been replaced by an intensive discourse on a widened and deepened concept of 'security' (3.3.1.5).

3.3.1.1 Etymology of the Words 'Pax', 'Peace' and 'Frieden'

The English term peace originates from the Latin 'pax' and the French 'paix' (Italian: pace; Spanish and Portuguese: 'paz'). In common English use the term 'peace' is associated with:

1. no war, a) a situation in which there is no war between countries or in a country ..., b) a period of time where there is no war: a lasting peace; 2. agreement, an agreement that ends a war; 3. no noise, a peaceful situation with no unpleasant noise; 4. calmness, a feeling of calmness and lack of worry and problems; 5. a situation in which there is no quarrelling between people who live or work together ...; 6. disturb the peace, ... to behave in a noisy and violent way (Langenscheidt-Longman 1995: 1041).

The *Compact Oxford English Dictionary* describes 'peace' as "1. freedom from disturbance, tranquillity, 2. freedom from or ending of war, 3. an action such as a handshake, signifying unity, performed during the Eucharist" (Soanes, OUP 2002: 830). The *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* (5th Ed., 2002, Vol. 2: 2128) offered additional meanings.⁴ The *New Collins Concise English Dictionary* (McLeod 1985: 831) defines 'peace' as: "1. the state existing during the absence of war ..., 2. a treaty marking the end of war, 3. a state of harmony between people or groups, 4. law and order within a state ..., 5. absence of mental anxiety, 6. a state of stillness, silence, or serenity". These dictionaries combine a state of no war with a positive state of harmony. There are also slight differences between

British and American dictionaries. For *Webster's* (1979: 1317) 'peace' means: "1. freedom from war or civil strife; 2. a treaty or agreement to end war; 3. freedom from public disturbance or disorder, public security, law and order; 4. freedom from disagreement or quarrels, harmony, concord; 5. an undisturbed state of mind; absence of mental conflict, serenity; 6. calm, quiet tranquillity."⁵

The German term 'Frieden' refers to a 'condition of quietness, harmony, resolution of warlike conflicts' and also a 'protected territory' (Pfeifer, ⁸2005: 375-376). The modern word 'Frieden' derives from the old German 'fridu' meaning protection and security, and is closely related to the Dutch term 'vrede' and the Swedish: 'frid'. In the Germanic and old German law 'Friede' referred to a state where a legal order prevailed as the basis for life in a community or in the whole country (of the land, of the king, in the castle or on the marketplace). In Middle High German, 'Frieden' was also used to refer to an armistice.

In Russian 'mir' refers to both 'peace' and the 'world'. In the pre-Hispanic culture 'peace' implies an equilibrium between nature and humans; gods and humans, as well as among human beings. Peace may also be linked to the Oriental concepts of harmony or equilibrium. In traditional societies the equilibrium has been very important (chap. 10 by Oswald).

While both the Latin *pax* and the German *Frieden* are rather narrow concepts, "the Greek *eirene*, the Hebrew *shalom*, and the Arab *salam* seem to approach 'peace with justice' including an absence of direct and structural violence". Galtung (1993: 688) pointed out that the Hindi *ahimsa* "no harm" adds the ecological dimension that was missing in the Occident but this was used by Gandhi as the basis for his

4 It refers to six major meanings: 1. Freedom from, or cessation of war, or hostilities, or a state of a nation or community in which it is not at war with another, ... a state or relation of concord and amity with a specified person, esp. a monarch or lord; recognition of the person's authority and acceptance of his or her protection. A ratification or treaty of peace between two nations or communities previously at war. 2. Freedom from civil disorder, public order and security, esp. as maintained by law. 3. Freedom from disturbance or perturbation, esp. as a condition of an individual; quiet, tranquillity. 4. Freedom from quarrels or dissension between individuals; a state of friendliness. An author or maintainer of concord. 5. Freedom from mental, spiritual, or emotional disturbance, calm; and 6. Absence of noise, movement, or activity, stillness.

5 For *Webster's Third New International Dictionary* (2002: 1660), peace refers to: 1. a. freedom from civil clamor and confusion; a state of public quiet; b. a state of security or order within a community provided for by law, custom, or public opinion; 2. a mental or spiritual condition marked by freedom from disquieting or oppressive thoughts or emotions: serenity of spirit; 3. a tranquil state of freedom from outside disturbance and harassment; 4. harmony in human and personal relations: mutual concord and esteem; 5. a. (1) a state of mutual concord between governments: absence of hostilities or war, (2) the period of such freedom from war; b. a pact or agreement to end hostilities or to come together in amity between those who have been at war or in a state of enmity or dissension: a formal reconciliation between contending parties; 6. absence of activity and noise: deep stillness: quietness; 7. one that makes, gives or maintains tranquillity.

non-violent struggle (chap. 10 by Oswald and 15 by Dadhich). This is a preliminary and very selective overview of a few primarily occidental once culturally dominant languages and it does not intend to cover the global diversity in languages. Different values, goals, and other concepts (law, security, justice, harmony with nature) are associated with 'peace', also in other languages and cultures not covered here.

3.3.1.2 Conceptual History of Peace

Many different scientific concepts of peace have been used in different time periods, disciplines, and within disciplines during the same time. As peace requires a minimum of order and consensus, peace is closely associated with law that presupposes freedom. Peace is no state of nature but must be created by human beings, and thus it often relies on legal agreements that are in most cases backed by power. In many cultures the internal peace corresponds closely with the defence of the territory against outside infringements.⁶

While the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* lacked any entry and thus definition of the concept of peace, and covered peace only as "disturbing the peace" and "justice of the peace", the German encyclopaedia Brockhaus (16th ed., 1954, vol. 4: 292–293) defined peace as a "condition of undisturbed order or balanced harmony that will be confused by quarrel and destroyed by battle." And it reviewed the concept in theology, law, and international law. The *Brockhaus Encyclopaedia* (19th ed., 1988, vol. 7: 660–663) defined peace as a "condition of a treaty-based and secured living together both within social unity and among groups, societies or organizations," as the opposite to war that will not last without a minimum order and consensus.⁷ After the end of the Cold War, the *Brockhaus Encyclopaedia* (21st ed., 2006, vol. 9: 774–779) defined peace as a concept that may be applied to "harmonious relations ... among peoples, groups, organizations, interest groups and states." Peace was considered as a stable process pattern of an interna-

tional system that guarantees that inter-state conflicts are being resolved without the use of organized force that requires democratization.⁸

In Greek philosophy, for Plato war and conflicts were to be avoided within the polis. Aristotle combined peace ('*eirene*') with politics and emphasized that all political goals may only be realized under conditions of peace, and war is only accepted as a means for the defence of the polis. Greek sophism distinguished among three levels of peace, a) within the polis, b) within Hellas, and c) with other peoples and barbarians. During the Roman period, 'pax' was closely tied to law and contracts, and with the emergence of the Roman Empire; the imperial *Pax Romana* relied on the contractual subjugation under the emperor in exchange for protection against external intruders.

Augustine developed a comprehensive Christian concept of peace that distinguished between the peace on earth (*pax humana*) and the peace of God (*pax divina*). Thomas Aquinas stressed the close connection of peace with justice (*iustitia*), but also with the love for other human beings (*caritas*). For him peace is a political good and the goals of the state, and a precondition for a good life. Others studied the links between internal and external peace. During the 14th and 15th centuries, several convents called for a peace among Christians (*pax Christiana*) but this also referred to a peace according to the Christian rules for others.

The Westphalian Peace of 1648 requested that all parties adhere to the '*pax Christina universalis perpetua*'. After the Peace of Utrecht (1713), Abbé de Saint-Pierre called for a federation of princes to secure a '*paix perpétuelle*' in the tradition of peace proposals from Thomas More's *Utopia* (1516) to William Penn's *Essay towards the present and future peace in Europe* (1693), and by utilitarian (Bentham) and socialist authors (Fourier, Saint-Simon).

In the tradition that emerged from the movement for a peace of the land (*Landfrieden*) the ruler was considered as the '*defensor pacis*' who was unconstrained by religious powers. The defence of the territorial peace was linked to the monopoly of force by

6 This section is based on: "Frieden", in: *Brockhaus Enzyklopädie* (vol. 7, 1988: 660–663; Schwedtfeger (2001) has reviewed the many efforts within the peace research community to define peace, he examined peace as a reflexive concept, he discussed the evolution of the peace concept in history and he assessed peace in comparison with opposite concepts of violence, power, aggression, war, security, enmity, and conflict.

7 This lead article reviewed the evolution of the concept in theology and the history of Western religions, in Greek, Roman, medieval and modern political philosophy, and state practice.

8 This second lead article published 18 years later discusses the concepts of peace in Greek and Roman thinking, the Pax Christiana, the legalization of peace, from peace utopia to peace movements, peace as a project of modern times and peace by democratization and international cooperation and by conflict prevention and non-violent conflict resolution.

the sovereign rulers. Besides the 'peace within the state' that was achieved through its monopoly of the means of force and its use, the 'peace between and among states' has become a major concern of modern international law since the 16th (de Vitoria, Suárez) and 17th century (Grotius, Pufendorf). Its authors considered war still as a legitimate means for the realization of interests among states (*ius ad bellum*) but at the same time they called for constraints during war, such as a continuation of diplomacy and of the activity of neutral organizations (*ius in bello*). In his treatise for an *eternal peace* (1795) Kant went a step further and proposed a ban on war itself and developed a legal framework for a permanent peace based on six preliminary and three definite articles that called for a democratic system of rule, an international organization (league of nations), and the respect for human rights.

While Kant's philosophical conceptualization of peace influenced many philosophers and writers during the Napoleonic period, during the age of nationalism in the 19th and early 20th centuries, Treitschke, Nietzsche, Sorel, and many other writers contributed to a glorification of war (*bellicists*) while simultaneously radical *pacifists* and the peace movement of the late 19th century requested a condemnation of war. In modern theories of hegemonic stability *Pax Americana* refers to a peace according to the rules proposed (and in some case even *imposed*) by the USA. Earlier *Pax Britannica* applied similar goals within the colonial British Empire.

During the 20th century after World War I, the liberal Kantian tradition, represented by Woodrow Wilson at the Versailles Peace Conference, was instrumental for the creation of the League of Nations, while after World War II, Hobbesian lessons were drawn from the collapse of the League of Nations. The new United Nations were added teeth, and during the Cold War a bipolar power system based on strong military alliances prevailed. But with the peaceful implosion of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War (1989-1991), war as a social institution was not defeated but it has returned in the form of resource, ethnic, and religious conflicts, primarily within states but also as pre-emptive wars not legitimized by the United Nations Security Council and against the expressed preferences of many state members (attack on/liberation of Iraq in 2003). During the 1990's proposals for a new international order of peace and security in the Kantian and Grotian traditions, especially for Europe and the Mediterranean region, were gradually replaced – after the failed peacekeeping missions

in the Balkans in the framework of the global (UN) and regional (OSCE) systems of collective security – by power-driven concepts of preventive wars (White House 2002, 2006).

3.3.1.3 Peace as a Scientific Concept

Peace has been defined as a basic value (Zsifkovits 1973) and as a goal of political action, as a situation of non-war, or as an utopia of a more just world. Schwerdtfeger (2001: 28-29) distinguished four alternatives to define peace: 1. a nominal definition; 2. as a result of a contemplative hermeneutic process; 3. a review of the historic evolution of the concept; 4. a determination by an analysis of opposite concepts.

In his effort to define peace, Galtung (1967, 1969, 1975, 1988) distinguished between a condition of 'negative' (absence of physical or personal violence – or a state of non-war) and positive peace (absence of structural violence, repression, and injustice). Picht (1971) defined peace as protection against internal and external violence, as protection against want, as protection of freedom as three dimensions of political action, and thus comes close to what has been defined in the 1990's as 'human security'. Senghaas (1997) pointed to the following five conditions of peace among nations. 1. positive interdependence; 2. symmetry of interdependence; 3. homology; 4. entropy; that require 5. common softly regulating institutions. In his 'civilisatory hexagon' Senghaas (1994, 1995) referred to six related aspects: 1. an efficient monopoly over the use of force; 2. effective control by an independent legal system; 3. interdependence of social groups; 4. democratic participation; 5. social justice, and 6. a political culture of constructive and peaceful conflict transformation. Among the many attempts to define peace, no consensus on a generally accepted minimal definition emerged. Defining peace as the result of a reflective process requires an understanding of its components and conditions (Schwerdtfeger 2001: 44-48).

Conceptual histories of peace have tried to reconstruct the evolution of this concept in philosophy, theology, history, and law in relationship to political and state practice (Biser 1972: III4-III5).⁹ Schwerdtfeger (2001: 49-77) interpreted the evolution of the peace concept in the Greek, Jewish and Christian traditions, the Roman concept of *pax* and its use in the Middle Ages, during the Reformation, Enlightenment and in modern times, in liberalism, socialism and bellicism with their historically contextualized and changing meanings.

3.3.1.4 Peace: A Basic Value and Goal of Peace Research

While there were pioneers of peace research in the interwar period, such as Lewis Fry Richardson (1960a) and Quincy Wright (1942, 1965), who focused on arms races and on the causes of wars, peace research as a value-oriented academic programme – primarily in the social sciences and in international relations – emerged during the Cold War in the US and in Northern Europe as an intellectual challenge to the prevailing Hobbesian perspectives in international relations and in the newly emerging programmes of war, strategic and security studies (preface essay by Oswald).

Johan Galtung (1993: 688), one of the founders of peace research, has defined peace narrowly

as the absence of warfare, i.e. organized violence, between groups defined by country, nation (culture, ethnicity), race, class or ideology. International or external peace is the absence of external wars: inter-country, inter-state, or international. ... Social or internal peace is the absence of internal wars: ethnic, racial, class, or ideological groups challenging the central government, or such groups challenging each other.

Galtung (1968; 1993: 688–689) has distinguished between direct, *personal* or institutionalized violence and *structural* violence taking the form of “economic exploitation and/or political repression in intra-country and inter-country class relations.” In his mini-theory of peace, Galtung (2007)¹⁰ argued that “peace is not a property of one party alone, but a property of the relation between parties.” He distinguished among negative (disharmonious), indifferent and positive (harmonious) relations that often coincide in the real world manifesting themselves as *negative* (absence of violence, cease-fire, indifferent relations) or *positive peace* (harmony).

Huber and Reuter (1990: 22f.) argued that a basic condition for peace is the survival of humankind, and

9 Janssen (⁴1998, vol. 2: 543–591) provided a detailed analysis of the concept ‘*Friede*’ from its Germanic roots to medieval moral theology, the positive peace concept of the late medieval period with the ‘*pax civilis*’ as a condition of order and security guaranteed by the state to an international peace as an unstable treaty-based condition, eternal peace as a proposition during the enlightenment and in the period of economic utilitarian rationalism, the doctrine of ‘*bellum iustum*’, and the division of state and peace in the peace concept of the French Revolution, he contrasted the tendencies towards bellicism with Kant’s thinking on peace and the development of the peace concept during the 19th century.

that “talking about peace does not make sense any longer, if life on the planet is destroyed.” Discord exists in those processes that threaten life on earth, e.g. by an exploitation and destruction of nature, that lead to mass hunger and to an endangerment of life by military means. “Devastation of nature, hunger and war are those processes that are incompatible with the preconditions of peace, the survival of humankind.”

Czempiel (2002: 83), a co-founder of peace research in Germany, noted that “peace research does not have a clarified peace concept.” According to Czempiel (2002: 84) the elimination of war was in the forefront of all peace concepts since prehistoric times, and more recently conceptual efforts to prevent and avoid violent conflicts have become one major research concern. In his understanding, peace exists in an international system where the allocation and creation of values in the issue areas of security, welfare, and rule are institutionalized and can be realized without the use of organized military force. This refers to three causes of war that must be replaced by ‘negative peace’ at a) the level of the international system and its structure, b) in the system of rule, especially between the political system and its societal environment, and c) in the interactions between the political systems and the societal environments in the international system.

One shortcoming of the anarchic international system has been the realist’s security dilemma, while liberals believe that international organizations and regimes can foster international cooperation. For decades, and prior to the US debate on the ‘democratic peace’ of the 1990’s, Czempiel has pointed to the democratic nature of systems of rule as a second precondition for peace as has also been stressed in

10 See at: <http://www.transnational.org/Resources_Treasures/2007/Galtung_MiniTheory.html>: “From this ... follow three types of peace studies: *negative peace studies*: how to reduce, eliminate negative relations; *positive peace studies*: how to build ever more harmonious relations; *violence-war-arms studies*: the intent and capability to inflict harm. ... One approach to negative peace studies opens for *peace and conflict studies*, seeing violence-war as the smoke signals from the underlying fire of a conflict. And that leads to a major approach to negative peace: remove the conflict, by solving it or, more modestly, by transforming it so that the parties can handle it in a non-violent way, with empathy for each other, and with creativity. ... That leads us to the two key tasks in search of, as a minimum, negative peace: *mediation* to resolve the incompatibility, and *conciliation*, healing the traumas, removing them from the relation between the parties, and closure.

Kant's first definitive article. Interaction as a third cause of violence may be overcome by institutionalized forms of cooperation by an increase of mutual information, confidence building measures, arms control and verification efforts, as well as by new forms of learning and training of the foreign policy elites. According to Czempiel, peace as an institutionalized patterned process of no-war has to comply with six preconditions:

- a) the anarchy of the international system must be changed by cooperation of the states in system-wide international organizations;
- b) the dominance of power must become more equal due to a higher distributive justice of societal opportunities for development;
- c) the systems of rule must be democratized to permit that the demands of society will be better reflected in the decisions of a society;
- d) interest groups must become more transparent and their access to the decision-making process must be better controlled;
- e) the opportunities to steer complex interactions with a regional and global scope must be improved by new forms of governance in which the societies should participate;
- f) the strategic competence of the actors must be improved, their education must be modernized and become more professional.

To contribute to the realization of these goals, peace research should advance them in the public conscience and prevailing opinions. Brock (2002: 104f.) reviewed that peace should be more than the absence of war in the framework of five dimensions: a) of time (eternal peace), b) space (peace on earth), c) society (domestic intra-societal peace), and d) procedure (peace as peaceful dispute on peace), and e) a heuristic dimension to move from the study of the causes of war to the conditions of peace. However, both authors left nature and the human-nature interactions as a cause of conflict outside of their scope of analysis.

Ho-Won Jeong (1999: 6-7) has defined the field of peace research as a: "methodologically pluralist community with emancipatory interest in transformative possibilities for the improvement of human well-being as well as the prevention of violence." He argues that peace research, in contrast to strategic studies, "take a critical view of traditional international relations theories" that interpret the world in the "power politics framework of realist and neorealist paradigms", and he notes that "peace research was influenced by the

idealist tradition of functional cooperation", as well as by the "non-violent traditions of Tolstoy and Gandhi."

The new agenda of peace research focuses on both *negative* peace "as absence of wars and other types of physical violence" and on *positive* peace, he defines as "social progress" but also as "the elimination of poverty and injustice" and he added that "the symbiotic relationship between positive and negative peace would not be understood without having a broad notion of human security." Ho-Won Jeong (1999: 8) argues that the:

Concept of security binds together individuals, states and the international system so closely that the conditions of peace can be treated in an integrative manner. It includes non-military sources of threats such as environmental degradation, migration and poverty. The concept of security for the global community is needed to articulate the concerns with global ecology. The visualization of collective existence on the planet can be made possible by understanding a new set of spatial, metaphysical and doctrinal constructs. Since the underlying premise of ecology is holism and mutual dependence of parts, ecological security defies the traditional boundaries of modern territoriality.

He considered among the integrating themes of future peace research "a critical examination of state centric paradigms in the areas of alternative military security, the environment, and human rights." Among the policy-relevant issues remain efforts to prevent and control violence as "the emancipatory goal of peace research" and as its "normative core".

Chadwick F. Alger (1999: 13-42) provided a map of 24 peace tools that can be derived from efforts of peacebuilding during the 19th century (2 tools) and the 20th century (22 tools) which he associated both with the negative (II) and the positive (I3) peace concept and which he grouped into six drawers: I: diplomacy, balance of power); of the League's Covenant (II), including collective security, peaceful settlement, disarmament and arms control; of the UN Charter (III) of 1945 (functionalism, self-determination, human rights); with UN practice between 1950-1989 (IV) on the negative side: peacekeeping and on the side of positive peace: 5 tools of economic development, economic equity, communication equity, ecological balance and governance for commons; with the UN practice since 1990 (V) with the new tools of humanitarian intervention and preventive diplomacy; and finally with NGOs and people movements (VI) with whom he associated for negative peace three tools: track II diplomacy, conversion and defensive defence, and on the positive side five: non-violence, citizen defence, self reliance, feminist per-

spectives and peace education, of which only one deals with nature and the environment (ecological balance) that has gradually become a dimension of peace since 1972, viewed from two perspectives:

One perspective achieved widespread visibility during the UNCED Conference when disputes erupted about (1) who is responsible for global pollution, (2) which ecological problems should receive priority and (3) who should pay 'to clean up the mess'. ... a second perspective on the peace-ecological balance is that by disrupting normal relationships between specific human beings and their environment, pollution directly produce peacelessness for these people. In some cases, as with the destruction of the habitats of people in rain forests with bulldozers and explosives, it is as quick and devastating as war.

In a final step, Alger (1999: 40-42) filed the 24 peace tools into nine categories based on their essential characteristics and instruments: "(1) words, (2) limited military power, (3) deterrent military power, (4) reducing weapons, (5) alternatives to weapons, (6) protecting rights of individuals and groups, (7) collaboration in solving common economic and social problems, (8) equitable sharing of economic, communications and ecological systems, and (9) involvement of the population at large through peace education and organized participation."

Alger grouped the peace tool "ecological balance" in category VIII (international communications, equity, ecological balance, governance for commons) and associated them with three instruments: to overcome one-way international communication, to overcome destruction of the habitat, and to share equity in use for the commons that "seek to attain equitable international economic, communications and ecological systems" which requires "collaborative problem solving in governance for the global commons (oceans, space, Antarctica) and equitable sharing in the use of the commons."

However, in neither of these two recent representative American and German reviews of the state of the art on the peace concept and on the peace research agenda, problems of global environmental change and their extreme or fatal outcomes were perceived as issues of peace research. This is also reflected in the conceptualization of peace in the United Nations Charter.

3.3.1.5 Peace: Goal of Policy, Diplomacy, and International Institutions

In the United Nations' Charter of 1945, the 'concept of peace' has been mentioned among the purposes of

the UN in Art. 1,1: "to maintain international peace and security", and "to take effective collective measures for the prevention and the removal of the threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace", as well as peaceful conflict settlements. Wolfrum (1994: 50) pointed to both narrow and wide interpretations of peace in the Charter:

If 'peace' is narrowly defined as the mere absence of a threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any states (Art. 2(4)) ('negative peace'), the term 'security' will contain parts of what is usually referred to as the notion of 'positive peace'. This latter notion is generally understood as encompassing the activity which is necessary for maintaining the conditions of peace. The preamble and Art. 1(1), (2), and (3) indicate that peace is more than the absence of war. These provisions refer to an evolutionary development in the state of international relations which is meant to lead to the diminution of those issues likely to cause war.

In Art. 1(2) and 1(3) the UN Charter uses a wider and positive peace concept when it calls for developing "friendly relations among nations" and for achieving "international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character."

In 1945, the protection of the environment was not yet recognized as a specific goal for the UN. In chapter IX on international economic and social cooperation, Art. 55 (a), (b) and (c), without specifically mentioning environmental issues but its reference to "development", and "related problems" on which the UN based its activities in the area of environmental protection in its GA Res. 2994 (XXVII) of 15 December 1972 which endorsed the *Action Plan for the Human Environment* that had been adopted at the Stockholm Conference (1972). In res. 2997 (XXVII), on the same day the GA established the Governing Council of UNEP with the task to promote international cooperation in the environment area. In subsequent years, the GA adopted resolutions on a wide range of environmental and global change issues:

on cooperation in environmental protection, on the interdependence of resources, on environmental protection, population, and development, on the preparation of environmental prospects for the Year 2000 and beyond, and on the clean-up of war debris, and desertification (Wolfrum 1994a: 775).

A wider concept of peace was the basis for the "Proclamation of the International Year of Peace" in GA Res. 40/3 of 3 October 1985 that stated that the promotion of international peace and security required

continuing and positive action by peoples and states on these goals:

The prevention of war; the removal of various threats to peace (including the nuclear threat); respect for the principle of the non-use of force; the resolution of conflicts and the peaceful settlement of disputes; the development of confidence-building measures; agreement on disarmament; the maintenance of outer space for peaceful purposes; respect for the economic development of states; the promotion and exercise of human rights and freedoms; decolonization in accordance with the principle of self-determination; the elimination of racial discrimination and apartheid; the enhancement of the quality of life; the satisfaction of human needs; and the protection of the environment (Wolfrum 1994: 51).

In chapter VI on the Pacific Settlement of Disputes, Art. 33 uses a 'negative' concept of peace that is "ensured through prohibitions of intervention and the use of force" (Tomuschat 1994: 508). In Chapter VII of the UN Charter dealing with "Action with Respect to Threats to the Peace, Breaches of the Peace, and Acts of Aggression", in Art. 39, a 'negative' concept of peace prevails, referring to "the absence of the organized use of force between states." But in a SC meeting of the Heads of States and Government on 31 January 1992 they "recognized that the absence of war and military conflicts amongst states does not in itself ensure international peace and security" (Frowein 1994: 608). But according to Art. 2(7), Art. 39 does not include the use of force in internal situations, and in this understanding a civil war is "not in itself a breach of international peace" but it can lead to a threat of international peace. Thus, most cases of the low level of violence that may result from the fatal outcomes of global environmental change are outside of the focus of Chapter VI and VII of the UN Charter. However, since 1990 a significant change could be observed in state practice as documented in tUN SC resolutions (see chap. 35 by Bothe in this vol.)

In the framework of Chapter IX on "International Economic and Social Cooperation", Art. 55 (3) refers to the "universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms." It has been suggested, to include "the right of self-determination, to peace, development, and to a sound environment" (Partsch 1994: 779) as "human rights of the third generation" (Vasak 1984: 837).

In the UN Charter of June 1945, a narrow or a 'negative' concept of peace has been in the centre with a few direct references to 'positive' aspects to be achieved by 'friendly relations among nations', and by 'international cooperation'. No reference is included in the Charter that refers to 'peace with nature', nor

can extreme outcomes emerging from global environmental change be conceptualized as 'threats to the peace'.

However, since 1972 environmental protection has become an increasing task for UN activities (Meier 2002: 125-129) and a significant body of international environmental law has evolved that deals with many aspects of global environmental change (Beyerlin 2002: 119-125).

Art. 24 of the UN Charter mentions as the responsibility of the UNSC "the maintenance of international peace and security", two goals that have been closely linked both in the preamble, among the purposes and principles (Art, 1), the functions of the GA and the SC, and in the framework of the pacific settlement of disputes (chap. VII), and with threats to the peace, breaches of the peace, and acts of aggression (chap. VIII), and the regional arrangements (chap. VIII). Thus, the related concept of 'security' is crucial for understanding the UN Charter and its peace concept (chap. 35 by Bothe).

3.3.2 Concepts of Security

The word and concept of 'security' is closely related to peace, and has also become a value and goal of activity by nation states and supra and sub-state actors that require 'extraordinary measures', and has thus also been used to legitimize major public spending. The word has many different roots and meanings in different cultures. In the Western tradition the Roman and Christian thinking had a lasting impact on contemporary security concepts (4.3.2.1).

The political and scientific concept of security has changed with the modifications in international orders. With the Covenant (1919) the concept of 'collective security' was introduced, after World War II the concept of 'national security' was launched to legitimize the global US role and after 1990 the security concept widened and new concepts such as 'human', 'environmental', and many sectoral security concepts were added to the policy agenda (3.3.2.2).

3.3.2.1 Etymology of the Words 'Securitas', 'Security', and 'Sicherheit'

The term 'security' is associated in recent British¹¹ (2002) and American¹² (2002) dictionaries with many different meanings that refer to frameworks and dimensions, apply to individuals, issue areas, societal conventions, and changing historical conditions and circumstances. Thus, security as an individual or societal political value has no independent meaning and is

always related to a context and a specific individual or societal value system and its realization.

In the Western tradition, as a term 'security' (lat.: *securus* and *se cura*; it. *sicurezza*, fr.: *sécurité*, sp.: *seguridad*, p.: *segurança*, g: *Sicherheit*) was coined by Cicero and Lucretius as '*securitas*' referring initially to a philosophical and psychological status of mind, and it was used since the 1st century as a key political concept in the context of 'Pax Romana'. As Arends argues (in chap. 17 of this vol.) there has been a second intellectual origin, starting with Thomas Hobbes, where

'security' became associated with the genesis of the authoritarian 'super state' - Hobbes' '*Leviathan*' - committed to the prevention of civil war. Surprisingly, in this phase an ancient Greek concept was revived functioning during Athenian imperialism of the fifth century B.C.; especially Thucydides, Hobbes' favourite classical historian, influenced its modern 'Hobbesian' meaning. The contemporary concept of 'security' therefore proves to be a 'chimeric' combination of a) the ancient Athenians' intention to prevent the destruction of their empire, b) the religious connotations of Roman '*securitas*', and c) the Hobbesian intention to prevent civil war.

The German words '*sicher*' (secure) and '*Sicherheit*' (security) evolved from Latin and meant in Old High German (*sibhurheit*, 9th century) being protected, protection of dangers, but also carelessness, certainty,

firmness, to be trained, and in Middle High German (*sicherheit*) also decisiveness, being unconcerned, without worry, vow (Pfeifer 2005: 1287).¹³

3.3.2.2 Conceptual History of 'Securitas', 'Security', and 'Sicherheit'

Conze (1984: 831-862) has reviewed and analysed the evolution and change of the meaning of the German concepts security ('*Sicherheit*') and protection ('*Schutz*') that evolved, based on Roman and Medieval sources since the 17th century with the dynastic state. Conze argued that the origin and development of the security concept has been closely linked to an intensification of the modern state. As a political concept of the medieval period, '*securitas*' was closely linked to *Pax Romana* and *Pax Christiana* (e.g. to the making and maintenance of peace) while it later also applied to persons and goods as the object of protection.

Since the mid 17th century internal security was distinguished from external security, and during the mid 17th century external security has become a key concept of foreign and military policy and of international law. During the 17th and 18th centuries internal security was stressed by Hobbes and Pufendorf as the main task of the sovereignty towards its people. In the American constitution, safety is linked to liberty, thus violating liberty of a government directly affects its safety.

During the French Revolution the declaration of citizens' rights has declared security as one of its four basic human rights (*la sûreté et la résistance à l'op-*

11 See e.g.: for a previous review: Brauch (2003: 52-53); and for the most recent use in British English: *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*, 52002, vol. II: 2734: I 1: "The condition of being protected from or not exposed to danger, safety; spec. the condition of being protected from espionage, attack, or theft. Also, the condition of being kept in safe custody; the provision or exercise of measures to ensure such safety. Also a government, department or other organization responsible for ensuring security. 2 Freedom from care, anxiety, or apprehension, a feeling of safety or freedom from danger. Formerly also, overconfidence, carelessness. 3 Freedom from doubt, confidence assurance. Now chiefly spec. well-founded confidence, certainty. 4. The quality of being securely fixed or attached, stability. II 5 property etc. deposited or pledged by or on behalf of a person as a guarantee of the fulfilment of an obligation and liable of forfeit in the event of default. 6 A thing which protects or makes safe a thing to a person; a protection, a guard, a defence. 7 A person who stands surety for another. 8 Grounds for regarding something as secure, safe, or certain; an assurance, guarantee. 9 A document held by a creditor of his or her right to payment ... 10 A means of securing or fixing something in position." The same dictionary defines "securitize" as a term used in commerce: "Convert (an asset, esp. a loan) into securities, usu. for the purpose of raising cash and selling them to other investors.

12 See: *Webster's Third New International Dictionary*, 2002: 2053-2054 does not yet mention the verb: "securitize"). Security is defined as: "1: the quality or state of being secure: a: freedom from danger: safety (from famine, against aggression), b archaic: carefree of cocky overconfidence; c. freedom from fear, anxiety, or care; d: freedom from uncertainty or doubt, confidence, assurance; e: basis for confidence; f: firmness: dependability, firmness; 2 a, something given, deposited or pledged to make certain the fulfilment of an obligation ...; b: one who becomes surety for another ...; 3: a written obligation, evidence or ownership or co-editorship ...; 4: something that secures: defense, protection, guard ... a: measures taken to ensure against surprise attack; b: measures taken to guard against espionage, observation, sabotage and surprise; c: protection against economic vicissitudes; d: penal custody ...; 5: the resistance of a cryptogram."

13 For different interpretations of *se curus* in the French literature and for the etymology of the Polish and Russian concepts of security see chap. 2 by Mesjasz.

pression). For Wilhelm von Humboldt the state became a major actor to guarantee internal and external security while Fichte stressed the concept of mutuality where the state as the granter of security and the citizen interact. Influenced by Kant, Humboldt, and Fichte the concept of the *'Rechtsstaat'* (legally composed state) and *'Rechtssicherheit'* (legal predictability of the state) became key features of the thinking on security in the early 19th century (Conze 1984).

On the background of the new social questions the concept of 'social security' gradually evolved in the 19th and 20th centuries, and became a *terminus technicus* during F.D. Roosevelt's New Deal when he addressed on 8 June 1934 as a key goal of his administration to advance the security of the citizens: "the security of the home, the security of the livelihood, and the security of the social insurance." This goal was also contained in the *Atlantic Charter* of 1941 as "securing, for all, improved labour standards, economic advancement and social security." In 1948 social security became a key human right in Art. 22 of the General Declaration on Human Rights.

Conze (1984) ignored another key element of the emerging post war security concept in the US that resulted between 1945 and 1949 in the emergence of the "American security system" (Czempiel 1966), or of a national security state (Yergin 1977). This concept of national security became an important political concept for the legitimization of the competing public funding priorities for 'national security' and 'social security'.

While the Democratic Presidents (Roosevelt, Truman, Kennedy, Johnson) pleaded for a big state to deal with both security challenges, the US Republicans in the 1940's first opposed the big state and its two security agendas, and Eisenhower warned in his farewell address of the unlimited power of the military-industrial complex. During the end of the Cold War and in the post-Cold War period, US Republican presidents called for maintaining a big security apparatus with a strong industrial and economic basis, and a powerful intelligence and police force.

The 'national security' concept emerged as a key concept in the US during World War II and became a key post war concept during the evolution of the American security system (Czempiel 1966). In the US, this concept was used to legitimize the major shift in the mind-set between the interwar and post-war years from a fundamental criticism of military armaments during the 1930's to a legitimization of an unprecedented military and arms build-up and militarization of the prevailing mind-set of the foreign policy elites.

3.3.2.3 Efforts for a Systematic Conceptual Mapping of Security

Thus, the changes in the thinking on security and their embodiment in security concepts are also a semantic reflection of the fundamental changes as they have been perceived in different parts of the world and conceptually articulated in alternative or new and totally different security concepts. The success or failure in the credibility of securitization efforts (of terrorism or climate change) as two opposite contemporary security dangers and concerns has been behind the transatlantic security debate and the global scientific conceptual discourse. The meaning of the security concept has significantly changed since it was first widely used after 1945.¹⁴

While the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* lacks an entry on the 'security' concept and on 'security policy', the German *Brockhaus Encyclopaedia*¹⁵ (1993) reviewed security as a key term from its Roman origins, pointing to its many meanings due to the different contexts and dimensions, as a societal value or symbol (Kaufmann 1970, 1973) that is used in relation to protection, lack of risks, certainty, reliability, trust and confidence, predictability in contrast with danger, risk, disorder, and fear. It summarized its historical dimensions, its different meanings during the medieval period and its modern meaning with the evolution of the modern territorial state since the 17th century and of the nation state since the 19th century, and the evolution of the concept of social security. It discussed social and anthropological aspects of the changes in the perception and use of the security concept in the sociological debates on new values and on risks (Beck

14 "Security", in: *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. 10 (Chicago: Encyclopædia Britannica, 1998): 595 refers only to *securities*, such as stocks.

15 In three editions of the German 'Brockhaus' encyclopaedia the concept gradually evolved. In its 16th edition (Wiesbaden: Brockhaus, 1956, vol. 10: 688) security was defined as "a need, especially of the civilized society, to be precise, security of the individual as well as of societal groups, peoples, states (personal, economic, social, political security)". In its 19th edition (Mannheim: Brockhaus, 1993, vol. 20: 227-229) security was introduced as a key term (*Schlüsselbegriff*) while in its 21st edition (Leipzig-Mannheim: Brockhaus, 2006, vol. 25: 177-179) it was downgraded to a regular term and only slightly modified, while "security policy" (vol. 25: 182-185) had now become a key term focusing on the basic patterns of security policy, especially in Germany during and after the Cold War and to the new challenges since 11 September 2001.

1986, 1992, 1999, 2007). The 21st edition of the *Brockhaus Encyclopaedia* (2006) made only minor revisions, adding a paragraph on security of IT systems.

From a philosophical perspective Makropoulos (1995: 745–750) analysed the concept ‘Sicherheit’ from its Latin and Greek origins, its evolution during the medieval period and since the reformation as a concept in theology, philosophy, politics and law, with a special focus on Hobbes, Locke, Wolff, Rousseau, Kant and in the 20th century on its dual focus on prevention and compensation of genuinely social and technical insecurity as well as new social risks. It noted ‘social security’ but the concepts of ‘national’ or ‘human security’ were not mentioned.

3.3.2.4 Security as a Concept in the Social Sciences

In *The Oxford Companion to Politics of the World* (Krieger 1993; Art 1993: 821) claimed that security as a social science concept “is ambiguous and elastic in its meaning”. Referring to Wolfer’s (1962: 150) definition: “Security, in an objective sense, measures the absence of threats to acquired values, in a subjective sense, the absence of fear that such values will be attacked,” for Art (1993: 820–22) its subjective aspect implies: “to feel free from threats, anxiety or danger. Security is therefore a state of the mind in which an individual ... feels safe from harm by others.” While objective factors in the security perception are necessary they are not sufficient. Subjective factors to a large extent have influenced security perceptions in many countries. Due to the anarchic nature of international relations, “a concern for survival breeds a preoccupation for security.” For a state to feel secure requires “either that it can dissuade others from attacking it or that it can successfully defend itself if attacked.” Thus, security demands sufficient military power but also many “non-military elements ... to generate effective military power.” Art noted a widening of security that involves “protection of the environment from irreversible degradation by combating among other things, acid rain, desertification, forest destruction, ozone pollution, and global warming,” while the second implied a revival of the UN and better prospects for collective security. “Environmental security has impelled states to find cooperative rather than competitive solutions” (Art 1993: 821).

The German *Lexikon der Politik* (Rausch 1998: 582–583) defined security as the absence or avoidance of insecurity. The security concept is limited to the state, and is discussed at length in its relationship to *internal security* (extremism, crime, terrorism) and

external national security as well as *social security*. ‘Security policy’ is discussed in relation to the arms control agenda of the early 1990’s.¹⁶ The discourse on reconceptualization of security since 1990 remained unnoted in most dictionaries and in the encyclopaedias in the social sciences.

During the interwar period (1919–1939) in the social sciences’ references to defence, national survival, national interests and sovereignty (Meinicke 1924) or power (Carr 1939) prevailed, when the security concept was hardly used. Since the Covenant (1919) ‘collective security’ had become an established term (Claude 1962, 1984: 247). The ‘national security’ concept emerged during World War II in the United States “to explain America’s relationship to the rest of the world” (Yergin 1977: 193). It was widely used by the first US Defence Minister Forrestal to legitimize a strong military establishment and this is reflected in the National Security Act (1947) that created its legal and institutional basis (Czempiel 1966; Brauch 1977; Yergin 1978). It was criticized by Wolfers (1952, 1962) and Herz (1959: 236f.).

The ‘security concept’ has gradually widened since the 1980’s, as have the objects and means of security policy in the framework of three security systems in the UN Charter, and within the UN framework several sector-specific security concepts have emerged. For Krell (1981) the security concept has been “one of the most complex concepts, comparable to values and symbols” that has been used “as one of the most important terms of everyday political speech, and one of the most significant values in political culture” (chap. 38 by Albrecht/Brauch).

For the constructivists, security is *intersubjective* (Wendt 1992). It depends on a normative core that can not simply be taken for granted. Its political constructions have real world effects by guiding action of policy-makers and exerting constitutive effects on political order (chap. 51 by Hintermeier, chap. 37 by Baylis). For Wæver (1997 and chap. 4, 44) security is the result of a ‘speech act’ (‘securitization’), according to which an issue is treated as: “an existential threat to a valued referent object” to allow “a call for urgent and exceptional measures to deal with the threat”. Thus, the ‘securitizing actor’ points “to an existential threat” and thereby legitimizes “extraordinary measures”. For Wæver:

the central idea of the theory is, that it is not up to analysts to try to settle the ‘what is security?’ but is may be

16 The *Political Dictionary* by Schmidt (1995: 864; 2004: 638) is limited to an abbreviated definition by Wolfers.

studied as an open, empirical, political and historical question: who manages to securitize what under what conditions and how? And not least: what are the effects of this? How does the politics of a given issue change when it shifts from being a normal political issue to becoming ascribed the urgency, priority and drama of 'a matter of security' (Wæver in chap. 44 in this vol.).

Wæver (1997: 26–68, 2006), tracked the emergence of security as a scientific concept in international relations, in security studies (Buzan 1991: 12–14, 1997) and in peace research (chap. 4 by Wæver; 38 by Albrecht/Brauch), and he noted a paradox that the IR discipline has to a large extent ignored to reflect "on what 'security' might be" (Wæver 1997: 28).

Security is often discussed in relation to 'threats and defence'. In Wæver's (1997: 30) view: "security is that which one wants to preserve, threat that which questions one's ability to preserve this, and defence is what is done to counter (or forestall) the threat", but what a 'threat' is has often been defined as the result of a political discussion or activity which developments pose 'threats' and are treated as 'security issues', and which do not. He divided threats by their source (external vs. internal), time (short vs. long-term) and motivation (intentional vs. non-intentional, see Brauch 2007, 2007a, 2007b, 2007c). Wæver (1997: 31) distinguished positive and negative as well as change and accommodation strategies, while the distinction between 'national' vs. 'international security strategies' (Wiberg 1987, 1988; Buzan 1991) refers to different choices on the preferred means to achieve the goal 'security'.

Several security concepts imply different approaches on how to achieve its goals, as e.g. 'common' (Palme 1982; Bahr/Lutz 1986, 1987); 'collective' (Wolfrum 1995, Doehring 1991; Delbrück), 'comprehensive' (Westing 1989, 1989a), 'equal' (NATO 1999), 'cooperative' (Carter/Perry/Steinbruner 1992; Steinbruner 2000; Zartman/Kremenuk 1995), 'mutual' (McGwire 1988; Smoke/Kortunov 1991) and 'universal' (Nikitin n.y.) security.

The *perception* of security threats, challenges, vulnerabilities, and risks (Brauch 2003, 2005) depends on the worldviews or traditions of the analyst and on the mind-set of policy-makers. The English School (Bull 1977, Wight 1991) distinguished three approaches to the security concept where the *realist* (Thucydides, Machiavelli, Hobbes, Morgenthau) points to the interests and power of his own state, while the *rationalist* or *pragmatist* (Grotius) points to an international society (not humankind) where the subjects are states as the decisive units that by cooperation can build institutions, norms, diplomacy and international law,

and thus build "a society of states, an international society". The *idealist* or for Wight the *revolutionist* (e.g. Kant) believes that the "ultimate solutions only exist when we get the states and their state system off the scene and allow for the unfolding of dynamics based on individuals and a community of mankind, world society (where the subjects in contrast to international society are individuals, not states)."

With regard to the security concept, for the realist, security refers to "the security of my own state," the revolutionist "will opt for a concept of individual or global security," while for the Grotian security is relational, resting on the relationship between the states that may build durable patterns that generate vicious circles (security dilemmas) or positive circles (security regimes; Wæver 1997: 51–52).¹⁷ These three European or Western traditions stand for three 'ideal type' (Max Weber) approaches to international relations and security that also exist in non-Western cultures and philosophies. Snyder (2004) distinguished among three rival theories of *realism*, *liberalism*, and *idealism* (constructivism).

Booth (1979, 1987: 39–66) argued that old mind-sets often have distorted the assessment of new challenges. These mind-sets include "ethnocentrism, realism, ideological fundamentalism and strategic reductionism", and they "freeze international relations into crude images, portray its processes as mechanistic responses of power and characterize other nations as stereotypes" (1987: 44). Many mind-sets have survived the global turn (Booth 1998: 28).

Influenced by these worldviews and mind-sets, the perception of security is a key concept of a) *war, military, strategic* or *security studies* from a Hobbesian perspective, and b) *peace and conflict research* that has focused on negative (war prevention) or positive peace. Since 1990 the distance between both schools has narrowed and an intensive theoretical debate has taken place within security studies (chap. 38 by Albrecht/Brauch). While in 'security studies' (Walt 1991) and in peace research (Brock 2004, 2004a) some authors prefer a narrow concept of security, many specialists have used concepts of 'environmental' and 'human' security. Environmental security challenges expose the societal vulnerability; this may lead to a 'survival dilemma' (Brauch 2002, 2004; chap. 40) for those with a high degree of societal vulnerability

17 Wæver argues that Herz, Jervis, and Buzan stand in the Grotian security tradition. He considered Haftendorn's classification of 'national' (Hobbesian), 'international' (Grotian) and 'global security' (Kantian) as misleading.

who may be most seriously affected by natural (or man-made) environmental hazards.

Since the late 1970's, an expanded security concept has been used in the academic debate (Krell 1981; Buzan 1983; Buzan/Wæver/de Wilde 1998; Møller 2001, 2003). Ullman (1983), Mathews (1989) and Myers (1989, 1994) put environmental concerns on the US national security agenda. Since the end of the Cold War, many European governments and defence ministries have adopted an extended security concept. Thus, within the UN and NATO, different security concepts coexist, namely a narrow state-centred military security concept and an extended concept that includes economic, societal, and environmental dimensions.

Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde (1998) have distinguished between the *wideners*¹⁸ that included an economic¹⁹ and environmental dimension and the *traditionalists* focusing on the primacy of a narrow military security concept (Walt 1991; Chipman 1992; Gray 1992, 1994; Dorff 1994). Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde (1998) distinguished among five levels of analysis of: *international systems, international subsystems, units, subunits, and individuals*. Others referred to five vertical levels (Møller 2003) of security analysis: a) global or planetary (Steinbruner 2000), b) regional (Mouritzen 1995, 1997; Buzan/Wæver 2003), c) national (Tickner 1995), d) societal (Møller 2003) and e) human security (UNDP 1994; Newman 2001, CHS 2003).

Some suggested expanding the human security discourse to the environmental dimension, especially to interactions between the individual and humankind as the cause and victim of global environmental change (Bogardi/Brauch 2005; Brauch 2003, 2005, 2005a). The consumption of fossil fuel has increased global warming and extreme weather events, major victims thereof are the poorest and most vulnerable people in developing countries (table 1.1).

While since the 17th century the key 'actor' has been the state, it has not necessarily been a major 'referent object' of security which has often been referred to as 'the people' or often 'our people' whose survival is at stake, but the survival of the state or regime has often been achieved with a high cost for the people.

A major ongoing debate (Wiberg 1987: 340; Walker 1990, 1993; Shaw 1994) has evolved since the late 1980's whether the state as the key referent object ('national security') should be extended to the people (individuals and humankind as 'human security'). Walker (1988) pointed to the complexity of a non-state centred redefinition of security towards 'individual' or 'global peoples' security while Buzan (1991) following Waltz's (1959, 2001) man, state and war, distinguished between the international, state and individual level of analysis and the inherent tension especially among the latter two.

While security has always been gendered (Burgess 2004: 403), gender security has become an evolving issue in international relations (Enloe 1989; Sylvester 1994, 2002; Tickner 1992, 2001; Hansen/Olsson 2004: 405-410). It refers both to a gender (or feminist) approach to security as well as to the manifold gender dimensions of societal, environmental, human, social, food, water, health and livelihood security (Mies 1998; Bennholdt-Thomsen/Faraclos/Werlhof 2001; Shiva 1988) that have been widely used also in the UN context (e.g. by the Inter-Agency Committee on Women and Gender Equality (IACWGE) or International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD). Wilkinson (2007: 27) contextualized the security approach with field research on Kyrgyzstan, addressing critically the Westphalian straitjacket. From a Southern eco-anthropological perspective Oswald (2001, 2007a, 2008) relying on a wide gender concept that includes besides women, also other vulnerable groups (children, old and indigenous people, homeless) has suggested a composite concept of human, gender, and environmental security (HUGE). This concept analyses the potential of technical, financial, and human support for reducing this vulnerability, enabling women and other exposed groups to reinforce their own resilience through bottom-up organization combined with top-down policies and tools able to guarantee livelihood and a holistic social representation-building.

Whether a security threat, challenge, vulnerability, and risk (Brauch 2005a, 2006) becomes an 'objective security danger' or a 'subjective security concern' also depends on the political context. While in the European security discourse climate change has become a major security issue, in the US the urgency of this problem was downgraded. Thus, labelling or ignoring climate change as a security problem, implies different degrees of urgency and means for coping with it. This *self-referential* practice of 'securitization' can also be illustrated for the claimed threat posed by the WMD

18 Proponents of a widened security concept are: Ullman 1983; Jahn, Lemaitre, Wæver 1987; Nye, Lynn-Jones, 1988; Mathews 1989, 1991, 1992, 1997; Brown 1989; Nye 1989, *Survival* (31:6) 1989, Haftendorn 1991, Buzan 1983, 1987, 1991, 1997; Tickner 1992.

19 Economic security issues were discussed by Gilpin 1981; Luciani 1989; Crawford 1993, 1995; Gowa 1994; Mansfield 1994.

of Iraq that was used to legitimize the use of extraordinary means (military intervention) and expenses in a war of liberation.

Harald Müller (2002: 369) argued that the traditional understanding of security “as the absence of existential threats to the state emerging from another state” (Baldwin 1995; Betts 1997; Gray 1992; Kolodziej 1992; Prins 1998; Walt 1991) has been challenged both with regard to the key subject (the state), and carrier of security needs, and its exclusive focus on the “physical – or political – dimension of security of territorial entities” that are behind the suggestions for a horizontal and vertical (Suhre 1999; Klare 1994, 1996; Klare/Thomas 1991, 1994, 1998) widening of the security concept. The meaning of security was also interpreted as a reaction to globalization (Cha 2000; Mesjasz 2003). Müller (2002) opted for a “conventional understanding of security: security between states, and related mainly to the organized instruments for applying force – the military in the first instance (Betts 1997; Buzan 1987)”.

The security concept combines its domestic roots and politics (lobbies, strategic doctrines) with international affairs (Gourevitch 2002: 315). Security is examined for security ‘communities’ (Deutsch 1957; Herrmann 2002: 131–132; Väyrynen n.d.), ‘regimes’ (Rittberger/Mayer 1993), ‘cultures’ (Katzenstein 1996; Müller 2002: 381–382) or ‘complexes’ (Kostecki 1996) and as a ‘security dilemma’ (Herz 1950, 1959; Müller 2002: 381–382). New methodological approaches and inter-paradigm debates relevant for security have emerged (Meyers 2000: 416–448):

- a) prevailing *traditional* methodological approaches (e.g. geopolitics²⁰, English School);
- b) *critical security studies* (Klein 1994; Jones 1999; Ralph 2001);
- c) *constructivist* and *deconstructivist* approaches.²¹

H. Müller (2002) disentangled the puzzle of security cooperation from the perspective of the realist (371–374), neoinstitutionalist (374–376), liberal (376–379), constructivist (379–382) and postmodernist (382–384) accounts, opting himself for “constructivism, with its emphasis on ideas and the cultural grounding of be-

haviour, its treatment of the interplay between structure and agency, may be best fitted to explain security cooperation.” But he noted that “the theory is much too indeterminate at present to allow for the development of distinct hypotheses, let alone prediction” (385). Primarily from a *traditional* approach, different cooperative security concepts have emerged since the early 1980’s: a) *common security* (Palme 1982; Väyrynen 1985; Butfoy 1997; Liotta 2003); b) *mutual security* (Smoke/Kortunov 1991); c) *cooperative security* (Carter/Perry/Steinbruner 1992; Nolan 1994; Zartman/Kremenunk 1995; Carter/Perry 1999; Cohen/Mihalka 2001); and d) *security partnership* (Bahr 1982; Marquina 2003).

With regard to its ‘spatial’ context, the classical goals of security policy to defend national sovereignty, in terms of its territory, people, and system of rule²² has also been changing due to the trends of globalization and regional integration. In Europe, close economic interdependence, sometimes competing trans-Atlantic and European political goals but also changes in technology, have replaced these classical security goals. During the 1990’s in many parts of the world two processes (Brauch 2001a: 109–110) have coexisted:

- A process of *globalization* in the economic world of finance, production, and trade, and in the societal world of information, media, but also of political and economic with a progressing *de-borderization* of exchanges for people, capital, and goods among its member states, and a *de-territorialization* of international relations that has permeated the boundaries of the modern ‘Westphalian’ state system.
- A process of partly violent *territorial disintegration* and *fragmentation* of multi-ethnic states combined with a *re-borderization* of space along ethnic and religious lines and disputes on territorial control of areas.

In the scientific discourses on territory two schools have coexisted: a) the debate on *geopolitique* and *new* or *critical geopolitics* (Amineh/Grin 2003); and b) the debate on *globalization* (Mesjasz 2003). In the North, national security has partly been replaced by *alliance security*, in the South security has remained nation-oriented with a strong role of military thinking in the security and political elites.

20 For a survey of recent publications with relevance to the Mediterranean, see Brauch 2001, chap 22.

21 Representatives of constructivist approaches to international relations are: Adler 1997, 2002; Berger/Luckmann 1966; Buzan/Wæver/de Wilde 1998; Checkel 1998; Fearon/Wendt 2002; Krell 2000; Müller 1994, 1994a; Ruggie 1998; Wendt 1999; Møller 2003 and Mesjasz 2003.

22 See for legal perspectives of the state: Bleckmann, 1975: 125–136; Ipsen 1990: 56–57; Zippelius 1991: 81–88.

In an objective sense security refers to an absence of *threats* that is to be achieved – at the national and alliance level – by deterrence and defence. Due to the widening security concept since the 1990's, the objects of security policy have also increased. In the security discourses different concepts are being used, often without clear demarcations: *threats*, *vulnerabilities*, *challenges*, *uncertainties*, and *risks* dealing with both *hard* (military) and *soft* security issues (drugs, human trafficking, migration). In Europe, *alliance* or *national* (NATO, EU) and *internal security* issues (justice and home affairs) are distinguished due to an increasing securitization of asylum, illegal migration, and citizenship. The de-borderization has been complemented with two securitization strategies based on *intergovernmental* structures in contrast to the *communization* of other issues.

While the classical means and instruments of security policy have remained the military and diplomacy, in the EU this classical *domaine réservé* of the nation state has entered a process of fundamental transformation with close consultations, common policies and strategies, and increased common voting in international institutions (UN, OSCE). In many international regimes (food, climate, desertification) the EU has become a full member besides its 27 member states. The evolving common *European Foreign and Security* (CFSP) as well as a *Security and Defence Policy* (ESDP) of the EU has affected the traditional national military and diplomatic leverage.

Within international organizations (UN, FAO, UNDP, UNEP, OECD, IEA), sector-specific security concepts are now widely used, such as 'environmental security' (Toepfer 2003: 139–140; El-Ashry 2003: 140–143), 'food security' (FAO 1996; Collomb 2003), 'global health security' (WHO 2002a), 'energy security' (IEA), and 'livelihood security' (OECD 2002).

In addition to these two classic concepts of the UN Charter, two new concepts and policy areas of development and environment and of sustainable development have gradually emerged since the 1950's, 1970's, and late 1980's.

3.3.3 Concepts of Development

Development is a key term (3.3.3.1) and a major scientific concept in the social sciences (3.3.3.2), but also a key policy goal (3.3.3.3) and policy area (3.3.3.4) for national and international policy making and thus a topic of scientific specialization of development studies (3.3.3.5). The impact of global environmental change on extreme outcomes is closely linked with

the stage of economic development that determines the available resources for adaptation and mitigation measures to enhance resilience.

3.3.3.1 Defining the Term Development

The English term 'development' (French: *développement*; Spanish: *desarrollo*; Portuguese: *desenvolvimento*; Italian: *svolgimento*; German: *Entwicklung*) refers to "1. the act or process of growing or developing; 2. the product of developing; 3. a fact or event, especially one that changes a situation; 4. an area of land that has been developed" (McLeod 1985: 305).²³ The *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* (52002: 662) lists additional meanings: "9. Economic advancement or industrialization." Only the last refers to the concept as it evolved in the biological and social sciences since the 18th century. The German term 'Entwicklung' is used since the 17th century for creation and display, exposition and presentation (Pfeifer 82005: 289).

3.3.3.2 Development: Definitions of a Scientific Concept

The New Encyclopædia Britannica only refers to 'development' as a concept in biology as "the progressive changes in size, shape, and function during the life of an organism by which its genetic potentials are translated into functioning adult systems" (Chicago 1998, vol. 4: 45). The German encyclopaedia (*Der Große*

23 See also for similar definitions: *The Compact Oxford English Dictionary* refers to four meanings: "1. the action of developing or state of being developed; 2. a new product or idea; 3. a new stage in a changing situation; 4. an area with new buildings on it" (Soanes 2002: 297). The *Concise Oxford Dictionary* defines the term as: "1. gradual unfolding, fuller working out; developing of land and etc.; ..., growth evolution (of animal and plant races); full-grown state; stage of advancement; ... 2. product; more elaborate form; developed land." (Sykes 1985: 262). In a similar vein the *Chambers Universal Learners' Dictionary* distinguishes between "1. the profess or act of developing... [and] 2. something new which is the result of developing" (Kirkpatrick 1980: 180). The *Webster Unabridged Dictionary* points to the French term: *développement* and to the French and English verbs and distinguishes these meanings: "1. a developing or being developed; 2. a step or stage in growth and advancement; 3. an event or happening; 4. a thing that is developed; result of developing." (McKechnie 1983: 499). The *Langenscheidt-Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* (1995: 374) lists five meanings for development that are all included in the other definitions with a slightly different wording.

Brockhaus (Wiesbaden ¹⁶1953, vol. 3: 587–591) reviewed the concept for a) the philosophy of science (evolution); b) biology and c) the cultural sciences. Thirty-five years later, the *Brockhaus Enzyklopädie* (Mannheim ¹⁹1988, vol. 6: 437) refers to development in five disciplinary contexts in biology, philosophy, photography, politics and economics and in psychology. In politics and economics development is defined as:

the building-up, expansion and working to full capacity of the production potential for the population with goods and services in the context of a social and political order that relies on human and citizens rights as well as other basic values such as freedom, social justice, domestic and external peace, and that preserves the cultural heritage in national independence and that protects the natural conditions for life. Thus, the term development has an economic, a social and a political dimension.

The most recent *Brockhaus Enzyklopädie* (Mannheim ²¹2006, vol. 8: 150–153) refers to UNDP's *Human Development Index* (since 1990), to 'sustainable development' and competing theories of development of modernization, to *dependencia* and more recent models of underdevelopment. In economics, development is defined as a synonym for economic growth. The term is also used for the improvement of the living conditions that includes besides the standard of living also social indicators (conditions of work, individual freedom, social security), and aspects of distribution (of income, public goods, and infrastructure).

The *Dictionary on Basic Historical Terms* (Brunner/Conze/Koselleck, 1975, vol. 2: 199–228) traced the historical development of the German term "Entwicklung" to the sphere outside the political and social world that was first used in the philosophy of history and in historiography. It was gradually introduced into the political language and used by the public at large since 1770. Wieland (1975: 201) pointed to these common features of the development concept in philosophy and history:

a) development of an irreversible, gradual, longer-term change in time; b) this change may not exclusively be understood as an object of deliberate action and planning, but it follows its own laws; c) the change is based on an identical and insisting subject ...; d) no sensible use of development can neglect the use of teleological concepts.

Wieland reviewed its early use by the philosophers Möser, Herder and Kant, by the poets Schiller and Goethe, since 1800 by Romantic authors, by Savigny and the historicists, by Adam Müller and Hegel prior

to 1848, and by Marx who introduced many features that are still used today. Based on Darwin and Haeckel, the German concept of 'Entwicklung' was widely used in the late 19th century and in the 20th century often synonymously for the biological concept of 'evolution'. However, the meaning of 'development' in historiography (Bayer 1965: 116–117) is hardly relevant for the concept as it is presently used in economics, sociology and in political science, especially with regard to a political goal and policy area.

According to Hillmann (1994: 186) in sociology development refers to "processes and forms of movement and change of social structures to other or higher relatively stable conditions". Furthermore, continuous, abrupt, evolutionary or revolutionary quantitative and qualitative developments are distinguished whose causes can be endogenous or exogenous to structures and systems. Grüske and Recktenwald (1995: 159–162) in their economic dictionary avoided a definition but introduced instead several applied concepts of the secular development of the state, of development assistance, policy and theories as well as of developing countries.

In political science, Manfred Schmidt (1995: 267–268) referred to development "for events or results of societal, economic, and political change directed at a level of progress and public welfare often with regard to economic resources of Western industrial countries. Political development is a technical term for the analysis of developing countries in comparative government focusing on the institutional conditions and the process of the evolution of differentiated, pluralist political systems compared with Western democracies."

Nohlen and Nuscheler (1992: 56) acknowledged that the concept and its contents are the result of continuous change. They suggest an empirical concept that aims at satisfying basic human needs focusing on a magic pentagram consisting of a) economic growth, b) work, c) equality and justice, d) participation, and e) independence and self-reliance (64–73). For Nohlen (1998, vol 7: 148) development is a normative concept that incorporates perspectives on societal change, theories on causes of underdevelopment, on social actors and processes of socio-economic transformation, decisions on instruments of its initiation and continuation.

Ake (1993: 239–243) stated that after World War II, during decolonization development theory emerged as a variant of modernization theory, but these theories "were at best heuristic devices" that were "too general and too vague to be taken seriously

as scientific theories and paradigms” because “their major concepts could not be operationalized and their empirical referents were unclear”. Toye (1996: 212–215) argued that by 1965 “prolonged and steady increase of national income” was identified as an indicator of economic development. It is accompanied by rapid population growth due to declining mortality, longer life expectancy, rapid urbanization, and improved standards of literacy and education. These processes have been criticized if the distribution of income remains unequal and if the population majority remains impoverished. Some claimed that “indicators of economic growth and structural change must be complemented by indicators of improvement in the quality of every day life for most people”. Sen (1981, 1984, 1994, 1999) argued that distribution of income should be complemented by a fair distribution of entitlements to food, shelter, clean water, clothing and household utensils.

These definitions excluded environmental factors contributing to and constraining economic development, especially natural hazards and disasters. The concept of ‘sustainable development’ was introduced by the Brundtland Report (1987: 8) that defined sustainability “to ensure that it meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.” Sustainable development was understood as “a process of change in which the exploitation of resources, the direction of investments, the orientation of technological development, and institutional change are made consistent with future as well as present needs” (Brundtland 1987: 9). ‘Sustainable development’ contains two key concepts:

- the concept of needs, in particular the essential needs of the world’s poor, to which overriding priority should be given; and
- the idea of limitation imposed by the state of technology and social organization on the environment’s ability to meet present and future needs (Brundtland Report 1987: 43).

This concept calls for a ‘sustainable development’ path that implies “a concern for social equity between generations, a concern that must logically be extended to equity within each generation”. The concept has become a key policy goal of environment and development.

3.3.3.3 Development: A Key Political Goal

The policy goals of development have been as varied as its definitions. The goals differed among the indus-

trial (OECD, G 7, G 8) or developing countries (Group of 77 and China) or between those who supply or receive development aid. During the Cold War these goals were closely associated with the economic systems in a bipolar world. The goals differed on import-substitution or export-led industrialization, capital or labour intensive strategies.

Stallings (1995) used this concept primarily for economic development, i.e. for growth and equity of distribution. He pointed to five new elements in the new international context for development since 1990: “the end of the Cold War, new relations among advanced capitalist powers, increased globalization of trade and production, shifting patterns of international finance, and new ideological currents” (Stallings 1995: 2).

3.3.3.4 Development: A Key Policy Area

Decolonization and global competition between rival systems and modes of production prevailed during the Cold War where development aid was also an instrument of global strategic policy where the geo-strategic and geo-economic importance of developing countries was rewarded with economic and military assistance. Development assistance was supplied by national governments, the EU (Menck 1996: 51–54), multilateral international organizations (OECD, UNCTAD, UNIDO), financial institutions (e.g. World Bank Group, EIB, EBRD) and development banks (Asian, African and Latin American development banks), by non-governmental economic, societal, and humanitarian (ICRC-RCS) organizations.

Since 1990, the overall development assistance from OECD countries as a percentage of their GDP dropped from 0.37 per cent (1980) to 0.33 per cent (1990) to 0.23 per cent (2002).²⁴ Thus, there was neither a peace nor a development dividend after the end of the Cold War. Rather, with the end of the bipolar global order, the geo-strategic importance of several developing countries (e.g. of Somalia) de-

²⁴ This trend applies especially for the five large OECD countries: US (1980: 0.27 per cent; 1990: 0.21; 2002: 0.13 per cent), Japan (1980: 0.32 per cent; 1990: 0.31; 2002: 0.23 per cent), Germany (1980: 0.44 per cent; 1990: 0.42; 2002: 0.27 per cent), France (1980: 0.63 per cent; 1990: 0.60; 2002: 0.38 per cent) and UK (1980: 0.35 per cent; 1990: 0.27; 2002: 0.31 per cent). In 2003, only five countries complied with their declared commitment of 0.7%: Norway (0.92 per cent); Denmark (0.84 per cent), Luxembourg (0.81 per cent); the Netherlands (0.80 per cent) and Sweden (0.79 per cent); (Brockhaus Enzyklopädie ²¹2006, vol. 8: 155–157).

clined, as did the security-motivated economic and military aid which contributed in some cases to weak, failing or failed states.

3.3.3.5 Development: Object of Social Science Research and Theories

Development research emerged after World War II as an objective of social and political science. Before, it was a domain of anthropological and ethnological research. The initial focus was on preconditions and features of development processes, especially on the economic, social, political and cultural factors that enhance or restrain development. Later the goals of development and the causes of underdevelopment were added (Boeck 1994, vol. 2: 100–105). Two main theories emerged: of modernization, used by scientists in OECD countries, and critical approaches, influenced by theories of imperialism, *dependencia*, self-reliance, or autocentric development.

With the end of the Cold War a crisis of development theories was noted (Boeck 1995, vol. 1: 69–80). Scientific concepts are influenced by development theories and strategies for poverty eradication, social and sustainable development that are linked to the state, market, community, and civil society (Kothari/Minougue 2002: 1–15). The concept of development has undergone major change since the Bretton Woods Conference in 1944. According to Reményi (2004: 22) during these 60 years four ‘false’ assumptions prevailed:

1. blind faith in the belief that Western ‘scientific’ methods are superior to traditional practices;
2. the belief that there is no gender dimension to development;
3. the proposition that the elimination of poverty can be achieved by realizing sustained economic growth, poverty targeting notwithstanding;
4. the priority of economic development over all else, so that governance issues are incidental to economic development.

During the 1950’s and 1960’s most development experts emphasized ‘economics first’ through investment driven economic development strategies with a focus on industrialization. Since 1980, the focus shifted to poverty and development and a basic human needs approach (Boserup 1970; Sen 1981; McNamara 1981). This was reflected in an upgrading of poverty eradication programmes but until 1985 there was no emphasis on governance issues, social capital development, institution building and capacity building for self-reliance. During the 1990’s there was a gradual

shift to agriculture, gender issues, and participatory community development to put people first as reflected in the Human Development Reports that introduced ‘human security’ (UNDP 1994) as a complement to ‘human development’.

3.3.4 Concepts of Environment and Ecology

As peace, security, and development, the ‘environment’ or ‘ecology’ is a fourth intensively used but often undefined concept in politics and in the social sciences. Not until the late 20th century have environmental and climate concerns been perceived as security dangers and concerns or as threats that may undermine the survival of individuals.²⁵ ‘Environment’ and ‘ecology’ as basic *terms* (3.3.4.1) and *key concepts* in the natural and social sciences (3.3.4.2) have been used in different schools, conceptual frameworks and approaches (3.3.4.3), and as guiding concepts for national and international governance (3.3.4.4).

3.3.4.1 Defining the Key Terms: Environment and Ecology

Two terms are used to define the object ‘environment’ (fr.: *environnement*; sp.: *medio ambiente*; it: *ambiente*; p.: *meio ambiente*; g: *Umwelt*) and ‘ecology’ (fr.: *ecologie*; sp: *ecología*; p: *ecologia*; g: *Ökologie*). In English dictionaries ‘environment’²⁶ and ‘ecology’²⁷ were given many different meanings.²⁸ *Webster’s Third New International Dictionary* (2002: 760) is more specific by pointing to:

2. the surrounding conditions, influences or forces that influence or modify, as a: the whole complex of climatic, edaphic, and biotic factors that act upon an organism or an ecological community and ultimately determine its form and survival; b: the aggregate of social and cultural conditions (as customs, laws. lan-

25 Brauch 2002; Randall/Schwartz (2004). On 17 April 2007, the UK put climate change on the UNSC agenda.

26 See e.g.: a) a surrounding or being surrounded, something that surrounds (objects, regions, conditions, circumstances), surroundings; b) all the conditions circumstances, and influences surrounding, and affecting the development of organism or group of organism; c) all the situations, events, people, etc. that influence the way in which people live or work; d) the air, water, and land in which people, animals and plants live; e) synonyms: atmosphere, background, conditions, context, domain, element, habitat, locale, medium milieu, scene, setting, situation, surroundings, territory, in: Langenscheidt-Longman 1995: 455; McKechnie 1983: 609; McLeod 1986: 372; McLeod 1985: 219; Sykes 1985: 323.

guage, religion, and economic and political organization) that influence the life of an individual or community.

The definitions of ecology in the *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* (⁵2002: 789) are more pertinent: “1. The branch of biology that deals with organisms’ relations to one another and to the physical environment in which they live; (the study of) such relations as they pertain to a particular habitat or a particular species; also human ecology; 2. The political movement that seeks to protect the environment, esp. from pollution.” According to *Webster’s Third New International Dictionary* (2002: 720) ecology is: “1. a branch of science concerned with the interrelationship of organisms and their environments especially as manifested by natural cycles and rhythms, community development and structure, interaction between different kinds of organisms, geographic distributions, and population alterations; 2. the totality or pattern of relations between organisms and their environment; 3. human ecology.” While the term ‘environment’ has many meanings, the scientific concept has been more specific.

3.3.4.2 Defining the Scientific Concepts: Environment and Ecology

The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1998, IV: 512) has defined ‘environment’ as: “the complex of physical,

chemical, and biotic factors that act upon an organism or an ecological community and ultimately determine its form and survival”. Aspects of the natural environment of human beings are covered under *atmosphere, hydrosphere, biosphere, geosphere*. The *Brockhaus Encyclopaedia* (1993, XXII: 601) distinguished among different environments of an organism: a) psychological, b) physiological, c) ecological, and d) cosmic. For humans, physical (natural), technical (manmade), and societal factors are of importance. According to *Brockhaus Encyclopaedia* (²¹2006, vol. 28: 286) the concept ‘environment’ was introduced by von Uexküll (1921) as the key concept of ecology referring to the vital surrounding for animals. It distinguishes five features: a) biological, b) minimal, c) physiological, d) ecological, and e) cosmic. For human beings the physical, technical, and social environments are essential. ‘Ecology’ – according to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1998, IV: 354) – refer to:

study of the relationship between organisms and their environment. ... Ecological studies may focus on the relationship between individual organisms and the physical and chemical features of their environment (*physiological ecology*). ... Among the characteristics studied would be the food-gathering techniques of individuals, the survival adaptations against predations, and mating ... (*behavioural ecology*). ... *Population ecology* is the study of the processes that affect the distribution and abundance of animal and plant populations. ... *Community ecology* is the study of the organization and functioning of communities. ... *Paleoecology* – the study of the ecology of fossil organisms. ... In *applied ecology*, basic ecological principles are applied to the management of populations of crops and animals, so that the yields can be increased and the impact of pests reduced. ... *Theoretical ecologists* provide simulations of particular practical problems ... and develop models of general ecological relevance [emphasis added, HGB].²⁹

The concept of *ecology* was used by Ernst Haeckel (1834–1919) for the study of living species and their physical and biotic surroundings. A modern definition includes a) the interactions between organisms (individuals, populations, biocoenosis), b) in their abiotic and biotic environment and c) the links in the energy, material and information flow.

According to Ellen (1996: 207), the ecology concept “has been centrally concerned with the concept of adaptation and with all properties having a direct

27 See e.g.: a) (from Gr. *oikos*, house and *logos*, study); b) study of interaction of persons (living organisms) and their environment; c) the set of relationships of a particular organism with its environment; d) the branch of *biology* that deals with the relations between living organisms and their environment; e) in *sociology* the relationship between the distribution of human groups with reference to material resources, and the consequences of social and cultural patterns; f) the way in which plants, animals, and people are related to each other and to their environment, or the scientific study of this, in: Langenscheidt-Longman 1995: 435; McKechnie 1983: 574; McLeod 1985: 352; Sykes 1985: 306.

28 The *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* (⁵2002: 840) offers four meanings of environment “1. The action of enviroing; the state of being enviroined; 2. The set of circumstances and conditions, especially physical conditions, in which a person or community lives, works, develops, etc. or a thing exists or operates; the external conditions affecting the life of a plant or animal. Also, physical conditions viewed in relation to the possibility of life; 3. The region surrounding a place; 4. Context, setting that of a speech sound; 5. A large artistic creation intended to be experienced with several senses while one is surrounded by it.”

29 The *Brockhaus Encyclopaedia* (1991, XVI: 148–151) distinguished between *populations, aut* and *syn ecology* as well as *system ecology* with a natural science focus and *human ecology* that includes philosophical, psychological, theological, legal and social science dimensions.

and measurable effect on demography, development, behaviour and spatio-temporal position of an organism.” *Biological ecology* has been concerned “with population dynamics, energy transfer, systems modelling, nutrient cycles, environmental degradation and conservation; and since the 1970’s, especially with the application of neo-Darwinian thinking of socio-ecology.” *Human ecology* is used in human geography, urban sociology and anthropology. Advances in *biological ecology*: “linked to the ... ecosystem ... led during the 1960’s to a new formulation of ecological problems in the social sciences: in archaeology, geography, and also in anthropology.” Ellen argued that “the other major impact of ecological concepts in the social sciences has been in the relation of political environmentalism, and to environment and development. ... Increasing attention is also being paid to the cultural construction of nature, indigenous technological knowledge, the management of collectively owned resources, and environment history” (Ellen 1996: 208).

Many different concepts of the *environment* and *ecology* are used in the natural and social sciences. For O’Riordan (1996: 250) ‘environment’ is: “a metaphor for the enduring contradictions in the human condition; the power of domination yet the obligation of responsibility; the drive for betterment tempered by the sensitivity of humility; the manipulation of nature to improve the chances of survival, yet the universal appeal of sustainable development; the individualism of consumerism and the social solidarity of global citizenship.” In the *Encyclopedia of Global Environmental Change*³⁰, Munn (2002, I: xi, xiv) wrote:

In the 1960’s, the scientific community began to use the word *environment* in this new non-specialist sense. ... In the ensuing decades, the world community has come to see the ‘environment’ in many different ways, as a life-support system, as a fragile sphere hanging in space, as a problem, a threat and a home. ... In the 1970’s and 1980’s; ... *global environmental change* acquired a popular currency. ... Another vital insight began to emerge about 1980: the inescapably interlinked nature of these many environmental changes. ... Thus, the term *global environmental change* has come to encompass a full range of globally significant issues relating to both

nature and human-induced changes in the Earth’s environment, as well as their socio-economic drivers.

For Fleming (2002, II: 290) “*environment* refers to the physical, chemical, and biotic factors that affect an organism or an ecosystem and ultimately determine its form or structure and survival.” He distinguishes between *abiotic* (climate, minerals, soil, sunlight, water) and *biotic* (organisms) factors that are linked by “the flow of energy and the cycling of nutrients”.

The major components of the Earth’s physical environment include the atmosphere, climate, weather, continental landforms, hydrosphere, cryosphere, and oceans. The relationship between the principal physical components of the environment and the major ecosystems of the earth is mediated through the biosphere. Human interference in the global environment is widespread and accelerating. Most of this interference derives from three basic contributing factors: human population growth, pollution, and misuse of resources and natural ecosystems. ... Environmental gains from better policies and improved technology are being outstripped by the pace and scale of human population growth and economic development.

Lovelock (1975, 1986, 1992) in cooperation with Margulis (1974, 1974a) expressed the complicated physical, chemical, and biological processes that maintain life on earth in the *Gaia* hypothesis. The *Gaia* hypothesis claims “that the entire range of living matter on Earth defines the material conditions needed for its survival, functioning as a vast organism ... capable of modifying the biosphere, atmosphere, oceans, and soil to produce the physical and chemical environment that suits its needs” (Oxford 1998). For Douglas, Huggett and Robinson (1996: 5) the *Gaia* hypothesis is

the latest recasting of the ancient, holistic belief that there exists interconnectedness and harmony among the phenomena of Nature. ... At least two versions of the *Gaia* hypothesis have evolved: weak *Gaia* and strong *Gaia* (Kirchner 1991). Weak *Gaia* is the assertion that life wields a substantial influence over some features of the abiotic world, notably the temperature and composition of the atmosphere. In other words, it makes the simple proposal that the earth’s climate and surface environment are actively regulated by animals, plants, and micro-organisms. Strong *Gaia* is the unashamedly teleological idea that the earth is a superorganism which controls the terrestrial environment to suit its own ends. ... Lovelock [1988: 10] seems to favour strong *Gaia*. ... Lynn Margulis ... appears to prefer a weak version of *Gaia*. ... Margulis chooses to restrict *Gaia* to the surface features of the Earth, simply because they can be observed [Margulis/Hinkle 1991: 11].

30 The *Encyclopedia of Global Environmental Change* focuses on: a) *Physical and Chemical Dimensions of Global Environmental Change* (Vol. 1), b) *Biological and Ecological Dimensions of Global Environmental Change* (vol. 2) and *Causes and Consequences of Global Environmental Change* (vol. 3) while vol. 4 deals with political aspects: *Responding to Global Environmental Change*, and vol. 5 examines *Social and Economic Dimensions of Global Environmental Change*.

O’Riordan (1996: 251) defined and interpreted the Gaia hypothesis:

as a self-regulating system that emerges from the tightly coupled evolution of biota and the material elements and fluxes that circulate substances and energy around the globe. In an important sense, Gaia is a very special scientific concept. It utilizes traditional scientific enquiry to reveal how the totality of physics, chemical and biological process interact to retain the conditions vital for the survival of the earth. Gaia has no morality, nor a purpose. It has no special place for humans. ... If Gaia tells us anything, it is that humans must adapt to survive, and that the process of adjustment is part of the totality of self-regulation. Otherwise the earth will do it for us.

According to Williams (2002, V: 287–290) the *Gaia* hypothesis is intriguing and has provoked much scientific debate. In the context of Earth systems analyses “the Gaian contribution has been an enhanced recognition of the role of the biosphere” (290).

From an international relations perspective Ronald Mitchell (2002: 500–516) reviewed the history, the causes of international environmental problems with a special focus on: a) agenda setting, b) policy formulation, c) policy implementation and effectiveness and policy evolution and social learning. Mitchell (2002: 512) concluded:

Theoretically, we need a framework to make sense, for each stage of the policy process, of which factors are influential under a wide range of circumstances, which are influential only in limited circumstances, and which are simply not influential despite earlier theorizing. *Methodologically* we need to supplement the almost exclusive use of case studies with quantitative methods, formal modelling and simulation. ... *Empirically*, we need to develop data for quantitative and large-n quantitative comparisons across issues (emphasis added, HGB).

Mitchell (2002: 512) argued that scholars who want to contribute to global environmental management “must begin developing contingent knowledge that identifies how the choices actors make promote environmental protection, the structural constraints on their ability to do so, and the conditions under which the former can help us overcome the latter. For the analysis of national and international environmental governance and regime formation all three stages of the policy process are relevant.

3.3.4.3 Scientific Traditions, Schools, Approaches, and Frameworks

On environmental issues, especially on population growth and resource constraints, two opposite traditions have evolved (Kennedy 1992):

- a *pessimist* or *Neo-Malthusian view* stimulated by Malthus’ *Essay on Population* (1798) that stressed the limited carrying-capacity of the Earth to feed the growing population;
- an *optimist* or *Cornucopian view* that believed an increase in knowledge, human progress, and breakthroughs in science and technology could cope with these challenges.

These two *ideal type* positions have dominated the environmental debate since the Club of Rome’s *Limits of Growth* (Meadows/Meadows/Randers/Behrens 1972), and Lomborg’s (2001) *Skeptical Environmentalist* (Gleditsch 2003). O’Riordan (1996: 250–252) distinguished among three environmentalist world views: technocentric, eco-centric and deep green. The *technocentric* perspective (Hays 1959; Mies/Shiva 1993; Simon/Kahn 1984) believes in the betterment of both people and nature and calls for “environmentally benign technology, environmentally friendly product substitution, and the wealth creating engine that will allow the poor to be emancipated from their prisons of enforced environmental and social debasement.” In contrast, the *ecocentric* view (Dobson 1990; O’Riordan 1981; Pepper 1986) incorporates “the costs of altering the natural world. ... This ... has spawned a host of manipulative middle ground, accommodationist mechanisms aimed at making economic development more socially tolerable and environmentally sustainable.” O’Riordan associated five concepts with the *ecocentric* view: a) sustainable development, b) the precautionary principle, c) ecological economics, d) environmental impact assessment, and e) eco-auditing or environmental burden analysis to make economic progress environmentally tolerable. The *deep green* interpretation promotes small-scale self-reliant and politically empowered communities.

For Nazli Choucri (1993: 267–271) *environmentalism* is based “on a view of humanity as integral to nature, of nature as empowering humans and of the relationship between both as uneasy at best, and perhaps even threatening to the integrity and viability of nature and hence of humans.” Environmentalism calls for a “coherence of environmental and social processes”. Environmentalism “evolves ideas of nature, ecological balances, and ecological growth as central to the survival of the human species”.

Rayner and Malone (2002, V: 109–123) pointed to a descriptive vs. interpretative tradition in social science analyses dealing with global environmental change. While the *descriptive tradition* relies on quantitative methods “of tracing stocks and flows of social

data through time and space” using natural science methods and models, the interpretive tradition tries “to understand motivations, ideas, and values” (109). But both are essential for research, e.g. descriptive approaches “have revealed much what would happen under various scenarios of climate change” while “interpretive approaches can provide value-oriented parameters as a basis for choosing among candidate policies”. Social science research can both describe:

the human activities that give rise to environmental concerns, identify possible mitigation actions, indicate where adaptations will be necessary, and illuminate how institutional and cultural structures and abilities to change will both constrain and open up possibilities to make and implement policy. Social science research demonstrates that the process through which choices articulate across scales is not a linear mechanism. ... Rather, it is a social as well as a knowledge process that requires a high level of trust and agreement ... to gain recognition at another scale (119).

In the social sciences, the analysis of issues of global environmental changes and human-nature relationships (Glaeser 2002, V: 11–24) are polarized between epistemological idealism and realism, or between *social constructivism* and an orientation “that presupposes a material world independent of percipient human actors” (Rosa/Dietz 1998) – *neo-realism*.

The neo-realism guides the social and scientific analysis of environmental changes as well as the political economy interactions between environment and society. A famous example is the still influential IPAT model which was proposed in the early 1970’s and assumed that environmental impact I is a function of population size P, affluence per capita A and technological development T. The systems approach in world modelling simulates similar relationships on the basis that there are crucial driving forces that regulate the system and that are probably influenced by policy and politics. Social scientists have often criticized such concepts as being too simplistic ... (Glaeser 1995).

The opposite *neo-idealist orientation* has highlighted two aspects: a) the uncertainty of scientific knowledge and claims; and b) the attempt to explain the scientific and public recognition of environmental change influenced by political and historical forces (Rosa/Dietz 1998).

In this approach, the emergence of scientific concerns and the rise of public awareness are scrutinized; these issues eventually become more important than the environmental problem under dispute. Environmental threats to the global ecosystem or human health are perceived only to the extent that they attract media attention and are publicized accordingly. To a great extent the social constructivist approach is reflexive, and it is

applied as a science of science-meta-theory. ... Social constructivism ... has been criticized for neglecting real world problems and concerns in that human-nature relations and environmental change issues are constructed or conceptualized, that is, ‘produced’ or ‘created’ rather than ‘extracted’ or ‘mapped’ (Glaeser 2002: 20).

Glaeser calls for a combination of the strongholds of both positions, i.e. for a critical analysis of the assumptions and models of the natural scientists and of their inherent interests.

Within the scientific discipline of international relations the analysis of problems of global environmental change has been pursued from different theoretical or practical orientations. Paterson (2000: 5) distinguished among six basic positions of a) *liberal institutionalism*, b) *realism*, c) *eco-authoritarianism*, d) *eco-socialism* (Pepper 2002, V: 224–225), e) *social ecology* (Pepper 2002a, V: 484) and f) *deep ecology* (Pepper 2002b, V: 211), and one may add g) *ecofeminism* (Warren 2002, V: 218–224) that differ both with regard to the perceived causes and responses. In addition, several ideologies have been distinguished: *eco-centrism* “that centres on and prioritizes the whole planetary ecosystem”, that is synonymous with *bio-centric* centring on the biosphere and *Gaiacentric* that focuses on the Earth as one living system. Homer-Dixon (1999: 28–46) distinguished among *neo-Malthusians* (biologists, ecologists); *economic optimists* (economic historians, neoclassic economists, agricultural economists) and *distributionists* (poverty, inequality, misdistribution of resources) while Gleditsch (2003) referred to Neo-Malthusian and Cornucopian perspectives.

3.3.4.4 Environment Policies and International Governance

The United Nations Charter lacks a reference to environmental protection and ecological concerns. In chap. IX on ‘International Economic and Social Cooperation’, Art. 55 (c) that deals with “human rights and fundamental freedoms”, some authors considered a “sound environment” (Partsch 1994: 779) among the “human rights of the third generation” (Vasak 1984: 837).

Major steps in the political agenda-setting were the Stockholm Conference (1972), the *Brundtland* Report (1987), the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro (1992) and in Johannesburg (2002). On 15 December 1972 GA Res. 2994 (XXVIII) “endorsed the Action Plan for the Human Environment adopted by the UN Conference on the Human Environment (1972)” (Wolfrum 1994a: 775) and GA Res. 2997 (XXVIII) set up the

Governing Council for UNEP, which began its work in the spring of 1973, developing the guidelines for the establishment and the coordination of UNEP. In Res. 44/228 of 22 December 1989, the GA convened the UN Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) in Rio de Janeiro in June 1992. (Göttelmann 1994: 1089-1090).

Paelke (2002, V: 49-61) distinguished two waves in the establishment and institutionalization of environmental politics: a) the early environmental movement with an often apocalyptic and apolitical dimension that focused on pollution and global sustainability concerns, b) a second wave with “the re-emergence of conservationist and biodiversity concerns”.

Mostafa Tolba (2002, IV: 1-13), a former executive director of UNEP, noted eight trends in national and international responses of industrialized countries to environmental problems: a) inclusion of environmental impacts into sectoral policies; b) increase in cross-sectoral policies; c) replacement of a reactive approach to pollution control with a preventive one; d) growing interests in economic instruments as incentives to energy and pollution control; e) promotion of energy efficiency, energy conservation, and environmentally sound processes in industry, transport and domestic environments; d) recognition of the international, and often regional nature of many environmental problems; e) increased public information and participation; f) more public information and participation; and g) better environmental science and monitoring (Tolba 2002, IV: 5).

Since the 1960's and 1970's many new governmental and non-governmental institutions were set up, and an increasing number of environmental laws and regulations were adopted in OECD countries. The developing countries have followed this pattern “but with a different range of concerns and on a different time-scale” (Tolba 2002, IV: 8), with a primary focus on land and fresh water management and food production. While for them development is crucial “to improve the quality of life, eliminate poverty and support the infrastructure needed in order to deliver the health care, education and other institutions essential to the national future”, many countries have prepared national conservation strategies.

International environmental regimes and institutions have gradually evolved since the end of World War II in the framework of the UN institutional family (FAO, WHO, UNESCO, IMO, ILO). In 1948 the IUCN (World Conservation Union) was founded by state and non-governmental members to protect natural areas and species. The decision at the Stockholm

Conference (1972) to set up the UN Environment Programme (UNEP) in Nairobi and the adoption of the Agenda 21 and of several environmental regimes at the Earth Summit (UNCED) in Rio (1992) were major steps towards international responses. The Brundtland Report (WCED, 1987) and a UNEP (1998) report stimulated new thinking and fostered an integrated global approach that was supported by regional efforts of the five economic commissions (ECE, ECA, ESCWA, ESCAP, ECLA) under the ECOSOC and by UNEP's regional seas programme, which has “produced as much sectorialization and fragmentation as synthesis”. From an Egyptian perspective, Tolba (2002, IV: 12) stressed that

development strategies need substantial adjustment, and that this must go far beyond the technology of environmental management to incorporate trade debt, and social infrastructure. It is also evident that environmental costs and benefits must be incorporated into the technologies and processes of development, from the initial planning stages.

The progressing awareness and commitment for international environmental problems requires a management of national environmental adjustments. In some cases, resource scarcities may evolve the use of force to limit dissent. On the global level, Choucri pointed to five underlying principles that should guide the international community's strategy for managing environmental issues: a) legitimacy, b) equity, c) volition, d) universality, and e) efficacy.

3.3.5 Linkages: Peace, Security, Environment, and Development

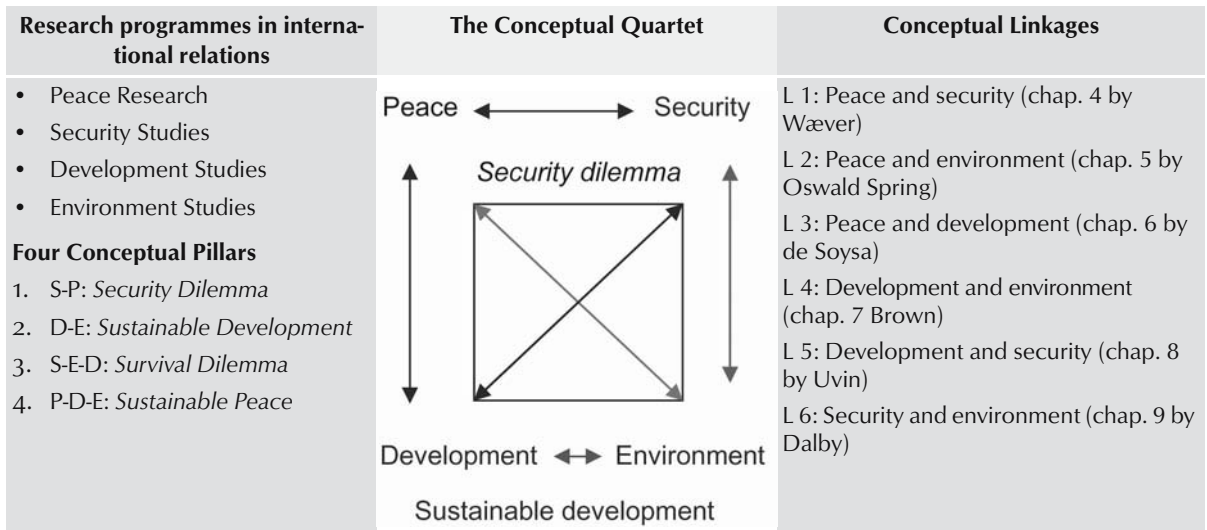
These four basic social science concepts of peace, security, environment, and development refer to four research areas and programmes in political science and international relations:

- a) peace research, science or studies as a value-oriented research programme;
- b) security, strategic or war studies as a theory and policy-oriented research field;
- c) environmental studies and international environment policy;
- d) development studies.

Each of these programmes provides experts with qualifications in different areas of international politics:

- a) specialists for dealing with conflicts, conflict prevention, and avoidance in foreign and development ministries but also in international organizations;

Figure 3.1: Research Programmes and Linkages within the Conceptual Quartet



- b) *security specialists* in foreign and defence ministries, intelligence agencies;
- c) *environment specialists* in ministries, agencies, consultancies, and with international organizations and NGOs; and
- d) *development specialists* in ministries, agencies, and with international organizations and NGOs.

Global environmental change is not only an issue for the natural sciences and for environmental specialists in international relations. Its extreme and in some cases fatal outcomes and its sometimes violent societal consequences affect the activities of foreign, security and development specialists and many of their respective institutions as well. Thus, global environmental change should be analysed from all four specialized perspectives in international relations with a focus on the six unique linkages within the conceptual quartet (figure 3.1).

The UN Charter focuses only on the classical ‘agenda’ of peace and security and on the many linkages between both (L1). With the start of the decolonization process ‘development’ was added as a new concept on the UN agenda since the 1950’s. Not until the first UN Summit on Environment in Stockholm in 1972 was the ‘environment’ put on the international agenda that later required a focus on ‘sustainable’ development and environment linkages (L5). Since the 1990’s, three phases of research have analysed the linkages between security and environment (L 6). A primary focus of this book series is to contribute to a fourth phase of research on environment and security linkages that will take the other key concepts (peace and development) and five linkages into account, as

far as they are relevant for the analysis of the factors of global environmental change, its extreme outcomes, and violent societal consequences.

For the four key concepts nine different positions can be distinguished: For the classical peace and security agenda the three ideal type worldviews of a) Hobbesian realists, b) Grotian pragmatists, and c) Kantian optimists have been distinguished. With regard to development three ideal type approaches have emerged that have been the focus of theoretical controversies between: d) the classical and more recent modernization theories, e) the critical theories (imperialism, dependencia, peripheral capitalism, etc.) that challenged the modernization mainstream, and f) the many sustainable development concepts. Finally on environmental issues, three ideal type positions emerged: a) the pessimist Neo-Malthusians b) the pragmatic equity-oriented distributionists, and c) the optimist Cornucopians. These nine ideal type positions point to a total of 27 possible theory guided linkage concepts.

Of these 27 linkages only six conceptual linkages (figure 3.1) will be discussed (3.4.). Four linkage concepts will be developed (3.5) as conceptual pillars for a fourth phase of research on human and environmental security and peace: Two are widely used in security and environmental studies:

1. *Security dilemma* for the classical peace and security interaction (L1);
2. *Sustainable development* for the link between environment and development (L5).

Table 3.1: Linkages among Concepts: Peace, Security, Development, and Environment

	Peace	Security	Development	Environment
Peace	x	(L 1)	(L 2)	(L3)
Security	(L 1)	x	(L4)	(L5)
Development	(L-2)	(L4)	x	(L-6)
Environment	(L-3)	(L5)	(L6)	x

In addition, two new concepts will be introduced and discussed below:

3. *Sustainable peace* that has been used as a semantic construct in the UN context and by action-oriented researchers who combined peace with sustainable development (PED).
4. *Survival dilemma* as a new concept reflecting the security, environment, and development linkages caused by human and nature induced factors of global environmental change (SED).

From a Northern view (figure 3.2) the three concepts of peace, security, and environment and the linkages (L1, L3, L6) are crucial, while from a Southern view (figure 3.3) the concept of development is in the centre as well as the linkages (L2, L4, L5, L6). But so far little research exists on the linkages between peace and environment (L3). The linkages between the factors contributing to global environmental change, its fatal outcomes and violent societal repercussions have not been discussed from these perspectives, and they have not yet been an issue of intensive theoretical reflection and empirical research.

3.4 Six Linkage Concepts of Security in Relation to Peace, Environment, and Development

For centuries and in many cultures, peace has been a major concept of philosophical reflection, of policy declarations, and of social science research (see chap. 10 by Oswald). Below six conceptual linkages between the four key concepts of peace, security, environment, and development will be briefly introduced and discussed in more detail.

3.4.1 Linkage 1: Peace and Security in the Three Traditions

This linkage between peace and security has been analysed from three ideal type perspectives or intellectual traditions (table 3.2), and it is the key goal of the UN Charter (chap. 35 by Bothe).

The English School (Bull 1977, Wight 1991, Buzan 2001, 2004, 2006) has distinguished three basic traditions in the thinking on international relations they associated with *realism* based on power (Machiavelli, Hobbes), *rationalism* relying on cooperation (Grotius), and *idealism* relying on international legal norms (Kant). These three traditions reflect basic ideal type thinking that may have also existed in other traditions of political philosophy in the East (India, China, Japan), but also in the Muslim (Arab, Persian and other), the African and pre-Columbian Mesoamerican traditions that are unknown and thus ignored in the Western discourses on international relations, and especially on peace and security .

Wæver (chap. 4 below) reviews the origins of both concepts and their complex interplay prior to 1945, during the Cold War (1947–1989), and since its end (1990–), and he concluded that during the Cold War ‘peace research’ and ‘security studies’ were opposite approaches, while in the post-Cold War era ‘security’ has become intellectually more challenging (chap. 38 by Albrecht/Brauch). Bothe noted a major shift in the state behaviour on peace and security as reflected in many resolutions of the UNSC with regard to reasons that justify its involvement. During the Canadian UNSC presidency in February 1999 (chap. 46 by Dending) ‘human security’ was introduced, while during the British presidency in April 2007 climate change was debated as a security issue (chap. 40 by Brauch).

3.4.2 Linkage 2: Concepts of Peace and Environment

Several conceptual linkages have evolved in the social scientists between ‘peace’ and ‘environment’. In the intellectual history of ideas and concepts, there has been a debate on ‘peace with nature’ going back to Bacon in the 17th century up to ‘peace with creation’ in the ecumenical movement of the 20th and 21st century, and in the context of the debates on earth ethics or on ethical approaches to global environmental change. Three basic standpoints on environmental issues may be distinguished between:

Figure 3.2: A Northern View on Linkages between Peace, Security and Environment

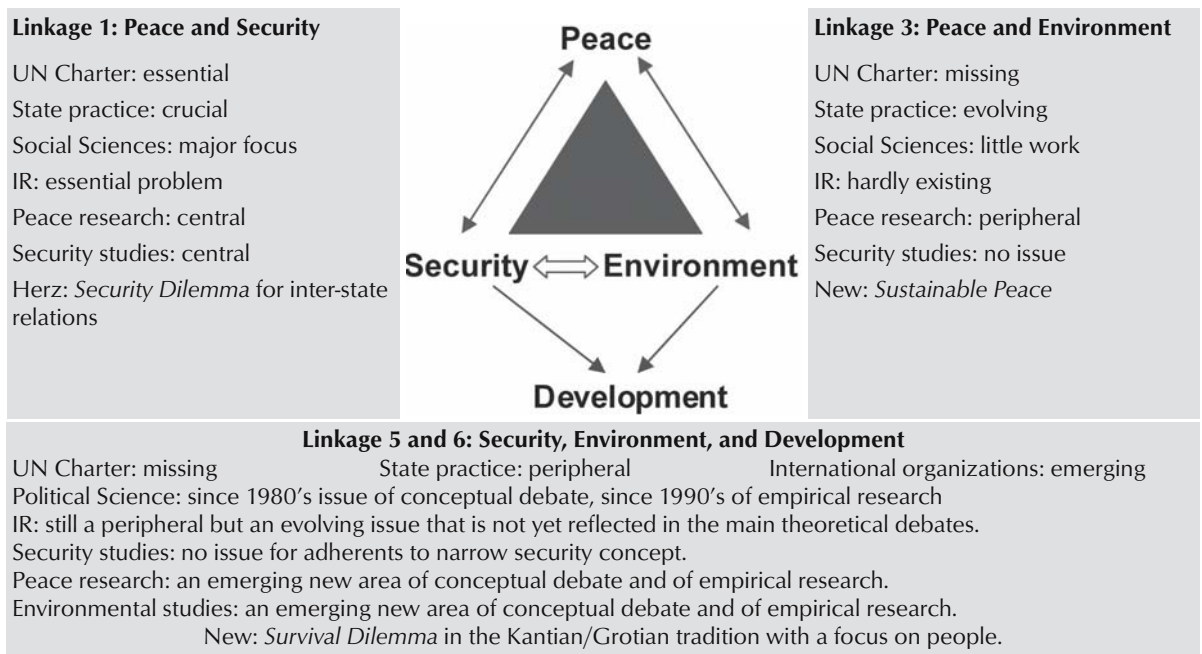
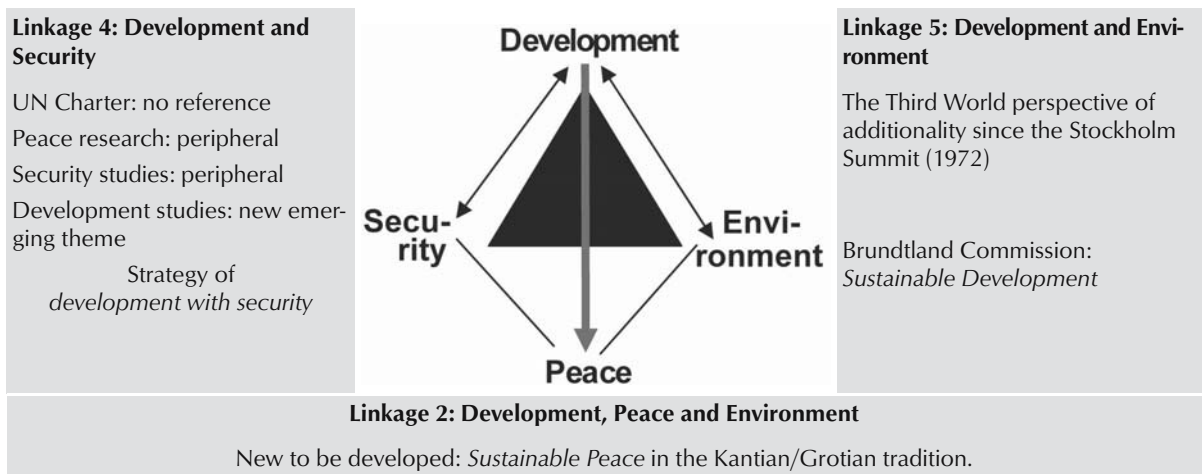


Figure 3.3: Southern View on Linkages between Development, Security, Environment, and Peace



- a *pessimist* or *Neo-Malthusian view* stimulated by Malthus' *Essay on Population* (1798) that stressed the limited carrying-capacity of the Earth to feed the growing population (Meadows/Meadows/Randers/Behrens 1972; Meadows/Meadows/Randers 1992; Brown 1977);
- an *optimist* or *Cornucopian view* that believed an increase in knowledge, human progress, and breakthroughs in science and technology could cope with these challenges (Lomborg 2001, 2001a, 2001b, 2002);
- an *equity oriented pragmatist* (Homer-Dixon 1999; Brauch 2003, 2005).

Table 3.3 combines the three traditions on peace and security with these three standpoints on the environment. This leads to nine positions on peace and security and environmental issues.

Wars cause a loss of life of soldiers and civilians, destroy economic values and infrastructure, and damage the environment. Peace shifts the environmental impact of human behaviour to consumption, unequal distribution, and use of resources, e.g. food surplus in the industrial North and its insufficient supply and distribution in developing countries that are also more vulnerable to environmental hazards and social disasters. Droughts often lead to famine and hazard-

Table 3.2: Peace and Security as Seen from Three Ideal Type Worldviews.

Worldviews	Realists	Rationalists, Pragmatists	Idealists, Constructivists
Eastern tradition	Tzun Tse,	Confucius	Lao Tse, Gandhi
Western tradition	Thucydides, Machiavelli, Hobbes, Clausewitz, Lenin	Grotius, Pufendorf, Locke, Burke	Kant, Woodrow Wilson
Arab, Muslim tradition		Ibn Khaldun, Anwar Al Sadat	
African	Idi Amin	Nkruma, Mandela	Nyerere
Mesoamerican	Pachacuti, Topa Inca, Itzcóatl, Moctezuma I, Axayacatl, Tizoc, Ahuizot	Nezahualcōyotl, Nezahualpilli	Moctezuma II
USA	F.D. Roosevelt	Washington, Jefferson	Martin Luther King
Schools of International Relations	structural or (neo)realists old or critical geopolitics	liberal neoinstitutionalists	Social constructivists
Research programmes	War, strategic or security studies		peace research (polemologie)
International Relations specialists	Carr, Morgenthau, Waltz, Kindermann	Wight, Bull, Buzan	Boulding, Alger, Albrecht Czempiel, Senghaas
Key categories	Power, alliances	Cooperation	International law, human rights
Goals and concepts of peace	<i>Negative peace</i> : lack of direct personal violence	Both <i>negative</i> and <i>positive</i> peace	<i>Positive peace</i> : lack of (structural) violence, peace with social justice
Goals and concepts of security	External, domestic, national, international security reaction: armament	Widened security concept (military, political, economic, social, environmental)	'human security' 'human survival'
Pattern of security 19 th and 20 th century	John Herz: <i>Security Dilemma</i> (1950) (state focused: action-reaction processes)	Kant: 3 rd preliminary article in his <i>Eternal Peace</i> (1795)	
21 st century		<i>Survival Dilemma</i> ('people centred')	
Principles of security	Superiority and general balance of power	Balance of power	Limited inferiority (Self defence)
Referent object	Nation state	State, international organization	Human being, transnational actors, states, IGOs
Explanation model (for arms, armed forces)	External factors: action-reaction process	Mixture of external and internal factors	Domestic factors: <i>autodynamic process</i>
'Mind-sets'		Worldviews of policy-makers ^a	
Order of Vienna (1815)	Metternich, Talleyrand	Castlereagh	Tsar Alexander (?)
Order of Versailles (1919)	Clemenceau	Lloyd George	Wilson
Order of Yalta (1945)	Stalin	Churchill, Roosevelt	
Order of Paris (1990)	Bush, Thatcher	Mitterrand, Kohl	Gorbachev (?)

a.) This list categorizes these conceptual architects relative to the others that participated in setting up the international orders of Vienna (1815), Versailles (1919), and Yalta (1945). This categorization does not necessarily imply e.g. that Tsar Alexander (1815) and Gorbachev were acting as 'idealists' (e.g. on domestic or foreign politics), but they used 'idealist' arguments during the debate on the new international order. This categorization was inspired by Holsti (1991) and Osiander (1994), and was published first in Brauch (1996a).

induced internal displacement. Neo-Malthusians stressed the linkage between environmental scarcity and violent conflict.

From a *Cornucopian view* Lomborg (2001: 317) challenged the Neo-Malthusian pessimism that global warming would decrease food production and increase extreme weather events, but he acknowledged

Table 3.3: Worldviews and Standpoints on Security and Environmental Issues. **Source:** Brauch (2003, 2005).

Worldviews/Traditions on peace and security (→)	Realism (Tzun Tze, Thucydides, Machiavelli, Hobbes)	Rationalism, pragmatism (Confucius, Grotius)	Idealism, constructivism (Kant, Gandhi)
Standpoints on environmental issues (↓)	Power matters	Cooperation matters	International law matters and prevails
Neomalthusian <i>Resource scarcity</i>	I. Military, economic power solves resource scarcity	II. International cooperation will solve resource scarcity	III. International law and cooperation solves resource scarcity
Equity-oriented pragmatist <i>Cooperation will solve problems</i>	IV. Military, economic power and cooperation will cope with environmental issues	V. International organizations and regimes will address/contribute to adaptation/mitigation	VI. International law and environmental cooperation can cope with global environmental change
Cornucopian neo-liberal <i>Technological ingenuity will solve problems</i>	VII. Military, economic power and technological innovation avoids resource scarcity	VIII. International cooperation, organizations and regimes and technological innovation can cope with global environmental change	IX. International law and cooperation as well as technological innovation cope with global environmental change

the high cost of global warming and that developing countries are hit most due to poverty and lesser adaptive capacity. From the third perspective peace improves the conditions for environmental policies. Resource scarcity is often a result of unequal domestic distribution and of a lack of equity in the international division of labour.

Below Úrsula Oswald Spring (chap. 5) reviews the linkages between peace and environment and the conceptual and policy-oriented contributions on sustainable peace as seen from the South. She explores the physical, structural, cultural and gender violence, the positive and negative peace concept, as well as feminist peace. On the environment she discusses the Gaia approach, deep and social ecology, ecofeminism and the possibility of an ecofeminist peace, before she explores the challenge of the concept of ‘sustainable peace’ and the potential for linking it with sustainable development and gender equity. Southern countries and their vulnerable social groups are particularly affected by wars and complex emergencies where the effects of global environmental change and their impact on hydro-meteorological hazards often lead to social disasters. She concludes with a discussion of the future of ‘sustainable peace’ for Southern countries, its potential, limits, and capacity to increase equality and equity for women and the socially vulnerable.

3.4.3 Linkage 3: Concepts of Peace and Development

While the peace research programme emerged during the Cold War as a critical response to cold war policies and to prevailing realist approaches in security or strategic studies, development studies evolved with the decolonization process in economics and political science as a field of study that focused on the processes of economic and human development and on causes of underdevelopment. What conceptual linkages have evolved between both concepts and research fields, and how has the global turn of 1990 impacted on both?

While in peace and security studies three traditions have been distinguished (table 3.2), on development issues three basic theoretical schools can be identified: a) modernization theorists, b) critical theorists, and c) since the 1980’s a third perspective evolved that stressed environmental issues and inter-generational justice (sustainable development). Between the three scientific approaches on peace (realists, rationalists, and idealists) and three approaches to development (modernization, critical theories, and sustainable development) nine positions emerge of which three are most pertinent, that of a) *realist modernization theorists*, b) *idealist critical theorists*, and c) *pragmatic supporters of sustainable development*.

During the Cold War period, the position of realist modernization theorists and professionals in national development agencies and international organi-

zations reflected the mainstream that influenced development policy that was often an instrument in the Cold War competition. Within international relations, some critical theorists analysed problems of (under) development from a peace research perspective critiquing both realist security concepts and dominant modernization theories by incorporating the thinking of Third World scholars (*dependencia*, peripheral capitalism), and supporting conceptually self-reliance.

But in both perspectives the environment played hardly any role. The Brundtland Report induced a conceptual reassessment towards 'sustainable development' and after the Chernobyl accident in April 1986, Soviet President Gorbachev (in 1987, 1988) was the first head of state who referred to the global ecological crisis, and as president of the Green Cross he has become a major spokesman for global sustainable development strategies. Stimulated by the Brundtland Report (1987), the concept of 'sustainable development' has been a primary focus of environmental diplomacy since the late 1980's, especially at UNCED in Rio de Janeiro (1992) and at UNSSD in Johannesburg (2002). This third position has been strong among theorists and development professionals in international organizations after the Cold War.

On the relationship between war and peace and development, two main political arguments coexist. The negative economic impact of war on development have been human fatalities, destruction of infrastructure, wealth and capital, devastation of the environment, as well as high indebtedness of the state and high interest rates as a constraint for economic activity. As a result of wars, in post-war periods the economic demand for reconstruction has been in many industrialized countries a stimulus for economic growth, high consumption of fossil energy, and technological innovation. In the South periods of peace, security, and domestic stability have been a major precondition for economic and social development. Since 1990, the developing countries did not experience a peace dividend. Rather, some of the weapons to be disarmed in the North were sold or smuggled to the South where violent internal conflicts have occurred in Africa, Asia, in south-eastern Europe, and in Central America primarily due to greed (drugs, diamonds, timber, etc.) rather than to scarcity of natural resources (SIPRI, PRIO, HIIK, Human Security Centre 2005, 2006), involving warlords and criminal gangs.

In chap. 6, Indra De Soysa assesses the relationship between development and armed conflict and

outlines the beneficial impacts of increasing globalization for peace and security. Contrary to popular opinion, he demonstrates that poverty and conflict are part of a natural resource trap and that the relative abundance of natural wealth affects economic and governance outcomes. He challenges the view that conflicts have increased since the end of the Cold War, and that civil violence within states has decreased quite dramatically in the past decade. Organized violence that was enduring and persistent during the Cold War has given way to what some term the 'residue' of warfare, opportunistic, criminalized violence that is easily addressed with concerted efforts of peace enforcement and traditional policing. He demonstrates that systemic factors underlie the promise for the future, while internal factors related largely to governance and underdevelopment still pose risks. The pre-eminent threat to human security is violent civil conflict, which remains a high impact, high probability around the world, contrary to the low probability, high impact of natural disasters that most human security studies dwell on. In conclusion he identifies policies for mitigating these risks.

3.4.4 Linkage 4: Concepts of Development and Environment

The linkage between development and environment has been stressed by developing countries since the environment summit in Stockholm when many of their representatives called for 'additional' efforts and funding by the North to deal with global environmental issues that were to a large extent caused by industrialized nations since the industrial revolution with the tremendous growth in consumption of scarce resources and fossil energy that resulted in a human induced global warming. The controversy between modernization and critical theories of development since the 1960's was not about the environment. Since the late 1980's the controversies have increased between proponents of sustainable development and those of the neoclassical modernization theory and critical theories on development.

In chapter 7 on 'emergent sustainability' Casey Brown discussed 'the concept of sustainable development in a complex world'. He argues that the preoccupation of the developed world with 'sustainable development' and the lack thereof is perceived by some as a threat to the security of the developed world, in particular global warming is being seen as the most prominent transnational environmental security threat. Brown explores the concept of sustainable de-

velopment and the linkages between economic growth, the environment, and society. Given the uncertainties regarding the future and the complexity of the human-nature system, a new scientific and policy framework is needed. Relying on complexity science he argues that top-down approaches yield unreliable results. He points to a need to provide the conditions that the human-nature system manifests sustainability as an emergent trait that contribute to economic growth and good governance. His chapter begins with a brief review of the concept of sustainable development, followed by an introduction to complexity science. Then, the three key tenets of sustainable development, economic growth, environmental protection, and social justice are evaluated critically for their relevance to the concept of sustainable development and prospects for implementation.

3.4.5 Linkage 5: Concepts of Development and Security

Peter Uvin (chap. 8) reviews the link between development and security: with a special focus on the genealogy and typology of an evolving international policy area. He presents a broad overview of the evolving paradigms of thinking and action at the intersection between development and security. He focuses primarily on major rich countries and on the World Bank and OECD that provide most of development assistance and define the practical terms on which it is given.

From the perspective of development professionals, the chapter analyses when and why they became concerned with matters of security, including the impact of the end of the Cold War and of 11 September 2001 on development policy and practice (genealogy), and what they do (typology) by presenting an overview of operational and policy approaches to the development/security nexus. In the conclusions, the author points to the shrinking intellectual and operational gap between development and security since the early 1990's. This theme is discussed from other perspectives by Katseli (chap. 54), Sending (chap. 48), and by Klingebiel and Roehder (chap. 58).

3.4.6 Linkage 6: Concepts of Security and Environment

The debate on linkages between security and environment has also evolved since the Brundtland Report (1987). Since then, three linkages between 'security' and 'environment' have been discussed: a) impact of

wars on the environment, b) peacetime impact of military activities on nature, and c) environmental problems leading to environmental stress that could, under specific socio-economic conditions, either cause or contribute to natural hazards, distress migration, domestic, bilateral, regional or interregional crises and conflicts that may involve the use of violence and force. Three phases of the debate have been reviewed elsewhere (Brauch 2003, 2005, 2005a), and several proposals for a fourth phase have been made (Dalby 2002, 2002a; Brauch 2003a; Dalby/Brauch/Oswald 2008; Oswald/Brauch/Dalby 2008).

In chapter 9 Dalby focuses on the innovations in the thinking in the early 21st century. He argues that the linkages of scarcity leading to violence are more complicated than was assumed in the 1980's, and that these relationships must be understood in a broader context. The links between violence and environment in conflicts over resources are often matters of political struggles over the control of abundant resources in poor economies. Global climate disruptions may cause more damage to poor peoples than any locally caused environmental disturbances.

The linkages between security and environment are sometimes formulated as a basis for policy initiatives, ignoring the critiques frequently directed at such thinking. Much of the early literature took security for granted and it was closely linked to private property and the protection of the social order that was causing many of the disruptions. The focus of the discussion has shifted and new perspectives emerged. This chapter suggests that political economy and political ecology insights about connections between peoples and places are connecting with analyses of global environmental change so that human vulnerabilities and their causes get a better emphasis. Policy recommendations now focus more on human security and vulnerability, and on the multiple implications of resource wars, rather than on the potential of environmental degradation for causing overt large-scale violence.

3.5 The Four Pillars of a Widened Security Concept

Four conceptual pillars were introduced above emerging from the linkages among the four key components of the conceptual quartet: the classic state-centred 'security dilemma' (3.5.1), and the new people-centred 'survival dilemma' (3.5.2), as well as the concept of 'sustainable development' (see chap. 7 by Brown), and

the related concept of ‘sustainable peace’ (see chap. 5 by Oswald Spring) that were discussed above.

3.5.1 Security and Peace: The State-Centred Security Dilemma

Elements of the ‘security dilemma’ concept can be traced to Kant in his *Treatise on Eternal Peace* (1795). The term was first coined by John Herz (1950, 1959) to interpret the linkage between fear and armament during the bipolar Cold War. After the end of the Cold War, the concept has been used as a key term of security analysis (chap. 40 by Brauch). With this concept John Herz (1950, 1959) referred to the propensity of countries “to acquire more and more power to escape the impact of power of others”, a tendency that has resulted in a vicious circle of mutual arms build-up. Herbert Butterfield (1951) referred to it as a ‘predicament of Hobbesian fear’ or as the ‘Hobbesian’ dilemma. But Herz disagreed with the thesis that mutual suspicion and the security dilemma have resulted in a continual race for power and armaments resulting in unending wars. Herz (1996: 231) defined it as

a social constellation in which units of power (states or nations) find themselves whenever they exist side by side without higher authority that might impose standards of behaviour upon them and thus protect them from attacking each other. In such a condition, a feeling of insecurity, deriving from mutual suspicion and mutual fear, compels these units to compete for ever more power in order to find more security, an effort which proves self-defeating because complete security remains ultimately unobtainable.

Alan Collins (1995: 11–15) pointed to “four characteristics of a security dilemma: uncertainty of intentions, no appropriate policies, decrease in the security of others, and decrease on the security of all”. Jervis (1976: 66) wrote that “the unintended and undesired consequences of actions meant to be defensive constitutes of the ‘security dilemma’”, while Wheeler and Booth (1992) labelled them a “security paradox”, and they considered “insecurity as the central characteristic of the security dilemma” (Ralph 2001: 17–19). In Jervis’ (1982: 361) view “the security dilemma cannot be abolished, it can only be ameliorated,” while Wheeler and Booth (1992: 29) claim that “the theory of security communities and the practice of international politics among liberal-democratic states suggests that the security dilemma can be escaped, even in a setting of sovereign states.”

Wheeler and Booth (1992: 54) argued that with the emerging post Cold War security community “peace is

predictable; the security dilemma has been escaped.” For Czempiel (2002: 31) the security dilemma is no objective result of analysis but a societal and group determined phenomenon that is created by self, world, and enemy images in the tradition of the political culture of the respective country that may reflect both ethnocentrism and ideological fundamentalism. For Czempiel, the security dilemma is no exogenously existing factor in an anarchic international system but the result of “deliberate choices of particular governments” (Wheeler/Booth 1992: 43). For the constructivists the security dilemma is also influenced by domestic politics (Wendt 1992: 402, 1995: 71–81). Czempiel challenges the use of the ‘security dilemma’ by realists as an ahistoric theorem derived from the uncertainty of international anarchy. He also redefined the concept as the product of domestic politics.

3.5.2 Towards a People-centred Survival Dilemma

Brauch has conceptualized a ‘survival dilemma’ from two perspectives: as a state and human-centred concept. Initially he argued that while the three global orders (1815–1989) were primarily based on power legitimized in terms of the *security dilemma*, the emerging new global challenges of the 21st century (Renner 1997: 25–6) may require a new international order based on a Grotian *survival dilemma* (Brauch 1996, 2000) that may necessitate additional multilateral cooperation in international security (arms control, terrorism) and environmental regimes (climate, desertification, water), and in international and supranational organizations. Coping with the new challenges, he argued that the zero-sum games of realist approaches of the 19th and 20th century must be replaced – from a Grotian or Kantian perspective – by non-zero-sum games where all major players should aim at the creation of conditions for the survival of humankind (Axelrod 1984).

Since 2004, he conceptualized the ‘survival dilemma’ within the discourse on environmental and human security as a ‘people-centred’ and ‘bottom-up’ concept where both the old (violence, conflicts, complex emergencies and wars) and new non-military security threats, challenges, vulnerabilities, and risks posed by the causes of global environmental change (climate change, deforestation, soil erosion and desertification, water scarcity and degradation), their impacts (hazards, disasters), and societal outcomes (forced migration, crises, complex emergencies and wars as well as conflict avoidance, prevention and res-

olution) have confronted individuals, families, communities with several unpleasant alternatives (or a dilemma) to stay in their threatened livelihoods and possibly to die from starvation and thirst, or to flee to refugee camps or migrate to the urban centres or overseas to gain better prospects for themselves and to support their families. These two facets of the emerging concept of a 'survival dilemma' try to combine both a top-down state-centred perspective with that of a people-centred human security approach (chap. 40 by Brauch).

3.6 Conclusion: Relevance of the Conceptual Quartet, Six Linkages and Four Pillars for the Analysis of Security

From a European perspective this chapter reviewed the four concepts of the conceptual quartet of peace, security, development, and environment by combining three scientific methods of a) etymology, b) conceptual history, and c) systematic conceptual mapping with an overview of the use of these concepts primarily in the four related research fields or programmes as they have been published in the English language and used in Western political science discourses. Complementary analyses from other cultural backgrounds, intellectual traditions, and disciplines and in other languages are needed to diversify this perspective. These four concepts are used in different contexts in common English language, in policy declarations, and in scientific analyses, and they often may mean different things to different authors, scientific schools and disciplines, which has sometimes complicated the scientific discourse.

The underlying epistemological interest (*'erkenntnisleitendes Interesse'*) and research question has been to try a conceptual mapping to which extent the global contextual change with the end of the Cold War (chap. 1 by Brauch) has triggered conceptual innovations primarily in the concept of security and its three other related concepts of the quartet (peace, development, environment) as they have been analysed by the four research programmes and can be observed for six dyadic conceptual linkages and for four conceptual pillars.

This analysis did not intend nor has it been able to offer simple answers. Rather, this book and the two related volumes on reconceptualizing security all attempt to contribute to an intellectual mosaic of a multi-disciplinary and multicultural mapping of the re-

thinking of security since the global turn of 1989–1990. The changes have been significant as the widening, deepening, and the sectorialization of the security concept illustrate. As this is an ongoing process, where the securitization has shifted from the narrow military focus of the Cold War to many newly perceived security concerns posed by global environmental change, and most particularly by climate change.

Awarding the Nobel peace prize of 2005 to Wangari Maathai, an environmental activist of the Greenbelt movement and in 2007 a deputy environment minister of Kenya, and putting 'human security' and 'climate change' on the agenda of the UNSC in 1999 and in 17 April 2007, are all indications of an ongoing change in the thinking on and use of the 'security' concept in its relationship to peace, development, and the environment. With the securitization of 'climate change' the threat is posed not by 'them' (the other, the enemy) but by 'us' (human beings and humankind alike), by those who have posed the threat by the consumption of fossil fuels that have contributed to anthropogenic climate change (Oswald/Brauch/Dalby 2008).

This requires a fundamental new policy of peace and security where sustainable development and sustainable peace are two strategic components to deal both with the 'security dilemma' among nations (top-down perspective) and with the 'survival dilemma' posed for the most vulnerable and poor people (bottom-up perspective) in the developing countries.

4 Peace and Security: Two Evolving Concepts and Their Changing Relationship

Ole Wæver¹

At least one thing about security seems to be agreed on by most authors – it is something good. In other words, the very term ‘security’ is positively value-loaded. And precisely for this reason much less agreement exists on what clear meaning to attach to that word (Wiberg 1987: 340).

[P]eace researchers and security researchers are relatively close to each other, sharing important dimensions in their analysis or the whole language of the analysis for that matter, only disagreeing on some basic points right at the beginning. There is mutual understanding, but also a feeling that the other party is simply wrong when it comes to those basic assumptions (Galtung 1988 [1987]: 61).

For when they shall say, peace and safety; then sudden destruction cometh upon them, as travail upon a woman with child; and they shall not escape (I Thessalonians 5:3).

4.1 Introduction

‘Peace’ and ‘security’ are closely related concepts. Yet there is strikingly systematic variation in the usage of one or the other. One chapter in this story is also a major element in the histories of ‘peace research’ and ‘security studies’ as intellectual disciplines. During the Cold War, it was widely assumed that mainstream policy research was guided by the concepts of power and security. It was crucial to the self-conception of peace

research to take ‘peace’ as the aim in contrast to that traditional interest. Similarly, there were ‘peace movements’ in the street, rarely ‘security movements’, while governments worried about ‘security problems’, not ‘peace problems’.

During the 1980’s, the re-orientation of much peace research, especially in Europe, was largely a move towards ‘security’ and a rapprochement with strategic studies under this guiding theme. Similarly, strategic studies became re-labelled security studies in many places. ‘Security’ became a meeting point for creative scholarly debates during the last years of the Cold War and the first post-Cold War years. Ironically, peace emerged during the 1990’s as a powerful policy term – this time from the West in the shape of ‘democratic peace’. The politics of ‘power’ and ‘security’ has not stopped creating surprises. In parallel to all of this, the tandem of ‘peace *and* security’ has its own trajectory mostly within the politics of the UN Security Council.

This chapter places this history of peace and security *research* in the larger context of a dual conceptual history of peace and security. The chapter proceeds by asking the following questions: Peace has a long conceptual history (as explored by several peace researchers), but what has been the particular meaning of ‘peace’ in different phases of the 20th century? When could it be invoked for what purposes? Similarly, and much less studied: what has been the historical meaning of ‘security’ and how should we understand the particular 20th century centrality of this concept? Finally: how did the two concepts relate to each other in different periods and contexts, e.g. why is it that the magic formula of the UN Security Council with which it can turn an issue into a Chapter VII matter (and thereby grab extraordinary powers) is to label it a matter of ‘international peace and security’? Many hear this as a typical UN pleonasm, but in the light of the continuous and complex relationship between the two concepts, it is more likely that sense

1 This chapter is an extended remix of “Peace and Security: two concepts and their relationship”, published in the *Festschrift* for Haakan Wiberg; Stefano Guzzini and Dietrich Jung (Eds.): *Contemporary Security Analysis and Copenhagen Peace Research* (London: Routledge 2004b): 53–65. The author appreciates the permission of the editors and the publisher to use parts of the initial text and to develop this chapter further. The new enlarged version is greatly influenced by the unusually penetrating, knowledgeable and inspiring comments from three anonymous reviewers and the series’ main editor.

could be made out of this. Most importantly, such a stereophonic conceptual history can alert us to post-Cold War conceptual shifts and emerging patterns.

The chapter will not be heavily loaded with theory and methodology in relation to the analysis of concepts, but a hint for the particularly interested is 'Skinner-contextualized-by-Koselleck'. Both of these main theories within conceptual history agree that political and social concepts can not be approached as purely analytical questions enabling linguistic 'precision' and thereby better empirical analysis (the role of traditional 'conceptual analysis'), because politics often happens *through language*. Therefore, conceptual history has to be approached as important in itself and as a powerful way to read broader changes, not as something to be 'defined away' by conceptual clarification. The so-called Cambridge school of Pocock, Skinner, and others then focuses on particular 'speech acts' where the importance of a given historical text can be understood by re-constructing its context, that is: by understanding what was changed by a given *move* within the conceptual universe (Pocock 1985, 1996; Skinner 1978, 1988, 1989, 1996, 2002). In contrast, the German school of 'Begriffsgeschichte' led by Reinhart Koselleck, Werner Conze, and Rolf Reichardt has more emphasis on the integration of social and political history, and looks at larger, more gradual changes in contrast to the more point-oriented studies in the Cambridge tradition (Koselleck 1967, 1972, 1979, 2002). There are additional differences – including their privileged historical period and the relationship between synchronic and diachronic studies – and possible synergies, but this will do for now (Richter 1995; Palonen 2002, 2003; Wæver 2006).

As a final methodological note of introduction, it should be emphasized that this chapter focuses on the European/Western history of the concepts. The rationale for this is dual. First, that to do conceptual history, one should focus on *trajectories with actual connections*. Therefore, it is methodologically a very different – and difficult – thing to start saying that there is a concept in say Bengali or Vietnamese for 'the same thing' as security, because this entails to operate with a 'concept-free', de-textualized and free-floating 'idea' that in abstraction can be carried to different places; otherwise it is not possible to talk about 'the same'. Conceptual historians like Skinner, Pocock, and Koselleck have delivered elaborate arguments against this kind of study of 'ideas'. Any assumption of 'the same idea' can be avoided, when the study is organized around the continuous transforma-

tions of a specific concept, where the later concepts evolve out of the earlier.

Obviously, it is extremely interesting to study how different cultures and regions have thought and today think about 'security' and 'peace' (see the very inspiring chapters 11–22 below), but to combine and integrate multiple analyses like this in a methodologically sound way probably demands that one anchors them in the present. That is: *today* these local concepts have all become interpenetrated, because they have influenced each other, and it will therefore be possible in concrete studies to link traditions that emerged independently.

As it will be shown below, the mid-20th century history of 'security' is to a large extent driven by the USA selecting this as key concept, and given the political position of the USA, it spread. However, as argued generally by post-colonial theory, such processes are never simple mimicking, but always more in the form of hybridity. Thus, it might be inexplicable without the US factor, why shifts happened in say Japan (Sato 2000) and Germany (Kaufmann 1970: 71f) to concepts, we translate as 'national security', but these local concepts remained shaped by the imprint on them by local histories and previous conceptual moves.

The second part of the rationale is, that the *purpose* of this chapter is not to provide a comparative overview of different concepts of security and peace, but to show how the history of these concepts shapes current concepts and present politics – and how current politics can be understood in terms of textual moves in the landscape of concepts. Therefore, I need first of all to reconstruct the history that is most important to the main players I focus on for the present due to my own political possibilities and limitations, i.e. debates over theory and policy in Europe and North America. Although, surely politics will be understood better, when we give due attention to non-Western actors even within issues and stories usually presented as played out solely among actors in the North/West (Barkawi/Laffey 2006).

4.2 History of the Concept of Security until 1945

Security seems to be a straightforward concept, and therefore most of the discussion claiming to problematize it² has assumed that the critical part resided in its specifications such as 'national security' vs. 'common security' or 'human security', thereby not necessarily

historicizing the meaning of ‘security’ as such. Simultaneously, the ‘uncritical’ (mainstream, establishment, traditional) literature argued that there is no need to dissect the concept of security as used in international affairs, because it is a concept we know from our everyday experience, where we value it and accordingly should do so internationally (as a state) too.³ However, security as an idea, concept or aspiration is far from stable or simple.

Enter conceptual history. It is often surprisingly revealing to look back at the history of seemingly familiar concepts because they have changed more often and more radically than usually assumed, and at a minimum this should alert us to the specificity, contingency, and political content of contemporary usage. Potentially, it can in addition offer some clues to imprints and linkages still present in current concepts. The history of ‘security’ has been written a number of times – mostly in other contexts than international relations, but always of relevance to it (Winkler 1939; Kaufman 1970; Conze 1984; Delumeau 1986; Schrimm-Heins 1991–92; Rothschild 1995; Osiander 1998; Möstl 2002; Stoll 2003; Wæver 2006; Neocleous 2006).

The words used in English and the Romance languages derive from Roman ‘securus’, ‘se’ meaning without and ‘cura’ worry. When introduced in the 1st

century BC probably by Epicureans and Stoics, it was primarily a *state of mind*, ‘the absence of distress upon which happy life depends’ (Cicero 1971 [45BC]: V. 14, 42 / 466–67; for a helpful discussion of this formative period, see chap. 17 by Arends). It was visibly a negation. Today we tend to think of security as ‘something’ (and its absence as ‘insecurity’), but to Romans a word for insecurity would be a meaningless double negative (Instinsky 1952). Since then, the concept has gone through a number of changes and mutations. Some of the most important are outlined in the following pages thematically along three dimensions (for a detailed chronological survey, see Wæver 2006).

Security has not always been a clearly positive term. Especially to Christians, it was highly ambiguous – only God knows with certainty about your salvation, and for you, human, to be ‘secure’ is presumptuous. Already in ancient Rome, it was more common to find *securitas* on non-Christian than Christian tombstones. The potentially negative meaning was present throughout medieval theological discourse, only to break into the open with Luther and Calvin (Winkler 1939; Delumeau 1986; Schrimm-Heins 1991–92). Mostly, however, this negative meaning did not get attached to *securitas* as such, but to related concepts which made for a complex story of mutual delineation and shifting boundaries of security and its family of concepts. The concept of *certitudo* in particular became a vehicle for gradually developing a modern, unashamedly positive attitude to security.

Another important dimension of change relates to subjective and objective senses of security. Today, we tend to interpret this through a perceptual model, i.e. subjective means perception of the objective. Objective security is how threatened you actually are, and subjective is how you perceive (and misperceive) this. However, the original Roman concept of security does not fit this at all, because especially in Stoic thinking, the state of mind is the crucial level of reality not reductively derivative of or secondary to something more real. It takes a mental effort of most of us moderns to think of objective and subjective in this way. Throughout its conceptual history, security has changed on this axis several times. For two centuries, the concept split into two separate concepts (*sûreté* vs. *sécurité*; safety vs. surety/security; Delumeau 1986: 11–4) only to merge again. This strange ‘episode’ introduced objective security and the subjective/objective complexity led the way to probabilism. A conception of security as future-oriented and defined in terms of probability has been central to the concept ever since.

2 This statement refers to the whole literature starting out in the large 1970’s and gaining momentum in the 1980’s, arguing for new or widened concepts of security – from the ‘common security’ of the Palme Commission (Palme 1982) to various articles “Redefining Security” (Ullman 1983; Mathews 1989) mostly with reference to the environment. This 1980’s literature mostly argued straightforward and in empirical terms for ‘widening’ in order to get a more ‘correct’ security concept, without much reflection on the politics and the sociology of science hereof. The ‘wideners’ (so labelled and discussed in Buzan/Wæver/de Wilde 1998) transmuted in the 1990’s – especially in Europe – into a more theoretical literature organized around various new ‘schools’: Critical Security Studies, Copenhagen School, Paris School, feminism, etc., which sometimes meant more attention to ‘security’ as such, but often stayed at the level of *using* security in discussions between different applications of security. A notable exception, already reflecting on the concept of security as such was *People, States and Fear* by Barry Buzan (1983).

3 This is implicit in most mainstream writings, where it is assumed that we all know what is security is from our everyday experience, and now we discuss how to attain the same at the level of states. This becomes most explicit in some of the more conceptual pieces from within the mainstream: Baldwin (1997).

A final dimension to draw attention to is what we today call the 'levels of analysis' question, or 'security for whom?'. Many would grant that security in pre-modern times meant different (and irrelevant) things – with the birth of the modern state, security started to appear in ways that we can assimilate to 20th century ideas of 'national security', they would say. Yes, the state becomes the centre of security thinking (in the political realm) – but far from the way it is commonly assumed! To Hobbes and other key early modern thinkers, including notably the early liberals, the state is at the centre all right, but security – also to the state – is ultimately *individual security* (Rotschild 1995; Wæver 2006). The right of the individual to self-preservation is the starting point of Hobbes's Leviathan argument. The ultimate meaning and measure of security is individual security, but it is procured through vesting authority in the state.

Before the 20th century, security was not at all a key concept or the organizing centre of international thought. A first step in this direction came with collective security of the inter-war period. The status quo powers used 'security' as their 'watchword' (Carr 1981 [1946]: 105) exactly because it blurred the distinction between national and international. It served to proclaim "an identity of interest between the dominant group and the world as a whole in the maintenance of peace" (Carr 1981 [1946]: 82). Thus, the rhetoric of security in Britain and especially France, used security both at the collective level, where it meant status quo, peace, and anti-revisionism and at the national level, where it meant no compromising with national interests. No wonder that the first (and critical) conceptual history of security was written in the 1930's and by a German (Winkler 1939, published by the Prussian Academy of Sciences).

Today the general image of the historical development is that one always had a policy in the name of national security, and at some point it was argued: the national approach is deficient, let's have collective security. It is rather the other way round: '(in-) security' in some vague sense was a general concern, one word among many to use together with fear, danger, safety, etc, but the politically operative concepts were peace, war, order, and interest; then 'collective security' became a slogan and approach; and 'national security' got established, drawing meaning from the then already established 'collective security'. The conceptual pair 'national security' is more of a reaction to 'collective security' than the reverse.

In the 1940's the concept of 'national security' made a spectacular entrance in the USA and gained

surprising centrality (Yergin 1977). Among the reasons for this swift terminological change were the difficulties of civil-military coordination during World War II, partly reflecting the difficulty of mobilizing the USA for enduring militarized efforts given the US suspicion of 'standing armies'. To handle a long-term geopolitical rivalry with the Soviet Union, the US needed a concept to express an effort with both military and non-military components and justify a policy above normal political vacillations.

The concept entrenched itself in the USA and spread globally – very soon it seemed to have been always with us – probably because it 'borrowed' content from another concept, which had been undermined. The traditional idea that the state in extreme situations had a right to call on necessity and *Raison d'État* (Meinecke 1976 [1923]; Schnur 1975) had become less and less viable in modern democracies. 'Security' took over much of this idea of radical challenges justifying extreme measures. A state has to do what a state has to do – that used to be a valid argument in itself, but with the rise of the rule of law, liberalism, and democracy, this logic of necessity was compressed from a general right to a special case of 'the exception' or 'state of emergency'. It found a new place in general politics in the form of 'national security'.

In the post-war period, security has a particular international-affairs meaning distinct from its everyday sense (and certainly not the product of simply combining 'national' with a trans-contextual 'security'). This is the core of the theory of 'securitization' (Wæver 1995, 1997; Buzan/Wæver/de Wilde 1998; Wæver/Buzan/de Wilde 2008). Internationally (and increasingly in other contexts), the meaning of 'security' is what it does: someone (a securitizing actor) points to a development or potentiality claiming that something or somebody (the referent object) with an inherent right to survive is existentially threatened, and therefore extraordinary measures (most likely to be wielded by the securitizing actor himself) are justified, measures such as secrecy, violence and conscription, appropriate for 'matters of security' only. By this move, an issue is lifted above normal politics and attains urgency and precedence. This facilitates easier action but also de-politicization domestically and an increased risk of vicious circles (security dilemmas) internationally, because the actor freed from constraints becomes more threatening to others, not least to the one that is assigned the quality of threat. That something is a security issue means it is too urgent and dangerous to be left to normal politics – it needs to be ad-

dressed through the logic of necessity and extraordinary measures.

4.3 History of the Concept of Peace until 1945

If we follow the same trajectory as for ‘security’, i.e. from Rome through West and Central European history to include North America and eventually a Westernized world, we again have to focus on first the interplay between Roman and Christian ideas and then the impact of the modern state. The Roman *pax* was a concept of absence of violence through order and unity based on the power of the centre (Galtung 1981: 187). *Pax Romana* included no *accommodation* with others; it was based on acceptance of hegemony (Oslander 1998).

In the Middle Ages, most developments took the form of modifications of a set of Augustinian differentiations within peace. True ‘peace and justice’ entailed an orderly world with everything in its proper place – and after the Fall this was not possible on Earth. Here we could only aspire for *pax temporalis* in distinction to *pax aeterna* in the hereafter (Janssen 1975: 548ff). (In one of the later moves, *pax temporalis* would be contrasted primarily to *pax spiritualis* as two worldly forms representing roughly political and church matters and thereby shifting attention increasingly to inter-human affairs; Janssen 1975: 551.) Among earthly peaces, one should distinguish between *pax vera* and *pax falsa*, because *Christians* after all would and should aspire for a better peace than the heathens – a just peace.

For the remaining part of the period until 1945, I will mention only the two most important shifts.

First, internal peace was ‘assured’ with the Hobbesian Leviathan. Civil war had been the dominant peace question for centuries, and when this concern retreated, peace became a domestic reality in terms of ‘public quiet and security’. The core meaning of peace accordingly moved towards external security during the 18th century (Janssen 1975: 564f., 586).

Second, the enlightenment introduced a systematic hope for peace in the sense of ruling out war from the social order. Michael Howard’s *The Invention of Peace* (2000) starts off with a mid-nineteenth century quote from Sir Henry Maine: “War appears to be as old as mankind, but peace is a modern invention” (2000: 1). Howard argues:

The peace invented by the thinkers of the Enlightenment, an international order in which war plays no part,

had been a common enough aspiration for visionaries throughout history, but it has been regarded by political leaders as a practicable or indeed desirable goal only during the past two hundred years (Howard 2000: 2).

Reason both demanded peace and promised the means for its realization. A realm of law and reason would exclude its antithesis, war. In most peace plans, it was not enough to ask gradualistically for increasingly sensible policies: a once-and-for-all switch had to be found if peace should be credible and stable. A correctable error in human society had to be located. The political order was a prime candidate with the expectations that republics (later: democracies) would produce peace, and some would emphasize the economic order where a shift from mercantilism to free trade would ensure peace. Peace through perfection became an aspiration for centuries to follow.

The ‘ceasefire’ of negative peace⁴ could not be the central object of the thinkers of the Enlightenment and liberalism. Although valuable as such, an unstable vacillation between war and peace was still an affront to reason. With their optimism about progress, they naturally set ‘perpetual peace’ as the important – and realizable – aim (Janssen 1975: 586f).

This vision of *pax aeterna* on earth became possible only when secularization had freed political thought from the remaining constraints of the Augustinian categories. Yet in another sense, secularization far from implied a departure from these ideas, but rather their rearticulation as categories internal, not external, to this world (Janssen 1975: 544f, 567ff).

The French Revolution showed how possession of the key to peace naturally leads to a thinking in terms of just war and interventionism along transnational political lines (oppressed vs. oppressor) (Janssen 1975: 573–5; Herz 1950). Self-righteous ideas about our side having or being the key to peace while the opponent

4 The terms ‘negative peace’ and ‘positive peace’ stem from the Norwegian peace research pioneer Johan Galtung. It does not mean ‘bad’ and ‘good’; the idea is basically, that negative peace is defined purely negatively, by what it is not, i.e. the absence of violence. Positive peace is social justice. Positive peace eliminates the root causes of war and violence. They were hardly present as two separate concepts much earlier, and therefore it is a consciously anachronistic observation to ask here whether a concept like ‘negative peace’ could be thought at that time. As the history here shows, the concept of peace emerged out of a quite ambitious basically ‘positive peace’-like concept of general order into an increasingly narrow concept of non-war, and this enabled the Galtungian clarification of the two concepts (Galtung 1964, 1969).

is inherently incompatible with peace leads straight into the 'nationalistic universalisms' which Morgenthau (1948) deemed a main cause of conflicts and diplomatic inflexibility. In policy talk, peace often ends up as an argument saying "We are peace; they are war" - and as a result, 'peace' is often the most violent concept.

Both negative and positive peace *can* de-politicize similarly to the securitization act. Negative peace did so when war (partly as a consequence of technological developments) became defined as absolute evil. Positive peace did so when it was tied to a model of the perfect society (democracy, free market or socialism) fixed through extra-political (scientific?) means (Wæver 1996). In practice, peace discourse often worked to *politicize* because of the intricate multiplicity of meanings and the affinity between the establishment and war.

4.4 Interim Conclusion: Interplay of Security and Peace Prior to 1945

- Security and peace have usually been linked positively but often distantly, and their hierarchy has changed several times. Only with the modern state did they become closely tied together in one coherent package (Oslander 1998).
- During the Middle Ages, security was not a key concept, and when it slowly emerged as a political concept, this happened under the ascendancy of the concepts of peace and justice.
- With the modern state, however, the realization of domestic peace - often conceptualized as security - transformed the concept of peace towards an international problematique. To some extent 'security' (although not in our mid-20th century meaning) came to define peace.
- A distinct international concept of security took shape in the first half of the 20th Century, first as collective security, then national security. Peace during this period took on an air of desperation - at once more codified than ever culminating in war being ruled illegal, and simultaneously out of touch with troubled times in great power politics. Security became the operational concept, and gained momentum from the 1940s when it picked up the exceptionalist logic orphaned by the death of explicit 'raison d'Etat' justifications.
- Both peace and security hold histories far richer than what became tied into the modern package. Each had connections to other spheres and mean-

ings, but when they met, they were usually seen as constructively connected. The Cold War was different, because peace and security were played *against* each other to an unusual extent.

4.5 'Peace' and 'Security' during the Cold War

The Cold War section will focus on three elements: understanding the formula of 'peace and security' and its prominence in the UN system (and consequently in international law), looking at the East-West configuration in relation to peace *versus* security, and finally understanding what happened in the 1980's (which has a special self-reflexive meaning to the present author, the context he used to work in: the *Copenhagen Peace Research Institute* (COPRI), and to a considerable extent to the new critical theories of security in general).

The Cold War constellation is confusing because, on the one hand, a formula of 'peace and security' is prominent in international law and the UN, and on the other hand, the concepts of peace and security politically were far from interchangeable because only peace *or* security would be meaningful in the political language of one Cold War party.

4.5.1 'International Peace and Security' at the UN i

The charter of the UN uses the term 'international peace and security' frequently - probably adopted from the preamble of the Covenant of the League of Nations. "Nowhere in the Charter is the term 'international security' used alone, whereas the terms 'peace' or 'universal peace' can be found separately" (Wolfrum 1994: 50). 'Negative peace' is central because the main aim of the UN is to avoid (international) war. However, the broader aims of human rights, friendly relations among states and economic development, can be seen as a broad-based view of the causes of war or as 'positive peace'. 'Security' in turn is not used in terms of 'national security' but as 'international security'. International security does not negate national security; rather, it contains the assumption that true national security can only be realized as international security, while international security aims not at securing something international but at providing national security in a healthy way. This is a usage of the term 'security' largely in the inter-war meaning.

In one important respect, the UN construct does draw on the Cold War era meaning of security, its speech act function, even if not its national focus. The central operational mechanism of the collective security system is the ability of the Security Council to transform issues by enunciating the magic formula of “a threat to international peace and security” (Art. 24; Art 39 speaks of the obligation of the SC to “determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression”). The SC is openly given extraordinary powers here. Firstly, the consequences of ‘determining’ the existence of such a threat are momentous, truly transforming a given crisis. Not only can punitive actions be enabled, they can be made obligatory for states, and the ‘target state’ for these actions (‘the aggressor’) is deprived of the instrument of decrying interference in internal affairs and violations of its sovereignty, because in such chapter 7 actions, the Security Council acts with the authority invested in it by the collective exercise of states’ sovereignty and thus expresses the sovereignty of the state. Secondly, because most legal scholars agree that the formulation ‘threat to international peace’ is open to a dynamic interpretation, i.e. to include civil wars or even grave violations of human rights, even though traditionally it was quite clear that the notion presupposed “the objective existence of a threat of aggression by one state against another or a real risk of international armed conflict in some other form” (DUPI 1999: 62). Thirdly, the exercise of this labelling power by the SC is not to be scrutinized by any other organ. Legal scholars have contemplated whether the International Court of Justice should have some kind of overseer’s function of gauging the ‘constitutionality’ of such acts by the SC – usually concluding that this is not a viable road (Fassbender 2000). Because the capacity is self-referential, widening security implies strengthening of the SC (Koskeniemi 1995).¹

In conclusion, the anomalies of the UN compared to other discourses stem partly from importing inter-war language, partly from establishing ‘speech act powered’ security in parallel to the dominant function for the states, but centred on the Security Council. In this context, peace and security operate as a formulaic joint set.

4.5.2 Peace in the East, Security in the West

Otherwise, the concepts of peace and security were increasingly torn apart by the East-West split. Probably, a precondition for this was a weakening of the,

until then, seemingly simple concept of negative peace. The Cold War blurred the concepts of war and peace as famously captured by Raymond Aron: ‘peace impossible, war unlikely’ (Hassner 1997 [1995]: 14; Stephanson 1996).

Increasingly, security came to take the place of peace in the traditional sense of war prevention (Jahn/Lemaitre/Wæver 1987: 39). Security settled in between peace and peace, between negative and positive peace (Jahn/Lemaitre/Wæver 1987: 43f.).

However, as the Cold War unfolded, a split emerged between the terminology of ‘East’ (and Western critics) and ‘West’.⁵ The East was more inclined than the West to use the concept of peace, which consequently gained a ‘communist’ ring. The Eastern side was both comparatively less inclined to use ‘security’, which had no foundation in the theories of Marxism-Leninism (e.g. the authoritative *Reference Index to V.I. Lenin, Collected Works* contained several pages of references to ‘war’ and ‘peace’ but none for ‘security’; Jahn/Lemaitre/Wæver 1987: 71, note 63)⁶ and more inclined to use ‘peace’, paradoxically both positive and negative peace. Positive peace came natural to the East, which had more openly a philosophy of history and thus a basis for a vision about long-term

5 Seen from the third world and mobilized mostly through the non-aligned movement, both concepts were useful strategically as part of a ‘third party positioning’: peace as the larger, more programmatic basis for principled arguments and thereby useful in the recurrent pattern of cooperation of the Soviet bloc with the third world for instance in UN organs; and security was useful mostly at the ‘unit level’, i.e. pointing to the kind of security problems relevant to third world situations (Ayooob 1995). Both slogans could be adopted by the South and to some extent played back at its senders in respectively the East and the West. Most characteristic of third world approaches was probably a ‘positive peace’-like logic of development as precondition for long term stability and security. During their heydays of ‘New International Economic Order’ in the 1970s, the issue of *development and disarmament* became established in the UN system. The 1980 report from the Brandt Commission (Brandt 1980) aimed at showing the self-interest of the North in development for the South, and consequently development was cast as an issue of ultimate security interest - in a wider sense - thus paving the way for the new security theories of the 1980s.

6 Nor - as we saw above (cf. Wæver 2006) - was ‘security’ in its Cold War meaning actually a well established theoretical term in the West (although it was believed to be), but this was less of a problem in a less text-based political culture.

full peace. At the same time, the East was diplomatically more conservative and thus inclined to support negative peace. In relation to the political situation in Europe, the East aimed at a stabilization of the status quo to sanctify the outcome of World War II, especially the division of Germany and the re-drawing of borders around Poland and the Soviet Union.

The West was much more inclined to talk 'security', because of problems with both positive and negative peace. Positive peace was difficult because the West during the Cold War toned down its philosophy of history and its evolutionism, and thus removed the basis for a concept of eternal peace. As we see now after the end of the Cold War (cf. the next section), the West certainly *has* a theory of positive peace (primarily democratic peace, but also other strands of liberal and enlightenment thought), but so-called 'Cold War liberalism' stressed that in opposition to the dogmatism of totalitarianism, liberalism was without ideology, ultimate meaning of history, and excessive societal voluntarism based on scientific certainty (Arblaster 1984: 299–332). Such scepticist liberalism was not well equipped to embrace an idea of ultimate, complete peace. The West also had problems with negative peace, because, more vulnerable than the East to domestic opposition, Western elites feared that the nuclear threat would lead to appeasement à la 'better red than dead'. Therefore, the West tried to fight the idea that negative peace should be an absolute aim.

Security became the watchword of the establishment in the West. In the world of academe and not least policy research, this split reproduced itself as one between strategic studies (security) and peace research.

4.5.3 The 1980's: Redefining and Repositioning

This pattern changed in the 1980's. During what was then called the 'second Cold War' with the rise of peace movements especially in Western Europe aimed at preventing the deployment of new intermediate nuclear missiles, the intellectuals of and around the peace movements – including much of North European and especially German peace research – tried to adopt the term 'security', which had previously been a monopoly of the mainstream. This was controversial within peace research, because, being associated with the autistic syndrome of deterrence and arms racing (Senghaas 1969, 1972a; Guzzini 2004), security had been seen as part of the problem, not the solution, by 'orthodox, critical peace research' since the 1970's.

'Real peace researchers' worked under the banner of peace, not security, the Third World and not Europe, and ultimately saw the solution in the fields of development or cosmology, not security policy. But both social-democratic intellectuals and many peace researchers linked to the peace movements tried to avoid the radicalism of 'peace' and 'disarmament'. This probably stemmed in part from that fact that these reformists actually believed in their own securitization of the nuclear danger, and therefore it seemed irresponsible to abstain from all partial change with the argument that only by leaving the track of Western, exploitative, patriarchal, growth-oriented, materialistic capitalism all together could peace be achieved in a decentralized, autarchic, green, gender-balanced, Buddhist alternative society based on holistic, spiritual values. Although the relationship between the peace movement and peace research was never an easy or harmonious one (Jahn 1983), the fact that a powerful peace movement existed at the time, meant that peace research faced questions of 'policy relevance' largely parallel to those often debated within mainstream scholarship in relation to policymakers of the state. Individual scholars can choose more or less close or distanced relationship to policy as such, but the fact that the situation was open to critical ideas transformed the intellectual game, making it more difficult to take exclusively extremist positions of despair and total transformation.⁷

The reformists, in contrast, tried to move closer to the mainstream by picking up the term security, but redefining it. Much of the 'redefining security' business stems from this move. New concepts like 'common security' and 'security partnership' (and non-offensive defence⁸) were introduced, and security itself was to be widened beyond its military constraints. Some of the radicals occasionally took to the task of redefining security too (partly as a reaction to the re-

7 It might even be argued that the dynamic of movements like the peace movement demands a dualism of radical activists and reformist scholars or policymakers (Wæver 1989, 1997: ch. 6). The movement creates rupture from without through forms of politics (marching in the street) and languages (peace instead of security) that ultimate play on the metaphors of revolution and people power. However, this ability to challenge and frighten the meaning system of the establishment by transgression, also makes the movement mute on the inside of the system – it speaks the street speak of peace. It is therefore crucial that the direction of its impetus is guided by reinterpretation within the language of security – thus the dualism.

formists?) and this led to some of most extreme widenings in the history of security thinking (Galtung, Øberg).

Security became a battleground. The so-called 'widening security' debate is often referred to as an academic debate – whether the wide or the narrow concept is 'correct', and whether widening spoils the analytical usefulness of the concept by making it blunted (Walt 1991). However, the debate was first of all a political struggle. Should e.g. environmental issues attain the prominence and urgency implied by 'environmental security'?

Still, the peace movement was a *peace* movement – even in the 1980's. This conceptual non-accommodation (i.e. not becoming a security movement) befitted radical opposition. The word from the street was 'peace' exactly because it was shocking in its meaninglessness within Western mainstream thinking on international affairs, just as the form of the movement – masses in the street – was threatening in the political culture of Western liberal democracy. Both constituted metaphorical violence, with the advantage of shaking the edifice of the security state, but with the disadvantage of not being able to talk with it, and thus a tension-ridden dualism emerged with a movement talking peace and its intellectuals talking (reformed) security (Wæver 1989).

This mood of the early 1980's was well captured by Barry Buzan in a 1984 *Journal of Peace Research* article arguing that security was the inclusive middle-

ground avoiding the extremism of peace (peace research) and power (IR realism and parts of strategic studies).

My own thinking was shaped by working for 13 years at the Copenhagen Peace Research Institute, COPRI. It was created in the mid-1980's against the background outlined here. It was a child of the 1980's. Most other peace research institutes in Northern Europe had been set up in the 1960's and 1970's, but Denmark being a latecomer to this, COPRI so to say avoided the 'conservatism' of old school peace research and the suspicion against the 'new realism' of security oriented peace research. It was set up, revealingly, with two projects aimed squarely at the 'rethinking security' agenda, one on non-offensive defence in Europe, and one on 'non-military aspects of security in Europe'. Through the work of mostly Anders Bose-rup and Bjørn Møller, the Institute made major contributions to the non-offensive defence literature, and the other main project can roughly be said to have evolved – under the leadership of first Egbert Jahn, then Barry Buzan – into what is now known as 'the Copenhagen School' within security studies (cf. chapters 1, 3, 22 by Brauch, chap. 41 by Buzan, chap. 45 by de Wilde and chap. 44 by Wæver)⁹. While COPRI was never very 'peace research'-like as prejudices go, it was not only because it got a tolerant and non-sectarian first director in Håkan Wiberg, but it was also because it was formed at the height of this neo-security wave within peace research. It therefore came to epitomize this pattern more than most other institutes. Or the causality is in the opposite direction: I tell the story the way I do in this chapter because I am a child of COPRI.

8 In the 1980's, peace researchers especially in Germany but also in e.g. Denmark, Sweden, and the UK worked on devising 'alternative defence', 'non-aggressive defence' or 'non-offensive defence'. Although the focal concept here was not security but defence, the *organizing* concept was in many cases security, typically in the form of common security and the theory of the security dilemma (Herz 1950; Jervis 1976). The idea was to break the typical pattern of insecurity, arms races, and deterrence, by ensuring that both parties felt secure with a defence strong enough compared to the offence of the other side, but in a form that did not create insecurity for the other, i.e. a defence tailored truly as defence. By ensuring stability at the conventional level, much of the impetus would be removed also from the nuclear system which was partly driven by at least rhetoric of propping up insufficient Western defences against Soviet conventional superiority (Boserup 1986, 1988). The best overviews of this whole literature are found in Møller 1991, 1992. Through networks like Pugwash, these ideas entered the Soviet 'think tank' circles (the institutes) and it is often claimed that they had decisive influence on the formation of Gorbachev's 'new thinking' (Risse-Kapen 1994; English 2005)

9 Beyond these two original projects, many other significant developments took place at the institute including the work around Pertti Joenniemi on Baltic regionalism, Hans Mouritzen's theories of small state adaptation, work by Ulla Holm, Lene Hansen and others on national identity and foreign policy, etc. COPRI was de facto closed, technically merged into the larger semi-official DIIS, the Danish Institute of International Studies, a think tank with closer ties to the foreign ministry. About COPRI, see: Guzzini/Jung 2004 and the cumulative publication lists on http://www.diis.dk/graphics/COPRI_publications/COPRI_publications/publications/wor kingpapers.htm; http://www.diis.dk/graphics/COPRI_publications/COPRI_publications/publications/14-2000.doc.

4.6 'Peace' and 'Security' after the Cold War

After the end of the Cold War, peace reappeared as a Western concept. The 'absolute' concept was revalued when it seemed closer to realization. With the 'end of history' in sight, liberalism mutated back from scepticist, Popperian Cold War liberalism to the more evolutionary and optimistic belief in its own truth. When the task of the West changed from fighting a Cold War to building a 'new world order', it suddenly remembered that it actually had a long-term vision of peace as democracy (and/or liberalism) (Rasmussen 2001a; Williams 2001).

President Bush senior declared in 1989 'Once again, it is a time for peace' (quoted by Rasmussen 2001a: 341). The famous 'New World Order' speech at the end of the Gulf War (6 March 1991) was phrased mostly in terms of peace - 'enduring peace must be our mission'. President Bill Clinton made the theory of 'democratic peace' a guideline for policy. NATO enlargement is so hard for Russia to oppose because it is presented apolitically as the mere expansion of the democratic peace community, i.e. as something apolitical and inherently 'good' (peace), thereby pre-framing any critic as self-exposing old-fashioned 'power politics' (Williams 2001)¹⁰. The 'war on terror' after 11 September 2001 has surprisingly few references to either peace or security - note the name 'Operation Enduring Freedom' - but President George W. Bush's address on 7 October 2001 ended with 'Peace and freedom will prevail', and the (in)famous 'axis of evil' was presented (29 January 2002) in terms of a 'threat to peace'. Peace has become the overarching concept within our duo.

At the level of policy, 'security' in turn is possibly being transformed by an increasing interaction with the concept of 'risk'. Society's reflections on itself are increasingly in terms of risk (risk society). More and more dangers are the product of our own actions, and fewer and fewer attributable to forces completely external to us - thus threats become risks (Luhmann

1990; Beck 1992; Bauman 2001; Giddens 1991; Evers/Nowotny 1987; Douglas/Wildawski 1984). This goes for forms of production and their effects on the environment and different social groups, and it goes for international affairs where it is hard to see the war on terrorism as a pure reaction to something coming to the West from elsewhere. Western actions in relation to Middle East peace processes, religion, migration, and global economic policy are part of what might produce future terrorism. The short-term reaction to the 11 September attacks on the US in 2001 might be a re-assertion of single-minded aspirations for absolute security with little concern for liberty and for boomerang effects on future security (Bigo 2002), but in general debates the 'risk' way of thinking about international affairs is making itself increasingly felt (Coker 2002; Rasmussen 2001a, 2001b, 2002, 2006; Beck 2002; Spence 2005; Aradau/van Munster 2007; Petersen 2006; Heng/McDonagh 2007; Williams 2007). We have seen during the last 20 years a spread of the originally specifically international concept of security in its securitization function to more and more spheres of 'domestic' life, and now society takes its revenge by transforming the concept of security along lines of risk thinking (Wæver 2006).

While it is tempting to tell this novelty in terms of a *shift* from security to risk, it is worth noting that 'security' simultaneously has gained in standing and reach. In the shadow of the falling twin towers in 2001 and the ensuing 'global war on terror', 'security' has risen to a new centrality in public policymaking. Projections of possible global epidemics and environmental mishap are among a number of issues now framed as security concerns. With the increased 'demand for security', the practice field escapes its classical confines (Bigo 1996, 2000, 2001, 2002, forthcoming). Military security increasingly focuses on terrorism, which does not respect the traditional distinction between a state's external and internal security. Military operations often turn into policing abroad. Intelligence agencies oriented towards domestic and foreign challenges overlap more and more. Migration is often cast as a security issue, equally conflating internal and external: police, border control, the fight against international organized crime and in some cases inter-civilizational conflict. Issues like the environment, food safety, pandemics, bring in areas of expertise far beyond the traditional security studies field. Risk-assessment in relation to energy, industry, transportation, and health enter national security under the heading of 'critical infrastructure protection'. Economists analyse risk at different levels of analysis,

10 This blackmail against Russia was re-played in 2006-7, when Russian opposition to US unilateralism in general (Putin's big Munich speech in February 2007) and to American missile defence plans in particular were handled in the Western press almost uniformly in terms of what silliness or bad habits led Russia to re-create the Cold War, not in terms of possibly legitimate objections to a US world order strategy that increasingly floated as military practice void of political legitimization since the decline of neo-conservatism (Wæver 2007a).

but face challenges e.g. in relation to terror to the relationship among the categories of uncertainty, economic risk, and political risk. Each of these areas assesses, measures, and compares something like risk, danger or threat, but they do it in different ways. All of them are based on or closely tied in with academic disciplines, and they are no longer separate. Notable about this whole development is, that from policy-makers and research planners, all of this is increasingly dealt with under the rubric of 'security' (see for instance the agenda for research in 'security' under the EU's 7th Framework Programme to begin in 2007).

Multi-disciplinarity will be the heart of the next phase of theory in security studies (Wæver 2007b). Multi-disciplinarity not as a nod of political correctness questioning all disciplinarity as limiting, but as a necessary translation exercise among disciplines which are already placed together as elements of an expanded security field. *'Security' is today a thoroughly inter-disciplinary challenge, where different academic fields already are co-constitutive of different parts of security as a practice field.* Rationalities and theories from different disciplines are built into the way society handles different challenges: from economic risk analysis over technical system assessments to military threat analysis. Inter-disciplinary work is needed to keep up with actually ongoing transformations in the social construction and handling of threats, risks and security, and even if the different disciplines tried, they could not protect the purity of their independent objects of analysis, because the different rationalities are already intermingled.

While risk theory certainly seems to have a lot to offer in terms of understanding both bureaucratic issue management and the nature of issues, from a policy perspective it seems that much is still integrated into an expanded security agenda. To what extent this means a basic change of the underlying 'security rationality' (Huysmans 2006) that carries the securitization speech act function of security, remains to be seen, but it seems that security will remain the dominant concept for discussion and prioritizing of dramatic challenges, including the possibly more and more pressing issue of how to mediate and measure the two main areas of terrorism and climate change.

Another, and partly related, development in relation to 'security' is the consolidation of the concept of 'human security' especially in UN-related diplomacy (Alkire 2002; Suhrke 1999; Khong 2001; Burgess/Owen 2004; de Wilde 2007). The concept as such is introduced and discussed elsewhere (see

Brauch/Oswald Spring/Grin/Mesjasz/Kameri-Mbote/Behera/Chourou/Krummenacher 2008), so suffice it to notice here that the heart of this conceptual innovation is a close linkage between development and security (For an excellent critical analysis of 'human security' as practice, see Duffield/Waddell 2004). While at first the concept appears – and usually is meant to be – a progressive shift from security in the interest of states towards caring for real people, the effect of the slogan might well be to feed into the above discussed general formation of an ever wider remit of 'security' as a form of governance, and thus a foundation for addressing more and more aspects of global life through the problematic lens of security.

Where 'peace' has returned to the West as a grand ideological framing concept of world order policy and ultimate solutions, 'security' has become the organizing concept for an ever growing part of social life organized through emergency policy and extra-ordinary measures.¹¹ Possibly, it could be argued that the third concept, 'risk', is increasingly important for the *mode* of thinking about threats and dangers.

To round off the policy level, it is also necessary to look at the practices in the UN system in relation to 'peace and security', but this can be done briefly due to the meticulous chapter 35 by Bothe in this volume: It corresponds to the development in the concept of security in general, because the UN Security Council has expanded the area of applicability for 'threats to international peace and security' and thereby increased the number of global situations that poten-

11 In contrast to the political theory literature on 'permanent state of exception', the securitization perspective has the advantage of looking at issue specific exceptionalism. Although the US from 2001 to ca. 2006 was in a situation where a general climate of vague and general danger enabled violation of normal procedures in area after area (torture, wire tapping, etc.), the legitimacy of this has clearly been worn down (at least as long as a new attack like 9-11 does not happen), and other Western societies have been far more careful. Therefore, to focus on 'state of emergency' or general exceptionalism is problematic and leads into an unhelpful trap, where either one argues that this has been introduced and thereby loses a critical edge against specific measures (all is already lost anyway), or it is argued that we do not have this emergency and this plays down the very real infringements. Therefore, securitization is in most cases a more helpful perspective than 'permanent state of emergency', since it alerts us to the political struggle at each particular step as well as the very real dilemmas about whether to securitize or desecuritize for instance climate change.

tially come under the particular management though security of UNSC action through Chapter VII authority. Threats as direct inter-state conflicts have been expanded to include predominantly internal conflicts and humanitarian crises as threats per se (see chap. 35 by Bothe). AIDS has been labelled a security threat too, without however implying – so far – enforcement under Chapter VII. The fight against terrorism, in contrast, has moved after 11 September 2001 into the area where not only the terrorists and direct support of them are condemned, but specific actions against terrorism are mandated through Security Council decisions. Most recently, climate change was placed (by the British presidency) on the UNSC agenda for a first discussion on 17 April 2007, and although this was very far from creating support for any Security Council action, it is worth noting that in principle there is nothing that prevents the UNSC from in the future designating climate change ‘a threat to international peace and security’ and then enforcing e.g. global rules for CO₂ emissions (Penny 2005).

Academically, this general picture of what happens to peace and security helps to understand the development of peace research and security studies.

‘Security studies’ and ‘peace research’ were shaped in important ways by the particular Cold War context, though not the way it is often implied in fast politicians’ statements about the post-Cold War irrelevance of peace research. ‘Peace research’ and ‘security studies’ (or rather ‘strategic studies’) meant respectively to oppose or to accept the official Western policy problematique. Today, it is the other way round. ‘Peace research’ might be dated because peace is so apologetic as to be intellectually uninteresting, while ‘security’ is potentially the name of a radical, subversive agenda.

Peace research has run into something of a crisis for a number of reasons. One has to do with its association with positions and debates from the Cold War, and another with its meta-theoretical problems. Peace research was predominantly sceptical to new post-structuralist and constructivist approaches in the 1980’s, where they started to find their way to the International Relations discipline. This was somewhat ironic, given the implicit constructivism in both much of the early to middle Galtungian conflict theory and the parallels in German peace research à la Senghaas with later constructivism (Guzzini 2004), but in the situation the disciplinary leaders in peace researchers generally rejected the new radical approaches for much the same reasons as the old guard tried to do it in IR (alleged relativism, over-focus on language at the

price of ‘reality’, etc). The result was that much of the theoretical innovation that partly came out of peace research ultimately came to be seen more as International Relations and/or Security Studies than peace research. Even innovative work on peace and violence coming from the new approaches, such as Vivienne Jabri’s book *Discourses on Violence* (1996), were not given as much attention in Peace Research as in IR. As often is the case, creativity happened at the inter-disciplinary interstices of disciplines, but the more rigid gate-keeping in peace research made it less dynamic as a field than it had deserved, due to what it actually generated. Finally, the fate of peace research probably had a lot to do with the evolution of peace:

Peace was clearly an oppositional term in the West – and South – where most of the peace research took place during the Cold War. After the Cold War, peace became a much more problematic term because the establishment in the West suddenly claimed to represent the supreme policy of peace. This tended to drive peace research in the direction of either partaking in mainstream research like quantitative studies on the democratic peace theory (reinforcing thereby the meta-theoretical traditionalism mentioned above), or into accelerating radicalism and alternativism pointing towards culturalistic negation of Western society. In principle, this situation could allow also the possibly more promising strategy to exploit the inner paradoxes of the democratic peace (see Geis/Brock/Müller 2006), but so far the new concept of peace has mostly caught peace research off guard and contributed to a generally difficult situation.

Security studies in contrast went into a relatively productive period from the mid-1990’s and the following decade. The issue is too large to cover here – and has been treated elsewhere (Wæver 2004; Wæver/Buzan 2007; Buzan/Hansen forthcoming), but security studies entered a theoretically productive phase, which took the form of two relatively unconnected tracks. Mainstream security studies anchored in the US had a set of industrious debates, where general International Relations theories with security focus were tested on historical case studies oriented towards relevant knowledge about current policy challenges for especially the US. Simultaneously, a more critical type of security studies evolved primarily in European journals and mostly European research institutes. For reasons partly explicable through a combination of sociology of science (Wæver 2007c; Wæver/Buzan 2007) and the different world political perspectives from the US and Europe (Buzan/Wæver

2003), these two streams diverged to the degree that many participants in one form of security studies are unaware of the other kind.¹²

The European part is probably most relevant to introduce here, because it most clearly links to the debates on the concept as such. As nicely captured by Jef Huysmans (2006), the ‘widening’ debate of the 1980’s to 1990’s had really been two kinds of debate. On the one hand were those who were concerned for the effect on the concept of security if say ‘environmental security’ and ‘societal security’ were included as security (Walt 1991). On the other hand were those who pointed to the possible detrimental effects on the environment, migrants, and ethnic identity issues if these were being dealt with in the perspective of security (Deudney 1990; Wæver 1995). It was the former that structured most of the debate for and against widening, but as this debate evolved into new theories and perspectives of a more constructive nature – Critical Security Studies, Copenhagen School, Paris School, etc. (see Krause/Williams 1997; Buzan/Wæver/de Wilde 1998; Bigo 2001, 2002, forthcoming; Huysmans 2006) – the second debate became more central: What is it we are doing to issues when we turn them into security issues? Who do this and how? What is the role of the public political process versus specialized security agencies like police, military, intelligence, and customs (Bigo 2002, forthcoming; Huysmans 2006; Diez/Huysmans forthcoming)? What is our own role as security analysts in the light of this understanding of the nature of ‘doing security’?

This evolving theoretical field of family-related ‘schools’ in productive exchange (and with numerous individual studies drawing on elements from two or three different schools/theories) corresponds well to the evolution of the practice fields as a growing governance of still more issues through security.

Currently the theoretical landscape is made up of several schools, but this should not be taken as a battleground between incompatible perspectives with clear and fixed boundaries, but rather as a general intellectual space with discernable social nodes as well as some distinct theories. Probably the previous triangle of “CSS, Copenhagen and Paris” has gradually changed, because CSS has failed *as theory*, has proven unable to generate much of helpful analytical instruments, and in its place is a general ethical obligation

to think about political responsibility, and in the policy world ‘human security’ largely fills the place of CSS. In the theory debates, a triangle has rather emerged of Copenhagen, Paris, and political theory about the nature of the political (inspired partly by R.B.J. Walker partly by neo- or post-Schmittians reflecting on exceptionalism). Jef Huysman’s recent book *The Politics of Insecurity* as well as the ‘manifesto’ by a group of mostly young security scholars under the name ‘C.A.S.E.’ Collective’ (CASE 2006) represents a kind of dynamic synthesis of these three schools.

As suggested above, another likely tendency for the evolution of security theory ‘European style’ is an increased emphasis on inter-disciplinarity. As the new field of security practice increasingly integrates forms of knowledge and rationality coming out of economists’ risk analysis, safety analysis in fields like traffic, health and infrastructure, sociologists’ risk theory, lawyers reflecting on emergency and exceptionalism, anthropologists analysing local/global security and cooperation with sociology of religion, for instance, the next phase of security theory is likely to be defined by the challenge of mediating these different rationalities and understanding the different modes of assessing danger/risk/threat as well as the implied concepts of peace and security in the different disciplines (Wæver 2007b).

Peace and security are likely to remain powerful political categories, and therefore it is important to stay attuned to often subtle changes in their meaning and thereby in the practices imbedded in speaking and doing peace and security.

12 A revealing way to see the two disciplines is to compare two recent textbooks, such as Kolodziej 2005 and Collins 2007, not to take cases with an even larger distance like Jordan/Taylor/Mazarr 1998 and Huysmans 2006.

5 Peace and Environment: Towards a Sustainable Peace as Seen From the South

Úrsula Oswald Spring

5.1 Introduction¹

This chapter links analyses on environmental deterioration with peace efforts in a wider cultural context where an economic model based on wasteful fossil energy use, social inequality, consumerism, fashion, and growth concentrated within small elites has brought both the planet and society as a whole to its limits of survival. This has affected regions, cultures, and social classes differently; especially Southern countries and vulnerable groups have been the major victims. Since the late 1980's, due to increasingly adverse socio-economic, political and natural environments, women, indigenous peoples, the poor and marginalized urban grass root movements (Schteingart 2006) have increasingly been confronted with a 'survival dilemma' (see Brauch 2004 and chap. 42 in this vol.) which has forced them to develop specific 'survival strategies' (Oswald 1991).

These socially vulnerable and often marginalized groups have collectively organized (Larrain 2005), and developed a model of life for everybody (MST 2005, 2003; Le Bot 1997, see chap. 27 by Oswald in this vol.) and not only for small and wealthy elites. Confronted with the concentration of wealth, environmental deterioration, cultural homogeneity and personal uncertainty, increased by drug consumption and a loss of trust, several UN agencies have developed the new concept of 'sustainable peace' (Peck 1998), in analogy to 'sustainable development'.

This raises the question whether a focus on 'sustainable peace' will be able, in a context of cultural diversity, to conceptualize the present socio-physical, psychological, cultural, and environmental destruction. Are these conceptual and policy efforts capable of constraining the centripetal forces of destruction within an increasing violent context? They increas-

ingly rely on traditional values of non-violence and consensus-building that emerged in diverse cultures (Salinas/Oswald 2002; Rupesinghe 1998; Mandela 1994; King 1998) during millennia. Can these new processes and the recognition of the active role of women in peace-building and environmental protection offer practical alternatives for a peaceful resolution of antagonisms without destroying environmental and social networks further?

This chapter briefly reviews conceptual reflections on peace by exploring physical, structural, cultural, and gender violence, the positive and negative peace concept as well as feminist peace (5.2). It then offers reflections on the environment focusing on the Gaia approach, deep ecology, social ecology, ecofeminism and eco-Marxism, and it explores the possibility of an ecofeminist peace (5.3). Thereafter the chapter discusses the theoretical and political challenge of the concept of 'sustainable peace' (5.4) and it reviews the potential of linking sustainable peace with gender equity from a historical and regional perspective (5.5). Southern countries and their vulnerable social groups are particularly affected. Also, the majority of wars occur there. This complex situation gets further aggravated by the effects of global environmental and climate change and their increasing impact on hydro-meteorological hazards that often lead to social disasters. Finally, the future of sustainable peace for Southern countries will be explored, its potential, limits and capacity to increase equality and equity for women and the socially vulnerable (5.6).

5.2 Conceptual Reflections on Peace

The term peace is related to the well-being of any person. It is a generally accepted value. In most cultures it is a type of desideratum linked to harmony, tranquility, cooperation, alliance, well-being, and agreement. As any socially constructed concept peace has been

1 I am deeply grateful to Hans Günter Brauch for his constructive criticisms.

historically transformed and many new elements have been integrated. From a way to resolve conflicts violently through war, initial negotiation processes were designed, finding their legal expression in 1648 in the Westphalian Peace Agreements² where the foundations of modern international law were laid and the principles guiding the relations among sovereign states were adopted. This 'negative peace' that ended the Thirty Years War in Europe was later widened – in many peace proposals – with concepts and proposals for a 'positive peace' and complemented with a state-centred focus on security that prevailed until the end of the Cold War, some 341 years later. Since the 1990's gradually a deepened and multidimensional understanding of security has evolved, taking besides military also human, societal, environmental, and gender security into account (Brauch 2003, 2005, 2005a, 2007, 2007a, 2007b, 2007c).

This chapter links dominant peace theories with the destruction of the environment and the discrimination through gender relations (Muthien/Combrinck 2003; Muthien/Taylor 2002, Serrano 2004). As peace is a central part of personal and social identity in a world where the value systems, ideas, and practices are changing rapidly, it explores the new concept of 'sustainable peace'.

It started with 'preventive diplomacy', a term developed by Dag Hammarskjöld, later adopted by Boutros Boutros-Ghali, and today used in different governmental discourses and practices in interna-

2 This agreement ended the bloody Thirty Years War (1618–1648) in Central Europe. Due to the complexity of the conflict and the power interests of Emperor Ferdinand II and his son Ferdinand III, and his allies on the one side and the kings of France and Sweden on the other side, the negotiation process changed the existing European power structure. Besides a general and unlimited amnesty, the consequences were the end of the community of nations under the control of the pope and the emperor, and the birth of a modern system of states. As the Habsburgs were defeated, they expanded their imperial interests into the Balkans. As religious unity under the pope had now become unfeasible (what undoubtedly was a victory for the Protestants) a new international norm, understood as the principle of equilibrium, was developed. The Peace of Westphalia (1648) opened the way for political, ideological and religious tolerance, thus avoiding that imperial forces could intervene into the internal affairs of a constituted state or monarchy. But since 1648 it became soon evident that the powerful dictate, the fulfillment or failure of agreements were substituting the ideological fight of the 16th century with territorial ambitions in the 17th and 18th centuries (López 2004: 892).

tional relations. This strategy tries in a preventive way to avoid the escalation of conflicts into violence and to avoid violent conflicts from spreading. Prevention is based on political solutions and was widely employed in the African context to support peacefully the emancipation of these peoples to a dignified life. Nevertheless, the results in form of violent conflicts and civil wars, e.g. in Cote d'Ivoire, Liberia, Sierra Leone, in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), as well as the coup in the Central African Republic require a more active diplomacy in Africa, involving a Pan-African perspective and an African Security Corps (Saruchera 2004; Goucha/Cilliers 2001).

5.2.1 Physical, Structural, Cultural and Gender Violence

Johan Galtung, a Norwegian peace researcher, analysed first the 'physical violence' as a cause of war and the process to avoid and stop this inhuman behaviour after World War II. He defined 'negative peace' as the absence of direct or 'physical violence'. In the 1970's, inspired by the theory of 'dependencia' in Latin America, he developed the concept of 'structural violence' where people die or suffer as a result of injustice and economic underdevelopment. To counter these structural dangers, Galtung suggested the concept of a 'positive peace' where discrimination and exploitation was substituted by justice and solidarity. Finally, during the 1980's he added 'cultural peace', as a process of acquired behaviour able to respect all differences and to be tolerant with other cultures through a learning process from their historical and present experiences of peace (Galtung 1971, 1982, 2007).

These concepts were enriched by multiple peace reflections worldwide. Since the 1960's, the consolidation of post-war global capitalism threatened the development and peace efforts in Latin America, where often direct and covert interventions from the Northern neighbour generated coups, civil wars, and massacres. 'Dependencia' theory evolved (Marini 1973; Dos Santos 1978) in the 1970's in Latin America and was developed further by scholars elsewhere, such as Galtung (1971), who transformed it into his theory of 'structural imperialism' and Senghaas (1973) into 'auto-centric development'.

The Orient contributed the concept and practice of non-violence with other humans and nature to world knowledge (see chap. 11 by this author and the chap. by Dadhich in this vol.). From the Indian tradition the '*ahimsa*' concept (Parmar 2003; Gandhi 1984, 1993, 1966) signifies not to do harm to any living or-

ganism as all forms of life are successive forms of re-incarnation and development of the spirit. China's Taoism proposed a harmony among sky, earth, and humans generating cosmic energy which is the way to intelligence and fruitful life (Kongfuzi 551–479 BCE; on Lao Tse, Watkin-Kolb/Quing 2000; Durant 1956; Paper 1997). In Mesoamerica indigenous societies, living in difficult environmental conditions, have also developed a deep respect and unity with nature and a profound knowledge on environment management (see chap. by Sánchez in this vol.).

Finally, the dark history of gender discrimination, intra-familial violence, feminicides, rape, trafficking of women and girls, aggression against women and children have created higher vulnerability of women (Söderberg 2004). This is reflected in the unanimous acceptance on 31 October 2000 of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 that reinforced the ongoing gender mainstreaming in the UN bodies, and has tried to transform gender equity into a guiding principle for Member States' commitments. The crucial role of women in development (Collin 2005; Oswald 2001; Shiva 1988), environmental protection (Pickup 2001), knowledge transmission (Harding 1991; Haraway 1988; Lagarde 2000; García 2004), gift-economy (Vaughan 1997) and in peace-building (Boulding 1992, 2000) came up, when the Beijing Platform was articulated in Agenda XXI (Rio de Janeiro 2002) as well as sustainable development efforts (Oswald 1999). Therefore, the reinforcement of civil society with active participation of women (Valenzuela 1991; Tomasevski 1993) is crucial for the future of a sustainable planet with a quality of life and peace. In synthesis a peaceful world has simultaneously to overcome physical, structural, cultural, and gender violence (Muthien/Taylor 2002).

5.2.2 Positive and Negative Peace

Based on Galtung's work on violence and peace, since the 1970's the study of peace has distinguished between 'negative' and 'positive' peace. The first focus on 'negative peace' addressed the process on how to reduce or eliminate the negative relations which led to violence and destruction, including also arms control and disarmament (Brauch/Clarke 1983). It also means absence of war and physical violence. In a peace process the first step to peace-building is stopping the armed confrontation and most of the reflections on pacifism are linked to this negative peace (David 1999). The Roman tradition systematized the absence of war (*si vis pacem para bellum*), however, it also in-

troduced a notion of positive peace, where agreements have to be respected (López 2004).

Meanwhile, the concept of a 'positive peace' suggests eliminating the structural and cultural violence which creates or maintains directly or indirectly unjust structures in social, economic, cultural or political terms. It refers to a culturally diverse process which permits to analyse in different nations and cultures behavioural patterns that are able to consolidate a harmonious coexistence. It recognizes the possibility of violence, war, and discrimination, but promotes institutions for justice, democracy, tolerance, care, and solidarity (Galtung 1982; Salinas/Oswald 2002; Oswald 2000a).

The concept of 'positive peace' focuses its object of study on building more harmonious relations among humans (De la Rúa 2004; Ameglio 2002, 2004). In business relations the mediation process was developed to resolve the incompatibility and conflict of interests. In the post-war region the reconciliation concept was introduced (Reychler/Paffenholz 2001). It has been trying to heal traumata inflicted during war and open violence. Different strategies were developed such as the complex peace process in South Africa (Mandela 1994); research on rape and war crimes (Denov 2005), forgiveness through collective historical recuperation, e.g. of war horrors in Guatemala (Cabrera 2002; Padilla 2002); the '*kriiss romaní*' in the Romany culture (Armendáriz 2004; Rojas Venegas 2004); and '*gacaca*' a type of grass-root tribunal to compensate for the damages inflicted during the civil war in Burundi.

But no reconciliation process alone is able to progress when the structural elements of the conflict situation were not consciously removed and the root causes of the contradiction and their incompatibility taken into account. Then the processes of negotiation are able to consolidate and the behaviour can be changed in such a way that both parts could find a win-win situation to resolve the problems and to live in a more harmonious way together improving the situation of both. In this sense 'positive peace' means practices and changes towards a harmony of mind, spirit, and behaviour. As a general attitude cooperation is required, supported by positive expressions, emotions, and thinking to create a situation of greater equity that will be able to eliminate exploitation and discrimination (Oswald 2007).

'Social peace' was developed in the Occident, based on human development which offers people and individuals human, social, political, economic, and social rights (Kant 1965, 1981). These rights were

systematized in the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* of the UN in 1948. In social and personal terms it includes a process of peace-building oriented at a process of reciprocal caring which permits the integration of opposed elements and a positive effort to eliminate former negative feelings and exclusions, consolidating existing friendship, neighbourhood, good family, gender links (Tomasevki 1993) and worship. In this phase of awareness raising not only the physical and structural violence is eliminated, but also the cultural and social discriminations are surmounted.

'Positive peace' was initially proposed by Lao Tse and Kongfuzi (Tucker 1997), later reformulated by Kant (1965, 1981) in his 'eternal peace' and finally modernized by Senghaas (2004) in his 'earthly peace'. In their vision this concept also regulates the relations among states creating communities of nations able to cooperate and live peacefully together for their mutual benefit (Oswald 2007, see chap. II in this vol.).

The term 'international peace and security' is used both in the Covenant of the League of Nations (1919) and frequently in the UN Charter (1945). According to Wolfrum (1994: 50) the meaning of peace in the UN Charter depends on whether it is narrowly or broadly defined:

If 'peace' is narrowly defined as the mere absence of a threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state (Art. 2(4); 'negative peace'), the term 'security' will contain parts of what is usually referred to as the notion of 'positive peace'. This latter notion is generally understood as encompassing the activities, which are necessary for maintaining the conditions of peace.

After the horror of World War II, Europe decided to resolve the conflicts among states through negotiation processes and cooperation. Symbolically this started during the Korean War in 1951 with an integration agreement on coal and steel between France, Germany, Italy, and the three Benelux countries. Based on the treaties of Rome (1957), Maastricht (1992), and Amsterdam (1997), a process of European integration gradually emerged by reducing the disparities and gaps with compensation mechanisms among nations which facilitated the integration into the European Union.

Thus, structural and cultural discrimination was gradually lessened, economic and political cooperation has steadily become more intense, what has given this group of 27 countries (since 2007) an opportunity to consolidate its model of peaceful conflict resolution through negotiation as a model for the rest of

the world that has made war as a means of conflict resolution among its members unthinkable.

5.2.3 Feminist Peace

Systematic analyses of peace processes have shown that women were hardly involved in the peace-building and negotiation process (Boulding 1992; 2002; Reardon 1999; Reardon/Nordland 1994; Muthien/Taylor 2002). They have been directly affected by violence, oppression, and discrimination. But these have also had negative effects on men through civil war (Reardon 1966), economic crises, and a lack of physical, structural or human security (UNDP 1996–2005) as well as cultural security (Tickner/Mason 2002). Gender equity and equal political and social participation of women is still an objective (Fuentes/Rojas 2005; Harding 1991, 1988; Helfrich 2001) and different cultures have created diverse ways to reduce the gender imbalance, most of them through quota systems in work and political representation (Serrano 2004; Lagarde 1990). Undoubtedly nations with wider women participation are more peaceful. Conflict-prone areas or authoritarian governments have not yet included gender balance in their development agenda (World Bank 1992, 2006). An initial difference among concepts of feminist peace and gender security are their different objectives. While the first focus is on the essence of peace with its attributes, the second concept centres on mechanisms, asking for gender security of what and of whom, what are the values at risk, and from whom and from what the threats are emerging (see Oswald 2007, 2008).

Ecofeminism established a parallel relationship between male domination over women and environmental exploitation as a result of patriarchal undemocratic institutions which are maintaining privileges for small elites (Bennholdt-Thomsen 1994; Bennholdt-Thomsen/Mies 1999; Mies 1998, 1982) and social differentiation for the people, but creating at the same time also violence and injustice (Strahm/Oswald 1990). This process destroys internal and external peace, but affects also a peaceful coexistence with nature. The inclusion of feminist peace components obeys a new perception of holistic thinking where social ecology brought an innovative perception of the planet: the Gaia theory and deep ecology (Menke-Glückert 1994).

5.3 Some Conceptual Reflections on the Environment

Global and climate change (IPCC 1990, 1996, 2001, 2007; Crasswell 2005), desertification, water scarcity and pollution (Pérez 2006), urbanization (Scheingart 2006; Oswald 2006), biodiversity loss (UNEP 2001, 2004), and irrational resource exploitation (Meadows/Randers/Behrens 1972) have worldwide effects, threatening both industrial and post-industrial development and humanity. The Group of Rome pointed to the limits of growth and the scarcity of natural resources (Meadows/Randers/Behrens 1972). Later, more integral socio-environmental approaches have linked economic and environmental behaviour to its origin: *oikos* or home, proposing complex productive, biological, and philosophical paradigms (*Gaia*), where also social movements (Larrain 2005) and feminists proposed alternative subsistence models (Shiva 1988, 1993, 2003; Bennholdt-Thomsen/Mies 1999) to create a new relationship between nature and humankind (Shiva/Mies 1997).

5.3.1 Gaia Approach

As a result of the increasing destruction of the environment (Haavisto 2003; UNEP/PCAU 2004) more than half of the tropical rainforest is gone (UNEP 2004). Accelerated processes of urbanization (UNFPA 2003), unequal terms of trade in the world market (Calva 2007, 2003), and a widening and deepening in the conceptualization of security have made it necessary to consider the planet as one holistic world. The 21st century should be considered as the ecological century (von Weizsäcker 1995), where humankind as a whole is working together for international and local peace and security through a common and just policy of development. Technological power is no more in the hands of transnational enterprises for their own benefit (Kaplan 2002, 2003); instead it is oriented towards sustainable development with peace for everybody.

The origin of 'deep ecology' goes back to the post-war situation. Leopoldo (1949) understood land management with ethical concerns and Lovelock (1979) opened with his *Gaia. A new look at life on Earth* a fruitful discussion, followed by hundreds of environmental concerns. The Club of Rome discussed the limits of growth (Meadows/Randers/Behrens III 1972; McKie 1992) and the fallacy of the exploitation model of natural resources. The conflict between anthropocentric points of views related to cornucopian

answers (Gleditsch 2003), and the Jewish and Christian religious background was questioned (Brown 1995; Drengson 1989). A critical approach with multiple links was established with socialism (Barry 1995; Pepper 1993, 1996; Peper/ Voisey 1996), human wellbeing (Bragg 1996); Taoism (Bennet/Sylvan 1988); education (Bowers 1993); mysticism (Elkins 1989; Gottlieb 1995); ethics and values (Fox; 1989; Elliot 1995; Engel/Engel 1990; Fox 1993), and policy (Conley 1997; Eckersley 1992). A fruitful debate started among 'deep ecology' and 'ecofeminism' (D'Eaubonne 1974; Cheney 1987; Zimmerman 1987; Fox 1989; Kheel 1991; Salleh 1984, 1992) and the debate on a widening and deepening of the conceptual approach to security.

Menke-Glückert (1994) systematized ten commandments to re-establish a Gaia equilibrium: respect for the laws of nature; learning from the wisdom of nature; never reduce diversity and plurality; do not pollute; take daily the responsibility to leave a clean planet for your children; maintain in economic activities the sustainable principle; act with responsibility and reduce the environmental strain; prefer simple technology and small-scale solutions (Schumacher 1973); denounce environmental damages and pollution; listen to your own body and understand its early warning, remembering that we all are part of nature (Gandhi 1993, n.d.).

5.3.2 Deep Ecology

Rachel Carson's book *Silent Spring* in 1962 roughly marks the beginning of the international long-range deep ecology movement³. It is a branch of philosophy: 'ecosophy' (Naess 1972: 1989), considering humankind as an integral part of nature, developing an environmental ethic (García 1988). The name 'deep' comes from the fundamental philosophical question: does human life form part of the ecosphere or is the anthroposphere dominating nature (chap. 10 by Dalby)? Naess (1972), questioned value judgments such as an animal has an eternal soul, a reason, and is conscious about its acts and its relation to other animals. By including the science of ecology, Deval and Sessions (1985: 85-88) discovered that "everything is connected to everything else," looking beyond humans as the centre of the universe. Gaining more understanding of the wonders of the natural world, this current induced to practical involvement in defending

3 See David Orton's 2006 campaign "Make Peace with 'Nature' for voting green in Canada", at: <<http://home.ca.inter.net/~greenweb/GW63-Path.html>>.

the Earth, and opened one's eyes to a more biocentric world view. The shift in individual consciousness from a human-centred world view to that of the non human-centred deep ecology philosophy is always highly personal (Chapple 1997).

The relationship with Mother Earth opened a line to mysticism (Elkins 1989; Gottlieb 1995), ethics and values (Fox 1989, 1990, 1993; Elliot 1995; Engel/Engel 1990). Several spiritual currents based on Chinese Taoism and Indian Buddhism (also Zen Buddhism in Japan) permitted to re-evaluate nature and its living system, questioning the extreme anthropocentric and alienating culture (Lao Tse; Confucius; García 1988; Preiswerk 1984; Bennet/Sylvan 1988). The ethics of deep ecology forbids the exploitation of humans, giving values also to the non-human life on Earth, its biodiversity, and the obligation of people to respect this variety where the enrichment of human culture can be parallel with the flourishing of other living organisms. This means to change the present relationship with nature, and policy has to be developed and technical, social, and ideological structures have to be changed to appreciate the diversity of all living forms together with an obligation to care for this biodiversity and non-human values.

Politically both, the Gaia and the deep ecology movements, brought up the idea of decentralization, small is beautiful (Schumacher 1973), commitment to peace and nonviolent conflict resolution (Glasl 1994; Martinelli 2000; Ikeda 1981; Jahn 1994), green parties and environmentalists, which challenged the anthropocentric bias of the present globalized world (Maathai 2003, 2006). In practical terms a Malthusian approach (1798) insisted on birth control and some extreme currents were criticized by its enemies as a type of 'ecofascism'. In response, the criticisms of exploitive, utilitarian, and materialistic behaviour in contemporary consumer society was opposed to a responsible and sustainable living on this Earth without leaving a lasting footprint (Naess 1989). Mother Earth brought feminism to link up with the environmental movement (D'Eaubonne 1974). 'Left' was used in left biocentrism, meaning to be anti-industrial and anti-capitalist, but not necessarily socialist (Leopoldo 1949; Dobson, 2007; Devall/Sessions 1985; Sarkar 1994; Livingston 2007).

5.3.3 Social Ecology and Eco-Marxism

The proponents of these approaches criticized the deep ecology beliefs that the world does exist only as a resource with proper intrinsic values (Fox 1989,

1990, 1993; Brown 1995; Barnhill 1997; Bowers 1993; Bragg 1996; Chapple 1997; Deval/Sessions 1985; Paper 1997; Tucker 1997), but that the human and non human lives have values in themselves and that natural resources are sustaining human lives (Barry 1995; Bookchin 1988; Gottlieb 1995; Pepper 1996, 1993). This emphasis on inequality and on social class stratification of society is permitting an uneven appropriation of natural resources and resulting in destruction and pollution. From the perspective of the critics of deep ecology they are considered as being human-centred, believing that human relations within society are more important and determine society's relationship with nature. They were also fighting against what they considered 'ecofascism' and the misanthropic approach of deep ecology. Bookchin (1988) claimed that deep ecology fails to link environmental crises with authoritarianism and hierarchy; both phenomena have been reinforced by ecofeminism. Therefore, the priorities for these positions are social, not environmental, clearly expressed also by the left biocentrism (Wan Ho 1989), where an egalitarian, non-sexist, non-discriminating society is proposed as a desirable goal, up to the costs of an exploitive relation with Earth. Nevertheless, all these approaches are more holistic, trying to find a long-term equilibrium between human development, mitigation processes, and recovery of pollution and environmental destruction, instead of environmental security (Dalby/Brauch/Oswald 2008).

On the contrary, the cornucopian paradigm is proposing an unlimited growth and consumerism for everybody, where science and technology will resolve all the present and future problems between nature and society (Lomborg 2001). This approach forgets that conflictive relations are socially constructed and have to be politically negotiated. Technology can only offer feasible solutions, but not induce processes of social representations and peace-building (Lederach 2001; Oswald 2001). Furthermore, there is no doubt that the present model of neoliberalism is not only destroying nature but creating structural imbalances between regions, social classes, gender, and races, which requires a new equilibrium for peaceful coexistence (OECD/DAC 1997, 2000; Stiglitz 2002; ILO 1989). Peace movements and environmental concerns were linked together in the ecofeminist approach, promoting different relations with humans and nature (Persram 1994; Pickup 2001; Plumwood 1991; Meentzen/Gomáriz 2003; Meyers 1997).

5.3.4 Ecofeminism and Ecofeminist Peace

Ecofeminism started as a social and political movement against exclusive globalization and the neoliberal model. The main argument was that a similar relationship exists between the oppression and violence against women as well as against nature (Mies 1998; Skjelsbaek 1997). Both are victims of a patriarchal dominated land ownership (Kenya 2000) where overgrazing, deforestation, and food crops are destroying soils (Shiva/Jafri/Bhutani 1999). This behaviour is also taking away from women and the commons, the collectively handled land, water and other natural resources (Saruchera 2004). Cash crops are destroying the subsistence economy. Agribusiness has displaced a formerly biodiverse sustainable agriculture by substituting it with mono-cultures, relying on the green revolution, today also with genetic modified organisms and seeds. Françoise d'Eaubonne (1974), a founder of ecofeminism insists that alienating technology is destroying nature and human relations (Cheney 1987). Similar to Gandhi and supported by other ecofeminists (Zimmerman 1987; Kheel 1991; Salleh 1992), she proposed to go back to appropriate technology, solar power, establishing again a sacred relationship with Mother Earth.

Vandana Shiva, a co-founder of Diverse Women for Diversity, argued that modern technology is marginalizing still more women and poor people in the South by transforming all natural resources into commodities in the hands of a small transnational elite (CLOC/Via Campesina/Anamuri 2002; Shiva 1988, 1993, 2003; Shiva/Mies 1997; Shiva/Jafri/Bhutani 1999; CLOC 2004; Oswald 2000, 2002a, 2002b).

Women in subsistence economies, producing and reproducing wealth in partnership with nature, have been experts in their own right of holistic and ecological knowledge of nature's processes. But these alternative modes of knowing, which are oriented to the social benefits and sustenance needs are not recognized by the reductionist paradigm, because it fails to perceive the interconnectedness of nature, or the connection of women's lives, work and knowledge with the creation of wealth (Shiva 1988: 24).

Ecofeminism linked up the sustainable subsistence practice in the hands of women for food and wealth of their families with the non violent management of nature and society, promoting a peaceful and non violent conflict resolving society (Bennholdt-Thomsen 1994; Bennholdt-Thomsen/Mies 1999; Bennholdt-Thomsen/Faraclas/Werlhof 2001). Confronted with globalization and rape capitalism, organized crime, and destruction and depletion of natural resources,

the promoters of ecofeminism have allied themselves with other social movements and have promoted together complex and inclusive peace behaviour. The new approach starts from daily life and includes the micro-level, beginning to fight against daily intrafamilial violence and social exclusions (Reardon 1996; Boulding 2000; Oswald 1990; Campos 1995).

These propositions have challenged the established patriarchal hierarchy, where social organization, patriarchal organized states, and male dominated governments are the source of conflicts. Normally, traditional peace researchers work on the macro-levels and top-down institutional peace-building with an occidental vision, where strong arbiters are intervening (e.g. President Clinton in the Israeli-Palestine conflict; Glasl 1994). This kind of peace improvement is questioned due to its exclusivity, male dominance, and hierarchical thinking on maintaining the status quo (Muthien/Combrinck 2003). The ecofeminist alternative is deeply rooted in community wisdom and on experience within the families, by challenging the imposition of patriarchal dominance through education and training women to promote their own empowerment (Menchú 2004; Freire 1970, Rojas 2004; Ríos 2001).

As the ecofeminist approach challenges the root causes of violence, indigenous people are also threatened by this thinking, and multiple indigenous organizations have limited women's participation by insisting on traditional values (Kameri/Anyango 2007). Also within this society, women do not only care for extended families through gathering wild fruits, berries, roots, herbs, bark, and orchards for food and medicine cultivation, but they own very little land – only an average of 2 per cent in Africa (FAO 2000; Kenya 2000) and 18 per cent in Mexico (INEGI 2004). Further, they are exposed to female genital mutilation; early marriage and rape covered often as a traditional initiation rite (Mensch/Grant/Blanc 2005). Patricia Kameri-Mbote has cooperated in an *Optional Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights of Women in Africa* that was accepted in July 2003.

Primarily in Northern countries, there has been an ongoing theoretical discussion, trying to reduce the political character of Southern ecofeminists by inducing collective change, democratization, and social movements. They emphasized ethical behaviour (Fox 1984, 1993; Elliot 1995; Engel/Engel 1990) and political alternatives (Conley 1997; Eckersley 1992). All over the world, green parties were founded and quota systems have allowed an important number of women,

mostly of the trained middle class, to enter into policy and institution building (Cheney 1987; Zimmerman 1987; Fox 1989; Kheel 1991; Salleh 1984, 1992). This evolution has limited the change of root causes and multiple social movements have reorganized their proper capacity of empowerment through consciousness building. They have created bottom-up training workshops and formal education schemes (peasant universities, teacher colleges) that first democratized their organizations internally and later proposed and developed societal alternatives (see experience of MST, Dos Santos 2005; CLOC/Via Campesina/Anamuri 2002).

In general the feminist approach, and in particular the ecofeminist one, has shown that security, peace, and the environment are today still subsumed in a militarized (or police) capitalist society that has been unable to guarantee individual or family security (World Bank 2004, 2005) and creating new and more serious risks (Beck 1998, 2000). Furthermore, history is proving that global environmental and climate change are affecting nature and society in a way they have never done during the last 400,000 or more years. Scientific evidence is contained in the ice shield in the Antarctic (MunichRe 2006). Similar concerns of systemic change of requirements are exposed against the Charter of the UN, where citizens and governments from the South join these collective doubts about Eurocentric origins of human rights which are able to maintain the status quo of the rich western society (Berlowitz 2000), creating greater poverty and environmental destruction in the South (Strahm/Oswald 1990; Arroyo/Villamar 2002; Arguedas 1998).

Traditional and globally accepted paradigms such as private property (Richards 2000; Richards/Schwanger 2004), militarism (Sancinetti 1988; Elwert 1999; Arendt 1969, Amnesty International 1980), and the arms race (SIPRI 2004), sexual and organized violence (Interamerican Development Bank 2006; World Bank 1998) against women (Denov 2005) and indigenous people (Gaitan 2002, 2004; García 2004; Lenkersdorf 1999; León Portilla 2003, 1959), loans, interests (CADTM 2004), top-down global approaches (Santos de Morais 2002), development (Solis/Díaz/Sevilla 2002), social evolution (Sen 1995; Senghaas 1973), superiority of capitalist countries, exploitation of nature (Worldwatch Institute 1994, 1999) and other humans, cultural discrimination (Bonfil 1987; Arizpe 2004), pollution and social stratification (WHO 1999) are all challenged by this ecofeminist peace thinking (Warren 1997, 1998). The deep impact caused was aggressively answered by male scientists and some

women were threatened by these critics. They manipulated the proposals and opposed a kind of feminist essentialism, where women were considered more peaceful and as having better environmental practices (Barnhill 1997). Representatives of ecofeminism could not accept this tangential deviation. Starting with a constructive approach of peace practices, they insisted that the main cause of the structural social and institutional discriminatory system is patriarchy, where values such as objectivity, reason, aggression, and dominance are opposed to emotions, care, and pacifism. The UN Security Council took up the concerns of women, above all in African conflicts, and used resolution 1325 that was adopted in the year 2000 to annually review the achievements and difficulties.

A new masculinity (Jiménez/Tena 2007) and femininity in a culturally diverse and cooperative world can be realized where bottom-up changes (Cadena 2005, 2003) and challenges transform existing institutions and privileges (Wan Ho 1989) without destroying the care for other humans and nature (Santos de Morais 2002). As Genevieve Vaughan (1997) correctly stated in her gift economy, the challenge is to transform the “homo sapiens into homo donans”, where mothering is need-oriented and not profit driven.

5.4 Sustainable Peace: A Theoretical and Political Challenge

The new concept of ‘sustainable peace’ emerged from combining ideas from different theoretical schools on the link between peace and sustainability. Gilman (1983: 58–59) argued that building a planetary peace with sustainability requires to overcome three forms of ignorance: a) a mechanism for nonviolent conflict resolution; b) ignorance about the ‘other’, leading to distortion and mistrust; and c) an emotional insecurity on behalf of leaders or the populace. He proposed three basic elements to change this ignorance: ‘nurturing’, ‘empowerment’ and ‘communication’.

Peck defined sustainable peace as “sustainable development (which) involves the institutionalization of participatory processes in order to provide civil and political rights to all peoples. The building blocks of sustainable peace and security are well-functioning local, state, regional and international systems of governance, which are responsive to basic human needs” (Peck 1998: 45).

In most definitions and articles sustainable peace is linking environmental protection and resource management to nonviolent conflict resolution (Gilman 1983; Ameglio 2002, 2004; Adelphi Research 2004), to long-term development policies and post-conflict situations (UN 2000) and increasingly to gender equality, equity and empowerment (Dankelman 2002; Salaya 2004; Oswald 2000a, 2001, 2004, 2007; CHS 2003; Whitehead/ Lockwood 1999; King 2003; Moser/Clark 2001)

The relationship among dominant peace theories, destruction of the environment and discrimination through gender relations (Muthien/Combrinck 2003; Muthien/Taylor 2002, Serrano 2004), has been conceptually discussed for some time. As peace is a central part of personal and social identity in a world where major processes of unification and diversification are occurring faster than ever in history (Moscovici 1984: 31), persons have a basic necessity to simplify and to categorize their social environment through social comparisons, improving their self-esteem positively (Hogg/Abrams 1988: 78). The value systems, ideas, and practices that have simultaneously created a system of order could offer a person or group a possibility to get familiar with the social and material world being confronted with conflictive messages and behaviour. The communication within a community offers a code of common social interchange, where several aspects of life, personal and collective history are classified unambiguously (Moscovici 1976: xiii), overcoming the daily contradictions and insecurities and offering also possibilities for cooperation being able to deal with new fears, resulting from the violent appropriation of scarce resources, hazards, and disasters.

Sustainable peace can also be traced back to 'preventive diplomacy', a term that was developed by Dag Hammarskjöld, later adopted by Boutros Boutros-Ghali, and is now used in different governmental discourses and practices in international relations. This strategy tries in a preventive way to avoid that conflicts escalate into violence and it is to avoid violent conflicts from spreading. Prevention is based on political solutions and it was widely employed in the African context to support peacefully the emancipation of these peoples to a dignified life (Miall/Ramsbotham/Woodhouse 1999; Lake/Rothchild 1996). Nevertheless, the violent conflicts and civil wars, e.g. in Cote d'Ivoire, Liberia, Sierra Leone, in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), as well as the coup in the Central African Republic, require a more active diplomacy in Africa involving a Pan-African perspec-

tive and African Security Corps (Saruchera 2004, Kameri/Anyango 2007; Goucha/Cilliers 2001).

Many diplomatic efforts, including those of the European Union (EU), are geared towards bringing peace to Africa by stabilizing vast countries as a result of colonial and post-colonial interests, such as the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). These countries need more than an encompassing peace and security; they require conditions permitting sustainable development. To achieve this goal, the underlying causes of regional instability should be identified by the proper social groups involved in the conflict and tackled in a holistic manner without the direct and indirect intervention of former colonial and neoliberal interests.

International conferences on security and cooperation⁴ in the region may help to understand the long-standing ethnic conflicts in Rwanda and Burundi, which resulted in different waves of genocide, similar to Columbia (Gaitan 2002, 2004). Peace-keeping, arbitration, and mediation that have occasionally been reinforced by sanctions of the Security Council and also by direct intervention, as in the case of Afghanistan (2001-) and Iraq (2003-), have so far produced poor results (Díaz Muller 1982).

Nevertheless, several African countries achieved peace as a result of a bottom-up internal peace management. The non-violent transition from the Apartheid system to a democratic government in South Africa is the best example of an internal conflict resolution. Specifying concrete steps and having in mind a model of a country with plural cultures and races, the obstacles were overthrown step by step, thanks to day to day negotiations, involving mass media, churches, political parties, intellectuals, social leaders and policy-makers to construct a new country and to find peacefully a way to create a new govern-

4 Before the genocide, both the size and mandate of the UN peacekeeping force were inappropriate for the complex tasks, and the messages of the force commander of the UN peacekeeping operation were ignored, alerting the international community that preparations for genocide were underway and had happened in the past. When the atrocities started, the Security Council decided to pull out most of its troops, giving the perpetrators the opportunity to execute their plans, exterminating an important number of an ethnic group. The defeated Rwandan Army (FAR) and the Interahamwe militias, mainly responsible for the genocide, were afterwards allowed to settle with *bona fide* refugees in refugee camps together. As they were still armed, they were bases for recruitment and training also in Congo, generating threats and violence in the camps.

ment (Mandela 1994). Another example is the 'gacaca' tribunal in Burundi where all the antagonist groups (also the mass murderers) are sitting together and working for one goal: to create a new country and to overcome the threats and fears from the former civil war.

In Central America the South African process was taken up during the peace negotiations in Guatemala and partly also in El Salvador. After the peace agreements were signed these three countries had a delicate task. How to deal with the victims of this state violence? In Guatemala the Report '*Nunca Más*' counted on the support of the Catholic Church, and a day before this report was presented publicly the directly involved bishop was killed. The armed forces tried to avoid a public condemnation of ethnocide and genocide (Cabrera 2002; Padilla 2002). Global or partial amnesty (when soldiers or policemen had committed atrocities under orders from superiors) in South Africa and different changes of laws (in Chile, Argentina, Guatemala, El Salvador) are still trying to heal the wounds (in Argentina: *Comisión Nacional sobre la Desaparición de Personas* 1984; Sancinetti 1988; Amnesty International 1980; and in Chile: Díaz Muller 1982; Letelier 1980, Valenzuela 1991).

In addition, organized crime⁵, human and drug trafficking, pornography, and violence in the mass media are other challenges for peace that has been increasingly aggravated by environmental threats. There is a theoretical discussion if chronic malnutrition, food scarcity, and extreme poverty induce political instability and internal conflicts. There is evidence (World Bank 1998) that countries with democratic governments affected by severe desertification did not experience famine, as their responsible governments implement food distribution mechanisms and obtained international food aid. But there have been several other cases (see in Ethiopia, Sudan, Biafra and others) where an undemocratic government when it was confronted with a severe food scarcity did not take any caution. When famine appeared this government was often overthrown by a military coup. The scientific discussion establishes a link between the loss of environmental and political security, but it could not show a direct relationship that the loss of

both induces violent responses. Nevertheless, it is possible to claim that in Africa both are mutually reinforcing themselves in a civil war situation (Oswald/Brauch 2006; Muthien/Taylor 2002; Saruchera 2004).

Finally there are proofs that the intervention of international or national communities can undermine local efforts for peace-building (see the military control in Chiapas avoiding the support and development of highly marginal regions), especially when interests of hydrocarbons, diamonds, and precious metals are intervening (in Nigeria, Iran, Angola). There is also sufficient evidence that neither the UN nor the international community wanted to address the case of Rwanda, because they considered it too risky and difficult to send enough Blue Helmets to control the guerrilla groups. Something similar is occurring today in Sudan. As a preliminary conclusion: without addressing the core problems of violence, the environmental, structural and cultural reinforcing factors, 'sustainable peace' and 'sustainable development' and a dignified future are impossible. Furthermore, several international organizations are more interested in maintaining a status quo due to their interests in natural resources. For this reason an internal war or its maintenance or reinforcement has in some cases been convenient for their imperial interests.

5.5 Negotiating Sustainable Peace with Gender Equity

The overall aim of international sustainable peace has been to achieve security, structural stability, sustainable development in the region affected by conflict, and equality and equity together with the empowerment of women. More specifically, it should address four interrelated processes:

- medium- and long-term problems related to security and cooperation in the region;
- improvement of regional capacity and mechanisms to prevent, manage, and resolve crises through political and not military means;
- creation of the development of democratic institutions with representative governments, where the protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms is guaranteed;
- promotion of sustainable growth and poverty alleviation through direct involvement and empowerment of women.

To be successful, parties directly involved in the conflict and who have been indirectly influencing it

5 There is a direct link between money laundering during the dirty war in Argentina and Chile and women trafficking and pornography in which a wide group of politicians is involved. Similar criminal cases have been reported in Mexico where governors and politicians have been accused of pederasty (Cacho 2006).

should first agree on an agenda where basic principles are expressed. These items should overcome the widely used (sometimes misused) principles (respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity, the inviolability of international borders, democracy, respect for human rights and private property rights of transnational enterprises, privatization contracts and debt services).

A second important issue are the legal and illegal (small) arms control programmes and the disarmament of the civil population by offering working tools against arms. In the early 21st century, the US has been exporting more than 65 per cent of the world's arms and in all war situations their illegal entrance is guaranteed by different media (SIPRI 2006), thus avoiding confidence-building measures and protection of minorities and national reconciliation.

A third point is to avoid the involvement of different levels of international institutions which intervene in the preparative process with diverse, sometimes contradictory necessities and interests (UN, AU, OSCE, EU).

A fourth factor has been the careful selection of the negotiating parties in the conflicts which has to include a wide range of interests and persons. In the case of South Africa it was possible to negotiate with a wide spectrum of leaders from social movements, mass media, policy, academic, traditional authorities, young people, regional authorities, women's bodies, etc., an inclusive social representation that was able to transmit the agreed points to their social groups, which were interested and directly concerned with the peace agreements.

Once a process of peace agreements has started, independent financial support is required and security conditions for the negotiators and the negotiation place must be granted. These can be offered by international organizations (Blue Helmets, OAU, and OSCE), neighbouring countries or international NGOs (INGOs). As this phase is very sensitive and several groups are more interested in the failure of the peace process, it is necessary to avoid aggressions and violence during this stage. Partial armistice, negotiations in a third neutral country, and strong armed control by third parties have been some of the useful mechanisms.

A sixth factor is the management of the mass media which can reinforce or destroy the process, depending on the transmission of transparent peace agreements and negotiation points or the creation of imbalances and new local violence (as in the case of Rwanda and Burundi where the people were incited through radio to commit violence and massacres).

Once an initial peace agreement is achieved, the first phase in the transition process is to create a minimum of physical security for people, especially the most vulnerable such as children and women (Resolution 1325 of UNSC). David (1999) introduced the cease fire and the reduction of violence as a transitory element towards security, which should be to promote a definitive cease of hostilities, control of weapons, and their destruction. An immediate removal of anti-personnel landmines, explosives, and other war objects threatening the life of the civil population, is undertaken. In all Central American cases the struggle against organized and eventual crime had to be reinforced by civil society. Child soldiers and guerrilla members, who are returning to their homes, should be actively included in the reconstruction process and getting an alternative income. In this phase, it is necessary to train and restructure police, public ministry, justice and political institutions (Höffe 2003). All these processes are necessary before refugees are permitted to return. A positive experience in this phase was the involvement of women in the interchange of arms for domestic and working tools, their involvement in local tribunals for judging war crimes (*gacaca* in Burundi), their collective healing process from massacres and war atrocities (Cabrera 2002), and their needs and capacities for reorganizing the post-war society.

The second phase of peace is the transition to institution-building that is able to guarantee some basic levels of security and political participation, such as free elections and democratic political campaigns. The initial forces in charge of security (Blue Helmet, AU, NATO) should avoid further interventions of foreign and internal interests (warlords, arms, human traffickers, and forced labour; ILO 2005), that are often trying to destroy the ongoing process, due to the prospective loss of benefits they obtained from the war (arm trafficking⁶, hydrocarbons, diamonds, metals and drugs). During this phase a 'zero tolerance policy' is needed.

6 Angola had multiple peace efforts but the illegal market with diamonds, the oil interests with private armies and illegal arm trafficking reactivated the hostilities. The arms came from the US, Russia, Great Britain, France and others using the illegal triangle after the Security Council had declared an arms embargo. The Iran-Iraq war (1980–1988) is another case where the Reagan Administration supported Saddam Hussein against Iran with satellite images and objected to sanctions by the US Congress (Brauch 2003b).

Reychler and Paffenholz (2001) insist that during the transition to democracy a specific training of civil society (Rood 2005) in free elections, political campaigns, and nonviolent political discussions are needed. To achieve greater democracy, minorities and weak political parties require reinforcement to get a voice and to promote their own interests, often through plurinominal systems⁷. Women are usually excluded in this phase and a special quota system can induce a better and long-standing peace behaviour, especially when women are also involved in governmental, judicial and the penal apparatus. Several countries appointed women in the defence ministry (Chile, Colombia).

During this second phase the Commissions of Truth are not only starting to heal the wounds of massacres and torture, but also helping to reduce the existing terror among the civil population. Persons who have been accused of crimes against humanity, of forced disappearance, rape, and other abuses against civilians have to be brought to the courts, thus re-establishing confidence in new institutions. Collective research of massacres and other war crimes undertaken by trained persons, including women, can serve as collective catharsis of war trauma, as was shown in indigenous societies in Guatemala (Cabrera 2002).

All these peace efforts tend to achieve the third stage of transition, where the reconstruction of the economy, basic services, and civil infrastructure is rebuilt. Clean water, health, food, markets, electricity, roads, bridges, education and jobs, seriously affected by war, have to be reorganized. Socially agreed priorities avoid regional and social inequalities. Once basic necessities are re-established, complex networks of transportation, energy, public administration and environmental re-establishment can be undertaken, reflecting the greater confidence of the population and international organizations into the peace process and the possible future. Often, the cleaning-up of war pollution, mines, explosives, munitions depots, barracks and other objects, requires professional support, avoiding longstanding illnesses. In Vietnam, remnants of Agent Orange are still causing cancer and other degenerative illnesses today due to genetic malformations (Stone 2007).

⁷ Minorities get a seat or more in the Parliament through special agreements with dominant parties, to guarantee the expression of minority interests.

5.6 Future of Sustainable Peace in the South: Some Conclusions

With regard to the concept 'sustainable peace' and its effect on peaceful behaviour the main arguments of this chapter are briefly summarized. First, in analogy to sustainable development (Brundtland Commission 1987, 1987a), the United Nations have tried to launch a new peace effort with preventive diplomacy and the reinforcement of human rights, both central to the UN Charter (Art. 33 and Preamble), its former Secretary-General Kofi Annan has associated with the concept 'sustainable peace'.

Second, in its strategy, peacekeeping became a major goal for containing conflicts. In these efforts the UN has been supported by the International Court of Justice and four regional arrangements and agencies (under Chap. VIII of the UN Charter): the Arab League (1945), the Organization of American States (OAS, 1945), the Organization of African Unity (OAU, since 9 July 2002 AU), and the Conference (CSCE, 1945) or Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE, 1994).

Third, after the Cold War was over, the great powers were not willing to rapidly convert their arms industries and to resolve existing military alliances. Therefore, they required massive arms exports to partly compensate for declining national procurements, what has increased the conflict potentials by selling weapons to warlords and unstable countries. Some of the weapons to be disarmed in Europe were smuggled to Africa and elsewhere, where they were used in civil wars by warlords and rival ethnic groups.

Fourth, the excessive emphasis on the Cold War and the failure to develop an effective collective security system due to the veto right of the five permanent members of the Security Council, downgraded urgent issues such as poverty alleviation and environmental concerns (UNCED Conference in Rio de Janeiro in 1992, and UNSSD in Johannesburg in 2002). During these nearly five lost decades of development, the gap between poor and rich countries widened, inducing increased social injustice within underprivileged countries, often triggered by ethnic tensions, poor governance, and despotic power exercise.

Fifth, resource extraction and economic growth, based on cheap fossil hydrocarbons (oil, gas, carbon) has contributed to anthropogenic global environmental and climate change, that has been exasperated by a major population growth in the South. Both global and climate change and lacking environmental mitigation processes have aggravated biodiversity losses, and

poverty has increased migration, bringing up unsustainable urban growth with slums, international illegal migration, and new threats of disasters (Bogardi/Brauch 2005).

Sixth, the legacy of the Cold War also induced and permitted practices of governmental abuse, massacres, military coups, paramilitary groups, ethnocide, discrimination, forced labour (ILO 2005), and neglect with negative results on human rights and the legal system: almost half of the world population is malnourished, undereducated, and unhealthy, counting on the deprived infrastructure often triggered by corrupt and weak governments (Welsh 1993).

Seventh, the inheritance of colonialism and struggles for independence, and current practices of political and economic actions, permitted the North to maintain control of the most important financial organizations (WB, IMF, WTO) and due to their military force, the political power. They are able to impose on weaker Southern countries their rules and procedures (SAP by IMF; unjust terms of trade; TRIPs; GATS), thus creating various forms of neo-colonialism, an increase in the social gap, and new processes of misery.

Eighth, the fragmentation, inconsistency, and gaps in the poverty assessments and the MDG and above all a missing gender-sensitive poverty and participation profile, has limited the potential of women. As during the last five millennia, women are still invisible, nonetheless ideas on gender issues and economic growth and poverty alleviation have changed (Söderberg 2004). Many international organizations still fail to meet the targets of social networks by establishing links between the level of female education and the rates of economic growth and poverty (Whitehead/Lockwood 1999). Policy requires targeting this dynamic process of related impoverishment and accumulation, to offer the South and the majority of its population conditions of sustainable peace with a dignified livelihood.

Ninth and finally, the precarious financial situation of the UN has prevented the organization from dealing in an integrated way with all complex problems. It also avoided development projects that are oriented to reduce social gaps and to include actively more women in peace processes and development. Therefore, social injustice was widened and even increased both within and among countries.

In these complex and contradictory situations the UN, together with the four regional arrangements and agencies, has tried to strengthen peace and security through sustainable peace efforts. However, the

empirical studies cited above have shown that globally the root causes of conflict have been linked to poor governance, underdevelopment, environmental destruction, famine, an unjust world economic system, organized transnational crime, and gender discrimination. To promote sustainable peace and security, military actions are inadequate and insufficient. Blue Helmets could only limit the ongoing wars and reinforce peace arrangements, but they have often been unable to guarantee the protection of lives of vulnerable people in refugee camps (in Rwanda, Darfur, etc). There is no doubt, sustainable development requires sustainable peace, and both together could be able to induce not only an agenda for conflict prevention, but also for nonviolent conflict resolution and a sustainable future. Efforts for confidence building, legitimate governments, reduction of social income gaps, and global cooperation, have been reinforced regionally and linked with cultural sensibility. These activities should focus on training electoral, judicial, executive and legislative bodies, and civil society. Further, the dynamic identification of people and processes at risk, the reduction of the vulnerable by participative resilience building, the systematization of conflict-prone activities, and peace inducing processes should be able to reduce armed conflicts. Nevertheless, arms trade, elite interests (TNE, corruption, military industry), and organized crime are threatening these peace efforts. Furthermore, above all in the South, they are hampered by legal constraints, population growth, environmental destruction, and by the effects of global change.

Confronted with these limits, and above all with new threats and risks, sustainable peace requires a world consensus where a new pact of common actions and laws must be adopted that have to be able to be implemented locally. In such a pact, international and local institutions, along with social movements, women's organization, environmentalists and child protection groups, can develop new learning processes, resilience-building, and preventive behaviour both in the North and the South (CLOC/Via Campesina/Anamuri 2002). Such a dynamic understanding of impoverishment processes is able to improve the livelihood through subsistence agriculture (Bennholdt-Thomsen/Faraclas/Werlhof 2001), micro-credits (Muhammad Yunus in Bangladesh; Lópezllera 2003), local and regional marketing; horizontal and vertical integration of productive processes (Cadena 2003, 2005); an economy of solidarity (Collin 2005; Parrilla/Bianchi/Sudgen 2005), and dignified live strategies of solidarity (Oswald 1991).

In summary, the concept and goal of 'sustainable peace' contains theoretical elements that may be able to create an integral model of society where environmental protection and recovery; sustainable energy resource management with resource efficiency and alternative energies; use of science and technology for reducing effects of global and climate change and efficient poverty alleviation and self-reliance; education for democratic reforms, economic improvement and conflict prevention; legal and social learning to care about the vulnerable and to overcome gender discrimination (IFRC-RCS 2007; Ariyabandu/Fonseka 2008); a culture of peace with tolerance and integration of minorities and women; and training for political administration and governance for citizens, civil society, politicians and public functionaries. Top-down transparent legal norms and treaties combined with bottom-up collective knowledge and wisdoms transmitted through motherhood, traditions, social movements and a gift economy (Vaughan 1997), has resulted in a widening of the conceptualization of sustainable peace, creating a post-modern utopia (Frankel 1987; Habermas 1975, 2001, 2000, 1998, 2002) that is serving humanity, nature, and the future for an inclusive, sustainable and diverse civilization.

6 Underdevelopment and Human Insecurity: Overcoming Systemic, Natural, and Policy Risk

Indra de Soya

6.1 Introduction

This chapter assesses the relationship between development and armed conflict and outlines the beneficial impacts of increasing globalization for peace¹ and security². It will also tie the continuing problems in several poor countries to their poverty-related debilities, which in turn raises the significance of changing the global policy priorities for inducing better economic growth and governance. Contrary to popular opinion, this chapter also seeks to demonstrate that poverty and conflict are part of a natural resource trap – not from scarcity of natural resources as is often claimed by neo-Malthusian scholars, some of whom are represented in this volume. In fact, the analysis here will show that it is the relative abundance of natural wealth, which affects economic and governance outcomes – the so-called ‘resource curse’. Despite several high profile conflicts involving the US after the September 11, 2001 attacks in New York and Washington, global media coverage suggests that the incidence of conflict since the end of the Cold War has increased, leading to a heightened sense of insecurity, but as I claim below, a false one, and one that detracts from more ‘real’ problems, such as poverty-related threats that affect us all.

The facts about threats to global security will show that things are actually improving. The most worrisome human security problem, civil violence within states, has decreased quite dramatically in the

past decade. Organized violence that was enduring and persistent during the Cold War has given way to what some term the ‘residue’ of warfare, opportunistic, criminalized violence that is easily addressed with concerted efforts of peace enforcement and traditional policing (Mueller 2000). In short, I demonstrate that systemic factors underlie the promise for the future, while internal factors related largely to governance and underdevelopment still pose risks.³ The pre-eminent threat to human security⁴ is violent civil conflict, which remains a high impact, high probability event for many around the world, quite unlike the low probability, high impact of natural disasters that most human security studies dwell on (Dilley/Chen/Deichmann/Lerner-Lam/Arnold 2005; Wisner/Blaikie/Cannon/Davis 2004). Finally, I conclude by identifying relevant policy for mitigating some of these risks.

6.2 The Post-Cold War Security Scene

At the end of the Cold War, there were two sharply contrasting predictions for the future of armed violence. The realist school in international relations expected that the collapse of the Soviet empire would unsettle balance of power relations and eliminate the nuclear deterrence that had allegedly provided stability after World War II – the period some have referred to as the “long peace” (Gaddis 1989). Some realists likened the ending of the Cold War to taking

1 Peace is defined as the absence of organized armed violence between and within territorial states.

2 Security is defined as the absence of threat to mind and body through either fear and/or deprivation. Security is a more encompassing concept than the absence of violence, because Iraq during Saddam may have been more peaceful but arguably less secure. No doubt, many in Iraq and the West possibly struggle with this balance.

3 I use the term risk to mean ‘human security risk’ related synergistically to underdevelopment (deprivation) and violence (armed conflict).

4 The most commonly used concepts of ‘human security’ are rather broad, encompassing security from natural hazards to security from want. I use the term in the narrower sense of security as ‘freedom from fear’ or as freedom from violent threats from states or/and private agents.

the lid off a pressure cooker at full power. They expected that the pot would spill over (Mearsheimer 1990). Old conflicts that had been held in check by nuclear deterrence would re-emerge and take Europe back to its conflict-ridden past. These realists even argued that Germany and Ukraine needed nuclear forces to balance their nuclear neighbours, France and Russia respectively (Mearsheimer 1993). In a somewhat different, but also highly pessimistic vein, others argued that conflict in the post-Cold War world would follow age-old fault lines of civilizations, with the Muslim world versus the West as a particularly unhealthy combination (Huntington 1997).

Neo-Marxists, sometimes referred to as structuralists, have also tended towards the pessimistic view. These views focus on the ills that befall the world in the absence of a counterweight to Western economic and military power. They claim that exploitation of the Third World by the rich capitalist states will be exacerbated, because Third World countries can no longer play the Soviet card to obtain concessions from the West, development assistance will decline, capitalism will run rampant, inequality will increase along with environmental quality - and the net result will be increased turmoil and armed conflict. Globalization, they argue, is already a concrete manifestation of these ominous trends, the acceleration of exploitation of the weak by the strong (Chua 2003; Cox 1997; Falk 1999; Gill 1997; Hardt/Negri 2000; Martin/Schumann 1997; Mittelman 2000).

This chapter will dismiss such views by exploring hard statistics on trends in violent conflict and present alternative views that demonstrate that the end of the Cold War and increasing globalization are forces for good in terms of both development and security, not apparent in the popular discourse spawned by the media, activists, and the motley coalition of anti-globalization groups containing economic nationalists, environmentalists, and organized labour that has taken the battle to the streets.⁵ Despite the bad news, since 1989, the world has moved from the very real possibility of thermo-nuclear war to confronting a terrorist organization - if this is insecurity, then it is a 'false sense' indeed (Gambetta 2004; Mueller 2004).

There is little reason to miss the Cold War. In fact, the current malaise that remains is a lingering

legacy of an old geopolitical structure that may have prevented great power war directly (the long peace) but one that spawned much misery among everyone else (the hot peace). It is in this light that this article also views the 'residue' of warfare that we now call terror - would Al Qaeda exist without Soviet-US enmity in Afghanistan and the subsequent US 'invasion' and partial occupation of the Middle East after the first Gulf War? Would Central Asian Islamic fundamentalism exist without US-USSR enmity and subsequent war between Russia and the Chechens, particularly if the US had not sought to destabilize the 'soft underbelly' of the USSR with Saudi money?

The hard data on civil and interstate conflicts that are presented below will show that the general trends are that the world is getting better after the end of the Cold War and that the residue of conflict that remains is an insignificant threat comparatively, one that can be traced back to the old system of geopolitical struggle, not a new phenomenon spawned by a globalizing world. Terrorism and the kinds of threats to peace we see today are insignificant by historic standards, perhaps unworthy of the overreactions we have seen in recent years (Gambetta 2004).

Unlike the realist and structuralist views of the future under conditions of globalization, the liberal perspective on the post-Cold War world is much more optimistic. It views the passing of the Cold War as an opportunity for ending ideological rivalry, settling military conflict, building peace on a firm basis of democracy and prosperity, strengthening the role of the United Nations in the world order, and reducing military expenditure due to costly arms races between the superpowers (Russett/Oneal 2000). A huge peace dividend is potentially realisable. Liberals view growing interdependence through trade and investment facilitated by the end of the geopolitical struggle between superpowers, growing cooperation between former Third World countries and the rich world, a growing consensus around a global economic order based on liberal principles of free trade and investment, and rising levels of democracy across the globe as propitious for increasing prosperity and peace (Bhagwati 2004). Interdependence not only increases the chance of reducing poverty, a major cause of misery in the world, but also for promoting concerted international action to end conflict where they start, thereby reducing prolonged misery.⁶

On the face of it, popular opinion in the post-Cold War world was shaped by realist pessimism given the outbreak of genocidal violence in former Yugoslavia, the Caucasus, and genocide and state fail-

5 The anti-globalization movement seems to have galvanized since the 'battle in Seattle' and demonstrate against globalization in almost every gathering devoted to addressing global issues.

ure in many African countries, most notably Rwanda and Somalia. Moreover, the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq galvanized a coalition of US and Western troops that were used abroad in large-scale action not seen since the end of the Vietnam War. However, much of the increase in conflict in the early 1990's was fleeting, an exception, largely due to the end of empire and adjustment to new circumstances. The 'long peace' of the Cold War of course is really a misnomer when applied to the rest of the world - true there was no superpower war, but people died in good numbers in the various proxy wars that were part of the superpower geopolitical struggle.

The removal of a repressive overlay in 1989 or so resulted in violence, broadcast around the world by a globalized media. The fact that many of these conflicts were also closer to home - read the 'rich countries' - heightened the sense of threat and the degree of media coverage. In general, the lack of a reason for war among the powerful states of the system and the relatively peaceful end to bloc politics has led some to even claim that war has become anachronistic (Mueller 1995). Indeed, the most pervasive form of violence around the world is civil war, a type of conflict that results in great loss of life, destruction of property, and leaves a lasting legacy of suffering. In the words of some, it is 'development in reverse' (Collier/Elliott/Hegre/Hoeffler/Reynal-Querol/Sambanis 2003). The relative peace between states is encouraging, but what is the long-term trend?

Figure 6.1 shows the development of all types of armed conflict (measured at a threshold of 25 battle-deaths) after World War II. The figure includes interstate as well as internal conflicts. The data show clearly that in the aftermath of the great changes in 1989 conflict increased briefly, mainly due to the new conflicts in former Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union. Soon, however, the post-war trend has been reversed, largely due to the new potential for settling conflicts, which in turn must be due to the end of superpower confrontation, particularly in Central America and South America, East and South East Asia, and elsewhere. Figure 6.1 shows the risk that any given state will be experiencing armed violence (civil war, or international war with 25 deaths and above). Since

the figures are computed at the monadic (country year) level, the risk is exaggerated for international (interstate) war because by definition it takes at least two states to fight.⁷

As figure 6.1 demonstrates, most conflicts in the post-Cold War world, as is the case during the entire post-war years, are internal conflicts. There have always been very few interstate conflicts at any time, and in the last few years there have been almost none. Keeping in mind the magnification of interstate war risk relative to civil wars, the figure shows clearly the effects of the Korean War, the Vietnam War, and to a lesser degree the 1991 Gulf War, where the risk of interstate war is a function of the number of states participating relative to all states in the system and reflects the nature of bandwagoning and collective security in action (being allied with one of the protagonists and coalitions of the willing). Notice that the peaks for interstate wars are higher and the time spent in war (thickness) longer. This is clearly an effect of the Cold War nature of these conflicts and indicates the potential they posed for becoming internationalised.

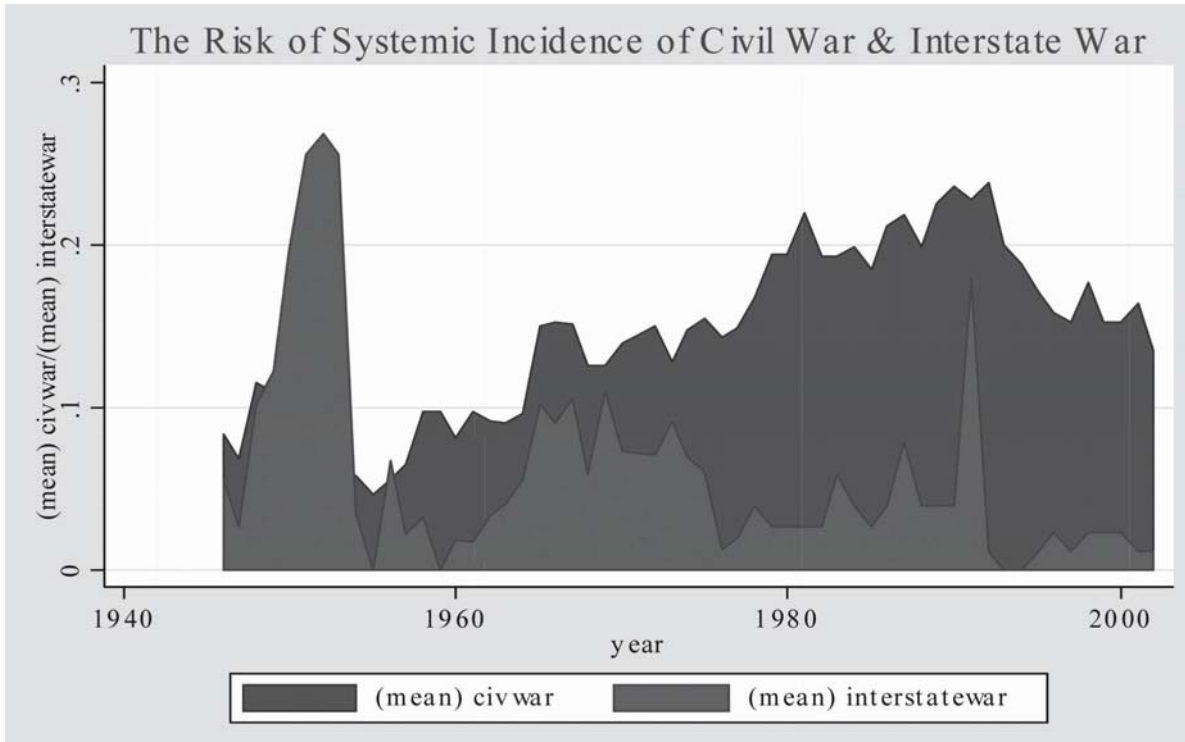
Many of the conflicts classified as interstate in recent years (Yugoslavia, Eritrea-Ethiopia) have been borderline cases where the warring parties have recently been part of the same national state. There have been a couple of large wars in terms of the number of countries involved and the amount of military materiel and the number of combat troops (notably the Gulf War of 1991, the Kosovo War of 1999, the ousting of the Taliban government in Kabul by coalition troops in 2001, and the ousting of Saddam Hussein by the Anglo-American coalition in 2003), but all of these conflicts were small scale when compared historically. Consider that the Iran-Iraq war killed over million combatants. The new wars, on the other hand, contain an element of great power willingness to enforce international law and police 'rogue' states, albeit when it is in their interests to do so.⁸ Collective security actions sanctioned by the United Nations were unthinkable during the Cold

6 Civil wars, for example, last longer than international wars and kill people through disease and poverty long after fighting has stopped. The costs are estimated at 50 billion US\$ per year, which is roughly equal to total ODA (Collier/Elliott/Hegre/Hoeffler/Reynal-Querol/Sambanis 2003).

7 Since by definition international war is war between at least two states, interstate wars will proportionally make up a larger risk (2:1) relative to a civil war.

8 Of course, growing interdependence will make even the farthest conflict 'interesting' for the major powers to try to moderate. Nobody is immune from events far away as the September 11th impact on Afghanistan suggests, or that a crisis in faraway Darfur will elicit a visit there from the US Secretary of State and the British Foreign Secretary.

Figure 6.1: The Risk of Systemic Incidence of Civil War and Interstate War. The civil war and interstate war are conflicts that have reached 25 deaths or more in the Uppsala-PRIO Armed Conflicts dataset. The risk is computed at the monadic level. **Source:** Gleditsch/Wallensteen/Eriksson/Sollenberg/Strand 2002.



War because it might have led to general war and nuclear holocaust if the superpowers opposed each other. The bottom line is that of 116 conflicts on record since 1989, only 7 are recorded as having been interstate wars, 111 of all organized instances of violence involving a state have been internal war (civil war), which accounts for a full 96 per cent of armed violence (Eriksson/Wallensteen 2004).

The large number of internal conflicts is closely linked to the state formation process in the decolonization period, with shifting governance structures and power coalitions, and with numerous unsettled claims for secession. During the Cold War, any such local conflict could become a globally-significant issue if the superpowers allied themselves with the warring parties, as they did in Korea, Cuba, Angola, Nicaragua, Vietnam, the Middle East, and elsewhere. Because of the strategic nature of the superpower struggle and the barriers this posed for international action, these wars were likely to last. This was particularly true when it came to resource-wealthy Africa and Latin America where conflicts were often proxy wars funded and aided both morally and materially by the superpowers.⁹ As we argue below, the proxy

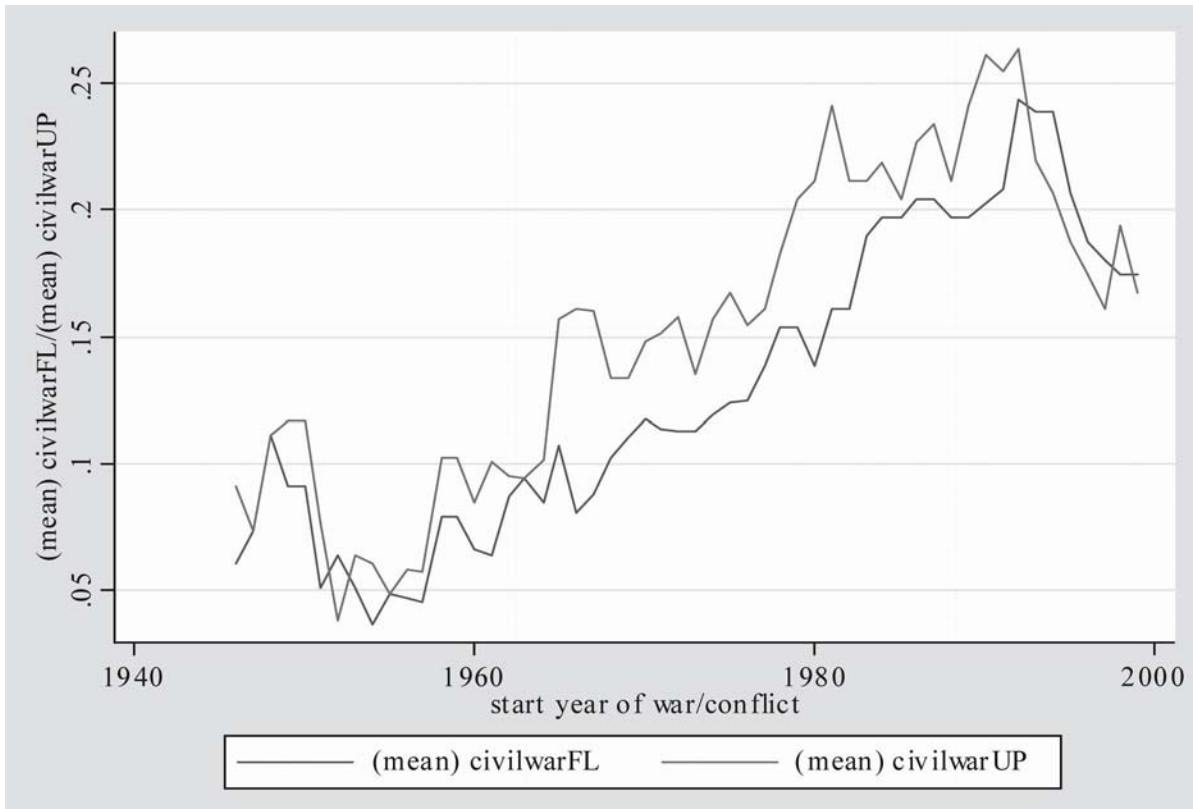
wars that were fought as a result of superpower politics still account for a large number of lingering wars, such as Angola, Ethiopia-Eritrea, Colombia etc, and account directly for the 'residue' of warfare in the form of terrorism, an issue to be discussed further below. In the post-Cold War world, the major powers have to an unprecedented extent worked together to contain the conflicts rather than exploit them in wars fought by proxy. This simple fact is often forgotten, given the magnification of some conflicts over others by 24-hour news, amplified even more today because of terrorist attacks against the US and the subsequent 'war on terror'. As figure 6.2 demonstrates, the incidence of civil war is declining, not increasing as the popular media and 'common' wisdom often suggests.

We examine two data sets largely independently constructed and using two different battle-death thresholds for inclusion.¹⁰ As seen there, both data-

9 In fact, in two Middle East crises, the US nuclear forces prepared to launch nuclear attacks against the Soviets.

10 For details of the coding rules, see: Gleditsch/Wallensteen/Eriksson/Sollenberg/Strand (2002) and Fearon/Laitin (2003).

Figure 6.2: The annual average risk of civil war measured at two levels of intensity, 1946–1999. **Source:** CivilwarUP is the annual average risk of civil war at the threshold of 25 battle deaths and above taken from the Uppsala-PRIO dataset on armed conflicts (Gleditsch/Wallensteen/Eriksson/Sollenberg/Strand 2002). CivilwarFL is the annual average risk of civil war above the 1000-death threshold taken from the Fearon and Laitin (2003) replication dataset.



sets on civil war confirm liberal expectations. The risk of conflict (the annual average incidence of civil war) increased throughout the Cold War period, peaking in 1992 because of the end of empire conflicts with the break-up of Yugoslavia and the USSR. This peak seems to have been only momentary in the wake of an increasing trend of accumulating conflicts since the period of decolonization begun after World War II. This trend has dramatically declined since the end of the Cold War. The decline seems to be a steady trend over a decade rather than a temporary shift. Our figure ends in 1999, but the latest figures show even further declines since (Eriksson/Wallensteen 2004; Tierney 2005). The regional trend in civil war is also illustrative of the post-Cold War shift, namely the end of bipolar conflict.¹¹

Many of the dire predictions for the post-Cold War world have been based on a projected increase

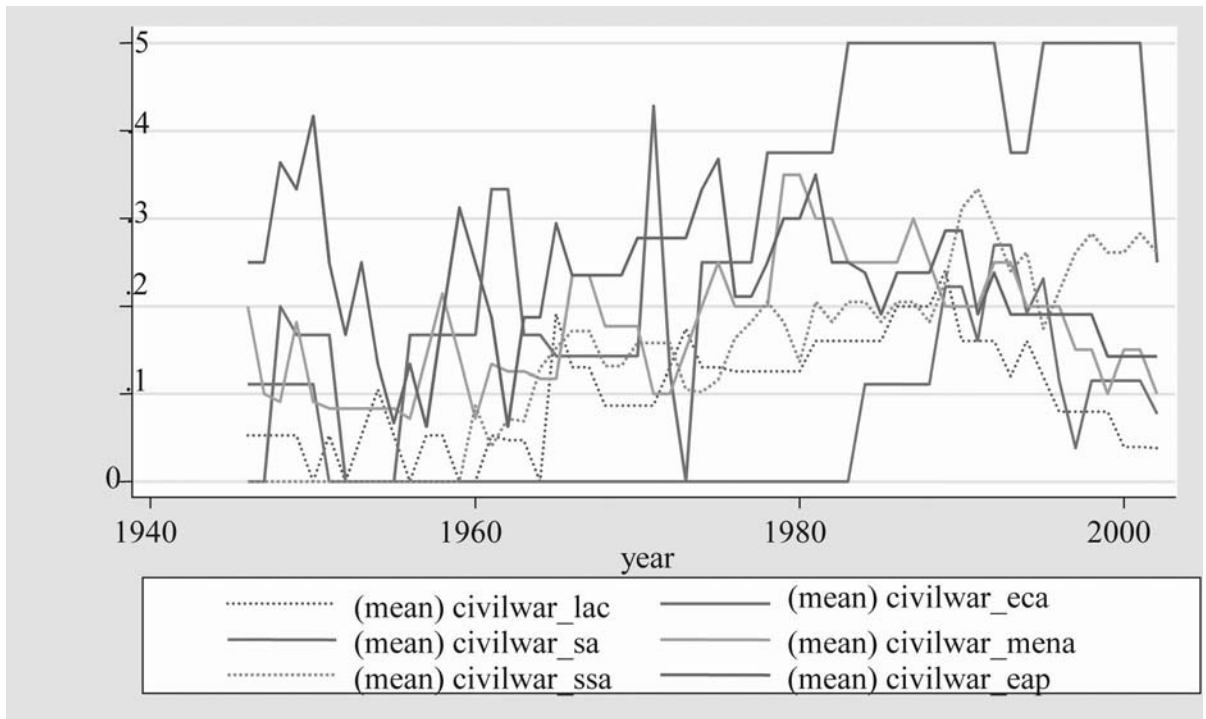
in so-called ethnic conflict. Indeed, many of the new states have been ethnically divided and the state-formation conflicts have frequently been fought along ethnic lines, exemplified most clearly in the Balkans and the former Soviet states. However, most countries are ethnically divided without suffering from state collapse or armed struggle (Fearon/Laitin 2003; Varshney 2001).

Recent data indicate that those conflicts with a heavy ethnic component are now on the wane, along with other forms of armed conflict, but the figure for the regional risk of conflict above hints at why we might get the impression that identity conflicts may be on the increase - they might be the only ones that remain, i.e. the harder ones to solve. Moreover, the two regions with high average levels of conflict remain the poorest regions of Sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia, both regions with high ethnic fractionalization and ethnicized politics.

As figure 6.3 demonstrates, the trend in civil war reflects the general downward swing in Latin Amer-

¹¹ Also see *Human Security Report 2005*: <<http://www.humansecurityreport.info/>>.

Figure 6.3: The regional risk of civil war, 1940–2002. **Source:** Civil War data from the Uppsala-PRIO data set. Wars are those with over 25 battle-related deaths. The regional classifications are from (Easterly/Sewadeh 2001).



ica, East and South East Asia and the Pacific region – which had the highest risk of civil war at the height of the Cold War period (the falling dominoes!). Surprisingly, the Middle East is also on a downward curve after highs in the late 1970's to the mid-1980's. This is presumably due to the reduction of violence involving Israel and her neighbours, such as Lebanon and Egypt, the wars between the North and South Yemen, revolution in Iran etc. Notice that the only region with a sharp upward swing is Central Asia immediately following the break-up of the USSR, but the risk there has declined now to a level slightly above Latin America. Despite a rapid decline in the risk of violence in South Asia as a region, both it and Africa remain the most seriously problematic regions as a whole, with little indication that these trends are reversing any time soon.

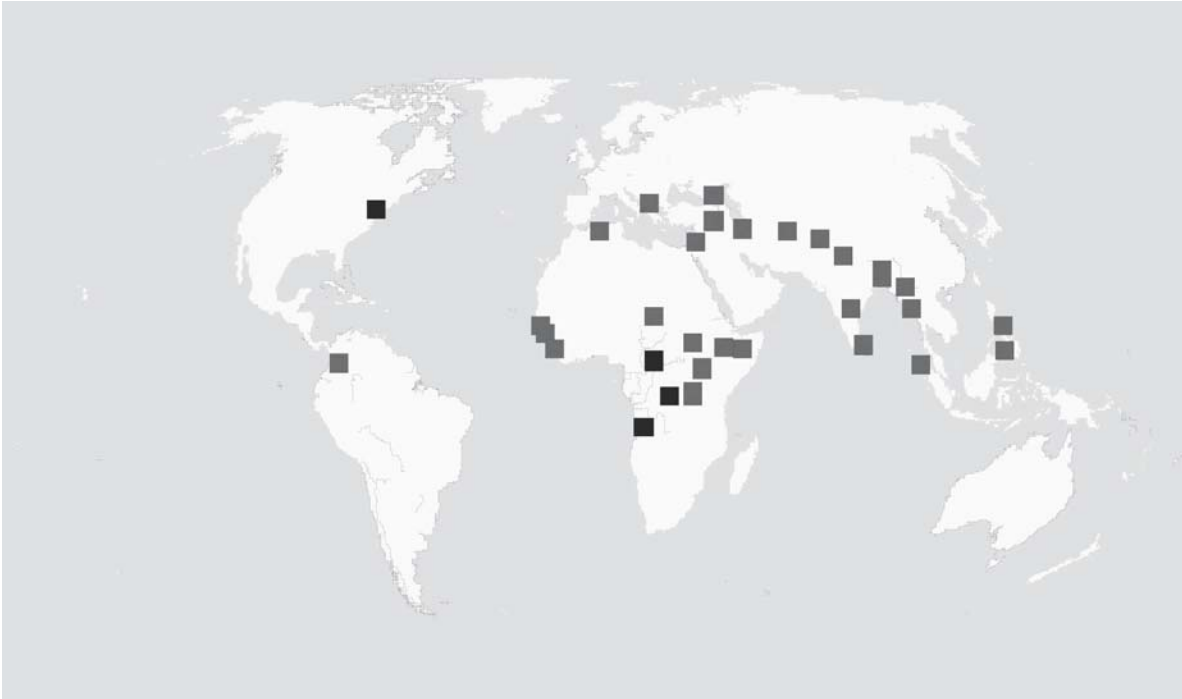
The perception that identity-based conflicts are on the rise probably has something to do with the flare up of end-of-empire conflicts, and that the majority of civil conflicts that remain are in regions where ethnic or religious cleavages, such as in Sri Lanka, Pakistan, India, and Bangladesh are easy to exploit because of poverty and weak government. Bangladesh and Nepal's violence are explicitly politically motivated, also because of weak governments and conditions that allow insurgency to flourish. The gen-

eral reduction of conflicts deemed ethnic and the lack of support that civilizational categories matter for explaining their outbreak is evidence against yet another pessimistic scenario on future world security, particularly Samuel Huntington's celebrated thesis about the clash of civilizations (de Soya 2002; Marshall/Gurr 2003; Mueller 2000; Russett/Oneal 2000; Sadowsky 1998; Tuscisny 2004; Weede 2004).¹² A glance at the location of where civil conflicts exist geographically in 2002 is illustrative (see figure 6.4).

There is a line of civil wars that stretch from the Balkans down through Central Asia into South and South East Asia, a line of conflicts that look suspiciously like the line of containment held by the United States in its fight against the Soviets. The rest of the conflicts cluster in Sub-Saharan Africa, and there is one remaining conflict in Latin America (Colombia).¹³ The reason for the perceptions, again, seems to be based largely on the fact that the only conflicts that remain are those in parts of the world

¹² My own recent work demonstrates that higher ethnic, religious, and cultural fractionalization reduces state militarization, measured as military spending, size of militaries, and arms imports. If difference is dangerous, why do governments not act like it is? (de Soya/Neumayer 2005a).

Figure 6.4: The geographical location of civil conflicts that have reached at least 25 deaths in 2002. The map is generated using the programme: ViewConflicts 2.2 developed jointly by the Norwegian University of Science and Technology's Department of Geography and the 'Armed Conflicts' Data Project, a result of cooperation between the Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO) and Uppsala University's Department of Peace and Conflict Research. The program to generate the maps can be downloaded at: <<http://www.svt.ntnu.no/geo/forskning/konflikt/viewConflicts/>>.



where ethnicity, particularly in the form of Islamic fundamentalism, is a ready resource for exploitation due to conditions that raise the opportunities to organize violence against states, such as poverty, lack of development, and the resultant state capacity required in turn for peace and prosperity. The terrorist attacks against Russia and the USA and the subsequent war against Al Qaeda have fuelled the perception that cultural fanaticism motivates violence. Notice the striking absence of conflicts in Latin America, a region that had been plagued by violence during the Cold War period.

The 'war on terror', currently dominating the news, indicates how superfluous the reasons are for thinking that it manifests emerging civilizational struggles, in this case one between the Christian West led by the USA and an Islamic Middle East, repre-

sented by Al Qaeda. Terrorist activity around the world, relative to other forms of violence, such as random crime, gang activity, and drug-related violence, or even death because of a traffic accident or aids, is far less likely to kill someone. A terrorist, however, tries to create a cognitive bias by killing at random and gruesomely. It is the picture that matters! In achieving this objective, Al Qaeda seems to have succeeded. The September 11th attacks have generated a mindset of a 'war on terror' generally read a war on 'Islamic terror'. The United States is not about to invade Northern Ireland or the Basque region of Spain because the Irish Republican Army (IRA) and the Basque terrorist group (ETA) are known to be connected to 'terrorism' at home and terrorist groups abroad.¹⁴ Yet, the man on the street views recent terrorist events as a simple battle between those who claim to represent a religious strug-

13 The September 11, 2001 attacks against the US are recorded as an outbreak of civil violence in the US due to coding rules. This arguably does not fit the bill as a traditional civil war fought within the territorial confines of a state.

14 The cynical way in which the former Spanish government tried to manipulate the Madrid train bombings was precisely to gain advantage in its own fight at home.

gle (Jihad) against infidels, a view often pushed by governments in the West and by Al Qaeda. In fact, any terrorist act, usually committed for a variety of reasons by fragmented groups such as nationalists, separatists, anarchists, and psychopaths of various sorts working without coordination are likely to be seen monolithically – if you are not with us you are against us. This works in Al Qaeda's favour and possibly encourages many disparate groups from the Islamic world to carry them out against Western targets.

For its own reasons, the present government of the United States has exaggerated the threat from terrorism, which remains a low-probability threat, assigning all acts of terror to Al Qaeda. As some argue, however, the September 11th attacks are a highly unusual event compared with the norm of terrorist activity – even compared with other Al Qaeda activity in the past. This low-probability event was carried out by a handful of people who do not fit the usual terrorist profile – a mentally unbalanced individual. But as the sociologist Diego Gambetta has written, “when thinking about low-probability bad events we are easily trapped between two undesirable extremes – before, we do not worry about them; after, we worry about them too much” (Gambetta 2004; Mueller 2004). Al Qaeda seems to have achieved its intended psychological effect of organizing a high impact, low probability terrorist act, and this overreaction promises to be more costly. As Gambetta concludes from his analysis, “the questionable rationality of the post-9/11 mindset and the strategic approach it has induced which may well outlast the Bush administration-poses far more serious and consequential problems for all of us than the propaganda or low-level conspiracies” (Gambetta 2004).

We reject the notion, based on all empirical evidence examined here and elsewhere, that there is an emerging clash of civilizations, of which the ‘war against terror’ is the first shot. Overreaction to terrorism, rather than cautious vigilance, is likely to be counterproductive for the ‘war against terror’ and extremely dangerous for international stability. The actual danger from terrorist attacks, on the other hand, is minuscule compared to other events, including poverty and the spread of diseases, such as aids. Moreover, traditional forms of organized violence, such as civil wars tend to continue to kill much larger numbers of people on a daily basis than does terrorism. While we discuss next the ways in which country-level characteristics generate and perpetuate civil violence, it is instructive also to bear in mind that

dependencies exist between international war, civil wars, and terrorism. As mentioned above, whether one thinks of Chechen groups active in Russia, or Al Qaeda's origins, international wars have contributed to the spread of civil war, and vice versa, and this fact is also certainly true of international terrorism.¹⁵

Indeed, it would be utter folly to understand the origins of current terrorism without examining the international wars, particularly those during and immediately following the Cold War, such as the Arab-Israeli Wars, the Soviet-Afghan War, Chechen War, 1991 Gulf War, the Balkan Wars, etc). The civil wars that remain and the terrorism that continues are residual security threats that are low probability but high visibility events in a world that is much improved in terms of violent conflict and a costly balance of terror. On all indicators, interstate war, civil war, and the long, bloody regional conflicts involving the superpowers that perhaps account for the current terrorist activity, are on the wane.

It is fair to say then that the risk of internal conflict peaked right after the Cold War but has declined to a lower level today than what it was in the early 1960's. The popular view is probably heavily driven by what some term the ‘progress paradox’, where people believe that they have it bad precisely when things are improving (Easterbrook 2003). The one region, where the risk of conflict has been steadily rising is Africa, which of course is also the region that has benefited the least from the advantages of globalization since the 1980's and where economic modernisation has been slowest. Much earlier analyses based on the structuralist tradition had tried to demonstrate that global capitalist forces were responsible for internal conflict within the developing world by arguing that the structure of the world system was exploitative, and drove income inequality, which in turn led to ‘relative deprivation’ and conflict (Boswell/Dixon 1990; Rothgeb 1996). In a later section we shall demonstrate new understanding of internal conflict and the supporting empirical evidence, which demonstrates the benefits of growth, trade, and open markets for international and civil peace. In hind-

15 One might claim that suicide bombings are a particularly Islamic form of terrorism, or religious zealotry (Jihad). Scholars have spent little systematic effort on understanding how suicide is organized with a few exceptions (Gambetta 2005). In 1994, 24 members of a Swiss cult committed mass suicide. The difference between religious zealotry and the availability of recruits for suicide might simply be how and why it is organized, not the mindsets created by religion.

sight, much of the burden of debt, disease, commodity dependence, and poor governance may be traced to Africa's desire to 'go it alone', recommended most ardently by these dependency theorists and economic nationalists (Amin 1990). The result has been a 'lost decade', compared to relatively open East and South East Asia that have adapted to international markets.

6.3 Nurture, not Nature!

Before I discuss how globalization promises poor countries an avenue for reducing risk, relative to the bipolar period, what about nature? According to many, poor countries are poor and insecure because nature has been unkind to some (Homer-Dixon 2000; Meadows/Meadows/Randers 1993). Many empirical studies find that developed states are resilient to shocks. People are resilient to natural disasters as well as short-term economic shocks. Wealth is good beyond simply allowing higher consumption. Development also may mean that risks are mitigated with the application of capital and technology and superior organization (Wisner/Blaikie/Cannon/Davis 2004). Consider the fact that the same hurricane that hits Florida and Haiti has far different consequences for the two societies inhabiting these two territorial entities.¹⁶ Thus, wealth is insurance that increases human welfare far beyond simple consumption. The usual way of gauging the level of development is per capita income. Recently, neo-Malthusian views that link poverty to the unkindness of nature suggests that poor countries are trapped in a vicious cycle of poverty, underdevelopment, and insecurity because they lack resources from their physical environments to overcome the risks. Moreover, much of the blame could also be placed on global processes of environmental change, rising consumption, and growing scarcity (see Dalby in chap. 9). If, as I have outlined above, the systemic factors hold promise for a better world, then what about the Malthusian trap?

Contrary to the globalization (or increasing markets) perspective, neo-Malthusians connect poverty in developing countries to the lack of environmental resources (see also discussion in this vol.: chap. 7 by Brown; chap. 8 by Uvin). Poverty, a degraded planet, and environmental scarcity are supposedly mirroring

poor countries in a conflict-poverty trap. Thus, with increased global climate change, poor countries are likely to suffer increased vulnerabilities (Homer-Dixon/Blitt 1998; Homer-Dixon 1991). The weight of the evidence, however, is exactly the opposite. Environmental wealth is wasted as part of the resource curse, thereby costing current and future generations the benefits of using resources wisely for diversifying away from dependence on the natural environment for creating wealth. Moreover, there is little evidence to suggest, apart from petroleum, that natural resources are becoming increasingly scarce globally, and that various forms of technology are not displacing them. Figure 6.5 shows the long-term trend of prices for various sorts of resources. As seen there, all resources have steadily dropped in value per unit over time.

Nor does it seem that poor countries lack 'stocks' of natural wealth relative to the richest countries. The World Bank recently estimated the contribution of natural, human, and physical capital to the total wealth of about 100 countries as part of its Green Accounting programme.¹⁷ These estimates allow us to see what it is that the poorest countries lack, defined by the World Bank's 'low income' group, relative to the high income countries. As figure 6.6 shows, what the poor countries lack relative to the richest are clearly human and physical capital, not natural capital.¹⁸ Despite having only 2 per cent of the income per capita of the richest countries, the poorest countries have more than 60 per cent of natural capital. In other words, what Angola or the DRC lacks relative to Belgium or Portugal is not nature's gifts, quite the opposite.

While natural resource scarcity, thus, might be viewed with some caution as an explanatory factor in civil war, scholars find recently that 'greed-driven' factors are more powerful than 'grievance-driven' factors for explaining the outbreak and continuation of violence (Collier/Hoeffler 2004; Collier/Elliott/Hegre/Hoeffler/Reynal-Querol/Sambanis 2003; de Soysa 2002; Fearon/Laitin 2003). Several key findings within this literature point to state and social capacity as crucial for preventing 'greed-driven' forces from causing conflict. The main assertions of this literature

16 The devastation of New Orleans by Hurricane Katrina shows that even relatively wealthy places are not immune if governments have been lax and where preparation has been weak. Floridians have learnt the hard way over time, as I am sure Louisianians have today.

17 See at: <<http://lnweb18.worldbank.org/ESSD/envext.nsf/44ByDocName/GreenAccountingAdjustedNetSavings>>.

18 The poorest countries are the World Bank's low-income category and the richest are the high-income category (World Bank 2004).

Figure 6.5: Disaggregated commodity price index, 1960–2000. **Source:** Data from WDI CD-Rom (World Bank 2002). Index base year 1990=100.

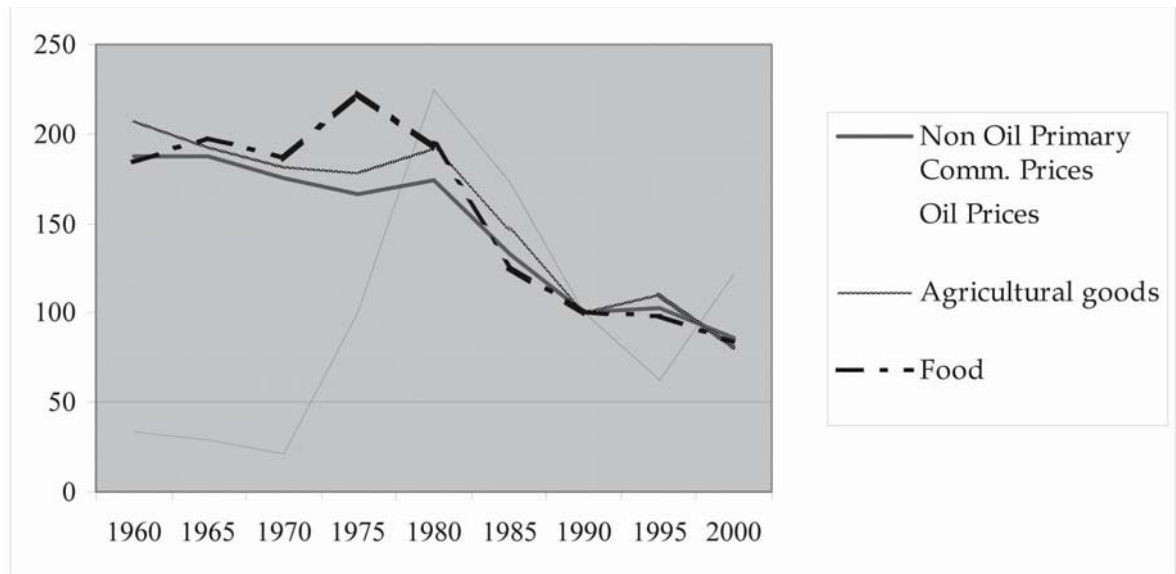
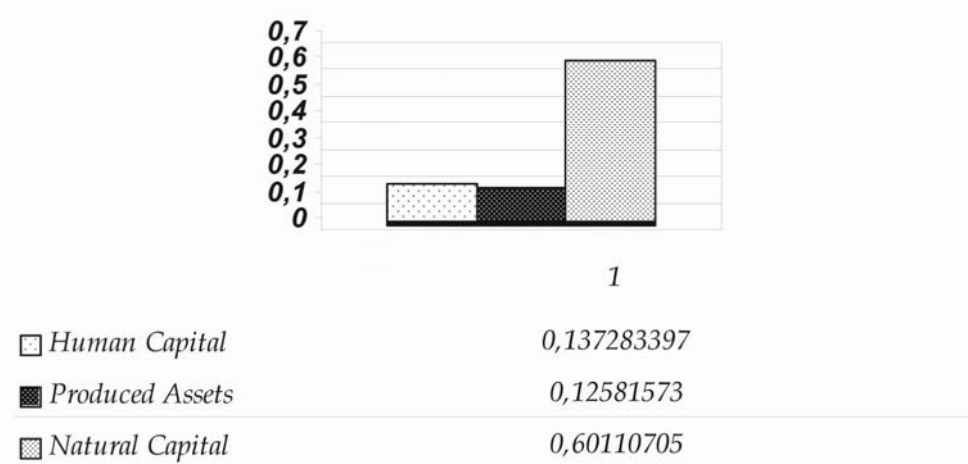


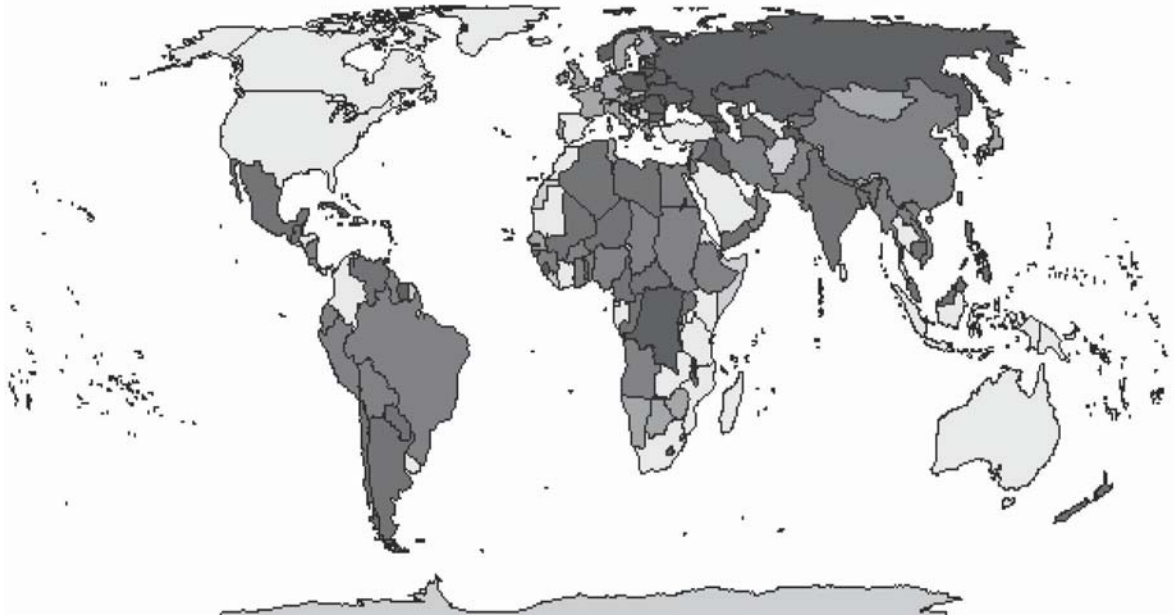
Figure 6.6: Poor Countries' Average per Capita Share of Natural, Produced, and Human Capital Relative to the Richest Countries. **Source:** Data from WDI CD-Rom (World Bank 2002). Index base year 1990=100.



are based on the key finding that extractable wealth in terms of large natural resources (relative abundance) provide the payoff for organizing large-scale violence (Berdal/Malone 2000; Collier 2000b; de Soysa 2002; Ross 2004). As some argue, conflict is not universally harmful, but a few can 'do well' out of organizing civil war (Collier 2000a). Since the provision of justice is a 'public good' altruistic individuals rarely spring up to serve justice by bearing all the costs of organizing rebellion. Groups organize for violence because of private gain. Likewise, peace is a public good, which often prevents the majority from organizing for peace, which can be very costly. Ac-

ording to the theory of collective action larger groups are harder to organize than smaller groups because the payoffs/costs are more concentrated the smaller the size and because free riding can be monitored more effectively (Olson 1965). However, given the destruction caused by conflict, people who are productive in society have the necessary incentive to organize for peace, yet they cannot because of free riding. The more society stands to lose the easier will be the organization for solving collective action problems - this is the main message in the burgeoning literature on social capital and perhaps also explains why developed societies are resilient to shocks

Figure 6.7: Food Production Index for year 2002. **Source:** Data from WDI CD-Rom (World Bank 2004). Index: 100 = 1989-1991. Blue shaded area = 150 & greater, Red shaded area = below 90.



(Putnam 1993; Varshney 2001). Higher levels of development raise the pay-off for maintaining peace and strengthen social and state capacities for providing the public force necessary to check socially harmful behaviour (Bates 2001; Fearon/Laitin 2003). Yet, this is difficult if indeed the pay-off to organizing violence is high and finance for it is available – where concentrated benefits for a few exist!

As seen above, wealth reduces risk. However, some resource-wealthy states are prone to conflict despite higher levels of per capita income, generally speaking (such as some Middle Eastern states, i.e. Saudi Arabia). We argue that the evidence within the recent empirical work on civil conflict, which demonstrates that natural resources and weak institutions are intimately related to the ways in which social technologies of peace erode, supports the argument that globalization should work towards supporting civil peace. In this sense, trade and investment and continued globalization will allow state (institutional) and social capacities (informal institutions) for developing, creating the webs of interdependence required for stable peace between states, within regions, and within states (Russett/Oneal 2000; Weede 2004). We view this both as supply driven through state institutions and demand driven by organizational abilities of social forces from below.

The finding that resource wealth is related to greed-driven conflict is key. Resource wealth does

not only provide lootable income to private actors, but it leads to semi-private states, or what some call ‘shadow states’ (Bates 2001; Karl 1997; Reno 2000). Shadow states, by their very nature, are states that are captured by a few private interests. Moreover, the nature of the economic pay-off, or viability of the state, provides the rationale for institutional development and strength. A convenient resource stream, such as extractable mineral wealth, leads to withering of institutions around the collection of taxes, thereby weakening the social contract necessary for building a tax base from society. Moreover, a convenient resource stream renders social bases of taxation superfluous, which leads to semi-privatized states that will be disinterested in providing the optimal level of public goods, which will ultimately erode social and human capital (Woolcock/Pritchett/Isham 2001). Resource wealth also allows states to close their economies and practise industrial substitution policies, which some have referred to as ‘precocious Keynesianism’ for state-building along nationalist lines (Waldner 1999). This according to others is the ‘natural resource curse’ that seems to be at the heart of some of the social ills facing many poor countries (Auty 2001; Ross 1999). Moreover, all these pernicious effects form a powerful cocktail that leads often to state and social disarray, violent civil wars, and continued marginalization. There is, however, nothing automatic about resource wealth that leads to disarray as Bot-

swana, Norway, or Canada might attest. The problems can often be corrected by policy (Auty 2000). In an age of globalization, the technology and capital required for diversification of economies away from dependence on monoculture development is available to a greater extent than ever before, which is promising. Thus, systemic factors are right, but internal policy factors have not adjusted equally.

The conditions of globalization are ostensibly driven by increased trade between states and across regions. Growing trade is also supplemented, supplanted, and complemented by foreign investment (FDI).¹⁹ These aspects are generally seen as the hard drivers of globalization (de Soysa 2003; Keohane/Nye 2000; Simmons/Dobbins/Garrett 2004). Today, poor countries, which were once against global liberalism, have changed their minds (Krasner 1985), a point exemplified most clearly, in the economic realm at least, by the Chinese reversal, Vietnam, or even Cuba (Clapham 1995). What poor countries lack is capital and technology for improving their trading position, diversifying away from primary commodity dependence, and creating the necessary economic growth. Globalization helps since trade and investment benefits poor country growth (Bhagwati 1999; Collier/Gunning 1999; de Soysa/Oneal 1999; Dollar/Kraay 2000; Srinivasan/Baghwati 1999). Trade dependence and FDI may improve conditions of human rights (Apodaca 2001; Busse 2004; Richards/Gelley/Sacko 2001), social conditions facing labour (Garrett 1998; Neumayer/de Soysa 2004, 2005), environmental conditions and economic sustainability (de Soysa/Neumayer 2005b; Garrett 1999; Yu 1994), and even internal peace (Barbieri/Reuveny 2005; Bussmann/Scheuthle/Schneider 2005; de Soysa 2002; Krause/Suzuki 2005; Weede 2004). In fact, of several variables explaining peace between states, trade, joint democracy, and joint membership in international organizations have strong statistically significant effects on peace that are substantively large, supporting theories of peace and cooperation going back to Montesquieu, Immanuel Kant, and the Manchester School. Interdependence promotes peace (Russett/Oneal 2000). Gaining interdependence is a policy problem, allowing human agency in building a better world.

We have contended that conflict and development are consequences largely of policy. Thus, better policy environments locally and globally promise to make a difference. Better governance does not easily come about, however. It has to be affected through incentives. The end of the Cold War and all the attendant political, ideological, and strategic considerations no longer exist. In this era of globalization, the opportunity for building a better environment for development and peace exists. Most countries around the world seek to be more globalized, although as some suggest, Sub-Saharan African countries may still suffer from internal biases against open markets and domestic rent-seeking coalitions that prevent better policies that would move many of these countries away from resource dependence and insecurity (Moss/Ramachandran/Kedia Shah 2004). Moreover, several parts of the world that enjoy nature's gifts may in fact be cursed, but yet again, the resource curse may be overcome with conscious effort.

6.4 Conclusions

Underdevelopment and human insecurity are inextricably linked. Although most of the world's people are increasingly facing better prospects for security – both social and physical – the opportunities afforded by the end of the Cold War and the current age of globalization are not being realized equally by all, despite steady improvements (Kenny 2005). The incidence of organized armed violence is declining rapidly since the end of the Cold War, and the risk of organized civil war today is somewhere near what it was at the beginning of the 1960's, this despite the fact that there are far more countries and less repression; i.e. 'garrison states'. Globalization promises security and development. Contrary to neo-Malthusian arguments that see a bleak future for security and development based on natural limits to growth and consumption, policy matters. However, natural resource abundance, not its scarcity, hampers both good policy-making and civil peace required for ensuring long-term development and human security. Unfortunately, however, some parts of the globe, such as Africa and South Asia, may lag behind.

One of the primary reasons increasing the risks for Africa is natural resource dependence. The crucial task for global policy would be to direct aid, trade, and investment policies towards diversifying African economies away from extractive activity. The problem, as some pessimists on globalization claim, is not

¹⁹ I focus below on direct investment (FDI) rather than portfolio capital, which is a tiny part of capital flows to the poorest countries because of underdeveloped capital markets.

that Africa is captured by global markets hungry for resources, but that policies in these countries prevent resource rents from being translated into sustainable development. In fact, resources are being wasted rather than being deployed for productive investment. Angola, Nigeria, and the DRC could be some of the richest places on the planet if wealth were properly managed. Overcoming the 'resource curse' might be a worthy challenge for global policy to address. Unfortunately, while governments pay lip service to the issue, very little is done. The private sector initiatives, such as Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR), are a start, but the incentives to shirk (cheat) are so great that only time can judge their success. Besides these initiatives, institutions of global governance, such as the International Financial Institutions (IFIs), could step in to devise programmes that help states manage their wealth better, such as the management of rents from the Chad oil pipeline.

Poor countries, such as many in Sub-Saharan Africa, lack physical and human capital necessary to join the globalized economies of the world. Many fall behind the rest of the world. Trade and investment could lift these countries out of this trap. However, domestic factors, such as rent-seeking and attitudes of governments and elites against open markets and foreign capital, may still be hindering the rate of convergence with others (Moss/Ramachandran/Kedia Shah 2004). The international policy community, and perhaps also the academic communities, could work to increase transparency and awareness around how globalization can benefit these countries. The empowerment of civil society with increased levels of democracy goes some distance towards creating greater transparency and preventing rent-seeking, leading to greater openness of these countries to trade (Milner/Kubota 2005).

The onus is not purely on the poor world. Rich countries should also do their part. Paradoxically, when the former colonies are becoming more open to global markets, the rich are cutting them off with tariff and non-tariff barriers (Bhagwati 1997). Apparently, jobs are being lost to the South, but consider that the rich world spends over 600 billion per annum on defence, 300 billion dollars on agricultural subsidies, and only 60 billion on aid. One is forced to ask how this allocation improves the security for the rich. Clearly, local and global rent-seeking hinders proper management of wealth, increases inefficient allocation, and perhaps hinders the prospects for development and peace. It is quite right that the 'international community' focuses more and more on hu-

man security. It might be that future acts of global governance adjust the rich countries' policies that violate the 'human security' of the poor, the most odious kind of exploitation. Concerted global governance that addresses these imbalances is now more imperative than ever.²⁰ The question, however, comes down to political will, but despite goodwill, politicians will not act given imprecise advice. Perhaps consensus should be sought first among epistemic communities who can then bring sharply-focused knowledge to bear that raises the costs of self-serving politics. My hope is that this chapter is a small part of the larger debate that this book generates in the wider arena in academia that dares to address policy relevance and forge the discussion that makes the comfortable somewhat uncomfortable.

20 Institutes such as the Center for Global Development measure the commitment of the rich countries to helping the poor. See <www.cgdev.org> for their index.

7 Emergent Sustainability: The Concept of Sustainable Development in a Complex World

Casey Brown

7.1 Introduction

The concept of sustainable development derives from the fundamental concern of human society and its need for security.¹ The popularity of the term and the attention it receives signal a general dissatisfaction with the direction of things on planet earth. The most vociferous calls for development that is ‘sustainable’ (as opposed to ‘business as usual’ development) come from the developed world. Some have interpreted this as an affluent society focusing on the luxury of environmental quality. More likely, the developed world senses that its way of life is threatened. We need to look no further than the typical tenets of ‘sustainable development’², i.e. economic development, environmental protection, and social systems, to find at their root a threat to the security of the developed world. Economic development is necessary for any society to maintain its current standard of living while undergoing population growth. Environmental protection is less a luxury and more a requirement to preserve the earth’s life support system. Increasingly, the developed world realizes unfettered economic growth by the undeveloped countries endangers their environmental security. Global warming is the most prominent example of a transnational environmental security threat. Finally, social unrest and inequality foment acts of violence against civilization, including terrorism. In this way, sustainable development is motivated by the basic need for security.

The links between security and poverty, environmental quality and social systems, are addressed in other chapters in this volume. This chapter explores

the concept of sustainable development and the linkages between economic growth, the environment, and society. The great uncertainties regarding the future and the complexity of the human-nature system that characterizes the “Anthropocene” (Clark/Crutzen/Schellnhuber 2005) overwhelm traditional decision analytic approaches to the question of sustainability. A new scientific and policy framework is needed. Complexity science may offer guidance in how to influence the direction of a complex system like the interwoven social, economic, and ecological systems that comprise our environment. From this “new kind of science” (Wolfram 2002) we learn that top down approaches yield unreliable results. Instead, the combined impact of the actions and decisions of individual agents spawn macro-level ‘emergent traits’ that dominate the direction of the human-nature system. The result is the need to provide the conditions such that the human-nature system manifests sustainability as an emergent trait. Assessing sustainable development from a complex viewpoint motivates a conclusion that the necessary conditions include economic growth and good governance.

This chapter begins with a brief review of the concept of sustainable development. An introduction to complexity science follows. This section will present the concepts relevant to the later discussion of achieving sustainable development only, and the interested reader should refer to the references included for a proper introduction to the subject. Finally, the three key tenets of sustainable development, as usually conceived, namely economic growth, environmental protection, and social justice, are evaluated critically for their relevance to the concept of sustainable development and prospects for implementation. Insights from complexity science are drawn to inform this assessment.

1 In this chapter security is defined as being free from threats that prevent one from pursuing that which they value in life.

2 This term will here be used as economic development that includes environmental and social goals as explicit objectives in addition to economic growth.

7.2 Fundamentals of Sustainable Development

Many have defined sustainable development. Rogers, Jalal, and Boyd (2005) provide a basic primer in the various ways in which sustainability and sustainable development have been defined and Dasgupta and Maler (1995) offers a more technical treatise. This chapter defines sustainable development as development that satisfies the 'triple bottom line' of providing economic benefit while also enhancing the environment and society, in terms of social and cultural systems, (or at least not degrading either). The triple bottom line is an expansion of the traditional bottom line, which includes simply the net economic benefits of a project. The additional bottom lines are for the environmental net benefits and social net benefits (Elkington 1998).³ This is also an extension of the Pareto criterion, which is the accepted test for optimality in economics. For an initiative such as a development project, say the construction of a large dam, to satisfy the Pareto criterion, it must make at least one person better off without making anyone else worse off. Thus a project that satisfied the triple bottom line would be one that improved one of the criteria (economic, environmental, or social) while not degrading either of the other criteria. This seems to be a sensible approach for achieving a sustainable development that improves the welfare of the world's population and allows the following generations the opportunity to do the same.

It may be optimal to achieve sustainable development through policy initiatives or projects that satisfy the triple bottom line. However, the real world presents limited opportunities to do so. This is known in economics to be true for the Pareto criterion, so it is no surprise to find the same to be true for the triple bottom line. It is the nature of the world that there are limited possibilities for projects that meet this strict criterion. Perhaps such projects are so obviously

beneficial that they have already been done. On the other hand, there are many projects that have very large potential benefits but do not satisfy Pareto, because at least one person would be made worse off. If we consider the construction of a large dam from an economic standpoint only, we can envision a project that could provide benefits to a large number of people, for example electricity and drinking water for an urban area or irrigation water for an agricultural area. However, inevitably the construction of the dam would make some people worse off, such as those who would lose their land and livelihoods to the inundation of the river valley. The need to utilize tradeoffs between those receiving the benefits and those incurring the costs of projects in the real world gave rise to a modification of the original Pareto criterion. A project satisfies the modified Pareto criterion if it makes at least one person better off and there are sufficient benefits such that if they were redistributed everyone else could be no worse off. In the case of the dam, a portion of the benefits realized through hydroelectricity production could be used to compensate those in the river valley for the loss of their land and livelihoods.

The flexibility gained with the modified Pareto criterion is accompanied by caveats. The first is the actual redistribution of the benefits. It should not be acceptable that redistribution is a thought exercise only. The historical record of actual development projects, such as large dams, is filled with claims of promised compensation that was never provided. In other cases, redistribution is simply assumed to happen as a trickle down effect of enhanced consumption. There is little evidence that such approaches ever serve to improve the well-being of those made worse off. However, in developed market economies, there is belief in creative destruction, the idea that innovation will displace those employed in the old ways by the new products that bring a general improvement in well-being (Schumpeter 1942). For example, the advent of e-mail has been a major loss for those in the stationary business but we certainly don't believe that they are due compensation. Still, developed economies typically provide some form of social safety net including unemployment compensation and retraining for workers in distressed industries. In less developed economies, it is not likely that a dynamic economy can be counted on to provide new opportunities for the displaced, and social safety nets are often lacking.

These issues bring to light the importance of evaluating projects in terms of the triple bottom line. Eco-

3 For further reading on sustainable development, in addition to the text by Rogers/Jalal/Boyd (2005) and the economic analysis presented by Dasgupta/Maler (1995), the reader is referred to Arrow/Dasgupta/ Goulder/Daily/Ehrlich/Heal/Levin/Maler/Schneider/Starret/Walker (2004) which provides a succinct introduction to the literature, to World Bank (1997) for a treatise on quantifying the concept, and to the World Commission on Environment and Development (1987), commonly referred to as the Brundtland Commission, which is the report that instigated the modern exploration of this topic.

conomic approaches have proven ineffective at valuing environmental services and social capital. As a result, neither is protected in a manner consistent with our preferences for them. Specific consideration of the environmental and social benefits and costs, along with the usual economic cost-benefit analysis, is needed. This is the fundamental requirement for sustainable development. Still, estimating costs and benefits and accounting for costs that are displaced in space and time remain great challenges. Already, there have been many alarmist warnings of imminent doom based on trend projections from Malthus to Ehrlich (1971) and none have come to pass. In part, it may be that these clarion calls are so effective they serve to change the trends and prove themselves wrong. Clearly trend projections are fraught with danger in a complex world. Given the innumerable uncertainties, the triple bottom line approach is necessary but not sufficient for sustainable development. Acknowledging the complexity of the human-nature system, we turn to the science of complex systems for guidance in achieving sustainable development in an uncertain world.

7.3 Complex Systems and the Implications for Sustainable Development

A significant obstacle to deciding how sustainable development be achieved is our lack of understanding of the implications of actions taken now for the future. That is, we face the challenge of decision-making under great uncertainty. This makes the implementation of many seemingly wise and straightforward concepts of sustainability difficult and impossible (Ludwig/Hilborn/Walters 1993). A look at some typical principles of sustainability makes this clear. Some examples are (taken from Gladwin/Kennelly/Krause 1995, but repeated elsewhere) waste emissions not exceeding the natural assimilative capacity, harvest rates not exceeding regeneration rates, and biodiversity loss not exceeding the rate of biodiversity preservation. These are certainly good ideas, but attempting to enforce them is prohibitive. Simply estimating the rates is problematic, enforcement and monitoring across the globe is beyond feasible. For example, many sustainability viewpoints express a need to control population growth. However, an accepted estimate of the earth's carrying capacity, upon which the need for such a control would rest, has not been found. Cohen (1995) cites various calculations of carrying capacity

ranging from 1 billion to 1 trillion people. Furthermore, uncertainty regarding the future precludes radical actions in the present. The classic example of the peril of long time scale prediction in a dynamic world is provided by the "Horse Manure Crisis of 1894" (Davies 2004). Urban areas were overflowing with manure generated by the primary means of transportation of the day: horses. In 1898, an international urban planning conference, in fact the first such conference, convened in New York City to find solutions to the pressing crisis. It is reported that in 1900 the horses in New York City produced 2.5 million pounds of manure per day. The conference was not successful and ended early due to lack of hope for finding a solution. The solution, of course, was provided by the invention and popularity of the automobile.

And so it goes in the art of anticipating the future. The world is complex and a great deal of understanding is needed to anticipate all the consequences of major interventions. However, it is likely that we will never have enough understanding to make accurate predictions (Ludwig/Hilborn/Walters 1993). Weather defies prediction because of its chaotic characteristics, which are, by definition, unpredictable.⁴ While much of the world appears chaotic and unpredictable, some have found patterns in the confusion. These patterns that emerge from the chaos are termed 'complexity' and the systems that create them, 'complex systems'. An accessible entrée to the science of complex systems is provided by Waldrop (1992; see also Wolfram 2002). Much of the systems that are relevant to this discussion, the ecosystems that make up the natural environment and the social-ecological-systems that comprise the human world, are complex systems (Holling 2001; Walker/Carpenter/Anderies/Abel/Cumming/Janssen/Lebel/Norberg/Peterson/Pritchard 2002).

Complexity is not the same as being complicated.⁵ Complex systems are characterized by nonlinear responses to perturbations. Another characteristic is a threshold effect. When threshold effects are present

4 Chaos is here defined as the unpredictable behaviour of a complex system. One form of chaos is sensitivity to initial conditions, known as the "butterfly effect," as presented by Edward Lorenz (1979). For further reading on the subject, see Lorenz (1993), Prigogine/Stengers (1984) and Alligood/Sauer/Yorke (1997).

5 Complexity implies some degree of order, yet the order defies characterization or prediction using linear approaches. See Gell-Mann (1994) on development of complexity theory from a physics framework or Kaufman's (1995) approach from a biological viewpoint. For more on emergence, see Holland (1998).

there may be no response to minor perturbations but radical system changes when perturbations exceed a threshold. Complex systems often exhibit self-organization and emergent traits. An emergent trait is a feature that arises unplanned from the interactions of the individual actions of agents within a system. The most famous emergent trait may be Adam Smith's 'invisible hand' whereby the multitudinous decisions of individual agents seeking to maximize their own utility results in unintended collective action that yields a welfare maximizing equilibrium between market quantities and prices for an economy as a whole. Emergence and self-organization provide hope for some predictability in complex systems.

Understanding the earth and human-nature interactions as a complex system provides important guidance for sustainability. The first is the need to relinquish the common reactionary reliance on command and control strategies and reductionist approaches. There is simply too much uncertainty and variety in the world to implement and monitor such methods. Key drivers, such as technology, are difficult to predict⁶, human action responds to projections in unanticipated ways, and linear projections are incapable of reproducing the nonlinear dynamics that are most important in determining future outcomes (Walker/Carpenter/Anderies/Abel/Cumming/Janssen/Lebel/Norberg/Peterson/Pritchard 2002). This does not mean, however, that we should attempt nothing, wading in the manure and waiting for the arrival of the automobile. Complexity theory provides both the hope of identifying possible outcomes in the form of "attractors" and the means of intervention. With this view, the focus should be to understand the means to influence the direction of a complex system from within, rather than attempting to control it. The locations where the system is amenable to change are termed "points of intervention" (Walker/Carpenter/Anderies/Abel/Cumming/Janssen/Lebel/Norberg/Peterson/Pritchard 2002).

Second, we must distinguish between attempting to preserve the current state of the planet and preserving the functioning system that determines the state. The state of a complex system is determined by the value of the state variables that make up the system. Many treatises on sustainability are dedicated toward maintaining the current state of the world. While we may prefer the current state of a system, such as our world, unless the system is at a stable configuration, it

is ultimately hopeless to resist change. A stable configuration is termed an 'attractor'. An attractor is a configuration to which the system commonly returns after small perturbations. Many studies have examined the means of increasing the resilience of the current configuration of the human-nature system to perturbation (e.g., Walker/Carpenter/Anderies/Abel/Cumming/Janssen/Lebel/Norberg/Peterson/Pritchard 2002). However, this may be confusing the current state of the system with the attractor to which the system is ultimately moving. We may enjoy the current level of air and land quality, biodiversity, and ecosystem integrity. As a result we would like to preserve their current state. However, the current configuration of the human-nature complex system may be moving us toward greater and greater degradation of the environment, as many measures of the environment indicate (e.g. rising atmospheric CO₂ concentrations, decreasing biodiversity). If this is true, it is not resilience we desire but rather a change of configuration to a human-nature system that maintains environmental quality. From this viewpoint, the relevant questions are, 1) are we in a desirable configuration now and if not, 2) how do we change to a more desirable configuration?

Much has been stated regarding the need to change our evaluation of development to reflect more than economic growth. The growth of the global economy and the increasing accumulation of income indicate that the current system successfully satisfies the economic bottom line. Simply put, net benefits, as they are currently measured are increasing, flawed though that measurement may be. However, the summary statements of past publications and summits on development, including the World Commission on Environment and Development (1987), the UN Conference on Environment and Development (Rio de Janeiro, 1992) and the World Summit on Sustainable Development (Johannesburg, 2002) indicate that current development is not doing well enough in terms of environmental and societal benefits. As we have seen, the emergent trait of ideal market economies is economically efficient use of resources and welfare maximization. However, the emergent trait of real economies appears to be economic growth with high economic and social costs. In regard to our first question, the evidence indicates that we are not in a desirable configuration. Change appears necessary.

But how does one change a complex system if command and control are ruled out? The direction of this complex system is determined by the individual, uncoordinated actions of self-interested agents that comprise the system. For the human-nature system

6 Notwithstanding progress made in the prediction of technological change, see Aric/Kemp (1998: 327-399).

that is of interest to sustainable development, the points of intervention are the people of the world. Thus to 'redesign' the human-nature system so that it gravitates toward a configuration we deem desirable, one needs to influence the decisions and actions of the individual agents. In other words, one needs to provide the conditions or make interventions so that the emergent trait of the human-nature system is sustainable development. Ultimately, this requires interplay between the agents making up the system, and the structures that define how the system reacts to their actions. For example, for the people of the world to transform our trajectory toward sustainability, they must be motivated to take the correct actions and have the means to influence the trajectory with their actions. Motivation and the identification of correct actions are presumably achieved through government and science. Yet both government and science must be responsive to individual agents' responses. Based on this shared agency, and referencing empirical evidence, we assess economic growth and good governance as necessary conditions for sustainable development.

7.4 Economic Growth: A Condition for Sustainable Development?

Economic growth is a presumed condition of sustainable development. In fact, it may be the primary driver. The adjective 'sustainable' is necessary to differentiate this endeavour from purely economic development, which is presumed to be unsustainable. Too many of the Earth's population face lives of depravation in a material sense. For these people, an increase in income is surely needed. However, does this necessitate an increase in global production? It is apparent that a small percentage of the earth's population leads lives of material excess. Notwithstanding the immovable opposition to such an approach, might it be possible, in theory, to reallocate the consumption from those in excess to those in deficit to achieve an acceptable living standard for the Earth's population? The answer is yes. According to the World Bank (2005) the per capita *Gross National Income* (GNI) of the world is approximately US \$ 5,500. For comparison, countries with a similar per capita GNI were Chile (US \$ 4,360) and Poland (US \$ 5,280). Thus, in theory the GNI of the world could be reallocated to provide each person with a per capita income (as indicated by GNI) roughly equivalent to two nations the World Bank ranks as 'Upper Middle Income'. For the

vast majority of people in China (US \$ 1,100), Indonesia (US \$ 810) and India (US \$ 540), and in fact, most of the world, a per capita GNI of this value would mark a significant and life-changing improvement in welfare. A reallocation of income without a change in production would also, in theory, require no further degradation of the environment.

Alas, we cannot achieve sustainable development so easily (even theoretically). Besides the aforementioned inevitable, and quite justified, opposition to the requisite reduction in income for the privileged few, several factors conspire against the reallocation concept. The first is population growth. While the estimates of global population growth have been rapidly decreasing, the peak population is still expected to reach 8 to 11 billion people (Cohen 2005) by mid century. That reduces our per capita GNI to around \$ 3,500 or about the same as that of Venezuela in 2005. The second reason is the shortcoming of the income indicator used, GNI. It does not account for the depreciation of human-made or environmental capital. The level of income indicated by the GNI does not reflect the consumption of non-renewable resources and the exhaustion of the pollution assimilation capacity of air, water, and land resources. A better indicator of actual income is the Net National Income. It would be almost certainly less than GNI. Finally, income implies more than material satisfaction. Income is intimately connected with security (see chapter by Uvin in this vol.). A baseline of income is necessary for security, and it is apparent that too many in the world live below this level. For these reasons, it appears that further economic growth is necessary to produce the increase in net income needed to improve welfare.

Do we require better promotion of economic development? For the most part, the human-nature system is successful at producing economic growth. While the environmental and social implications of the system require further attention, in general, it appears that economic growth emerges from the human-nature system. This may be considered a crowning achievement of efforts of economists through the years dedicated to finding policies that maximize economic growth as measured typically by Gross National Income. As we have seen, it may also be considered the emergent trait of the human-nature system that results from these policies and the actions of individual producers and consumers. The challenge remains in finding a configuration of the human-nature system that preserves environmental quality and social equality in addition to producing economic growth.

7.5 Economic Growth and the Environment

The preceding discussion argues that our current configuration of the human-nature system is producing economic development, and that economic development itself is necessary (see Dasgupta/Maler 2001). The next consideration is how the system performs in terms of the environment. The most prominent theory of economy and environment is summarized in the concept of the environmental Kuznets curve⁷ (Grossman/Krueger 1995). The curve represents the relationship between per capita income (x-axis) and environmental damage (y-axis) as an inverted 'U'. At low levels of income, the populace is primarily concerned with increasing their consumption and environmental quality is a lower priority. In a successfully growing economy production increases, and with it income and environmental degradation. The factories of North America and Europe darkened the skies and polluted the waters of their respective countries during the years of the Industrial Revolution, and this process is continuing in China. In fact, the movement of factories from North America and Europe to developing economies like China is attributed to lower production costs, which are at least partly due to the lack of stringent environmental regulations common in the industrialized world. Once a sufficient level of income is reached environmental degradation appears to peak and then fall as the populace begins to become more concerned with the state of the environment. Interestingly, the turning point in environmental degradation occurs at approximately US\$ 5,000, which is, coincidentally, the current global per capita GNI.

The complex system viewpoint offers an interesting deduction from the Kuznets curve for sustainable development. One could conclude that environmental quality and high income is an attractor for human-nature systems. That is, given the time for economies to grow to a GNI of, say, US\$ 5,000 per capita, the current configuration of the human-nature system will lead to wealth and environmental quality for all. If Kuznets curves result from a causal effect between economic development and environmental quality, it

would imply that the complex systems that are these economies reach stable configurations with environmental quality as an emerging trait. However, considering an array of global statistics (see Clark/Crutzen/Schellnhuber 2005: 3; Musser 2005), one might conclude something quite opposite, namely that the human-nature system is descending to a configuration of ever greater environmental degradation and social inequities. The emergent trait is growth, pollution, and inequality.

Which viewpoint is correct? There are several reasons for misgivings regarding the Kuznets curve theory. The first is it assumes environmental resilience. Resilience is the ability of a system to return to its original state after a perturbation. In this case the perturbation is the environmental damage that accompanies development, and the magnitude of the perturbation is the height of the 'U'. The data supporting the Kuznets curve is largely based on air pollution. The atmosphere is a particularly resilient system, especially on a local scale where large-scale currents continually deliver air from elsewhere. However, systems subject to thresholds beyond which damage is irreversible will not improve despite a populace's new-found interest in environmental quality. The extinction of a species cannot be reversed. A complex tropical rainforest ecosystem is unlikely to return to its original form after a clear cut. Furthermore, the issue of substitutability, which may work well when considering the consumption of energy resources, becomes problematic in the case of the environment. For example, in the United States, regulations require that projects that destroy wetlands must create double the area destroyed of new wetlands. Wetlands may or may not be substitutable, depending especially on the location of the new wetlands. If they are located in another watershed, for example, the watershed that loses the wetlands will gain nothing to replace the storage and filtering that a typical wetland provides. That watershed remains degraded. Individual species are certainly not substitutable. Such considerations are incorporated in the approach of environmental regulation in the United States. The Endangered Species Act protects individual species that are threatened with extinction, including their habitat. Thus there is explicit acknowledgment of limited substitutability of the environment. Faith in economic development alone delivering environmental quality risks an accumulation of irreversible environmental damage that perturbs the global environment beyond its resilience, resulting in a degraded state as the new equilibrium.

⁷ Simon Kuznets, a Nobel laureate economist, did not produce the environmental Kuznets curve. The original relationship presented by Kuznets was between economic growth and economic inequality (Kuznets 1955). The environmental version of the theory was developed by Grossman/Krueger (1995); see Stern (2004) for a review.

Furthermore, the Kuznets curve theory assumes that environmental quality is a luxury. This seems to reflect an urban view of the world, where the environment is simply something to enjoy, often at a safe distance. However, for much of the rural poor, the environment provides a significant fraction of their livelihood (Dasgupta/Maler 1995). For them, environmental degradation implies a reduction in income. Environmental quality is not a luxury, but a source of security in itself.

The lesson of the Kuznets curve theory should be that if we minimize the magnitude of the environmental damage, and the height of the 'U', we stand the best chance of minimizing these concerns, namely of irreversible environmental damage and the impact that environmental damage has on the rural poor. Economic theory tells us that an effective way to do this is by 'getting the prices right'. The idea is that prices communicate information about the costs of production. Typically, environmental damage is not included as a cost of production since the producers rarely pay for it (or pay to avoid it). As a result, prices are lower than they would be if they included the environmental costs and we consume more resources and produce more environmental damage than we would if we faced the true costs. Getting the prices right means including the costs to society ('social costs' including environmental damage) in the price that consumers face. It is a way to 'internalize the externalities', or to include in the market the costs that the market normally fails to incorporate. In practice this can be difficult to implement, especially if the externalities are not understood, or displaced in space and time. However, this is consistent with a complex systems approach to sustainability. Policy would not dictate outcomes, but rather it would influence the actions of billions of decision-makers who determine the configuration of the system. The points of intervention are the prices. By getting the prices right, we facilitate the agents of the system making environmentally responsible decisions. In doing so, the emergent trait of the system would be economic growth that minimizes environmental damage in proportion to its economic cost.

7.6 Incorporating Social Justice

The 'social bottom line' refers to an evaluation of the impact that a project has on vulnerable members of society. As we have seen, development projects often involve costs for some. Rawls (1971) argues that any

inequalities should be arranged to benefit the least advantaged. However, without an explicit social bottom line, it is likely that the opposite would be true. The issue of redistribution of benefits from economic development projects that displaces some people, as in the case of the dam project mentioned earlier, highlights the importance of the social aspect of the triple bottom line. Without a specific requirement to provide for those who are displaced, whether geographically or economically, there is a grave danger of good-intentioned development doing harm to groups of people⁸. Past development projects have often adversely impacted groups that already faced significant hurdles to development, such as lack of representation in the governing system. Even in a democratic society, if the development project beneficiaries are of the majority people of a society and those who stand to be hurt are of an underrepresented group, the prospects for an equitable redistribution of benefits are slim. Indigenous people throughout the world have repeatedly suffered from this kind of situation. The work of Amartya Sen on social choice demonstrates the existence of pitfalls in decision-making by democracies (see Sen 1999a). Yet, in democracies the judicial system protects the rights of the minority when infringed upon by the majority. A human right to compensation, recognized by the judicial system, when livelihood or home is taken by the actions of the government appears necessary to achieve the social tenet of the triple bottom line. Ultimately, the complex system view of sustainable development returns us to the point of intervention: the individual agents that comprise the judiciary and government of a nation, its citizens. Their acceptance of a human right to compensation leads the system toward socially responsible development. However, this presumes that the opinions and decisions of individual agents influence the actions of a nation's government. This leads us to the second condition for sustainable government: good governance and an engaged civil society.

Complex systems theory supports the importance of good governance and engaged civil society. Effective governing systems imply that the voices of the multitudinous individual citizens have influence in the

8 Justice, as agreed by a range of scholars, prohibits taking without compensation, whether of goods or means of livelihood. In addition to Rawls (1971) cited above, the libertarian views of Nozick (1974) require that any acquisition must be just, while Dworkin (1981) argues that justice requires compensation to those who suffer for things for which they are not responsible.

decisions made by the heads of government. It acknowledges that within a complex system it is too difficult for the heads of government to monitor and predict the impacts of government actions on their own. If government is accountable to the people, they will receive constant feedback on the state of the system. Actions by an effective government that influence the direction of the system are in turn influenced by those individuals who make up the system. Complex systems theory also implies that the most effective means for influencing the direction of the system is through impacting the actions of individuals.

Empirical evidence offers further support. Much has been written on the importance of good governance for economic development (see Rodrik/Subramanian/Trebbi 2004). There is also evidence that good governance engenders environmental quality (Barrett/Graddy 2000). If we revisit the Kuznets curve theory, it is often interpreted as the effect of increasing levels of wealth allowing society to turn its attention to environmental quality. And it is assumed that the attention of society is then reflected in environmental policy that leads to improved environmental quality. Grossman and Krueger (1995) cited induced policy as the likely cause of the effect. This entails a governing system that effectively translates public sentiment into action. The analysis of Barrett and Graddy (2000) finds that indices of civil and political freedoms are correlated with lower levels of pollution for many (but not all) media. This is not surprising since an important role of government is reconciling market failures, such environmental externalities (Torras/ Boyce 1998). The analysis by Torras and Boyce (1998) assessed the relation between environmental quality and several characteristics of society, namely, income inequality, literacy, political rights, and liberties. Literacy, income inequality, and political rights were found to have greater influence than per capita income on the environment. Importantly, the evidence of government policy as causal agent in the improved environmental quality that accompanies growth is not alone sufficient to attain improved environmental quality. Good governance that empowers the knowledge and experience of civil society is the best means for guiding the complex human-nature system in a desirable direction.

Rogers, Jalal, and Boyd (2005) describe the important role that civil society (i.e. neither the private sector nor government) must play in sustainable development. This role includes demanding human rights, access to natural resources, and mobilizing to defend their environmental, economic, and societal security.

In this complex world, it is impossible for any single institution to adequately monitor or anticipate the impacts of development on the environment and society. However, there is an existing and vibrant monitoring system spread throughout the world, namely civil society. Too often, the institutions making development decisions are deaf to this observation network. Yet, only under autocratic regimes do these voices go unheard for long. An illustrative example is the Narmada Bachao Andolan (NBA; Struggle to Save the Narmada River), which began as a committed group of social activists and those facing displacement by the construction of the Sardar Sarovar dam project. Although unsuccessful at stopping the construction of the Sardar Sarovar, the movement instigated a complete reappraisal of development policies by the World Bank and the formation of the World Commission on Dams, with the NBA leader Medha Patkar sitting as a commissioner. The movement represented an indicator that there were significant problems with traditional development approaches. Alternately, the autocratic Soviet Union lacked the ability to utilize 'grass roots' information, yielding repeated environmental disasters (Aral Sea, Chernobyl), a restless populace, and economic stagnation. This serves as a cautionary tale for attempts to use command and control strategies on a complex system.

The city of Porto Alegre, Brazil, provides an example of an engaged civil society and good governance. The municipal level government is characterized by citizen involvement, prioritization of public objectives by the citizens, and a participatory approach to allocating the municipal government (Menegat 2002). Participatory budgeting was introduced in 1989 and consists of decentralized public fora where communities meet to prioritize budget needs. The leading priorities have repeatedly been sanitation, land tenure regularization, and street paving. In other words, basic public health, domicile, and transportation are concerns of the people. While implementation is complicated, it appears to be effective as Porto Alegre enjoys steady improvement in development indicators, outperforming the rest of Brazil (Menegat 2002).

The build-up of greenhouse gases in the earth's atmosphere and their role in climate change is another example of the effectiveness of good governance and economic development. A very large research effort has yielded a fair degree of understanding of the earth's climate and some confidence in temperature projections. Although uncertainty persists, there is also relatively good understanding of the incentives that continue to drive the global economic system to-

ward greater production of carbon emissions. Technological innovation again will likely solve this problem; however, the conditions for a solution need to be created. And in fact, those conditions are being created. There is growing belief among many people of the world that the accumulation of greenhouse gases presents a worrisome and irreversible threat to our way of life. This belief is developing into pressure on policymakers to take action and incentives for innovators to create alternative energy technology. For example, carbon taxes are promoted as a means to getting the prices right. Although to many the pace of action appears too slow, it is not inconsistent with the timescale of global change and the rate at which our knowledge of climate change has been growing. The projected impacts of climate have only recently reduced uncertainty enough to gain traction with the policymakers and the public. The major impacts are not even expected within the lifetime of those living today. However, with economic growth providing the engine for solving the challenge, and an engaged civil society pushing public policy toward action through responsive governing systems, progress is being made.

7.7 Conclusion

Sustainable development has been described as development that satisfies the triple bottom line of economic growth, environmental protection, and social justice. This is a succinct concept and one that appears amenable to operationalizing. Yet, the complexity of the human-nature system requires special consideration for implementing the triple bottom line. This is achieved by viewing sustainable development as the desirable emergent trait of the human-nature complex system. From complex systems theory we learn that the direction of the system is determined by the multitudinous actions of the individual agents who constitute the system. Points of intervention are the opportunities to influence the direction of the system. For the human-nature system, key points of interaction are prices and citizens. Since sustainable development is closely tied to security, we are confident that given the correct conditions, society will eventually progress toward sustainability. Economic development and good governance are proposed as necessary conditions for achieving a human-nature system from which sustainability will emerge. Sustainability science, not addressed here, may be another good candidate (Clark/Crutzen/Schellnhuber 2005).⁹ With these conditions in place, and perhaps a little luck, sustain-

able development will become the emergent trait of the human-nature system.

⁹ In the anthropocene, where the cumulative effect of human actions is significant force of nature, it may be critical that policy is informed by science inquiries into the ramifications of future actions. For science to be effective in this endeavour, it must be informed by policy and society, which may require changes to its traditional practice (Grunwald 2004).

8 Development and Security: Genealogy and Typology of an Evolving International Policy Area

Peter Uvin

8.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a broad overview of the evolving paradigms of thinking and action at the intersection between development and security. This chapter will focus primarily on the major rich countries and the institutions they control, such as the World Bank and the OECD. It is these rich countries, after all, that provide the overwhelming majority of the development assistance and defines the practical terms on which it is given. Recipient countries surely do have a capacity to subvert donor agendas, but they do not set it.

It is written from the perspective of development professionals, analysing when and why they became concerned with matters of security (genealogy section, 8.2), and what sorts of things they do when they work at the nexus between development and security (typology section, 8.3). In the former section, there is a particular emphasis on teasing out the impact of the end of the Cold War and of 9/11 on development policy and practice. The latter section presents a brief overview of different operational and policy approaches to the development/security nexus. In the conclusions, the author points to the shrinking intellectual and operational gap between development and security since the early 1990's (8.4).

8.2 Genealogy

During its first three decades, the development enterprise was totally agnostic towards matters of internal conflict and security. When violent conflict occurred, it was treated as an unfortunate occurrence, forcing development workers out and bringing humanitarians in – an order to be reversed when the conflict was over and normal development work could resume. The common dynamics leading up to conflict – intergroup resentment, social polarization, rising intoler-

ance and extremism, militarization of society, human rights violations, and widespread impunity, to name but a few – were emphatically *not* part of the development mandate. Development practitioners might have deplored these matters in private, but did not believe they had to consider the implications of their own work on these dynamics, or explicitly seek to address them (Uvin 1998).

Of course, in our complicated world and a fortiori for a field of human endeavour as broad and diverse as development, any statement such as the one just made is always partially wrong. Indeed, development aid was from its very birth and foremost so for the United States, part of the security calculus of the Cold War. The precursor of modern development aid was the Marshall Plan following World War II, designed to reconstruct Europe and keep it out of the hands of communism – both of which it was successful at. Later, development assistance to developing countries was at least in part motivated by Cold War concerns. This link of aid to security was of a very different nature than what emerged from the 1990's onwards. Before, the link was global and geo-strategic, and the mechanism by which the link operated was exclusively the allocation of development aid resources; it did not seek to affect conflict dynamics *within* the countries concerned.¹

During the Cold War, countries that were at the frontline of the fight against communism (to mention but some, each reflecting different stages in the Cold War: South Korea and Vietnam; Zaire and Somalia; Egypt and Jordan; El Salvador and Guatemala) received massive and disproportionate amounts of development aid, as well as often military assistance, diplomatic support, preferential trade access, and intelligence support. But what was being done with those development aid funds had usually little to do

1 On development aid as an economic security tool in the global ideological competition, see Radelet (2003a).

with domestic internal dynamics of conflict, and indeed quite a few of these countries were falling apart under the eyes of their sponsors, without the latter doing anything through their development programmes to halt this disintegration.² The way the money was used was largely motivated by the standard schools of development thinking: investments in economic and social infrastructure; education and training; basic needs (basic health, primary education, and housing); structural adjustment and liberalization of the economy, among others.³

This situation has changed dramatically. Nowadays, the nexus between development and conflict within recipient countries (and even regions) is a central focus of almost all development thinking and practice. This metamorphosis reflects a number of major trends, some of which are related to the end of the Cold War and later to 9/11, and others which are internal to the development enterprise and independent of these outside factors.

8.2.1 1989 and the End of the Cold War

The main impact of the end of the Cold War on the development enterprise was indirect: it created a larger need for a change in approach and opened up a space in which it could emerge, but it did not dictate its content.

First, civil war and insecurity became much more prevalent and visible in the South after 1990, forcing development practitioners to come to grips with questions of (in)security. This often happened in countries that were until recently clients of the superpowers and whose models of political and economic (ill)-governance were quickly falling apart. This was most visible in sub-Saharan Africa, of course, where way too many countries descended into a spiral of violence, destroying whatever tenuous improvements to which development aid might have contributed. At the same time, a large number of new recipients of development assistance emerged in the former Soviet Union and Eastern European bloc, many of which rapidly became theatres of violent insecurity. The overwhelming majority of these cases of violence were civil wars. As

a result, the development community soon found that as much as one-third of all countries in which it worked were close to, engaged in, or just coming out of civil war.⁴

Second, the intellectual and political hegemony of the Western 'liberal peace model' became greatly strengthened, ideologically justifying much wider interventions in the internal dynamics of low-status countries, the list of which grew dramatically (Duffield 2001). Most of the Cold War-induced need to make friends with unsavoury regimes throughout the world had vanished. Especially in Africa, this led to disastrous results for the likes of Siad Barre of Somalia; Mobutu Sese Seko of the former Zaire; and Jonas Savimbi of Angola (admittedly not a head of state). This trend had already started under the Reagan administration (and its allies in Thatcher and Kohl), with an increasingly assertive adherence to free markets, minimal states, and elections, and a concomitant and decreased willingness to engage in talk about new international economic orders, rights to development, and other reformist agendas. When capitalism won, all competing ideologies were de-legitimized, and the willingness and capacity to intervene in third world countries' domestic issues grew dramatically. This willingness to act on issues considered hitherto too political, too domestic, or too sensitive, is one of the factors that set the new development/security agenda apart from the preceding thirty years.

The prime reasons for the emergence of the development/security nexus in the 1990's, however, lie in dynamics internal to the development community. First, there was the rise to prominence of the 'good governance' agenda. This agenda, whose appearance slightly precedes and totally mirrors the ascendancy of the conflict agenda, was an answer to the failure of structural adjustment. Adjustment policies were being only partly implemented in many countries, thus failing to produce their evident benefits. The World Bank and the main bilaterals concluded that there must be something wrong with the political system from which these policies emerged: it was not accountable and transparent enough, hence allowing self-serving elites to get away with inefficient and detrimental policies from which only they benefited. Starting from this economic rationale, the field of 'good govern-

2 An exception to this is US aid to Central America in the 1980's, when some of the internal use of aid was linked more directly than usual to anti-guerrilla strategies. Note that such use was typically decried in the strongest terms by leftist, critical scholars and practitioners.

3 For good overviews of changing development thinking, see Arndt (1987) and Peet (1999).

4 According to the World Bank website: "80% of the world's 20 poorest countries have suffered a major war in the past 15 years" (<www.worldbank.org>). Bank lending to post-conflict countries increased by 800% between 1980 and 1995 (World Bank 1998a, 2005a).

ance' was born in the late 1980's; it mixed with human rights and democracy agendas that precisely resulted from the triumphalism of the end of the Cold War, and marked the first significant move away from the political neutrality and respect for sovereignty that had characterized the development community thus far (Uvin 1996; Doornbos 2003; Hewitt de Alcantara 1998).

The governance agenda laid the groundwork for, and is an important part of, the "development and security" agenda: both start from the same willingness to intervene domestically and from the same ideological assumptions about the benefits of liberal peace.⁵ These ideas are not born of ignorance: after all, many countries are characterized by exclusionary, inefficient, corrupt systems of governance, and these systems not only seem to bring about economic implosion, but also more often than not violent conflict. At the same time, the presently rich countries do combine economically and politically liberal models, albeit with significant variation.⁶ The triangle between development, peace, and democracy thus makes intuitive sense, and has become the basis of the international community's involvement in these matters. By far the most important text here is the 1995 Supplement to the 1992 Secretary-General's Agenda for Peace, which constituted a policy milestone and a departure from standard development practice (Boutros-Ghali 1992, 1995a).⁷

The second factor is the 1994 Rwanda tragedy, which demonstrated to both the development and hu-

manitarian community that 'normal professionalism,' even if implemented successfully, could lead to disaster if conflict dynamics were not understood. As a result, the Rwanda case fundamentally challenged the status quo. For development professionals, Rwanda had been a rather successful developing country, performing well on traditional indicators of economic growth until well into the 1980's: it was in the top three in terms of vaccinations and other more human development centred indicators, and possessed a dense and seemingly vibrant civil society like few other African countries. Yet this model pupil turned out to be a serial killer, forcing everyone to reflect on what they had missed and how their ignorance and their money interacted with the dynamics that led to genocide (Uvin 1998; Andersen 2000).⁸ The same profound challenge occurred with the massive humanitarian operation in then Zaire after the end of the genocide. From a purely logistical and public health perspective, it was a stunning achievement: in only a few weeks, cholera epidemics were halted and high quality systems of food distribution and health care were established for as many as two million persons in the middle of nowhere! However, the camps became breeding grounds for regional destabilization and eventually ended up as theatres of mass violent death and forced return (Terry 2002). In both cases, then, successful work done without consideration of dynamics of conflict led to untold death and destruction under the eyes of the international community. For the humanitarian community, this led to debates about 'do no harm' (Anderson 1999) and rights-based humanitarianism (Slim 2002; Macrae/Leader 2000); for the development community, it put the development/security nexus at the centre of the table. From the second half of the 1990's, the OECD took leadership of this agenda with a series of technocratic yet pushing-the-edge declarations and studies on aid and conflict prevention (OECD 1997; 2001; Uvin 1999).

In short, the development/conflict agenda came to maturity in the post-Cold War climate, but was not directly tributary to the security ideologues or politics of the new unipolar system⁹ - indeed, many have

5 For a perfect example, see Boutros-Ghali (1994); for fine discussions, see Paris (2002; 2004).

6 The basic problem with this reasoning, which underlies much development thinking, is that it is ahistorical and apolitical. It neglects to analyse how rich countries became rich (which may have been in ways that were not particularly free-market based, nor friendly to the Third World). As a result, it misunderstands how Third World countries could make the same voyage, if they so desired. Prichett and Woolcock (2004) call this "skipping straight to Weber," or the 'Denmark' model (given that Denmark is peaceful, rich and democratic, let's just import Danish institutions into the rest of the world and all will be fine). See also IDS (2005) for good work on this.

7 Other important documents include Carnegie Commission (1997) and OECD (1997). The relationship between democracy, development, and peace so clearly made in this agenda - and in the accompanying *Agenda for Development* (1994) - has been contested by many scholars: Paris (2002); Ottaway (2002) and Baker (2001).

8 The first major book to make a similar argument was probably by Susan Woodward (1995) about the dissolution of the former Yugoslavia.

9 Duffield (2001) contradicts this to some extent, arguing that what he calls the securitization of development was then already related to desires to contain the spread of refugees and other conflict spillovers into rich countries.

argued that there was no clear security ideology during this time in any case.

Throughout this period there was also resistance to this shift. For most of the older generation, accustomed to an apolitical and technical self-definition, the whole new agenda was too political to be palatable. Officials in nongovernmental organizations and bilateral aid agencies feared that they would become instruments of, and subservient to, foreign policy and defence establishments should they assume security and peace-building concerns (as they blatantly ended up doing in Afghanistan and Iraq). Multilateral agencies were under pressure from their Third World members to abstain from what was perceived to be a deeply interventionist and ideological agenda. Senior aid managers everywhere feared that they lacked the competencies and personnel to perform the new security agenda well and worried about the safety of their staff. Still, these were resistances against an overwhelming tide favouring the engagement of development agencies in peace-building work.

8.2.2 2001 and the post-9/11 world

In contrast to the fall of the Berlin Wall, the response to 9/11 *did* lead to the creation of explicit new security frameworks, within which the development/conflict nexus was clearly identified. This is foremost the case for the US and the UK, who organized much of their new security thinking around the concepts of failed states and instability respectively (UK Prime Minister's Strategy Unit 2005; USAID 2004; Weinstein/Porter/Eizenstat 2004; Krasner/Pascual 2005; Milliken 2003). Thus, the UK Prime Minister's Office released in 2005 its *International Strategy to Manage Risks of Instability and Improve Crisis Response*. The core concept of this strategy is instability, defined as “*inter alia*, coups d'état and other types of illegal or unpredictable political succession; breakdown of political, economic, and social institutions; systemic corruption; widespread organized crime; loss of territorial control; economic crisis; large-scale public unrest; involuntary mass population displacement; and violent internal or international conflict.” A country's capacity to manage effectively and peacefully and adapt to change is at the centre of creating stability. However, addressing other factors including structural risks such as poverty and economic decline, natural resource dependence, and a bad regional neighbourhood, as well as external stabilizers such as security guarantees and strong political associations, are also critical to fostering stability. To work on these varia-

bles, integrated and coherent approaches involving foreign policy, peacekeeping support, development assistance and broader economic support (e.g. trade, debt) are required.

The United States' new 2002 *National Security Strategy* focuses on weak states as breeding havens of terrorism. These weak states are largely poor countries suffering from the effects of civil war – the exact countries with which the development community had begun working on security and conflict a decade earlier. As a major D.C. think tank sees it:

weak and failed states pose a 21st century threat that requires institutions and engagement renewed for the 21st century. (...) But, the security challenge they present cannot be met through security means alone. The roots of this challenge – and long-term hope for its resolution – lie in development, broadly understood as progress toward stable, accountable national institutions that can meet citizens' needs and take full part in the workings of the international community (Weinstein/Porter/Eizenstat 2004: 2).

This, then, finally brings us to an equation of development with nation/state-building, the ultimate result in the most extreme cases. To quote the same report:

The roots of this challenge – and long-term hope for its resolution – lie in development, broadly understood as progress toward stable, accountable national institutions that can meet the needs of their citizens and take full part in the workings of the international community. (...) With the threat to the United States now coming not from an established state power but from dispersed forces that flourish where authority is illegitimate or non-existent, the state-building challenge can no longer be ignored (Weinstein/Porter/Eizenstat 2004: 8; see also Cragin/Chalk 2003).

A term that has become very popular in DC is LICUS: *Low-Income Country Under Stress*, an ugly acronym developed by the World Bank a few years earlier independently of 9/11 concerns. Much work takes place in both USAID and the Bank on the difficult issues of providing services, rebuilding bureaucracies, and kick-starting economies of such failed/failing states (Rondinelli 2006).

This theme is a further variation of an old Cold War theme: the security to be defended here is foremost *US* or *Western* security. One of the means of doing so is to assure poor countries' stability, which includes military security, but also economic well-being and democratic governance – for these countries can export terrorism, drugs, illegal money, and arms, etc.¹⁰

In a way, then, what is seen in this post 9/11 phase is, from the perspective of the large western coun-

tries, not only an increasing securitization of development issues (Duffield 2001), but also a newer development focus in security policies: for the first time, development plays a serious role in US security policy.¹¹ This differs from the Cold War: then, as said, development aid was often allocated to friendly Third World regimes, in the hopes that this would keep them pro-Western and in power (this still happens, of course). Now, the entire toolbox of development aid is brought to bear on countries in Central Asia, sub-Saharan Africa, and elsewhere in order to change their internal politics in ways that are more stable and friendly to US interests. As always, there are divergences between countries. Some European countries, for example, while collaborating in second fiddle roles in the US agenda in Afghanistan and Iraq, maintain distinct profiles in their conflict/development programmes. The Norwegians, for example, using their freedom of not being members of the EU, continue to specialize in an active mediating role in protracted conflicts worldwide, whereas the Danes, after a historic shift to the right in 2004, use new 'region of origin' aid funds – specifically designed to maintain potential refugees at home – in countries with civil war (Baare 2006). As always, too, actual policy lags seriously behind rhetoric, even in the US. Thus, the real on the ground picture is more complicated than the previous remarks suggested: a mixture between ideologies and practices from before 1989, the 1990's, and the current situation prevails.

8.2.3 Genealogy: Conclusion

There have been three major phases in the relation between security and development. In the first phase lasting for three decades, part of development assistance was used and abused, according to many critics, to support strategically important states in the fight against communism. The aid itself, however, was used largely for non-conflict related purposes: its use followed the constantly changing visions of how to promote standard socio-economic development. This phase ended at about the same time as the conclusion of the Cold War.

A second phase began from 1989 onwards, occurring in the context of the end of the Cold War but pri-

marily based on dynamics internal to the development enterprise. During this phase, the political nature of aid became acknowledged and the willingness of aid agencies to engage in domestic processes related to governance and conflict increased enormously. During this period, first the post-conflict agenda and then the conflict prevention agenda were born (see below). The fields of justice, security *sensu strictu* (soldiers, police, private defence contractors), broader conflict resolution (ethnic division and exclusionary attitudes; breakdowns of social capital, etc.), human rights, and governance all grew into major new areas of funding and action. All this happened largely because of a desire to do good, to promote development, and to help create a better life for the world's poor¹².

Another change has been occurring since 9/11 and marks the third phase of the nexus between security and development. The previous agenda is becoming instrumentalized in order to assure the security of the rich countries in what some have labelled the war on terrorism. For those countries on the top of the list of this agenda – Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iraq, Egypt, Jordan, Turkey, and some African and Central-Asian oil producers – a mixture of the two previous approaches prevails: they receive an enormous amount of aid designed to keep them stable and friendly to the US and to promote overall economic well-being (phase 1), *and* they are often subject to the increasingly interventionist machinery of state-building, governance, and anti-terrorism (phase 2).¹³ For the other countries sliding into and out of conflict, phase two continues, albeit possibly with less funds as some are diverted to the former group.¹⁴

One final note: this chapter focuses on the development/security nexus, but that is of course not the only change that has taken place in the development community in the last fifteen years; other conceptual and policy shifts are ongoing as well. On a theoretical level, development thinking has changed moderately

10 There are other means as well, of course, ranging from anti-terrorism measures (intelligence, money laundering control) and homeland defence, to military campaigns.

11 I owe this insight to Hans Günter Brauch (personal conversation).

12 As defined by the powerful, admittedly, and limited by what the powerful are not willing to consider, of course – but this has always been the case with aid, and is unavoidable.

13 Note that at the political level these two dynamics contradict each other: the very need to maintain excellent political relations with the governments of countries such as Pakistan, for example, makes it hard to intervene in their domestic politics. Thus it is really only in countries fully 'owned' by donors – foremost Iraq and Afghanistan – that the nation-building agenda can be truly implemented.

during this period. Neo-liberal thought continues to provide the basic framework for policy, albeit in a less extreme manner than in the 1980's. The state has been brought back in and more explicit attention is devoted to the poor and excluded (World Bank 2000). These are departures from the initial radical structural adjustment ideology in which less state and trickle down were the two basic concepts; however, there is no doubt that the basic structural adjustment ideology continues to be the foundation for all development policy. The two major intellectual milestones over the past fifteen years have been Amartya Sen's work defining development as freedom (1999), and new research on poverty and deprivation as seen by the poor and deprived, which demonstrated that powerlessness and voicelessness, but also insecurity and violence, were crucial dimensions of how they defined their situation (Narayan/Patel/Schafft/Rademacher/Koch-Schulte 2000; Chambers 1995). Both these strands of work create a much more holistic and politicized view of what 'development' means, and they thus easily support the growing work at the development/security nexus.

At the policy level, the major change in the development community over the past decade consists of the growing self-critique in the development community, arguing that its *modus operandi* disempowers recipient countries (foremost their governments but also their civil societies) by institutionally weakening them and by not providing enough space for them to be in the driver's seat. As usual, the World Bank (through the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers, PRSPs) and the OECD (through the 'good donorship' work on harmonization and alignment) have been the two key institutions in developing the acceptable policy alternatives (OECD 2003; Rogerson/de Renzio 2005; Elikana/Mapunjo 2004).¹⁵ A new category of

research and discussion has even come into being on harmonization in 'fragile countries' or 'difficult partnerships', referring precisely to the sort of countries where the development/security nexus is on the agenda: countries with weak government, divided populations, and/or long periods of negative economic growth (OECD 2004; OECD 2005a, 2005b; DfID 2005; McGillivray 2005; ODI 2005; Macrae/Shepherd/Morrissey/Harmer/Anderson/Piron/McKay/Cammack/Kyegombe 2004; Chauvet/Collier 2004). Policy-makers are caught between opposed values and aims here: the harmonization agenda puts a heavy premium on work through governments so as to reduce the burdens imposed by aid, whereas the conflict agenda is cognizant of the fact that governments are often causes of or parties to violent conflicts, and are consequently worried about putting all their eggs in the government basket.

Another major policy trend, based on research conducted at the World Bank, argues that aid is only effective in countries with good policy environments – and it should thus be given only to those countries that can use it well (Burnside/Dollar 2000; Collier/Dollar 2002; Kanbur 2006; Dalgaard/Hansen/Tarp 2004; MacGillivray 2003). Aid selectivity has indeed increased in recent years (DfID 2004; Levin/Dollar 2005). This trend runs too counter to the conflict agenda, for clearly most of the countries where the development/security agenda is being implemented do not belong to the category of good performers. In the US, for example, official rhetoric repeats that aid shall go to good performers only (and a new mechanism, the Millennium Challenge Account, was established for that purpose) while at the same time funds for strategically important countries (such as Central Asian ex-Soviet republics) that are emphatically *not* good performers are increasing as well (Radelet 2003a; 2003b). Of course, this is not new: development aid has always had multiple functions, and it has always been subject to contradictory intellectual and political pressures (Browne 1982).

A final policy trend has been the emergence of the Millennium Development Goals as a central mobilizing framework for much development aid. The Goals were born in the OECD in the mid-1990's, in an attempt to recapture a moral vision for development assistance; they were enshrined in a major 2002 UN conference in Monterrey, Mexico (United Nations 2002; Millennium Project 2005). They are essentially

14 It is hard to say. The past few years have seen a dramatic growth in development assistance, mainly due to the US investments in Afghanistan and Iraq, but also to the establishment of the Millennium Development Corporation: this aid has been largely additional to previous aid flows. The other donors, while substantially providing to these countries as well, are nowhere near the level of US involvement. At the same time, the UK has been in recent years on a much more general mission to increase the flow of concessional resources to the poorest countries through development assistance and debt relief, and this has begun paying off since 2005 as well. All in all, then, most of the new security-motivated aid seems to have been supplemental to traditional aid, a conclusion also arrived at by Woods and Research Team (2004).

15 For many important official documents, see at: <www.oecd.org/harmonization>.

a basic needs framework for development, a move away from economic growth as the end-all of development assistance.¹⁶ There is no security/peace goal among them, nor for that matter is there a governance one. However, in its latest report on the MDGs, the UN does devote a chapter to conflict prevention (United Nations 2005; Stewart 2003). The MDGs neither contradict nor particularly strengthen the development/conflict agenda.

8.3 Typology

The remaining pages will provide a brief sketch of the specific ways in which the development enterprise has managed its impact on dynamics of conflict and security.¹⁷ The previous section described the context within which the broad conceptual changes occurred; this section discusses the concrete types of actions undertaken. Beneath this taxonomy run two variables: the first is the extent to which conflict matters are incorporated into the development paradigm, i.e., considered not an external objective that development aid can occasionally be (ab)used for, but residing at the very core of the notion of development itself. Second is the extent to which the development enterprise engages explicitly in the political realm, running counter to the norm of sovereignty and the practice of ‘a-politicalness’ that historically underlie its work. It goes without saying that these categories bleed into each other and their ranking is artificial: their separation serves analytical purposes; it is not a descriptive fact.

8.3.1 Conditionality

The first major move toward conditionality came from the IMF, which at its 1991 annual meeting announced the desirability of reducing military spending. A few bilateral donors – foremost those who lost

World War II (Japan and Germany) and who are formally forbidden to have standing armies – soon joined the IMF in taking the lead on this issue. This constituted a major innovation. In the past, when confronted with this issue – as when critics argued that the IMF imposed harsh social cuts but accepted continued high military spending by countries implementing structural adjustment – the standard answer was always that the level of military spending was a political decision of sovereign states and thus beyond the reach of the IMF. Mysteriously, after the Cold War ended and Third World dictators suddenly became less necessary allies of the US, it was discovered that military spending patterns were actually a *financial* matter, related to productive resource allocation and budgeting, thus falling within the competence of the IMF¹⁸. Still, this is politically very dangerous for the Bretton Woods institutions, and so they must engage in a great deal of verbal gymnastics: “The World Bank position is that a country should govern how it uses its resources, including for military expenditure. Security is essential for growth, but development partners need to be convinced that the pattern of resource allocation is appropriate and well-managed.”

The German and Japanese aid agencies rapidly abandoned their formal policies on the issue: it was too difficult to measure and monitor and too sensitive to impose. The IMF and the European Union, however, have persisted. Since 1993, the IMF includes a section in its World Economic Outlook reports on military expenditures as a problem of resource misallocation. In some cases, such as Cambodia, Pakistan, Romania, and Ukraine, this matter has become a central element in IMF negotiations for stand-by agreements (Jones 1998). Article II of the 2000 Cotonou agreement requires a political dialogue between the EU and recipient countries around issues of excessive military spending. This has led to cutbacks and suspensions in aid to countries such as the Ivory Coast and Kenya. Similarly, in some strong case like Burundi, the Bretton Woods institutions tried to ensure that adjustment loans or debt relief are not diverted for military spending by providing foreign exchange directly to the private sector. In addition, Jim Boyce documents a new but inconsistent practice of making

16 They too contradict the selectivity argument, for the countries with most need for support to achieve the MDGs are often not the good performers. Indeed, the arguments of Jeffrey Sachs (2004), the economist most associated with the MDGs, run entirely counter to those advanced by Collier and Dollar (2004).

17 This section of the chapter builds on Uvin (2002). With the permission of the *Journal of Peacebuilding and Development*, the original copyright holder, the ideas have been developed further by taking the specific interests and goals of this book into account, as well as the most recent literature.

18 While the UN General Assembly had a history of declaring that military spending was an outrage for development, this (“anti-imperialist”) statement was not taken seriously by anyone. In Boutros-Ghali’s revolutionary 1994 Agenda for Development, however, entire pages were taken up by this subject (par. 17–40).

aid conditional to governments' implementation of peace agreements in those cases where such agreements exist (2002).

In short, an ad hoc practice of threatening to reduce development aid to countries engaged in war, or spending too much on the military, has now persisted for over a decade. Yet, the practice has been very inconsistent and partial; it also seems, a priori, not to have dissuaded any country from doing as it pleased in the security realm. As with human rights conditionality, then, the development community has started looking to "positive conditionality" (collaborative action) rather than "negative conditionality" (arm-twisting).

8.3.2 DDR and SSR

Demobilization, Disarmament, and Reintegration (DDR), as well as Security Sector Reform (SSR), are perfect examples of such positive engagements that have emerged in the last decade (and would have been largely inconceivable for development actors before). They both consist of using development resources in fields that are at the core of conflict and security in recipient countries, and in a collaborative manner. The former consists of international support to the cantonment and disarmament of soldiers from the national army as well as from rebel groups and paramilitaries. Some of these will join the newly integrated army (this falls under SSR), and most will rejoin civilian life. The latter receive training and medium-term financial support to facilitate that transition.

SSR consists of a new field of action that includes international support for projects and programmes in democratic policing, security sector governance, defence review boards, regional security programmes, and human rights training for the army and police (Brzoska 2003; Wulf 2005; Rupiya 2004; GTZ 2000; Netherlands Institute of International Relations 2002). Ideally, it supports the emergence of a locally owned, externally supported strategy for efficient, 'right-sized,' accountable and rights-conforming national defence (Hendrickson 2002).

Both DDR and SSR are mainly done in post-conflict countries. They are also very politically sensitive (especially SSR), both in the countries concerned and in donor countries. For that reason, many donors fear to go there. However, a few like DFID have acquired significant competence in this area (DfID 2002).

8.3.3 Post-Conflict Assistance

The international community has begun codifying and implementing an agenda of using development assistance to promote peace and reconciliation in countries coming out of violent conflict. While the first cases occurred before 1989 – Cambodia, for example – it is really only in the mid-1990's that a fully-fledged field with new institutions and documents emerged. The two most important documents may well be the 1997 OECD Guidelines on Peace, Conflict and Development Cooperation and the 1992 UN Secretary-General Report, *Agenda for Peace* (Boutros-Ghali 1992). These documents give priority to areas that until a few years ago were either marginally or totally outside the development agenda: governance and representation; justice and security; prejudice, trauma, and reconciliation¹⁹.

In effect, the post-conflict domain is at the heart of the entire enterprise of integrating development and peace-building: it is here that most action takes place, and from here that most lessons have been learned.²⁰ Its domain is vast, covering fields as diverse as demobilization and transitional justice, and countries ranging from Indonesia (Aceh now) to East Timor. Following a 1999 OECD study (Uvin 1999), we can distinguish two types of innovations: brand-new sectors that have been added to the development agenda, such as security sector reform, and new approaches to be used in both the new and the old sectors (conflict sensitivity). Mary Anderson's early work was the first major and deeply influential statement on the latter by addressing the question: how should aid agencies behave differently in zones of violent conflict?

19 For the groundbreaking field work of the War-Torn Societies Project on reconciliation and rebuilding social tissue, see Stiefel (1998); War-Torn Societies Project, at: <http://wsp.dataweb.ch/load.cfm?edit_id=43>. For research on the Coexistence initiative, see Chayes/Minow (2003).

20 Adebajo 2002; Burnell 2004; Collier 2003; Lawry-White 2003; Boyce/Pastor 1998; Smith 2004; Stedman/Rothchild/Cousens 2002; Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2004; Crocker/Hampson/Aall 2001; Lund 2003; Chigas/Ganson 2003; Galtung 2001; Cousens/Kumar 2001; Lederach 2002; Uvin 2001; Addison 2003; USAID 2005. On a more methodological level, see also: Church/Shouldice 2003; International Alert 2004; Barton/Crocker 2004; Menkhaus 2003.

8.3.4 Do No Harm

Synthesizing a decade of participatory research, Anderson (1999: 39) writes:

Experience shows that aid's economic and political resources affect conflict in five predictable ways:

- aid resources are often stolen by warriors and used to support armies and buy weapons;
- aid affects markets by reinforcing either the war economy or the peace economy;
- the distributional impacts of aid affect inter-group relationships, either feeding tensions or reinforcing connections;
- aid substitutes for local resources required to meet civilian needs, freeing them to support conflict;
- aid legitimizes people and their actions or agendas, supporting the pursuit of either war or peace.

Anderson's aims are eminently practical. She presents innovative practices that can make a difference by allowing agencies to 'do no harm', avoiding unintended negative impacts on conflict dynamics. This line of work has proven to be extremely useful and widely adopted. It is a prime example of how the development community has sought to think differently about how it impacts the dynamics of conflict, regardless of the sector. It applies not only to what one might label conflict programming as such, but also to *all* sectors, whether feeding programmes, education, or community development (Anderson 2000; Anderson/Olson 2001). In so doing, it helps lay the groundwork for the next level: conflict prevention.

8.3.5 Conflict Prevention

From the post-conflict agenda, it was but a small intellectual step to conflict prevention, and this step was taken in the late 1990's. The longer one waits to do something about the dynamics of conflict, documents and declarations asserted, the more difficult and costly it becomes to succeed (Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict 1997; Brown/Rosecrance 1999). Hence, acting earlier, preferably before conflicts become violent and widespread, makes eminent sense (Annan 2001; OECD 2001; European Centre for Conflict Prevention 2004)²¹.

Natural and spontaneous as the step from post-conflict to conflict prevention work may be, it does

constitute an enormous further extension of the development mandate. As every country in the world is by definition a potential pre-conflict country, the new mandate applies axiomatically to *all* developing countries, instead of only the 25 or so that are post-conflict. In addition, the conflict prevention paradigm requires the official acceptance and mainstreaming of the hardest truth in the development community, namely that *all* aid – and not only aid specifically and consciously designed for that purpose – has an impact on the political dynamics of conflict. To quote the first lines of a recent OECD report on the matter:

All aid, at all times, creates incentives and disincentives for peace or for war, regardless of whether these effects are deliberate, recognized or not, before, during or after war. The issue is then not whether or not to create incentives but, rather, how to manage them so as to promote conditions and dynamics propitious to non-violent conflict resolution. (...) This involves recognizing that perceptions matter as much as facts in aid impacts; that who gets which piece of the cake is usually as important as the total size of the cake; that efficiency may sometimes need to be traded for stability and peace; that the development discourse can be used for many political purposes; and, broadly, that process is as important as product (Uvin 1999).

Here we begin approaching an entire rethinking of the development paradigm and associated practice, using an explicitly political lens.

At the level of implementation, much of the conflict prevention agenda is identical to the post-conflict one. There are no magical tools and new insights that are only valid for one but not the other (Lund 1997). There are two main differences between conflict prevention and post-conflict work. First, conflict prevention evidently is done earlier and hence requires early warning, the focus of much work in the last decade (International Alert 2004; van de Goor 1999; Harff 2003; DfID 2002a; Fisher 2000). Second, conflict prevention requires a stronger diplomatic framework to be feasible and successful. This closer integration between development and diplomacy is often couched in terms of coherence (European Commission 2000; Brachet/Wolpe 2004). From the perspective of development practitioners, coherence is at once desirable and dangerous: desirable because it reduces policy conflicts, and dangerous for it may leave the development community in a subservient role to military and foreign policy interests (Lund 2002). The UK is an interesting case in point: in 2001, it integrated funds from the Department for International Development (DFID), the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, and the Ministry of Defence to create

21 See also "European Commission Checklist for Root Causes of Conflict", at: <http://europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/cpcm/cp/list.htm>, 8 March 2006.

not one but two Conflict Prevention Pools: one for unimportant Africa, under the leadership of DfID, and one for the rest of the world, under the direction of the FCO.²²

True conflict prevention is nearly impossible to achieve: neither international organizations, nor donor governments, nor Third World countries are capable or willing to engage in the sort of political engineering that is required for conflict prevention; hence, it usually occurs *after* major violence has taken place, trying to avoid further flare-ups or escalation (Stedman 1995; Hampson/Malone 2002; Mack/Furlong 2004; Griffin 2003). It remains the current cutting-edge of the development business.

8.3.6 Human Security

In the late 1990's, the term 'human security' came into vogue as a way to capture the interdependence between development, security, and peace. The term is rather vague, constituting a mobilizing device favouring the departure from the status quo over an agreed upon definition with specific policy aims. In *In Larger Freedom*, Kofi Annan (2005) refers to three pillars of human security: a) 'freedom from fear'; b) 'freedom from want'; and c) 'freedom to live in dignity'. All this allows various players to define human security very differently. Schematically, one can say that two basic visions exist, one much broader than the other (Ball 2001).²³

Canada represents the narrower, security-oriented definition of 'freedom from fear'. Starting from the general point that "a people-centred approach to foreign policy ... recognizes that lasting stability cannot be achieved until people are protected from violent threats to their rights, safety, or lives," it focuses exclusively on what can be called the human dimensions of security, which includes small arms trade, landmines, and child soldiers (King/Murray 2001).

Japan's approach represents the broader, more development-oriented approach of 'freedom from want'. The late Prime Minister Obuchi said in 1998 that human security is "the keyword to comprehensively seizing all of the menaces that threaten the survival, daily life, and dignity of human beings and to strengthening the efforts to confront these threats." The Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2000) goes

on to list "threats to human lives, livelihoods and dignity [such] as poverty, environmental degradation, illicit drugs, transnational organized crime, infectious diseases such as HIV/AIDS, the outflow of refugees and anti-personnel land mines..." It is in this definition that human security amounts to a reconceptualization of the development enterprise, with 'freedom from fear' and 'freedom from want' becoming two inseparable faces of the same coin.²⁴

The relative popularity of the human security agenda is *not* the result of the enthusiasm of the military/security establishment, but rather of the development community. The debates about human needs in the 1970's, human development in the 1990's, and human security now, all result from the fact that part of the development community has always resisted what it perceives to be overly narrow and 'economistic' approaches to development; thus using the adjective 'human' as an identifying tag setting it apart from its intellectual competitors. For them, the human security concept holds the promise of achieving two goals: the first is to more firmly embed concerns with insecurity and violence in development work, and the second is to add more attention to poverty and empowerment in high politics (security typically being a far more powerful establishment and policy concern than development).

The Human Security Network (HSN, Fuentes 2007), the Human Security Commission (CHS 2003) as well as UNESCO (see chapter of Goucha in this volume) have promoted this concept globally. Thailand is the only country that has created a 'Ministry on Social Development and Human Security'; it has also launched a 'human security index' to compare the development achievements of its 77 provinces. At the 8th ministerial meeting of the Human security network, the Thai Foreign Minister, Kantathi Suphamongkhon stated:

We should encourage a balanced approach towards both freedom from want and freedom from fear. The two freedoms are linked.... We should broaden the scope of our focus into non-traditional threats to human security. This includes the need to address the problem of environmental degradation as well as life threatening diseases and natural disasters. ... Human security is about human empowerment. We must put even more energy into human resource development. This is the best way to prepare people to effectively address human

22 For evaluations, see Lawry-White (2003) and Austin/Chalmers (2004).

23 Burgess and Owen (2004) present definitions by 21 authors.

24 See also Nef (1999); Leaning/Arie (2001), paying more attention to psycho-social factors and Brauch (2005, 2005a), focusing on 'freedom from hazard impacts.'

security issues at all levels. ... This is the top-down plus bottom-up approach.²⁵

The 13 member states of the HSN²⁶, with South Africa as an observer and Japan and Mexico as friends, have launched many policy initiatives to translate the evolving human security concept into policy, including: landmine clearance, marking and tracing of small arms and light weapons; protection of civilians in armed conflict; human trafficking; human rights education; and work on women, peace and security; people-centred development; and HIV/AIDS.

These are rather low key efforts: they by and large consist of safe policies that are being funded by a wide range of agencies since years in any case. The Commission that wrote the UN Secretary-General's 2005 *In Larger Freedom* report tried to go further and develop a basic equivalence or new compact between traditional security and human security: UN members would help each other in their traditional security concerns (the war against terrorism, for example) and in return seriously promote each other's human security as well. The final report contains enough lip service to all these fine concepts, but deep resistance from among others the US has made sure all this has little to no practical implications. In short, the human security strategy has by and large failed: although it has led to interesting and relevant intellectual work, human security has either become very narrowly defined or it is slowly being dropped from the policy agenda altogether.

8.4 Conclusion

The intellectual and operational gap between development and security has shrunk significantly since the early 1990's. Currently there exists a rapidly growing literature, often of the grey kind, on the relationship between development and conflict. Meanwhile policy declarations focused on the need for further mainstreaming and coherence are commonplace. Most of this new work is what conflict resolution professionals would call 'track II' work that is promoting and strengthening dynamics of peace at the level of individuals and communities. However, some of it - in-

cluding military conditionality, security sector reform, or the calls for coherence - falls squarely within the 'track I' government-to-government approach. Other parts of it - DDR, for example, or parts of the post-conflict agenda - seem to constitute new hybrid fields.

Most aid agencies - whether bilateral, multilateral or NGO - are now firmly anchored in the 3rd and 4th levels described above: they try to design their projects and programmes in such a way as to do no harm, and they spend significant resources on a variety of new post-conflict sectors, such as reconciliation, transitional justice, and demobilization, disarmament and reintegration. They have hired new specialists, started new projects, and created new desks, divisions, and funds to deal with conflict prevention, management, or mitigation; more recently, they have created inter-agency coordination mechanisms to increase the coherence between their development/conflict resolution and foreign and military policies. There are of course significant differences in the importance they attach to these matters, the degree of explicit political analysis they bring to this work, the sectors, countries, and approaches they tend to privilege, and the specific aims they have.

Unsurprisingly, the post-conflict prevention agenda is strongly resisted by many. There are those in the aid community who long for the "good old days" of technical, apolitical, simplicity: a clear mandate, a specialized technical assistant to execute it, and a nice photo of a new piece of infrastructure. But the strongest dislike comes from Third World governments who may be subject to a wide range of novel and interventionist uses of aid. The conflict prevention agenda is the one that has most suffered from that resistance. Every time the Security Council, or the Governing Board of any UN specialized organization discusses conflict prevention, it encounters resistance from its Third World members. When in the late 1990's the World Bank floated the idea of creating an Operational Directive on conflict prevention, for example, the Chinese and Indian governments successfully demanded that all references in the larger document relating to this part be removed (although a directive was eventually approved in 2001). In addition, a large number of critical scholars consider this agenda - and the associated good governance one - to be a neo-colonialist move, legitimizing social engineering in the South and failing to shine a light on complicity in the North (Gordon 1997; Oberg 2002; Paris 2002; Rieff 2002).

25 See Address by H.E. Dr. Kantathi Suphamongkhon, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Thailand, at the Opening Ceremony of The 8th Human Security Network Ministerial Meeting, 1 June 2006, Dusit Thani Hotel, Bangkok; at: <<http://www.mfa.go.th/web/200.php?id=16523>>.

26 See for details at: <<http://www.humansecuritynetwork.org/meeting-e.php>>.

Given this resistance, the development/security agenda in practice is mainly implemented in states too weak to object, and the weaker they are the more complete the approach. Thus, in states under foreign military control (Kosovo or Iraq, for example) or extremely poor and weak (East Timor or Burundi), the agenda is implemented more purely and completely than in richer and stronger states; in the strongest ones (Russia and China come to mind), it is not even a remote possibility. It is important to note that just because it is being implemented fully does not guarantee a successful outcome²⁷: clearly, the degree of success depends on a range of factors including the history of the conflict and the political dynamics involved, the extent to which the local powers-that-be share the agenda or seek to subvert it, the degree to which the international community acts with one voice, and so on. Elites in even the weakest of countries continue to possess a significant capacity to resist the successful implementation of the new conflict agenda: they may not be able to autonomously define an agenda that fully conforms to their interests and preferences, but they are sufficiently powerful to reappropriate and sabotage as much as possible.

At the intellectual level, many questions remain. Indeed, after ten years practitioners have fallen into a routine of more or less the same programmes in every country: reconstruction of health and education facilities; the standard macroeconomic framework, with some initial allowances for the sequels of war²⁸; a large DDR programme if there is a peace agreement (but with an underfunded R component), including a special programme for child soldiers; a major decentralized block grant programme typically run by the World Bank²⁹; some general programmes of financial and technical support to decentralization, to the justice sector, and for elections; a smattering of dialogue,

media, reconciliation, and counselling projects; and lots of funding for all kinds of NGOs.

What impact did all this have on peace? What are the factors that determine this impact? What are the risks and costs of these various approaches? We still have precious little serious knowledge about these issues. Policy-makers and practitioners basically improvise, follow some fads, go with the flow of what is politically feasible, apply what seems to have worked elsewhere, and throw expensive consultancy missions at the problem. Part of the difficulty lies in the fact that we do not have clear and consensual concepts – even what peace means is rather elusive – so systematic comparison is hard (Lund 2003); another difficulty is that measurement and attribution are of course stunningly hard when it comes to multi-dimensional and complicated social processes such as the ones that bring about peace³⁰.

A deeper problem is that the whole agenda has become too large, interventionist, and devoid of priorities. The post-conflict mandate is enormous and amorphous, basically encompassing the entire political, economic, and social make-up of post-conflict societies. The breadth of the post-conflict mandate and the absence of prioritization mechanisms, together with the paucity of resources, result in donors funding a bit of everything. The outcome is a situation of small, scattered, underfunded, short-term, un-coordinated projects, with large aims and small budgets. This is not to say that many of these projects do not produce some positive impacts on their own terms, nor that they are all necessarily bad ideas. Rather, it is that they are too small, scattered, and isolated to make a fundamental difference on almost anything. The end result is a disturbing absence of checkpoints for change, and a lack of accountability to make a real difference.

Related to that, the post-conflict agenda amounts to an unconstrained and, as usual, totally un-self-critical license to intervene on the part of the international community. Its aims are highly politically sensitive and intrusive, and it is devoid of tools for making choices about priorities or under conditions of scarce resources or conflict – the true art of politics³¹. As a matter of fact, with the exception of Bernard Wood's (2001) report for UNDP, none of the policy statements even mentions that there *are* choices to be

27 For fascinating case studies of Rwanda, see Jones (2001) and Klinghoffer (1998).

28 Collier/Elliott/Hegre/Hoeffler/Reynal-Querol/Sambanis (2003), for example, describe such a macro-economic agenda, but fails to note how few pieces of it are actually implemented; Paris (2004) criticizes it, as does Boyce (2002b) but on different grounds; Addison (2003) has fine case studies.

29 These so-called Community Driven Reconstruction programmes have become very popular staples. See Cliffe/Guggenheim/Kostner (2003) for a description of the aims, and Lund/Wanchek (2004); Mansuri/Rao (2004) and Strand/Toje/Jerve/Samset (2003) for the main evaluations so far.

30 See Church/Shouldice (2003) and Anderson/Olson (2001) for outlines of methodology for evaluation.

31 See Chopra (2002) for a fine case study.

made, or discusses the thorny issue of who will make these choices and on what basis.

The key question of the post-conflict agenda will remain how to define an approach that minimizes the reach of the international community, leaving as much as possible to local actors, while being principled and providing a real added value. The trend until now has been to add new fields of action – an understandable dynamic given the failure of past conflict-blind development assistance. Now it is time to reflect on how to do less rather than more, how to minimize our reach while maximizing our impact. This means making explicit choices and living by them, ensuring maximum participation and (a necessary corollary) transparency, being flexible and yet principled, and being learning oriented – all things that are hard to achieve even under the best of circumstances³².

32 See Stiefel (1998) and the website of the War-Torn Societies Project <http://wsp.dataweb.ch/load.cfm?edit_id=43>, for a fascinating way out.

9 Security and Environment Linkages Revisited

Simon Dalby

9.1 Introduction

The debate over the linkages between security and environment has evolved since its high profile articulation as a factor in the case for sustainable development in the World Commission on Environment and Development in the 1980's (WCED 1987). Sceptics and advocates have tangled repeatedly on conceptual, methodological, and political grounds while simultaneously the context for the discussion has evolved both as geopolitical events occurred and as science, and particularly research on climate change, has progressed (Brauch 2002, 2003). This chapter focuses on the innovations in thinking in the early years of the 21st century, suggesting that the linkages between security and environment are now understood in a number of ways, all of which show that matters are much more complicated than early assumptions in the 1980's about scarcity leading to violence (Hagmann 2005).

The suggestions in recent literature also make it clear that relationships of environment and security need to be understood in much broader conceptualizations than were usually included in the narrow empirical studies of the relationships of violence and scarcity which dominated much of the discussion in the 1990's. It is now clear that the links between violence and environment in the case of conflict over resources are often matters of political struggles over the control of relatively abundant resources in poor economies. In so far as humanity does face a common future, it is one in which global climate disruptions may well cause much more damage to poor peoples than any locally caused environmental disturbances. In addition, it is now understood that development, and the rapid incorporation of the remaining rural areas into the circuits of the global economy, is also frequently a violent process involving environmental change.

It is important to note that the linkages between security and environment continue to be formulated

as the basis for advocacy and for policy initiatives, apparently in ignorance of some of the most trenchant critiques frequently directed at such thinking (Deudney 1999; Nucleous 2000). Much of the early literature, at least, took security for granted without troubling to trace its intellectual lineage to the emergence of modernity where it was closely linked to private property and the protection of the social order that promoted property's extension (Rothschild 1995). As a result much of the initial thinking assumed that its task was to perpetuate a social order that was in fact, as later thinking made abundantly clear, causing many of the disruptions in the first place (Dalby 2002; 2000a). Even so, when it comes to reconsidering the role of the American military in particular, these conceptual difficulties remain in the literature despite repeated critiques (Foster 2001, 2005).

The focus of the discussion about environment and its links to security has shifted as a result of criticism, but also as research has made its findings public and as new perspectives have been added into the discussion. This chapter emphasizes the recent discussions, and the importance of how both the terms of discussion and the research findings are placed in appropriate contexts. Overall it suggests that political economy and political ecology insights about connections between peoples and places are usefully connecting with analyses of global environmental change so that human vulnerabilities and the causes thereof now get a more appropriate emphasis than in the earlier literature. Policy recommendations too now focus more on human security and vulnerability, and on the multiple implications of resource wars, rather than on the potential of environmental degradation for causing overt largescale violence.

9.2 The Early Stages of the Environment-Security Debate

In the early stages of the discussion the contention that environmental degradation would cause misery, and probably conflict, in many situations, was frequently taken as axiomatic. What was far from clear, however, was precisely how insecurity would manifest itself and who would be the victims. Much of this discussion was shaped from within a Northern security studies perspective which assumed a perspective that surveyed the whole world as though from afar. The important points that follow from noting this important point about who asked these questions in the 1990's is that the knowledges that are constructed, especially the knowledges that look to universal explanations of the relationships between environment and conflict, are usually urban and modern knowledges, ones that take an imperial view of matters for granted (Barnett 2000, 2001). Combined with satellite imagery and modes of monitoring statistics compiled by states and international agencies, and the assumptions of the inevitability of economic development in terms of the expansion of carboniferous capitalism, these formulations of the resource and environment problematique inevitably downplayed the rural, the contextual, and the disruptions inflicted on traditional peoples by expanding modernity. They did so also within a state cartography, one that draws lines between places, ensuring that civil wars "over there" are not usually a matter of responsibility "in here" in the metropolises (Dalby 2002a).

Thomas Homer-Dixon's initial work questioned the early premises and posed the question of where and in what circumstances conflict was likely as a result of environmental degradation. Homer-Dixon's early work, which included canvassing the contributions of many scholars in a variety of disciplines, suggested clearly that what violence was in some way related to environmental matters was likely to be diffuse and subnational rather than taking the form of inter-state warfare (Homer-Dixon 1994). This work suggested that while conflict might happen in specific circumstances, many of the more alarmist suggestions that war between North and South over specific resources or over largescale phenomena such as climate change and ozone depletion, were unlikely. None of the more recent literature has seriously challenged this finding. His subsequent detailed case studies tried to specify the conditions and circumstances in which violence was likely (Homer-Dixon/Blitt 1998). When the overall framework for analysis

is studied carefully, it is clear that one can posit connections between scarcity and violence, but the intervening conditions which lead to violence are usually key determinants of where and when violence occurs (Homer-Dixon 1999).

Critics charged that this empirical work did not proceed on appropriate methodological lines and that the causes of war were not well explored by assuming that environment did in fact cause conflict (Levy 1995; Gleditsch 1998; Diehl/Gleditsch 2001). But the calls for comparative quantitative studies and the insistence of the importance of null hypotheses frequently overlooked the earlier careful evaluation of various scholarly evidence that had dismissed much of the alarmist thinking about proclivities to warfare among marginal peoples suffering environmental stress. The focus on war or the implications for the national security of Northern states frequently obscured the important point that the insecurity under discussion was a matter of poor and marginal people in the South, whose insecurity needed attention as a research issue in its own right, separate from the discussions of the causes of inter-state wars.

The initial assumptions about scarcity causing conflict quickly came to be understood as highly constrained by numerous political, economic, and social factors. The supposed causal link between environmental scarcity and political conflict is exemplified in the debate over water. It is especially important when linked to concerns about global climate change and disruptions of rainfall patterns and evaporation rates. Supposedly in the face of scarcities and disruptions, states vying for control over specific rivers will fight to secure access to supplies of fresh water. But empirical research into the matter suggests that, 'water wars' have been very rare and are generally unlikely (Toset/Wollebæk/Gleditsch/Hegre 2000). Few states are so tied to the waters of a river that the extreme dynamics of interstate warfare unfold when water shortages happen. The pitfalls of conflict that might destroy shared infrastructure essential to both sides are much greater than any possible benefits of going to war. The water wars debate has made it clear that vulnerabilities are a complex matter, but also that environmental change presents numerous possibilities for cooperation (Lonergan 2002).

9.3 Environment-Security Linkages and Development

Meanwhile other research in the 1990's, in particular the large number of case studies encompassed in the ENCOP project directed by Günther Bächler (1998), emphasized the likelihood of violence in the context of marginal peoples in the face of rapid change tied into strategies of development and the spread of commercial economies into subsistence based societies. Maldevelopment and the disruptions caused by modern states and economies were understood to be the sources of many insecurities in developing states. ENCOP studies suggested that environmental conflict was most likely to occur where poverty ridden marginal lands in mountainous areas, and remote parts on the margins of major ecological areas in Africa, were being integrated into the global economy. But there were other dimensions to the relation of environment and conflict too, not least the damage done to specific environments and local peoples by the dislocations of major development projects. The struggles by indigenous peoples to protect rainforests and other lands from oil wells and mining corporations are part of this larger pattern (Gedicks 2001).

This research links to the literature in "political ecology", drawing from anthropology, development studies, geography and political economy, which focuses much more on the political economy of resources and in particular the complexity of local resources intersecting with the global commercial economy (Peluso/Watts 2001). Showing how local power structures, gendered access to farm land, traditional modes of subsistence agriculture and fishing were overlain with new modes of resource extraction, this literature challenges the arguments about scarcity in the neo-Malthusian formulations, while not denying that some environments were indeed violent. This critical literature has made very clear that the complexities of the global economy have to be factored into local vulnerabilities, and that this has to be done with considerable care to ensure that the specifics of local circumstances are appropriately incorporated into the analysis. In explaining local vulnerabilities, both global environmental change and economic change matter.

Another theme that quickly emerged in the early literature on environmental security was the importance of recognizing that in a global sense resource prices of most commodities were in long-term decline. A combination of improved technologies and expanding global trade has ensured that the supplies

of most essential minerals are not an issue for the future of the global economy. In some cases technological innovation has produced spectacular decreases in the use of metals; copper has been rendered much less important than previously by the introduction of satellite communications, fibre optic cables and the increasingly ubiquitous use of cell phones. But while the materials needed to make these items are not in short supply, they are nonetheless valuable enough to be worth fighting for in poor parts of the world economy where other economic options are not available. Petroleum appears to be an exception to this generalization, one that may yet involve the world in yet further geopolitical conflicts (Klare 2004).

This discussion parallels a fifth literature which in the late 1990's suggested that resource shortages were rarely correlated with conflict (Berdal/Malone 2000). The converse, it was suggested, was the case. The "new wars" of the 1990's in the South were tied into the struggle to control the rents from resource streams that were being exported to the global economy. Controlling resources, whether timber, diamonds or oil, was the way to get rich quick, rather than follow the painful and slow routes of economic development (de Soysa 2002). Elite rivalries and the promise of wealth are, so the argument goes, powerful incentives to initiate hostilities, especially where tribal or other sectoral loyalties can be mobilized (Bannon/Collier 2003). But these wars were not largely about either subsistence lands or the politics of agriculture (Ross 2004). The extraction of diamonds, oil, and other minerals frequently has environmental consequences, but apart from tropical timber, most of these are not technically "renewable resources". Nonetheless, their inclusion within a discussion of "environmental security" is a useful addition to the debate because it emphasizes the importance of globalization's resource extractions as a factor in contemporary violence and insecurity, although it is important to remember that the geographies and the material qualities of resources do not make it easy to draw lessons from one that may be directly applicable to others (Williams 2003).

9.4 Global Environmental Change and Vulnerability

Some of these themes link to the approach in the Global Environmental Change and Human Security (GECHS) literature which in many ways offers a syn-

thesis of the lessons learned in the other approaches. Vulnerabilities of populations to changing environments, and specifically concerns with the impact of global change, is the driving force in many of these studies (Renner 1996). The welfare and survival of people and their environments is the key focus of research in contrast to the earlier focus on states and potential wars (Mathew 2001, 2002). This overlaps in part with the ENCOP concerns with human development and its focus on the juxtaposition of violence with the parts of the world that have the worst scores on the UN human development indices (Bächler 1998). It emphasizes the importance of understanding the complexity of both environmental and social processes in specific contexts, and the obvious point that the poor in rural areas are frequently most vulnerable to both environmental change and the disruptions caused by political violence.

In parallel with the focus on the complex sources of vulnerability for poor and marginal peoples, the early years of the twenty-first century have returned matters to consideration of the largest scale disruptions of the biosphere, principally as a consequence of climate disruptions driven by fossil fuel consumption. Early in 2004 American media attention was drawn to a scenario exercise prepared on the part of Global Business Associates (GBA) (Schwartz/Randall 2003) for the U.S. Department of Defence that focused attention on the importance of abrupt climate change as a possible security threat. Subsequent discussion on these themes focused on the 2004 Hollywood disaster movie "The Day After Tomorrow" in which rapid climate change caused instant disaster, flooding, and flash freezing across much of North America. The science on this theme is inconclusive in terms of what precise scenario is most likely, but there is growing reason for concern (Alley 2004, Schneider 2004). The GBA scenario however reproduced the assumptions in the earlier literature that scarcity would induce conflict rather than trading, and disruptions would thus present a security threat. In doing so it ignored other research into matters of future scenarios and the potential for warfare in the face of climate change which in summary has once again suggested that the potential for inter-state warfare is low: "In this assessment, *no militarily relevant security threat* presently exists resulting from environmental stress but there are severe short- and long-term *non-military challenges* confronting many countries that have been victims of natural disasters that may put at risk both the *governability* of several states and the *survivability* of regions" (Brauch 2002:

103). Nonetheless, the GBA scenario exercise did represent an interesting extension of the discussions of security in Washington in that it explicitly dealt with climate change as a threat in a context in which this was not congruent with the administration's priorities.

Even the 2002 National Security Strategy of the United States of America document, which set out the priorities for American policy in the aftermath of the 11 September 2001 attacks, does include a brief discussion of the importance of limiting greenhouse gas emissions from the American economy, despite the rejection of the Kyoto protocol by the Bush administration. However, closer inspection of this document suggests that it is unlikely to lead to reductions of emissions. Specifically the Security Strategy states that (NSS 2002): "Economic growth should be accompanied by global efforts to stabilize greenhouse gas concentrations associated with this growth, containing them at a level that prevents dangerous human interference with the global climate. Our overall objective is to reduce America's greenhouse gas emissions relative to the size of our economy, cutting such emissions per unit of economic activity by 18 percent over the next 10 years, by the year 2012." But given the enthusiasm for economic growth expressed in the rest of the document it is clear that its authors expect the economy to grow by more than 18% over this period, hence ensuring that the overall emissions will continue to grow. Hence the great distance between rhetoric and policy outcomes that might address the real needs to reduce greenhouse gases only emphasize the need for an ecological understanding of security that focuses on the throughputs of materials rather than more abstract notions of environmental scarcity. This is especially important because climate change may well be most dangerous for poor vulnerable populations in the global South, precisely those who have done the least to cause the phenomenon in the first place (Barnett 2003).

9.5 Ecological Footprints and Environmental Peacemaking

This perspective, using an ecological viewpoint of what constitutes security, is taken furthest by the ongoing research at the Wuppertal Institute in Germany where researchers have been tracking the material dimensions of production and transportation in the global system. The overall ecological footprint of developed states includes accounting for the import of

materials and the use of sinks beyond their borders to absorb the waste products of metropolitan life. Specific activities can be described by looking at their “ecological rucksacks”, the term used to describe the ecological impact of a particular process or product, and which includes material waste and erosion caused by the production and shipping of a resource or commodity. Frequently resources are extracted from poorer parts of the global economy and much of the rucksack resides there, while the benefits are gained by investors and consumers elsewhere (Schütz/Moll/Bringezu 2004). Individual products also require specific materials, mineral and agricultural, to be imported from specific places, effectively carrying an ecological rucksack made up of damage done at a great distance.¹

Connected directly to the discussion of resource wars it becomes clear that consumption in the metropolises of the global economy has direct environmental impacts in numerous parts of the periphery, as well as indirectly through such things as ozone depletion and climate change. These categories make it possible to calculate very roughly the overall impact of various modes of economic activity, the overarching result is, when viewed in global terms, the unavoidable conclusion that it is the wealthy of this world who have the largest footprints and are thus causing the largest disruptions of environmental systems (WWF 2004). Hence globalization is now increasingly understood in terms of environmental change (Pirages/DeGeest 2004). But the assumptions that scarcity in the periphery are the problem is now overtaken by discussions of the importance of the consequences of consumption. But this too emphasizes the importance of thinking about security in terms of distant consequences and interconnections that might be amenable to cooperative action rather than necessarily a cause of conflict. It also requires further attention to matters of global forests, a topic in need of further study in relation to both conflict and ecological integrity (Klubnikin/Causey 2002).

In parallel with the focus on human security as a necessity in the face of both natural and artificial forms of vulnerability, recent literature has emphasized the opportunities that environmental management presents for political cooperation between states and other political actors, on both largescale infrastructure projects as well as more traditional matters of wildlife and new concerns with biodiversity preservation (Matthew/Halle/Switzer 2002). Simultaneously, the discussion on water wars, and in particular the key finding the shared resources frequently stimulate cooperation rather than conflict, shifted focus from conflict to the possibilities of environmental action as a mode of peacemaking. Both at the international level in terms of environmental diplomacy and institution building, there is considerable evidence of cooperative action on the part of many states (Conca/Dabelko 2002). Case studies from many parts of the world suggest that cooperation and diplomatic arrangements can facilitate peaceful responses to the environmental difficulties in contrast to the pessimism of the 1990’s where the focus was on the potential for conflicts. One recent example of the attempts to resolve difficulties in the case of Lake Victoria suggests a dramatic alternative to the resource war scenarios. The need to curtail over-fishing in the lake and the importance of remediation has encouraged cooperation; scarcities leading to conflict arguments have not been common in the region, and they have not influenced policy prescriptions (Canter/Ndegwa 2002). Many conflicts over the allocations of water use rights continue around the world but most of them are within states and international disputes simply do not have a history of leading to wars.

Some of these efforts on building cooperative mechanisms are directly related to efforts to enhance conservation efforts in conflict regions as a deliberate strategy to facilitate conflict resolution. Some such projects fall under the auspices of the International Union Conservation of Nature and their collaborative volume *Conserving the Peace* (Mathews/Halle/Switzer 2002) suggests clearly the diversity of geographical and cultural contexts within which such efforts might be applicable. It is worth noting that this particular project is also supported by the “environmental security team” of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office of the United Kingdom government which is involved in environmental aid projects in Asia and Africa, suggesting very clearly that conservation and peacemaking are now understood as matters of environmental security.

1 “The *ecological footprint* refers to land use, to the space that a country’s citizens need for erecting houses, growing/raising food on fields and pastures, building traffic links, etc. The *ecological rucksack* describes the ecological impact of an individual product or process ... They are mostly “filled” in developing countries, and can be calculated to express the environmental impacts of individual products, economies, or human beings. See <http://www.wupperinst.org/FactorFour/FactorFour_FAQ.html>.

Both international diplomacy and conservation efforts are involved in the establishment of so called "Peace Parks" on the borders of a number of Southern African states. But it is important to note that these are also tied into matters of economic development connected to tourist industry strategies to provide "eco-tourism" experiences to international clients. Here the local population is not always rendered more secure in their daily livelihoods which may not be enhanced by such modes of "development" (Singh/van Houtum 2002). But the intention behind these initiatives is to simultaneously build trust and cooperation in areas where international tension might otherwise occur, although the complicated agendas and conflicting state priorities suggest caution in assuming these are going to be much of a panacea (van Amerom 2002). Using environmental initiatives to gain both ecological and political benefits is at the heart of other similar initiatives, such as the United Nations Environmental Programme's efforts to improve understanding of environment and conflict and to investigate the policy options to meet the United Nations Millennium Development Goals (UNDP 2004).

In some ways the discussion has come back to where it started in the 1980's, focusing on the vulnerable populations in the South and their need for a broadly understood human security. But what has changed is that simple assumptions of environmental degradation or resource scarcity leading to conflict are no longer accepted. Vulnerability is now understood as a complex problem; cooperation is understood as more likely than violent conflict in the face of environmental change. The importance of understanding the specific circumstances of human vulnerability in different places is also now part of the discussion; environment, development and human security are understood as parts of the same issue. But while it is clear that solutions have to be tailored to fit local circumstances, it is also now understood that neither global change nor globalization can be ignored. Environmental changes are not strictly "local" phenomena triggering "local" social responses. Human insecurity is context dependent, but context is not simply a matter of local phenomena.

9.6 Environment, Development and Resource Wars

More generally the historical pattern of development and the appropriation of resources is one connected

to the rapid urbanization of humanity; modernity and industrialization have accelerated the imperial pattern of appropriation of resources from distant places to feed the metropolises; globalization studies linking environmental stresses to these processes are now increasingly common (Sachs/Loske/Linz 1998). The twentieth century, whatever designations it might be given in terms of the nuclear age or the growth of the number of post-colonial nation states, was notable for the huge expansion of population and its movement into urban areas. We are now an urban species and have wired and paved the planet to move food, timber, oil, electricity, minerals and all sorts of commodities from the rural areas into these burgeoning cities (Dalby, 2003a; 2003b).

In a way loosely analogous to earlier imperial arrangements the flow of commodities inevitably disrupts traditional forms of economic life. Just as wheat flowed from Africa to Rome so now does oil flow from the Mid East to other parts of the new imperium (Dalby 2003c; 2003d; 2004). Materials policy is a matter of improving sustainability by reducing ecological throughputs and increasing recycling; it is also a matter of industrial innovation which works ecological design into production (Geiser 2001). But to think in these terms requires a focus on consumption and a recognition that "environmental protection", understood as something "out there", is replaced by a conceptualisation that materials and energy to support consumption cultures "in here" are at the heart of ecological disruptions where producers and consumers are connected by complex commodity chains that now span the globe (Hughes/Reimer 2004).

The Roman Empire built roads to facilitate communications and so too do modern states. Indeed, it is possible to argue that such infrastructure provision is a key part both of state structures and the commercial culture of the automobile. Promotion of the privately owned automobile is a major part of the function of states (Paterson 2000). Car ownership is understood as a matter of status in numerous developing states while the pollution and congestion problems that result are ignored much of the time. The latest gas guzzlers in North America, the rather inaptly named Sports Utility Vehicles, are presented to would be buyers in tropes of conquering nature, of "civilizing nature" in Nissan corporation's advertizing slogan terms, a matter of being able to go anywhere regardless of obstacles (Paterson/Dalby 2006). But these vehicles are frequently understood as the causes of many problems of environmental degradation due

to their size and fuel consumption. Other automobiles, including hybrid vehicles that use innovative electrical systems in conjunction with gasoline engines, are explicitly marketed as part of the answer to environmental disruptions; the drivers encouraged to save fuel costs while being more environmentally responsible.

But as the literature on resource wars now makes clear, the consequences of modes of extraction in distant places is tied into violence, dispossession, and environmental destruction in many places (Watts 2004). And many of these links can be traced and acted upon politically as numerous campaigns for boycotting corporations, and ethical investment strategies have made clear in the last decade. To think in these terms is to challenge the conventional geographies of security and the geopolitical assumptions that underlie the assumptions that democracies are peaceful because they do not go to war with each other, and that they provide the appropriate vision of a sustainable and non-violent future. Putting the geography of resource extractions back explicitly into the picture changes the terms in which it is possible to construct both “resources” and “conflict” (Le Billon 2004). It also suggests the possibilities of innovation to facilitate less ecologically destructive modes of living. Above all, it challenges the taken for granted geography of danger as external to the modern spaces of prosperity (Jung 2003). In short, it requires a shift away from an understanding of environment as the external context of humanity to a recognition of life within a changing biosphere.

9.7 Environment and Human Security

In stark contrast to the early literature suggesting that environmental change would cause violence, much of the literature on human security has suggested that the sources of human insecurity are a necessary place to start for more effective understanding (Najam 2003). Although some of the literature on Human Security in the early twentyfirst century has dropped environmental security as a theme in their formulations, the logic of putting vulnerable people at the centre of analysis, rather than seeing them as a subsequent variable in an analysis focused on other matters, follows from human security thinking (O’Riordan/Stoll-Kleemann 2002; Chen et al. 2003). As the United Nations Institute for Environment and Human Security (UNU-EHS) suggests “Instead of starting with a fo-

cus on natural hazards and their quantification, the assessment and ranking of the vulnerability of affected groups should serve as the starting point in defining priorities and means of remedial interventions.”²

Putting human needs forward as the primary concern, and then thinking through the contextual dangers to their provision, reverses the managerial assumptions of state centred security thinking and suggests clearly that security is now understood as much more than either state policy or technological intervention in some external domain. Linking this directly to the science of global environmental change suggests clearly that environmental security thinking in the twenty-first century will look rather different from what preoccupied it in the latter stages of the twentieth (Brauch 2005). It will do so because both the global context for discussing security, and the ecological sensibility which takes the flows of materials within the biosphere as the starting point for thinking, make it increasingly difficult to construct arguments which focus on the poor and marginal peoples of the world as an external threat to a supposedly benign modernity.

9.8 Conclusions: Towards a Fourth Stage of Research on Environment and Security

Refocusing security thinking on the factors that render humans insecure in specific places means taking the geographical dimensions of insecurity seriously. While the local disruptions in particular places remain the focus of much analysis, in light of the discussions of resource wars and globalization now the distant consequences of both resource extractions and subsequent pollution and consequent atmospheric change also have to be included. An ecological approach is now essential in which human activities are understood as part of the biophysical processes of global change; global environmental change and economic globalization are effectively two ways of looking at the same process of change. Thus, in future environmental security research will have to conceptualize its research agenda in awareness of the potential disruptions of climate change and myriad other ecological factors in an increasingly artificial global “environment” (Dalby/Brauch/Oswald 2008).

² See <http://www.ehs.unu.edu/PDF/PresentationEHS-general.ppt>

These changes in humanity's habitat are perhaps clearest - if we understand contemporary local changes and global connections as taking place in an urbanizing planetary biosphere where insecurity of many kinds frequently appears in the rapidly growing urban slums of the new Southern megacities (Davis 2004). These are in some ways connected into the global consumer economy, as vehicle sales and the presence of internet cafes attest, and in others as informal food markets demonstrate, remain primarily connected to local food and water supply systems. The future of environment and security research will have to come to terms with the resource flows and health consequences of these burgeoning places in addition to its traditional focus on the rural regions of the South. This chapter has clearly suggested the importance of how these interconnections are conceptualized in the formulation of both international and state policy, and also in the development of practical survival strategies for the poor, struggling to provide their own security in the new increasingly urban realities of the twentyfirst century (Oswald/Brauch/Dalby 2008).

Part III Philosophical, Ethical and Religious Contexts for Conceptualizations of Security

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10 Oriental, European, and Indigenous Thinking on Peace in Latin America

Úrsula Oswald Spring

10.1 Introduction¹

This chapter reviews the global thought on peace, starting with the thinking in China and India, continuing with pre-Hispanic indigenous reflections, integrating European contributions and finally perspectives on contemporary globalization. Historically, in all cultures besides violent power interests thinking on peace evolved to mitigate the hegemonic impulses and to deal with conflicts by consensus. The desire of human beings has always been to live together in harmony, with mutual understanding, dialogue, tolerance, respect, and cooperation. Women play a special role in peace-building. They use their own tools to achieve their goals, e.g. they tried to convince their husbands, sons and friends to avoid wars and reduce dominance and exploitation, sometimes with a sexual boycott as documented in the Greek comedy 'Lysistrata' of Aristophanes: 'without peace, no sex'.

This chapter explores the historical evolution and similarities in the thinking on peace-building processes, influenced by Hindu, Buddhist, Muslim, Christian, indigenous and modern values. In all these cultures and traditions a general tendency may be found with regard to an equilibrium and harmony with ourselves, with the other, and with nature. Thousands of years ago, Chinese thinking linked personal well-being to a hierarchical political order where subjects and rulers were mutually responsible. This resulted in the political system of Mandarins bringing China cultural and social development and knowledge on human nature, psychology, and power ambitions. In India, Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism developed a nonviolent model of social coexistence, where the respect

for nature and other humans created a model for active conflict resolution from the local to the international level.

In Latin America, the Incas, Mayas, and Mexicas (great kingdoms that were influenced by other indigenous cultures of the Olmeca, Teotihuacan, Aymara, Ketchua, Cuiba, Taino, Mapuche, Kuna, Guarani, Asanimi, Wayuu, etc.) developed hierarchical structured empires that controlled large territories, enforced tributes from the subdued and developed science, astronomy, medicine, urbanization, and technologies of irrigation. Their peace processes were linked to the concept of equilibrium of human behaviour and nature. The military and ideological conquest of these civilizations by Spain and Portugal, and the Catholic church, imposed a colonial order that fostered economic underdevelopment (Campos 1995; Strahm/Oswald 1990) and subordination to other regions outside of Latin America (Kaplan 2003). Natural resources – food commodities, gold, silver, minerals, medicinal and therapeutic plants, later also oil and gas – were systematically looted. Forced labour and new diseases decimated the indigenous population. To replace the native work force in mines and agriculture, the colonial powers brought African slaves to the Americas (Diamond 1998). This violent displacement and exploitation created social fragmentation and destruction in Africa and Latin America. Global European interests and ideologies were introduced by authoritarian colonial and military regimes, as well as by a rape capitalism, characterized by unsustainable exploitation of human forces and natural resources, together with occidental patriarchal dominance. After revolutions and independence of most colonies in Latin America and in the Caribbean, the US enforced its neo-imperial interests in the hemisphere with its Monroe Doctrine.

Through the exchange of goods and ideas across the 'Silk Road', the Greek, Roman, and Persian empires and civilizations were informed about Asian cul-

1 This chapter partly relies on Oswald Spring (2006a), where some ideas were presented in more detail. These ideas have been developed further in response to comments and suggestions of two reviewers and suggestions by Hans Günter Brauch.

tures and thinking. The Christian churches preached Jesus' message of peace but they also supported and legitimated the often violent expansion of their faith and thus created a dominant doctrine with political consequences throughout the world. The ancient process of state consolidation interacted with the modern European model of political division of power and democracy. The process of social representation resulted in internalized Eurocentric ideals that produced a unique model of development for the whole world. European thinkers, like Grotius and Kant, created an idealist worldview where agreements based on cooperation, human rights, international laws, and personal responsibility tried to achieve peace, solidarity, and human well-being. The modern international law evolving from the Westphalia order (1648), the division of power within the state and an independent system of justice, were main achievements to oppose despotic kings and governors. Regional and religious wars, resource competition, colonization, two World Wars, and the Cold War hampered peace and development in most parts of the world.

In 1945 the Charter of United Nations was adopted with a mandate to overcome the 'scourges of war'. Since 1991, Secretary-Generals Boutros Boutros-Ghali (1991–1996) and Kofi Annan (1997–2006) failed to replace the obsolete UN structure of 1945 due to the opposition of several permanent members of the Security Council and their hegemonic interests. Thus, the global European world order gradually declined after World Wars I and II and was replaced by a bipolar power and ideological competition. After millennia of local, regional and later two world wars, Europe finally achieved a peaceful coexistence after the 'global turn of 1990', within an expanded European Union. After the end of the Cold War, and since 2001, the unipolar superpower (Fukuyama 1992, chap. 26 by Saxe Fernández) created new threats to peace with its 'war on terror'. As these core values apply globally, these occidental social representations have created conflicts elsewhere by replacing traditional beliefs.

Despite different value systems in the Orient and Occident, during several millennia patriarchy emerged as a common social practice and the underlying factor of violence (Reardon 1985). As a cross-cultural phenomenon, the resulting social representations and personal identity processes (Oswald 2008) have consolidated a status quo in beliefs, rules, and habits, where male hierarchy dominates gender. Therefore, peace movements, activities, and education must

transform the patriarchal mindset. Active nonviolence was developed in India since the 1930's (Gandhi 1984, 1982, 1996, n.d.), practised in the United States during the 1960's (civil rights movement, Martin Luther King Junior 1998) and developed further in the struggle for independence in South Africa (Mandela 1994). It produced new inputs for feminist and social movements², thus encouraging bottom-up alternatives for a post-modern world where nonviolent practices, peace-building, gender equity, and sustainable development including grass-root movements, women, indigenous, poor, unemployed and other marginal groups enhance a diverse and decentralized future (Vaughan 1997; Oswald 2001, 2006a, 2008).

This chapter is organized in seven parts, It will contrast key factors of violence, war, discrimination, exploitation, and environmental destruction with nonviolence and peace-building. First, the Indian origins of nonviolence (10.2) are compared with Chinese thinking on peace (10.3). Then the search for peace in European and American worldviews (10.4) are related to concepts of equilibrium and development in Latin America (10.5), and these three experiences are compared (10.6). In the conclusions a few ideas are systematized to stimulate peace thinking and nonviolent conflict resolution (10.7).

10.2 Indian Origins of Nonviolence

From a historical perspective Indian philosophers introduced important concepts of peace-building such as nonviolence, respect for parents, elders and authorities, self-control, personal disputes, tolerance, freedom, participative democracy, karma and sustainable coexistence with the environment. Diverse belief systems and practices have made this region into a seed-bed for alternatives in the past and present world order.

10.2.1 Hinduism, Jainism, and Buddhism: Indian Origins of Nonviolence

Hinduism, Buddhism, and Jainism have influenced not only Gandhian thinking on nonviolence and

2 Peace researchers, educators, and activists such as Elise Boulding (1992, 2000), Betty Reardon (1985, 1999), Vandana Shiva (1988), Sara Rosenbaum de Horowitz (1998), Rigoberta Menchú (2004), Wangari Maathai (2003, 2006) and other grassroot women have shifted the focus from war and armament to the root causes of violence in daily and public life.

brought India to independence, but after centuries of colonial exploitation they have offered a potential for growth and dignity, where 'ahimsa' represents an effective model for conflict resolution from the intrapersonal to the global level (Parmar 2003). The Economist (3 February 2007: 69–71) and Elliott (2006) have reviewed the potential of India as a new world power.

10.2.1.1 Hinduism

Peace values in Hinduism³ are related to religious beliefs, which are practised by the majority of the Indian population. As one of the oldest religions in the world, it grew in syncretism during the past 5,000 years⁴, creating numerous sects and cultural movements⁵, but also tolerance for new thinking and integration of dissidents, creating new gods and religious practices. Hinduism developed the doctrine of 'karma' where the individual reaps the results of his good and bad actions through different lives. The liberation from suffering and from the compulsion of rebirth is attainable through the elimination of pas-

sions, the comprehension and respect of the other, and through the knowledge of reality, finally the union with god. As a theological system Hinduism differs fundamentally from other religions, not having a single founder without a single model of morality or a central religious organization but with hundreds of different religious groups.

Thus, Hinduism never developed an exclusive doctrine and integrated other beliefs, avoiding that exclusion got converted into a core element of violence. Security is linked to the safety of authorities (king), who guarantee the security of the people (chap. 16 by Dadhich). This syncretistic tendency stressed tolerance, mutual understanding and coexistence, and a permanent renovation, which was enriched with positive elements of existing practices of peaceful behaviour. But this religious tradition also reinforced the caste system, anchoring social differences (Brahman caste vs. untouchable or Dalits) and potential conflicts for resource appropriation, where the social cohesion is linked to birth, thus maintaining the status quo (chap. 12 by Brück).

10.2.1.2 Jainism

According to mythology the first Jaina was a giant living 8.4 million years ago, but the first records of Mahavir are traced to 559 BCE in east India, as a child of Siddhartha. His severe asceticism, his deep knowledge, and his search for eternal truth provided the bases for the reorganization of Jainism. He conciliates the inner world with the realm of reason through ideals of freedom, transmigration, and relativism as spiritual and moral guiding principles. Mahavir eradicated from human thinking the conception of God as creator and protector, and with his ideal of the supremacy of human life he developed positive messages of life: nonviolence (ahimsa); truth (satya); non-stealing (acharya); celibacy (brahmacharya) and non-possessiveness (aparigraha), which opened the infinite potential of humans in perception, knowledge, power, and bliss for freedom and spiritual joy of the soul.

This religion is based on eternal cosmic principles of a colossal machinery running without error and cessation, in absolute harmony. In their ideology the Jainians propose a perfect system of democracy and an emphasis on equality of opportunities to achieve absolute freedom and spiritual perfection.

They opposed the caste system in Indian society as a core system of injustice and social violence. Their ways to achieve the truth was relativism with a dialectical approach of multiple viewpoints; entity where the complex nature is permanent through a process of

3 Hinduism is the world's third largest religion (after Christianity and Islam), representing about 13 per cent of the world population. The most general feature is the 'caste' system and the acceptance of the 'Veda and Upanishad' as sacred scriptures. The *Veda* comprises the liturgy and interpretation of the sacrifices and culminates in the mystical and speculative works of *Upanishad*, which contain the Brahman doctrine. This consists in that the self of all things and its identity with the individual soul or '*atman*' is the absolute reality. Later theistic elements were developed in the '*Bhagavad Gita*'. For more details see also the chapters by Brück and Dadhich in this volume.

4 The earliest evidence of the Hindu faith dates back to 3,000 BCE. Archaeological excavation in the Punjab and Indus valleys revealed the existence of urban cultures at Harappa (Pakistan) and Mohenjo-daro on the Indus, where ritual baths were found as early evidence of purification rites. Phallic symbols and a large number of discovered goddesses refer to early fertility rites.

5 Some Indo-Aryan theories claimed that the Aryans (noble) were nomadic people coming probably from southern Russia and the Baltic to India, bringing with them their language and culture. Archaeological evidence concluded that the Aryan invasion may never have happened and that the traditional Indo-Aryans were the original population. They gathered around the fire for their rituals and gods were represented by the forces of nature (sun, moon, and storms) and the communities in the Indus valley gathered along rivers for their purification and regarded rivers as sacred, such as a diversity of male and female gods.

origination, destruction and permanence, where substance is transformed either naturally or artificially. The third principle is a structural view of the universe with non-conscious living (atoms) and conscious living, where souls are liberated through the karma theory by proper conduct and austerity, rituals and prayers; the human excellence through yoga and the complexity of knowledge through sensory cognition, literal knowledge, clairvoyance, telepathy and omniscience or absolute knowledge attained by complete self-retaliation. The seventh element is Jain's ethics, a basic element for peace consolidation such as religious tolerance, ethical purity, spiritual contentment and harmony between self, others, and the environment through proper perception, knowledge, and conduct (Majumdar 1968; Shree Chand Rampuria 1947).

The practice of the principles of self-creation, self-rule, and self-regulation offer the world a prospect for a lasting peace and prosperity, because all souls possess an infinite knowledge, cognition, and power. As souls are prisoners of their 'karma', they must be liberated by self-discipline from earthly necessities to achieve a higher state of self-consciousness, all humans are pilgrims of peace. *Jainism* preaches the purest form of sincerity, forgiveness, and creating friendship with all beings, avoiding any violence and accepting a multiplicity of viewpoints, without privileging anyone. Nonviolence and truth is based on love for all living beings, and for this reason Jaina monks cover their mouth and clean their ways before walking in order not to destroy any living being. *Jainism* recognizes the natural phenomena as symbioses of mutual interdependence, which has created the bases for modern ecology and nonviolence or 'ahimsa', as a practical moral principle for daily life (Radhakrishnan 1952; Radhakrishnan/Moore 1957; Radhakrishnan/Muirhead 1958).

10.2.1.3 Buddhism

Buddhism⁶ developed in Northern India a 'way of the middle' (*Bodh-Gaya*) through meditation taught by Buddha. He transmitted the Buddhist maxims within a 'quadruple community' consisting of monks (*bhikkhu*), nuns (*bhikkhuni*), male (*Upasaka*) and female lay persons (*Upasika*). From the beginning his teachings were based on tolerance for other religions, races, social groups, and a peaceful living together.

He did not recognize a god, a soul, a caste, social difference or any other discrimination against humans and nature (in opposition to Brahmanism). Buddha taught with his life how to find freedom and peace on earth. His beliefs, similar to Jainism's, challenged the existing rigid social structure where the 'impure' or without caste were exploited. His thought can be understood as a philosophy of life (Jaspers 1919) because the basic maxims do not refer to supernatural authorities.

Only later did his followers transform in Buddhist schools his philosophical teaching into a system of beliefs and a religion. The main goals of Buddhism are to develop a feeling of compassion and knowledge through ethical behaviour and the cultivation of virtues by daily praxis of meditation. This frees each person from suffering and permits to enter into a state of '*nirvana*' understood as peace and paradise on earth. For this reason deep knowledge and self-control is attainable for everybody not due to a godly revelation, but through self-discipline and meditative contemplation and active ahimsa.

The further syncretism of Hinduism, Jainism, and Buddhism with other philosophical and moral currents created the known elements of Indian religions, but its influence spread to China, other Eastern countries, and later to the whole world. It linked philosophy, religion, and *Weltanschauung*. Until today it influenced deeply policies in Bhutan, Sri Lanka, and Thailand, but it is also present in parliamentary practices in Japan. In 1995, China's Communist Party tried to use Buddhism politically. Concerned about an increasing spirituality of its citizens and a worldwide opposition to the invasion of Tibet, China's authorities tried to exchange the 'Panchen Lama' with a child whose parents were party members.

Geographical diversity, cultural interlinkages, syncretism, political consolidation, and ethical performance slowly transformed these religious beliefs into daily habits, training people for practical life. The development of human compassion and truth helped to free the people from pain on earth and through self-discipline to free them from karma and to find the '*nirvana*'. The freedom from *dukkha* (pain, egoism, and suffering) through rebirth is only defeated by overcoming the egoistic 'me' impulses through meditation, self-observation, and moral behaviour. The four truths are named *dukkha*, life means suffering; *samuday*, the origin of suffering is hate, greed, and excess; *nirodha*, when the root causes are overthrown suffering is over. *Magga* to defeat suffering opens eight complementary ways of perfection which are im-

6 As a 35-year-old prince, Siddhartha Gautama (563–483 BC) was illuminated and was renamed 'Buddha', the illuminated.

portant and trace a moral for a happy life. It includes truth with the right for recognition and intention; morals with correct speaking, doing and living; and deepness where training and correct efforts, attentiveness, and the ability for contemplative meditation creates happiness for human beings and peace. *Samsara*, the continuing walking to perfection represents the circle of life, death, and rebirth. Growth and decline happen to everybody: to humans, to gods and goddesses, but also to devils and nature. All beings are prisoners of the cycle of life, fixed by the 'karma', which register facts, thinking, emotions, necessities, pulsations, and excesses. Only through a deepening of life, knowledge, and the daily fight against egotism and abuse, is it possible to overcome these karmic forces and to leave this circle of violence and abuse.

Compared with Jainism, the Buddhist ahimsa is not passive and absolute or fatalist, but reactive and flexible and community-learning oriented (chap. 12 by Brück). There is a second difference with Jainism. For the Jain all creations have an equally minded position. Their vision is strict egalitarianism of every life unites with an equal value. Therefore ahimsa is based on equality and universal kinship of all souls. Buddhism considers a hierarchy and distinguishes higher 'minded' creatures, which have priority for life over lower ones. There is a second difference, linked to the philosophy of absolute independence of the liberated soul in Jainism, which is losing the capacity to be truly sympathetic with one another (Tahtinen 1976). In Buddhism, the interdependence and relatedness are essential to their reality, which permits a match between ontology and ethic. The repercussion on ahimsa is a passive or an active nonviolence. Similar to Gandhi, Buddhism believed that ahimsa without compassion is nothing, which means that it is enabling a virtue in a context of social ethic. In contrast to the Jain position, both accepted that "all killing is not *himsa*" (violence; Gandhi 1924: vol. 13: 232), and Gandhi postulated that it is better to fight an aggressor, than to be a coward. This marks a difference with the Jain position of absolute nonviolence against any living unit, independent of hierarchy or circumstances.

10.2.2 Mohandas K. Gandhi's Thinking

Mohandas K. Gandhi's thinking was deeply influenced by these Indian philosophical, religious, and moral traditions. He believed in Hinduism. By learning through mistakes he understood also that people are resistant to change and he worked on himself to find the truth (*satya*). In contrast to Greek philoso-

phers with their ontological search, his concern was oriented 'to exist', which means doing the right things, guided by the universal forces of samsara. His 'drop in the ocean' analogy suggests that individual self-realization is prior to the salvation of the world. The concept of nonviolence (*ahimsa*) or non-resistance (truth meaning also god) – represented by the little voice inside guiding oneself to do the right things – is at the same time also the guiding force for the eternal universal forces. His exercises with truth challenged his personal life, but also the British colonial forces (Gandhi 1982, 1996).

During World War II he said to the British people "I would like you to lay down the arms you have as being useless for saving you or humanity. You will invite Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini to take what they want of the countries you call your possessions. ... If they do not give you free passage out, you will allow yourselves, man, women, and child, to be slaughtered, but you will refuse to owe the allegiance to them" (Gandhi 1942: 40–41). These beliefs go far behind the accepted self-defence doctrine within the UN Charter and included in most constitutions of the world (Wolfrum 1994). For this reason nonviolence brings a "force infinitely superior to the one they had" (Gandhi 1942: 47) than possessing arms.

There is a general idea that meat creates violence and there is a fact that vegetable calories can be assimilated with their own value, thus chicken meat requires 12 vegetable calories and beef seven for one animal (Strahm/Oswald 1990: 60–61). Many Hindus are vegetarians⁷ and this food intake reflects the existing conditions of availability to feed everybody. By being vegetarian Gandhi gained more than a diet, he consolidated his personal philosophy of life, using fasting as one of the most powerful tools for his personal growth. The philosophy of '*brahmacharya*' as spiritual and practical purity is associated with asceticism and celibacy.⁸

Together with his simple lifestyle he found inner peace ('*shanti*') and compassion for others, overcoming religious barriers⁹ and social exclusivity which im-

7 As a young child Gandhi experimented meat-eating, partially for his curiosity and his friend Sheikh Mehtab. When he left for his studies in England he promised his mother he would abstain from eating meat, drinking alcohol, and engaging in promiscuity.

8 Gandhi's personal struggle to remain celibate was linked to the process of learning to love without limits, rather than lust. The '*brahmacharya*' means for him "control of the senses in thought, word and deed" (Gandhi 1996: 176).

plicity lead to violence (Dimock 2003). Apartheid in South Africa forced him to develop several ideas of equality and justice, when he experienced daily race discrimination, injustice, and segregation. His personal example and sacrifice helped India not only to gain its independence, but after centuries of colonial exploitation it created for his country a future for growth and dignity, and with *ahimsa* also a new model of conflict resolution.

Gandhi also rejected to convert from Hinduism to another faith, however, he read extensively about other religions. Nonetheless, he questioned the *one god religions* as hypocritical, dogmatic, violent, and with bad religious practices, by imposing their greatness worldwide and pretending to represent the full and exclusive truth. He also understood that part of Hinduism was promoting inequality (Brahman, Dalits or untouchables) and the caste system should be rotten. He found in every religion core messages of truth, peace, and love being trained in daily life. He analyzed Muhammad as “a treasure of wisdom, not only for Muslims but for all mankind” and proposed to interpret ‘jihad’¹⁰ as nonviolent struggle or ‘*satyagraha*’ (Gandhi 1982: 203). His main interest was to find in any religion core elements for peace and non-violent coexistence that facilitate the daily living together based on moral behaviour of any individual.

10.3 Chinese Thinking on Peace

In China the ideas of Hinduism and later Buddhism influenced the teachings of Confucius and Lao Tse¹¹. Their doctrines consolidated political theories and institutions, strengthening a value system that is able to promote peace for human beings and to care for the environment. The accumulation political system consolidated the longlasting social system (*mandarins*), based on a structure of dominance but also of inter-

9 “Yes I am a Hindu. I am a Christian, a Muslim, a Buddhist and a Jew”. He also stated “An eye for an eye makes the whole world blind” (Gandhi 1996).

10 Today, the interpretation of jihad as “holy war” is used by suicide bombers to promote the doctrine of Islam.

11 There are numerous influences documented by Buddhism into Chinese society five centuries later. However, the spiritual goal of Hinduism such as devotional service; accumulation of knowledge and amassing of good karma are moral guidelines, which could be found in Lao Tse’s idea of simplicity and acceptance of situation, and in the Confucian mode of life, human honesty, upright faithful and obedience to authority, together with stress upon social services.

dependence, social co-responsibility and respect for the environment. Their philosophies and Indian religions created in Asia a multiculturalism and religious pluralism without asking for the ultimate truth (Kant 1788), but a way to live in peace and harmony within society and nature.

10.3.1 Confucius and Lao Tse: Chinese Origins of Peaceful Co-habitation

10.3.1.1 Kongfuzi or Confucius’ Impacts on the Thinking on Peace

Kongfuzi (551-479 BCE), born as a poor villager, developed some principal philosophical and moral concepts that are still valid in contemporary China, Korea (chap. 14 by Lee), and in other Asian countries. As one of the most prominent representatives of Chinese history he consolidated political theories and institutions and created a value system for living in peace within an organized society and caring about nature. Reflecting on human beings, he put in the centre of human behaviour five virtues: humanity, uprightness, morals, wisdom and sincerity and three social obligations: loyalty, respect for parents and ancestors, and courtesy substituting violence, conquest, and exploitation promoted by hegemonic interests.

10.3.1.2 Lao Tse and his Impact on the Thinking on Peace

It is assumed that Lao Tse lived in the same period (6th century BCE), but his physical existence is not guaranteed. However, the book ‘*Tao-te King*’ or ‘*Dao De Jing*’ has influenced the society and policy in China and overseas. As a metaphysician Lao Tse has developed the ‘*tao*’ (way), representing the origin of the world order and the knowledge for guiding society through moral behaviour by peaceful means¹². Similar to Hinduism ‘*tao*’ is the eternal source understood as the origin of earth, the law of the laws, the rationality, and the absolute. Looking with humility to nature it is possible to live the ‘*tao*’ and empirical knowledge brings deepness into understanding and behaviour. The guiding principle of life related to human relations and to nature is that humans should live and act

12 Watkin-Kolb and Chao (2000: 39) analyzed ‘*tao*’ and ‘*ren*’ and defined ‘Easternization’ as an emerging force of the non-West, including other Southern countries. They thought that China symbolizes by its population size, material capacity, and cultural and spiritual civilization an alternative to occidental hegemony.

on earth respecting other beings and allowing a minimal footprint.

'*Ren*' (humanity, love for others) and learning during the whole life represents the second pillar of his metaphysics. With his reflections he created some main principles and actualized philosophical theories and moral maxims of Confucius still valid in present society. Due to his rejection of excessive laws and norms, several researchers interpreted him as an anarchist (Durant 1956; Carrington Goodrich 1954). His ideal was a small country where a king was able to know his people who lives in a peasant community, away from power and ambitions (Waley 1953: 102). He called for the abolition of the army and was against any war, not precisely for moral reasons, but because any conquest is always insignificant and trivial compared with the unlimited internal resources of a person.

10.3.1.3 Tzun Tzu and his Impact on the Thinking on Peace

These ideas influenced the maxims of Tzun Tzu, a famous precursor of Clausewitz. His book *The Art of War* was written in almost the same time period. As a general, his vision of the military integrated social concerns, postulating that "armies are instruments of bad predictions which should only be used when there was no other solution" or "the supreme art of war is to subject the enemy without fighting". Understanding also the economic costs of a war he postulated "where an army stays, prices are expensive. When prices rise, the wealth of a community shrinks" (Tzun Tzu 2000).

In the thinking of early China war and army endangered the wealth of the people, and destroyed the economy and the environment. Humans had to care about nature to get enough food and water for a long life. Their moral thinking is summarized in the 'absolute' and may become concrete only through congruent acting. Both are interrelated parts of moral obligations for subjects and rulers, because they depend on each other. Their common well-being through '*ren*' and '*tao*' offered the whole society an opportunity to live in peace with neighbour countries and nature. Within this complex Chinese cosmovision, the Mandarins, the longest lasting socio-political system in the world was consolidated, where the people contributed towards the maintenance of their ruling class, and this elite was equally responsible for their subjects. The resulting political stability favoured a long-term scientific and cultural progress and without

doubt the Occident was influenced by Chinese wisdom (García 1988).

The long period of thinking and experimentation in China permitted the development of highly controversial theories.¹³ Metaphysics was transformed into a moral behaviour, sustained by religious doctrines. Basic concepts of democracy, responsibility, duty, truth, peace, social and personal well-being, responsible behaviour, karma, reinforcement of rules, and rationalism were consolidated. These also influenced European philosophers (Descartes 1637; Kant 1787, 1788 [1956a, 1956b], 1981; Rousseau 1737; Nietzsche 1883–1885 [1961]; Hobbes 1658; Marx and Engels 1845 [1966]; Rosa Luxemburg 1977).

When Buddhism linked up with Confucianism, the disequilibrium originally created by the monster *Kung-Lung* (Taoism) who destroyed one of the pillars of the sky, was getting permanent due to the badness in the world. It explained and justified the destruction of the harmony between 'yin' and 'yang', and the tension between the female and the male element. Chinese wisdom and beliefs aimed at achieving a perfect equilibrium. It thus differed from the patriarchal and monotheistic – one male god – religions (Christianity, Islam, and Judaism) that postulated exclusivity and the absolute uniqueness of their truth which fostered competition, conflicts, violence, and religious wars.

In peace terms, the small countries learnt through *shih-ta* (chap. 14 by Lee) to serve the big one and to find in this dependency an equilibrium and protection. There love and integration with nature spread over all Asia and is one of the core principle of harmony with other human beings and with nature (chap. 15 by the Okamoto).

13 The Neo-taoists (Zhuang Zhou and others) insisted on the relativity of personal experiences for building up value systems, and they created a pragmatic utilitarianism (Mo Tse ca. 500–396 BC). The Sophists developed logic in such a way that it went into absurdity. Psychological explanations (Meng Tse 371–289 BCE) gave any human pulsations and needs; humankind is essentially bad and for this reason nature has to be dominated and controlled. In the Middle Ages, an active male principle 'Yang' was linked to the opposed female 'Yin', bringing up a kind of dialectical thinking, but maintaining the patriarchal worldview. During the Sung time Zhu Xi (1130–1200) developed 'Li' representing the global rationality of the world and 'Ki' the material one, both intrinsically related, because reason cannot be separated from material and material without reason has no fixed point (similar to Aristotle's rationalist theory of form and substance).

10.3.2 Impact of both Traditions on the Thinking in East Asia

Religions have played a crucial role in the history of civilizations and are still doing so to surmount dangerous threats such as terrorisms and global injustice. However, the expansion of West European culture in the world and its imposition on non-European cultural behaviours transformed the pluralistic nature of human cultures and thinking into a monolithic Eurocentric and later Occidental imposition due to global ideological drivers (Preiswerk 1984; Syamsuddin 2005). Potential clashes among civilizations could emerge, e.g. between Islam and the West (Huntington 1996), and as German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt mentioned between Western civil rights fundamentalism and Confucians or Chinese socialists. But there is also a new process of Eastern spirituality renewing Western society and its spiritual loss. These processes are visible in yoga and meditation groups, Buddhist churches and socialization of Eastern values such as ahimsa, satyagraha and self-discipline. The economic achievements in China and India and a substantial reduction of poverty are other indicators of different values opening a hope for a new globalization with a human face. Peace talks with North Korea are based on Chinese advice, and the recent peace agreement was the result of this ability to establish a new equilibrium (chap. 14 by Lee) in a very complex Asian context.

10.3.3 Impact of Oriental Thinking on Peace in the Occident

Oriental religions were based on a deep metaphysical background with the goal to balance the internal and social life in such a way that citizens and elites were mutually co-responsible for their life and well-being in this world. Principles of satisfaction, modesty, and love for knowledge, wisdom and nonviolence were values which have influenced the demilitarization of armies and maintained centuries without war, inducing peace processes able to avoid longstanding social and religious conflicts as in Europe. The consolidation of a positive 'Weltbild' was able to mobilize society and individuals to improve their personal life within a collective order to overcome their *karma* and to find the eternal truth and peace (*nirvana*).

The old concept of *ahimsa* is a powerful support for any peace-building, that have recently also been employed by social movements in the West (Reychler/Pfaffenholz 2001), Latin America, and Africa.

There is archaeological and historical evidence of trade between China and the Mediterranean, through the Silk Road, at least 2,000 years BCE. With commodities also ideas could have crossed and enriched the Occident.

When Gandhi synthesized the Vedic and the ascetic view of nonviolence, his *ahimsa* concept became a political tool of Realpolitik, which permits a world struggle against imperial powers beyond India. For him *ahimsa* is not "a resignation from all real fighting ... On the contrary ... nonviolence ... is more active and more real fighting wickedness than retaliation whose very nature is to increase wickedness" (Gandhi 1946: 48). When he combined *ahimsa* with '*satyagraha*' (his soul force with contention), this force, oriented to action, will win in the end over any brutal force and in all possible conditions in the world. His flexibility, his personal lifestyle and his deep knowledge of other faiths and philosophies¹⁴ gave him the inner force to find the finite truth, making *ahimsa* a disposition of acting as an essential element of freedom. As a pantheist, Gandhi constantly identified God, the world, and life, and he understood that the world is in continuous change and his social engagement obliged him to control the animal nature and to improve the spiritual side. He understood that political activism without individual involvement is not possible and that his political struggle for independence, peace, and *ahimsa* obliged him to prioritize his struggle within a world of greater equality and global justice.

Gandhi's teaching started in South Africa within a dramatic situation of Apartheid and racial discrimination (Mandela 1994). His teachings reached also Ghana where Nkruma was inspired by his ideas when he created the utopia of an African socialism. Nyerere used in Tanzania the traditional '*ujamaa*' for developing a livelihood approach and food sovereignty with nonviolence, and the '*ubunto*' development of South Africa recreated traditional communitarian roots of self-development with Gandhi's *ahimsa*, to reconcile a country divided by decades of racial conflicts and atrocities. Recently, in Burundi and Rwanda the '*gacaca*' (grass-root tribunals in villages) was used, a type of bottom-up *ahimsa* movement, tried to close some of the wounds of the previous civil war, bringing war criminals and prisoners to rebuild those disintegrated and destroyed villages where they were the former murderers. Gandhi influenced Martin Luther King's Civil Right Movement, where the main idea of

14 Gandhi translated Plato's Apology into Gujarati.

true peace is not the absence of tensions, but the daily presence of justice and equality (Beck 2007). There is no doubt that the West had and can still learn much from the peaceful spirituality and actions from the East (Flis 2002).

In theoretical terms the three Chinese thinkers Confucius, Lao Tse, and Tzun Tzu could somewhere stand for the three ideal type traditions mentioned in the goal paper of this book (Brauch 2003; chap. 4 by Brauch). Confucius could be understood as a kind of oriental rationalist or pragmatist, similar to the position taken later by Grotius. Lao Tse probably is more representative of an Eastern idealism or radicalism. Similar to Kant, he is trying through laws and agreements with smaller countries to establish a peaceful co-existence, where the smaller countries corresponded to the protection of the bigger one with respect and fulfilment of the agreed tributes (chap. 14 by Lee). Finally, the most complex comparison is the case of Tzun Tzu. As a general, his thinking on war could be initially compared with Hobbes and classified as a representative of realism. However, his vision of avoiding at any cost a war and interpreting armed struggle as a primary defeat also makes him a pragmatist. While this comparison of Chinese and Occidental philosophical and political thinking and praxis is perhaps overdrawn, it gives the teachers a possibility to show that two thousand years earlier non-European cultures have developed philosophical concepts, which were proposed – with or without specific knowledge – in the Occident since the 16th century AD by Hobbes, Grotius, and Kant. In general terms, the Chinese integration of humans and nature and the self-limiting and educating processes of teaching of all three masters converted them into forerunner and models of their society, that are able to overcome the evolutionary constraints of rational or idealistic¹⁵ cultures of peace that have existed in other cultures and religions.

10.4 Occidental Greek, Roman, and Christian Thinking on Peace

In Europe, peace thinking emerged from early Greek and Roman concepts of democracy, citizens' rights,

and from *Pax Romana*. During the Thirty Years War (1618–1648), Grotius (1625) challenged the power-oriented approaches from Thucydides to Machiavelli with a more cooperative pragmatism promoting an international legal framework for cooperation among states that emerged two decades later with the Westphalian order and with modern international law (Sanahuja 2004).

After the French Revolution, Kant (1795, 1981) in his 'eternal peace' developed the legal basis for an idealist 'eternal world' based on a republican order (democracy, domestic order), an international organization (a new international order with a league of nations), and human rights (rights of world citizens, individual rights and obligations), and personal responsibility (Kant's categorical imperative, 1788 [1956a/b]). In the 19th century, Marx (1966) addressed the economic processes and their societal repercussions and he fought against the inhuman conditions of capitalism by creating a socialist utopia for workers through class struggle and Rosa Luxemburg (1977) fought for international solidarity.

10.4.1 Greek, Rome, Christianity, and the Evolution of Institutions in Europe

10.4.1.1 Greek Origins of the Thinking on Peace ('eirene')

With Socrates¹⁶ (470–399 BC); Plato (427–347 BC); and Aristotle ([384 BC] 1968, 2004) systematic occidental thinking started. Socrates' dialectical method postulated that it is possible through education and knowledge to transform a human being into a moral one. Plato founded 'transcendental idealism' searching for the foundation of eternal ideas or 'forms', representing the universal, unique or absolute. He characterized "the idea of being in the sense of abiding or steadfast reality" (Coplestone 1960: 31). "Man appears as a being set between two worlds, the full immaterial world of reality above him and the merely material limits below him" (Coplestone 1960: 234). In the Platonic tradition, where the idea is understood as pure, as virtue and as moral good, peace achievement is understood as the superior value, justifying all means to attain it. Therefore, war or peace is an act of

15 Still today in Latin America, the idealistic approach of laws and their enforcement is very weak: In Paraguay 94.3 per cent of prisoners have no legal verdicts; in Bolivia ca. 89.7 per cent, and in El Salvador some 82.7 per cent (Arellano 2000: 18).

16 Greek pre-classic thought started with the questions of changes and being. Heraclites analysed the intrinsic principles (dynamism) and Empedocles and Anaxagoras the extrinsic principles (mechanism) of change. The sophist school explored later the relativism and skepticism of thinking and acting.

will and a result of the 'logistic psyche' (today understood as the part of the human brain associated with language), able to guide human conducts.

Aristotle started by arguing that 'all men by nature desire to know', however, there are different degrees of knowledge, one based on 'mere experience', the other on 'art', where the reason of an event is ascertained, establishing logical processes. In his broad ontology he established a theory of nature and its relationship with being in which substances interact in various ways producing objects with different properties or attributes. He related epistemology with metaphysics and ethics, but also with physics, biology, zoology, psychology, and politics. A descriptive approach of wide empirical data in natural sciences permitted him to link nature and the natural environment to humans and their ethical behaviour. In his ethics he distinguished between an ontological dimension of 'goodness and badness' and an axiological one with 'deficiency, badness and excess'.

In this sense Aristotle understood virtue between two vices, cowardice and rashness, and therefore peace is not an absolute good or virtue, but a process between different vices and virtues. Thus people do not act on the basis of the facts, but what they believe the facts to be (chap. 17 by Arends). All three Greek thinkers insisted on the creation of democratic control of power and proposed an ethical behaviour to overcome the despotic power game, transforming humans into responsible beings, able to deal constructively with peace. In their logic peace-building has to emphasize beliefs and belief-systems, which creates the intentionality of human beings and which later through phenomenology were defined by Husserl (1973: 268) as "an objectivity of the human, cultural world". In social psychology today these processes are related to identity building and the construction of social representations.

10.4.1.2 From 'Pax Romana' to 'Pax Augusta'

The Roman Empire was interested in launching its own civilization that heavily relied on Greek wisdom and civilization. With its 'Pax Romana' the empire offered peace and well-being for all citizens inside its boundaries, once conquest is accomplished. It was also understood as the 'king's peace' once the ruled submits to the will of the ruler and his norms. It is a contradictory concept and was supported by different interests and persons: generals wanted victories for power and glory; governors more citizens and land for tax collection. Only peasants opposed war because they had to abandon their activities and war re-

sulted in poverty, destruction of their fields, in misery, diseases and death. 'Pax Augusta'¹⁷ was a desideratum of thinkers and writers (Cicero, Livio, Virgilio), but also of persons, determining that there is no just war, and peace is the highest value for a human being. The European idea of peace was always linked with internal security, well-being, and prosperity. It was considered an instrument to mediate between private and public relations among citizens and states. Finally, it was an ideology present in any political programme, represented in writings, paintings, monuments, and statues.

Augustine's Neo-Platonism facilitated the acceptance of the Christian doctrine and the belief in divine providence, of one God, and the pope as his representative on earth. He promoted the purification of the soul by self-control, moral education, and submission to the 'divine will' (expressed on earth by the Church). The result was a hierarchical male-dominated structure of the Catholic church, which permitted its rapid expansion, increased power, and influence beyond the Roman Empire ('Pax Augusta').

10.4.2 A Millennium of Christian Thinking on Peace of Land and Soul

During the development of Christianity, besides ethical needs of humans, there were also unsatisfied religious requests, not covered by the state cult. The imminent *logos* and divine providence or the mystery of the Holy Trinity and the sacraments covered this satisfaction. These were also reinforced by philosophical concepts. The historical influence of Judaism and the dialectic instruments and metaphysic concepts from Greek philosophy facilitated a rapid acceptance of Christianity. Through the sacraments, in memory of Jesus, and the doctrine of salvation, all human beings could find eternity, irrespective of knowledge or ignorance. Saint Thomas Aquinas (2001) in the 13th century linked peace with joy (*gaudium*) and related it to love (*caritas*). His inner peace represented the rule of God over the world and in the soul, and since God is love he is also the divine word (John 1:1, New Testament). In this sense peace is very similar to oriental beliefs and therefore peace meant in multiple cultures the key for a desirable life with joy. These cross-cultural connections globally link together physical acts

17 The period of Augustus was considered as an idyllic time of peace. In 13 BC the 'Ara Pacis' was erected in the Campus Martius to commemorate peace.

and intentional spirituality, opening the way for peaceful behaviour.

Nevertheless, the Christian Church, similar to the biblical God (chap. 16 by Eisen), was violent, persecuting other religions, organizing Crusades, committing genocides against indigenous tribes who resisted evangelization (Prussia, Slavic Polabians, Mesoamericans, Incas, etc.), and killing millions through the Inquisition. The tensions between two evils where cowardice and nastiness were confronted with the virtue and love of Christ gave a contradictory image of peace-keeping in the Christian belief system (chap. 17 by Arends).

10.4.3 Peace and Modern European Thought

In Europe as in some other parts of the world, the process of peace based on early Greek and Roman thinking developed a military logic with a 'tooth for tooth' pragmatism, aggravated by population growth (Malthus 1798). Peace was understood in its negative sense as 'absence of war'. However, in conquered territories, women as goods (the highest valued object in a patriarchal society) were always threatened by attacks from other empires or nomadic tribes with superior military strategies and tactics.

With the adoption of non-intervention into the internal affairs of established states (Westphalia Peace, 1648) and moral codes, a legal system based on monotheist religious values was established. In order to secure these goods, besides the military protection, a new paradigm emerged: the legal protection of *private property* (Richards 2000). The property rights of elites were better protected. According to Richard and Schwanger (2004) the *state of law* was introduced in ancient Greece and consolidated later, thus offering society a possibility for a peaceful use of conquered goods and territories.

A second paradigm against peace, also consolidated by religious control, is *patriarchy*.¹⁸ Its mythological origin goes back to the consolidation of the irrigation societies and the social differentiation in rulers, soldiers, artisans, and slaves. Within this division of labour and incipient social stratification, women were increasingly subjugated under a hierarchical male power and confined to their houses. They were made invisible. Until today (see the war in Yugoslavia) they are the most appreciated goods to be conquered and also objects of war. The mythological and religious justifications emerged when a secondary Greek male half-god took power over earth and the sky by controlling lightning and thunder. Thus, Zeus

consolidated through the possession and use of new arms and absolute male domination, both over goddesses, other gods, and over humans on earth, transmitting and justifying a hierarchical, violent, and patriarchal dominance. The Christian Church, Islam, and Judaism based their religious control on the same symbolic elements. The consolidation of their system of power and division of gender and social classes was based on discrimination, subjection, and exploitation.

10.4.3.1 The State, Division of Power, and Democracy

The primitive accumulation and the division of labour resulted in a specialization and soon in a *division of power*. Excessive hegemonic interests and exploitation obliged elites to legitimize the exercise of power, war, and violence. Nevertheless, until the decline of the *ancien régime* at the end of the 18th century, the divine rights of monarchs were unquestioned until the *American Declaration of Independence* (1776) and the *French Revolution* (1789), which reclaimed the *sovereignty for the people*. The influence of the French Revolution spread the 'rights of the citizens' to prosperous colonies ruled by Britain, Spain and Portugal, where independence movements emerged.

In the 19th century, the disintegration of great empires (e.g. the Napoleonic and the Ottoman) began, followed by the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian, Tsarist, as well as the German, Chinese and Iranian empires. In the 19th and 20th centuries, capitalism, based on the extraction of raw materials from the colonies and the exploitation of the work force, brought wealth to colonial powers and increasing poverty to colonized countries.

Wars and religious and ideological confrontation inspired liberal thinkers (Montesquieu [1721] 1984;

18 The historic consolidation of patriarchy can be linked to the invasion of the oracle of Delphi by the Dorians. The priestesses were captured and became their wives. Child bearing was no more of holy origin (water, trees, and oceans: Graves 1985; Oswald 2003) but directly attributed to man. It is noteworthy that this patriarchal thinking permeated also the medical schools where until the 19th century only men were responsible to procreate children; nevertheless the female ovule is much bigger than the spermatozoid and could have been seen without any help of microscope during an autopsy. This kind of ideological blindness guided also the scientific objective observation and experimentation, creating gender discrimination and submission of women, and later the negation of female epistemology.

Rousseau [1762] 1973; Locke [1704] 1998; Hume [1739–40] 1975) to question the hegemonic interests. During the French Revolution, the *division of power* emerged and weights and counter-weights were established to minimize power abuse.

These achievements could not avoid two World Wars with torture, concentration camps, forced labour, genocide, ethnocide, purges, mass murder, terror, discrimination, and prosecution. In some countries, corruption in the judiciary, legislative, and executive branches also undermined peace efforts that aimed at reinforcing the democratic and balanced exercise of power, democracy, and control mechanisms by citizens.

10.4.4 From Kant to Marx

10.4.4.1 Kant's 'Eternal Peace'

Based on the Greek and Roman tradition of democracy, Grotius (1625), Montesquieu [1721] 1984; Rousseau [1762] 1973, and Kant [1787, 1788] 1956a, 1956b) with other thinkers of the *Age of Enlightenment* developed a more cooperative paradigm to challenge the bellicose pragmatism of Machiavelli ([1513, 1532] 1959) and Hobbes (1658). They established the legal basis for an idealist world based on human rights and personal responsibility. Kant [1787] examined the limits of reason itself, named transcendental or critical. His method explored the nature and the limits of knowledge.¹⁹ In his treatise on 'eternal peace' he distinguished in a tautological way between hostilities and other forms of violence able to initiate war. Based on the equality of all citizens Kant called in his first definitive article for an eternal peace for a republican constitution with democratic and representative organs. According to his second definitive article, within a 'League of Nation' it is possible to reduce the danger of wars, and in his third definitive article the right of a world citizen is granted by the hospitality principle. Being aware that relations with neighbour countries are conflictive, he developed the philosophical maxims obliging war-prone states to reflect on the possibility of taking peace and development agreements into account. His concern with the differences between morale and policy in relation to peace made him transfer into the hands of the people the adop-

tion of laws to control the violence of powerful monarchs and statesmen.

10.4.4.2 From Rousseau to Marx's Social Classes

During *The Enlightenment*, Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778) proposed a general access to education as a mean to improve the social conditions and creating greater equality. Until the 18th century, European societies and colonies were restricted to a feudal system of kings, landlords, clerics, small-scale artisans, merchants and peasants, similar to the pre-colonial empires in America and Asia. Living in little towns and in the countryside, work was close to the households and men and women worked together in order to sustain their families.

Industrialization pushed peasants out of their land, transforming them into agricultural workers, landless labourers or factory workers. In urban regions, a new class emerged, linked to services and the ownership of factories and capital, called 'bourgeoisie'. The new *social class* configuration (Marx/Engels [1844] 1945) caused different insecurities for workers and an intensive process of exploitation of the work force. Intellectuals and workers fought together for securing new rights²⁰ (Montesquieu [1721] 1984; Voltaire 1759; Locke [1704] 1998; Jefferson [1784] 1984) and *social struggles* gained in forcefulness.

Karl Marx ([1818–1881] 1966) did not only become the core theorist of socialism, but, inspired by Hegel ([1812–1816] 1975); Feuerbach ([1841, 1843] 1986); and the French socialists, in *Das Kapital* (Marx 1966), he denounced the inhuman reality of British capitalism. Together with Friedrich Engels (1902) he created the First International, a movement for economic and intellectual liberation where they united the struggle of the working classes against exploitation. In her humanitarian Marxism Rosa Luxemburg stressed the need for democracy. She believed that only through

19 Kant's work influenced different schools. His critical idealism immediately provoked opposition from rationalists and empiricists, while some idealists reinterpreted his thought.

20 Distinct human rights were created. They apply to any human being and are inalienable and recognized by law. The *Declaration of the Rights of Citizens and Individuals* formulated by the French National Assembly and redefined in the Constitution of Independence of the United States, focused on individual rights such as the freedom for property acquisition and the right to resist any oppression. But it took more than 80 years until slavery was abolished in the US, after a civil war. And another 100 years later, the civil rights movement, led by Martin Luther King Junior (1998), in a nonviolent struggle fought for formal equality of the black and other ethnic minorities.

revolutionary mass action of the proletariat was it possible to achieve international socialism. However, colonization, the structure of the family, and the discrimination of women was not challenged.²¹

In the name of Christianity, Europe exploited entire continents. The colonial powers lived at the expense of their colonies and they imposed *Eurocentrism* (Preiswerk 1984) as the superior way of thinking over ‘the primitives’, justifying slavery and contemporary sweat-workers in *maquilas* as progress. Industrialization allowed the developed nations to liberate their slaves and peasants, and to transform them into a work force. The society analysed by Marx (1966), Weber (1987) and Durkheim (1938) is an account of the 15th to 18th century as a matrix of medieval Christendom, amplified geographically through colonies and instituted more and more by secular institutions (science, democracy, nation-state, capitalism; Giddens 1971).

10.4.4.3 Social Contract and Social Struggles

Peace efforts were linked since the 17th century to the creation of a *social contract*, clearly expressed by Thomas Hobbes (1658) and John Locke (1704). This concept reinforced Grotius’ (1625) cooperative approach and it was developed further with Kant’s ([1788] 1956a, 1956b) ‘categorical imperative’. Despite its profound modification, the social contract is a product of the convergence of the individual will and rights within a social context. Individual rights should be restrained through negotiation and agreements by collective rights, avoiding conflicts and armed confrontations (Rupesinghe 1998). A permanent tension exists between both realms. Keynes (1935) proposed a welfare state, providing support for needy citizens, when economic circumstances disenabled them from caring for themselves.

Neoliberalism substituted this paradigm arguing that from the free market the benefits will automatically trickle down. The result has been a regressive globalization process (see chap. 27 by Oswald) that

created a relatively wealthy northern society and a poor southern one, where only the elites can link up to the modern system of consumerism. In the early 21st century, more than three billion human beings live in poverty, are marginalized from basic services, rely on a minimal well-being similar to the situation in the 18th century when rape capitalism (McGregor 1989) created an exploited and peaceless society, full of tensions.

Furthermore, due to the global competition based on wage differences, the transnational capital has increasingly transferred jobs from the North to the South, what has resulted in relatively high unemployment rates despite a progressing ageing population and decline in the North. This has brought about a new ‘precarious’ lower class on the periphery of economic prosperity in the North.

After at least five centuries of colonial exploitation and two World Wars, the founding members of the United Nations agreed in its Charter on the goal “to maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace” (UN Charter, Preamble). Since 1945, the UN was supposed to promote an era of development and well-being for the whole world. The scientific and technological progress, e.g. the informatics and communication revolution of the past 60 years have significantly changed the relationship between the micro and macro environments, contributing to integration through a globalized world society.

The idea of peace changed from a static state of no-war to a more dynamic process of enabling social change. The basic idea of Freire’s *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1998) admitted that the oppressed have been deprived of their voices and therefore, denied their role as active co-creators of culture, and thus would permit them to transform the situation of oppression into cultural liberation (Arizpe 2004).

10.5 Latin America in its Search for Peace

Latin America has merged two traditions: a Pre-Hispanic tradition of indigenous high cultures of the Maya (Lenkersdorf 1999), Mexica²², Inca (Niles 1999) and multiple small civilizations with a colonial Euro-

21 The industrial revolution with its growing cities introduced a new division of labour and created a false dichotomy of a male ‘bread winner’ and an economically dependent ‘housewife’, looking after the family. In neoliberal times, this dichotomy is formally maintained, women still care and look after their families, but often, due to lower salaries and higher efficiency, they are also working, obtaining part or the full income of the family, especially when the husband is unemployed or had to migrate and the remittances for the survival of the family are not arriving.

22 Instead of using the colonial term of Aztecs, in this chapter the Mexican term Mexica is used.

pean tradition, influenced by Spain and Portugal. The Catholic Church as an ideological transmitter tried to suppress and even eradicate the non-Christian indigenous cosmivision, still reflected by the syncretic 'mestizo' society even today. The result is an ideological tension created by the 'white' European elites and the indigenous population where Pre-Hispanic and Hispanic traditions, Christian, and indigenous religious rites have merged. This duality influenced the thinking on peace within the countries.

The political elites established a hierarchical political order, supported by the Catholic hierarchy, both often came from the same families. The accumulation in the hands of these elites institutionalized the impoverishment of the majorities, the limits for creation of a middle class and permanent tensions, rebellions, revolutions, guerrillas, coups (Valenzuela 1991). The new elites in power normally use ideological controls in form of messianism to maintain the power and to continue to exploit the dominated.

Therefore, Latin America is the region with the highest income gap and after 200 years of independence the dramatic situation of poverty and urban slums is getting worse. Peace and violence characterized the history of Latin America, where local and regional violence among states created several empires with high cultural achievements (Inca, Maya, Mexica), whose science, technology and food innovations spread from the subcontinent globally (chap. 21 by Sánchez), but where European colonization and independence created a highly stratified society.

10.5.1 Pre-Hispanic Cosmivision

Environmental decline, social disintegration, and the human struggle for survival has been no new experience in Latin America and for its high cultures, such as the Maya (León Portilla 1959a, 1959b, 2003) who lost their splendour due to an overexploitation of natural resources and difficult climate situations together with local conflicts for regional hegemony. Two powerful empires emerged during the 14th century in Mexico and in Peru (Pizarro 1978). For strategic purposes in the high plateau of Mexico a triple alliance developed between the rulers of *Mexica* (Itzcóatl, Moctezuma I, Axayacatl, Tizoc, Ahuizotl and Moctezuma II); of *Texcoco* (Nezahualcóyotl and Nezahualpilli), and *Tlacopan* that had succeeded to control a vast territory, obtaining tributes, slaves and pawns to create a splendid capital named *Tenochtitlán* (León Portilla 1959b).

The main concept of Pre-Hispanic religions was the concept of equilibrium. In Tenochtitlán, the capital of the Mexica empire, a tension rose between two ideologies. There was a religious idea of elected people by gods and goddesses and empowered to dominate through war and to maintain the life of the sun through sacrifices. On the other side, there were priests who wanted to give new ideas coming from the Toltecs, where Quetzalcoatl is the supreme god, which can be found through meditation and symbols (León Portilla 1959a; 2001). These tensions were maintained during the expansion of the reign until the arrival of the Spaniards.

The intimate relationship between caring for and fearing nature²³ was part of the Mexica cosmogony and beliefs, which established a harmony between humans, nature, gods and goddesses. Destruction or offence of gods/goddesses could only bring disaster and devastation, and to re-establish equilibrium human beings and animals were sacrificed by priests. The victims were captured through 'flowered wars', creating fear and discipline for the capital. People were educated to love and respect this intimate relationship, but also the existing political system. The highest values such as cooperation, dignity, freedom, love, solidarity, respect and peace were taught, together with a hierarchical system of power. Military force, science, and technology permitted to improve the quality of life and to maintain a growing population in very different ecosystems. Their life quality, political stability, and expansion of the empire were dependant on agricultural techniques and good harvests.²⁴ Mesoamerica's base for development of their great cultures and cosmivision was related to the domestication of three plants - corn (maize), bean, and squash - enabling its people to capture the food energy inside the plants, offering these societies an economic basis for a rapid expansion in population, land, culture, medicine, and productive techniques permitting the establishment of well-planned

23 The fragile ecosystem on a lake and a rapid growing urban system with more than one million inhabitants motivated the king and poet Netzahualacóyotl to protect the environment by developing laws which protected trees, animals and fishes, establishing serious punishment, including the death penalty for ecocide (León Portilla 1959b). He was also a brilliant urban planner ordering the rapid urbanization of Tenochtitlán, located on islands and surrounded by lakes on the high plateau of 2,300 metres. He also developed the arts, the economy, and social behaviour to improve the quality of life of his subjects.

cities with magnificent temples and palaces (Coe 1993; Coe/Koontz 1997).

Like Mexica, the Incas appeared late on the historical scene. The rapid expansion (1463–1493) of the Inca Empire by Viracocha's²⁵ son, Pachacuti, and by the Topa Inca was consolidated by the planning of cities, environmental management, and political and religious control. Their integrated and efficient knowledge of the extremely difficult environment gave them an opportunity to produce enough food during the summer months to avoid starvation during the cold winter. Two parallel highways permitted large interchange of products between the mountains and the coastal areas (Niles 1999), serving also for military control.

The religious beliefs of the Inca's were similar to those of the Mexica. This was a mixture of complex ceremonies, rites, practices, animistic beliefs, and worship. The sun is also the centre of the cosmovision and the god of creation of the earth, humankind, animals and flowers is Viracocha. He was also a cultural hero. As the Incas conquered new territories, they erected temples there and tried to attract the good will of gods/goddesses with sacrifices. Crime, mismanagement of communal land, and other behaviours against the social code had to be confessed. Sacrifices of animals, in severe cases also of human be-

ings (sometimes even children²⁶), were offered to establish again the harmony between divinities, humans, and nature. Pestilence, severe earthquakes, volcanoes eruptions, famine and defeat asked for human sacrifices (Cieza 1883). When rain did not fall or a water line broke, people believed that the cause was a failure in the observation of the ceremony, giving priests a parallel power to the emperor.²⁷

Within their cosmogonist genesis of the Earth in both empires humans established a system of communication with gods and goddesses creating a dynamic process of control, obedience and negotiation, above all of equilibrium. Authorities were divided between the Inca (emperor), the civil and military leaders. The priests and military control were inducing death and fear in the subjugated regions. The hierarchical rule based on power and a brutal control over large parts of the empire introduced a feeling of suffering and fatality among the subjugated people, reducing their capacity of preventive peace-building and conflict resolution.

10.5.2 The Colonial and Catholic Heritage

This Pre-Columbian authoritarian structure, cruel exploitation by tributes, and human sacrifices enabled Spain and Portugal to establish local alliances against both empires, permitting Spain²⁸ to conquer the whole territory very fast (Pizarro 1541; León Portilla, 1959). Ideological concerns facilitated the military action, as most of the indigenous people thought that the sun god was returning and punishing the loss of ceremonies and sacrifices. The Conquest imposed Catholicism and the indigenous beliefs were totally abolished by the Spaniards and by Catholic priests.

However, these pre-Colombian traditions of religious practices and political thought undergo a process of syncretism and the decimation of indigenous population was taken as a divine punishment for the loss of the cosmic equilibrium. E.g. the goddess Tonantzin (Mother Earth) was transformed into Virgin

24 Fertility goddesses gave birth to the gods of corn (Centéotl), of flowers (Xochipilli), and Mother Earth (Tonantzin) is still represented today in the Virgin of Guadalupe and their cult of syncretism and in *Marianism*. Their ritual calendar and astronomy were two basic religious and scientific achievements, facilitating the orientation for the agricultural cycle. A ritual calendar of 260 days ran parallel to the calendar of 365 days, divided into 18 months of 20 days, helping peasants to optimize the agrarian cycle of the year for good harvests (Broda 1997; Broda/Good 2004), introducing sophisticated systems of irrigation and natural fertilizers to obtain up to five harvests in the floating gardens of Xochimilco.

25 Due to climate change and the loss of glaciers in the Andes, several child mummies were found in an excellent status of conservation. Their clothes, food, and manner of burial suggest that they were children from the highest society. There is a hypothesis that one of them could have been the daughter of the main Inca. They were carried over more than 5,500 metres, drugged during the way with coca leaves, and then carefully scarified by priests through brain traumatism. The beliefs were that with these children's sacrifices the harmony between the sun god and the earth could be re-established and existing epidemics, earthquakes, and droughts could thus be overcome.

26 During the assumption of the new Inca ruler, 200 children were immolated. Several came from conquered territories and the term 'blood money' was more than a metaphor.

27 The Incas lived in temples and were learning complex ceremonial practices since their childhood. Such as in the Meso-American region, prediction and oracle were a prerequisite of any action and a drink based on coca leaves '*ayahuasca*' with narcotic effects was used to predict the future of any political or military action (Cieza 1883).

Guadalupe and at the same place where indigenous offered former sacrifices, a centre of pilgrimage was build. The virgin is still admired and Mexicans, Catholics or others, believe in the virgin. They have prayed to her for good harvests, health, birth, etc., even the flag during independence and the revolution represented here image.

10.5.3 Impact of Both Traditions on Contemporary Thinking on Peace in Latin America

But the conquest did not bring peace to the region and half a millennium of colonial domination, post-colonial exploitation, and foreign interventions created in Latin America a highly stratified social structure and dependency that helped small political, military, and economic elites to accumulate power and wealth. However, the history of Latin American invasions, exploitation, ethnocide, and neo-colonial threats resulted in the legal principle of non-intervention. As active partners in drafting the United Nations Charter, many Latin American states proposed mechanisms for conflict resolution within regional bodies prior to involving the Security Council, such as the OAS. As neighbours of a new superpower, the sub-continent tried to protect the rest of the world through the UN Charter from interventions it had experienced that were justified with the Monroe Doctrine (1823).

10.6 Comparison of the Thinking on Peace in the Oriental, Occidental, and Latin American Traditions

Colonial conquest, globalization, and exclusion brought both challenges and opportunities of peace-building for philosophy, religions, UN institutions, governments, social movements and individuals. The present stage of world development and globalization are using the accumulation of knowledge to concentrate wealth in a few hands, contributing to new insecurities, violence, environmental destruction, and also terrorism. Internal wealth gaps and extreme exploitation often foster opposition by the excluded, which also affected those in power.

The tensions among individual responsibility, free-market ideology, and socio-political domination have created further social tensions, and the geographically division of the world in North and South. The social stratification in rich and poor has increased social vulnerability and marginalization that have been aggravated by race, ethnic, and gender discriminations. New threats linked to global and climate change are affecting both hemispheres, and preventive behaviour and remediation requires global cooperation for mitigation, affecting present productive processes and technological development. In addition, as world society is closely linked, peace efforts, violence or war in one part often systemically affect wider regions (see the effects of the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq on increasing terrorism, but also the global learning process from Gandhi's ahimsa).

Equal and respectful cooperation can reduce old and new risks, violence, ethnic conflicts, internal wars, and terror. The accumulation of ethical and moral knowledge in traditional (Oswald 2004; De la Rúa 2004) and modern societies presents a new platform for dialogue, understanding, and cooperation. Nevertheless, it is necessary that the wisdom of the people emerges not as a silent majority, but as an active movement to promote the goals of ahimsa by challenging present manipulations and divisions.

Further, the world population in East and West, North and South, has similar dreams of well-being, stable livelihoods, a green and healthy world, where humans live together in harmony and collectively mitigate the increasing threats posed by human interference in the environment. The peoples of the earth are also conscious that a world with increasing scarce and polluted resources requires new models of dialogue, cooperation, agreements, and above all new negotia-

28 Both cultures had a vast agricultural knowledge but they did not have domestic animals, one of the explanations for the decimation of the indigenous population when the Spaniards brought new illnesses, because their immune system was unable to cope efficiently with new viruses and bacteria (Diamond 1998). The conquest brought also an important destruction of nature and a different management of water (Escobar 2004; Oswald 1991), which had catastrophic effects on the high plateau of Mexico City, where today the complete lagoon ecosystem is dried up and a city of 25 million inhabitants is getting half of its water supply from outside of the basin (Oswald 2006b). In the Andean region deforestation, overgrazing of the highland, population growth, and rapid urbanization produced one of the most serious desertification processes in the world, due to erosion and water scarcity.

tion goals and strategies. The new ways that may adapt to the changing situations are tolerance, mutual understanding, and respect for diversity, co-existence and cooperation. Without being naive, the different analyses of world civilizations and development strategies have shown that the interfaith dialogue and cooperation should involve besides social dialogues, also ethical concerns, where different traditions coincide, thus contributing to the wisdom of peaceful co-existence.

10.7 Summary and Conclusions

Given the new complexities, the former empires in East and West and the new players of globalization should focus on an integral development including bottom-up participation. During the past five centuries, the West has dominated world thinking on peace through conquest, the Christian religion, its transnational economy combined with its instant communications, and its cultural homogeneity that has created for minorities a consumerist world model. In the past, the Occident has benefited from multiple ideas coming from the Orient and also from traditional Eastern societies. They were consciously or practically integrated and transformed into the present world model of legal norms and social habits (Bourdieu 2002). Western ideas have been spread by processes of globalization, multilateral organizations, and by the media (TV, radio, films, etc.). The results have been an unprecedented scientific and technological innovation, secularism, but also social inequity, poverty, violence linked to organized crime, and growing intercultural tensions often expressed by fundamentalist (Muslim, Christian, Jewish, et al.) thinkers and movements.²⁹

The conclusions may be summarized in four basic contradictions, which point to these tensions between the following trends: 1) cooperation with solidarity vs. isolationism and elite behaviour; 2) cultural diversity vs. economic monopoly; 3) peace or ahimsa vs. himsa; and 4) spirituality vs. secularity.

10.7.1 Cooperation with Solidarity vs. Isolationism and Elite Behaviour

Undoubtedly the most important tension is related to the process of present exclusion. The basic structure of modernity is the market and the exchange of money. There is an increasing social gap which requires social reconciliation and wealth distribution³⁰.

Van Ginkel (2000) proposed a resumption of economic growth, to combat traditional sources of inequality, to be able to achieve a better distribution of this growth, where institutions such as the WTO and the unfinished Millennium Round should centre on true development, where legal norms and conventions could avoid abuses, and social norms (e.g. progressive taxes) could improve equity and promote ethical business.

As exclusion and poverty are social products, they can also be resolved by new social activities. Complex problems require multifaceted analyses and answers within a comprehensive framework. All policies should reduce structural inequality through democratic land reforms, agriculture, and labour intensive mini-industries. Severe adjustment policies as the former SAP of IMF should be avoided. Strong distributional finances, and policies that are able to avoid

29 In this complex and violent world, Senghaas's (2004) 'earthly peace', in analogy to Kant's 'eternal peace' ([1795] 1981), analyses the interdependencies and the dilemmas in a divided world, characterized by economic, political, cultural, and social globalization. Most of the conflicts are linked to highly segregated societies involved in secular processes of development, not only tending to be conflictive but violent, above all at most of the inter-state and sub-regional levels. At the local level they are expressed by public insecurity and transnational crime. In his 'civilization hexagon' he asked "how and what means constitute peace - understood as the constructive and nonviolent creation of inevitable collective conflicts in each relevant open space, characterized today through a wide spreading politization" (Senghaas 2004: 136). These objective conditions create new and complex processes not only for particular regions such as the US, the EU, and OECD states, but increasingly also in Asia, Latin America, and the poor countries in Africa where wide experiences of conflict resolution were developed in indigenous societies (Gil 2004; Gaitán 2004; Armendáriz 2004; Menchú 2004; Martínez 2003; Claudia Rojas 2004; Oscar Rojas 2004; García 2004).

30 In the USA, 90 per cent of population owned only 27 per cent of all wealth (US Census Bureau 2003). The World Bank (1990, 2000a) proposed to reduce by 2000 poverty from 1.1 to 0.8 billion people, but the goals were not achieved, rather poverty rose to 1.2 billion prior and after the Asian crises. The World Income Inequality Database (WIID) analysed that inequality has risen since the early 1980's and was triggered by a set of economic policies in countries without adequate institutional capacity. Therefore, economic growth is necessary but not sufficient due to social inequality. In the former USSR the poverty level rose from 14 million in 1989 to 147 million persons in 1996 (Van Ginkel 2000).

the volatility in finance and to control wage inequities will improve social equality (Van Ginkel 2000: 8–9). Women’s empowerment and the avoidance of the privatization of basic services that follow only the logic of profit could lessen the gap with the least developed countries. Combined with social reconciliation, what has been a basic goal of many churches, increases in social inclusion and economic development could promote peace-building processes and contribute to a new social consensus. The efforts in China and India for poverty alleviation are interesting, whenever the internal gap had increased and rural development was severely limited.

10.7.2 Cultural Diversity vs. Economic Monopoly

Historical links to colonialism, self-defying inferiority, uncritical acceptance of thoughts and theories from the Occident has created a world of ‘uni-dimensional’ human beings and a sole free market ideology. Cultural power has been limited to the economic system due to the control of the mass media, fashion, and the ‘American way of life’. Freire understood that oppression signifies being deprived of the ‘other voices’, which were taking their active role in creating diverse and regional cultures. This process enabled the socially marginalized to undergo different processes of social improvement, first through the consolidation of social meanings and later through the process of identity-building and the creation of social representations (Serrano 2008, Oswald 2008). Returning to this process, with conscious-building it is possible to reconstruct the basic understanding of humanity through collective agreements and their concrete implementations, but also by developing mechanisms which take care of this consensus. Once this cultural liberation process is accepted, where people’s minds focus on real world issues of today and not on images created by advertisement and fashion promoted by Western transnational mass media, it may then also be possible to foster and spread a peaceful mindset in a diverse cultural background that uses the potential for peace-building and conservation.

Thus, peace and peace-making require first a mental transformation, later changes of the rules, new moral agreements, and social conventions and a consensus which understands the impact of hormones and the nature of violence, but also the capacity of a cortical and conscious learning process. Through a combination of secular institutions and conventions (science and technology, democracy, laws, state and

multilateral organizations) with spiritual elements (positive thinking, ahimsa practices, cultural interchanges, immaterial goods, religions) a world based on cultural diversity and mutual respect could be constructed.

10.7.3 Peace vs. Violence or ‘ahimsa’ vs. ‘himsa’

Betty Reardon (1985) argued that the world relies on patriarchal institutions and therefore constitutes a war system. Freud’s reflections on human impulses and desires (*‘Triebe’*) gave the theoretical bases for this claim. Recent studies on the effects of the hormone testosterone on human behaviour confirm the violent and aggressive character of human beings. Thus, uncritical pacifism can undermine peace-building. But post-war scientific analyses in IR have also impeded progress in peace thinking. Focusing primarily on Anglo-American realist scientific schools has often contributed to political opportunism and a justification of war. From this realist mindset some have rationalized the death of civilians from weapons of mass destruction as ‘collateral damage’. Some insisted on maintaining national sovereignty and the nation-state despite the ongoing globalization process. In Latin America in the 1970’s, these dominant scientific rationales were challenged by the ‘dependencia’ theory (Marini 1973, Dos Santos 1978, Furtado 1965), by Liberation Theology, as well as by the political use of ‘ahimsa’ by Gandhi, Luther King, and Mandela.

The chapter argued that peace has always been a constructive concept based on collective social efforts and thus, it has also been highly fragile. In Buddhism, in the teachings of Confucius, Lao Tse, of Jainism, in the Greek classics, the teachings of Christian churches, as well as by European philosophers since The Enlightenment, and more recently by Latin American thinkers, peace was yearned for as a key value and belief for a changed human behaviour.

Plato’s *‘eirene’* implies harmony when collective actions concur. This harmony was reinforced by the Christian *‘agape’* or *‘caritas’*, where God is love and the possible guiding principle. Pre-Hispanic cultures promoted the concept of equilibrium among humans, nature and gods, similar to the care for society and nature developed in the Orient. One of the grandmothers of peace research, Elise Boulding (2000) called for a global civic culture, as a result of positive globalization, and the first indigenous Mexican president Benito Juárez (1858–1871) postulated that “The respect of alien rights is peace (*el respecto al derecho ajeno es la*

paz”). The respect for agreed rights combined with a collective obligation to aid by these agreements creates a base for peace. “Peace is perhaps best thought of as a fragile, complex ongoing, collective social achievement” (Richards 1999: 25), therefore war has always been a failure in a negotiation process, what was well understood by Tzun Tzu in China some 2,500 years ago.

Kenneth Boulding (1978) proposed to learn how to make peace by studying past peace and peace-building processes (David 1999). He understood this as part of networks of trusting relationships creating strengths that are able enough not to be threatened. Only then is peace stable (Lederach 2001). Huntington (1996) lacked an understanding of these cross-cultural connections and he underestimated the intentional acts of a dominant country to impose a new world order, without respecting the wide diversity of experience with peace in other civilizations. He ignored the legal norms and conventions developed by Kant who suggested global maxims with his categorical imperative as a framework for an emerging international legal regime and a human behaviour that is oriented to live together in harmony and without conflict.

10.7.4 Spirituality vs. Secularity

Spirituality may be a solution to some aspects of the present identity crisis of humankind. This process could be linked to religiosity, motivating the believers not only to perform individual piety, but understanding that social piety is a driving factor for love, coexistence and peace. Spirituality could help overcome the exclusiveness of some religious credos, based on patriarchal fundamentalism by promoting a meeting point of people from different faiths. They share common values where God and love is the source of their spiritual approach. These shared ethical values provide some basic criteria and attitudes for a common human ethics that may contribute creating a different world order with a people-oriented global responsible praxis. This new thinking and acting may address upcoming tensions in a nonviolent way where more equitable agreements to share scarce resources give the most vulnerable an opportunity to experience a dignified livelihood. Such a common platform could lead communities and countries to aim at the goal of *ahimsa*, based on mutual respect, coexistence, respect for differences, and a beneficial mutual cooperation (Sen 1995). Thus, accepting and caring for the ‘other’

is the first step to mutual understanding and peaceful living together.

Many countries are built on a pluricultural and religious diversity (Senghaas 2003). Switzerland accepted in its Constitution four languages and avoided religious wars by consensual agreements. In many countries minorities are given ‘voice’ and their concerns are taken into account by governments through a system of plurinomial representation. Indonesia is a pluralist country with a diversity of religions, ethnic groups, and languages. Indonesia’s ‘Pancasila’ doctrine or five principles (oneness of God, humanity, unity, democracy and social justice) has been a gentlemen’s agreement and became a common platform for all religious communities, ethnicities, and groups to live together in the archipelago in one nation with a joint future. The ethical implications of this state ideology and philosophy were further strengthened by the imperative in the Constitution (1945) that grants religious freedom and pluralism. This led to the national motto: “*Bhineka Tunggal Ika*, meaning diversity in unity” (Syamsuddin 2005: 10).

Traditional (De la Rúa 2004) and modern societies are searching for new platforms of social representation that may defeat present stereotypes of modernity with exclusion. New peace paradigms from Asia, Africa, and Latin America based on nonviolent conflict resolution experiences are focusing on sustainable peace and solidarity. Promoting dialogue, respect, understanding and cooperation, the present process is searching for a “globalization of ethics” (Küng/Senghaas 2004), where people’s cultural wisdom emerges not as a silent majority, but as a process of active *ahimsa* to challenge the present division and manipulation and irresponsible action, but also the threats from hazards and global change ideologies and actions. An equilibrium between occidental dominant ‘orthodoxy’ can be established with the oriental ‘orthopraxis’, able to link spiritual teaching with humanized ethical behaviour.

11 Security in Hinduism and Buddhism

Michael von Brück

11.1 General Remarks and Definition

In Indian traditions there is no equivalent for the concept of security in the modern sense of the term. However, the background of the Western concept in Latin tradition calls for a significant distinction to be made. On the one hand there is *securitas* as a concept that is concerned with provisions being made for encountering the ambiguities and contingencies of life, on the other hand there is *certitudo* as a result of convictions and experiences which provide a firm position for cognitive, emotional, as well as social stability over against and in face of the changing experiences in time. Both concepts influence each other as aspects of a wider framework in which humans look for stability and/or security in view of the unexpected and unwanted. Thus, security is a value as well as a strategy for individual as well as social action. As such it is dependent on mental dispositions (expectations, wishes, fears, avoidance, etc.), which again are culturally conditioned. Individual and social security as well as emotional, cognitive, and political aspects of the problem are deeply interwoven. In other words: the term and concept of security is historically conditioned in most complex ways.

11.2 Basic Concepts of Hindu Culture Establishing 'security'

A probe and study into Hindu and Buddhist concepts on the Indian Subcontinent which might show typological equivalents to the Western debate cannot expect to find conceptual equivalents, but needs to start with a mapping of mental structures that have been constructed in order to face the contingency of human life experience as mentioned above. The most comprehensive term in this regard is the notion of *dharma*, which we shall interpret now in its dimensions concerning the social experience of life and the individual framework for any appropriate behaviour.

The term, however, has a history and is not a static symbol which would design certain Indian values once and for all. Moreover, there is a remarkable difference in the spectrum of connotations concerning its usage in Hindu and Buddhist traditions respectively.

The Hindu concept of *dharma* evokes the trust in an unchanging universal order which is reflected in all universal as well as individual occurrences that on the surface seem to be chaotic and not understandable, i.e. *dharma* is happening on the macrocosmic as well as microcosmic plane of reality. *Dharma* is the universal law that sustains the world order in its coming and going of events, both in the field of physical events as well as in the moral realm of human behaviour and action. *Dharma* is interconnectivity. Security means to be in accordance with *dharma* in all respects because the individual as well as the group would be in correspondence with the universal and unchanging law of reality.

In the most ancient Indian tradition, the *Rig Veda*, the concept of *dharma* is prefigured by the concept of *rita*. This is a cosmic order that already expresses itself in macro- and microcosmic correspondences, i.e. events in the heavenly sphere reflect on the human sphere and vice versa – as on earth so in heaven. Gods sanction human actions, and humans influence gods. This mutuality of give-and-take is celebrated in the central rite of ancient Indian culture, the sacrifice (*yajna* or *homa*). By sacrifice, the balance of the cosmic order as well as of the human order is maintained: if the sun gives light and life so it needs to be “fed” by sacrifice; as the king protects the worldly order so he needs to be strengthened by brahmanic ritual sacrifice. Security not only of society, but also of the cosmic order depends on the proper balance between all forces which is renewed again and again by individual sacrifice and collective state sacrifice. The ritual action which performs as it were this balancing out is called *karman*.

Karman is a central concept of Indian life which has shaped the value system of nearly all Indian traditions in a most comprehensive way. Though not yet developed in the earliest times, it has been formulated in the classical time (first half of the 1st millennium BC) which saw the rise of Buddhism, the classical philosophical and social systems, and the doctrines on arts, politics, and social life. As already stated; all benefit, welfare, stability and growth depended upon proper sacrifice. This was the basis for later considerations about *karman*. *Karman* now became the universal law of reciprocal causality not only in the field of physical events, but also in the moral realm of human behaviour and action. That is to say; that every mental impulse, every thought, and action has a result in the external world, but it also makes an imprint on the subject of thought and action. It coins his/her consciousness and conditions further thought and action. It shapes gradually all structures of thinking and behaviour which finally form into habits. Those structures do bind human beings not only from birth to death, but also onwards into the next incarnations according to the cycle of rebirths. They condition the new material existence as a kind of formal principle. How this continuity over several births cycles can be understood is being answered differently in different Indian traditions. But nearly all of them share the idea that human life experience is being continued in the next incarnations. That is why the goal of life in most Indian cultures is to be liberated (*moksha*) from this nexus of birth, karmic impressions, and rebirth according to the structures and demands of these impressions. Some would argue that this liberation might be attained by giving up all action, and consequently they would fast to death. But most Indian schools of thought and the vast majority of the people would hold the view that action cannot be abandoned completely; on the contrary, it is necessary to develop the right action on the basis of the right motivation. For it is not the action as such which binds and conditions, but the thought process before it, i.e. the motivation. What is to be cultivated, therefore, is action without desire, because desire is selfish and isolates humans from the dharmic order. The proper action would be the one which sustains the dharmic order, and the right motivation is dedication of all thought and action to God or – in impersonal systems – the dharmic law.

Again, an Indian concept of security cannot be mapped without this background, even if today in certain secularized circles the religious background

may not be any more so consciously ascertained: security is interconnectivity in the dharmic law, and security which would have in view only the benefits in this life would not be enough. The Indian value system is, as a discussion on the four *purusharthas* (classical goals of life) would show, deeply oriented toward the trans-historical liberation process, though worldly values such as wealth, good family life, and physical sexual satisfaction are values that shall be cultivated in accordance with *dharma*. Peace, however, is basically peace of mind, *shanti*. Therefore, security is fundamentally a mental problem and not merely a political or social demand.

In Buddhism the concept of *dharma* is similar to the other Indian traditions which are subsumed under the term “Hinduism”, but there are also some remarkable traits to the idea that cannot be found outside the Buddhist developments. *Dharma* here is the teaching of the Buddha which needs to be understood rationally as well as by deeper meditative experience. That is to say, *dharma* requires an educational process, and that is why security of a society depends on insight of the individuals which needs to be established by social institutions. Further, *dharma* in Buddhism is a term which denotes the irreducible building blocks of reality, both in the material world and in the sphere of consciousness. Those factors of existence (*dharmas*) occur in limited numbers, at least in early Buddhist philosophy. They mingle and form clusters which are subject to degeneration yet again. Thus, all these processes of a formation of reality are impermanent (*anitya*). Therefore, all human experience is impermanent and there is nothing that humans could and should cling to. Whereas in Hinduism the central goal is to acknowledge the one *unchanging reality* behind the forms of existence, in Buddhism the final goal is to gain insight into the *impermanence* of everything. Most likely, the Buddhist view leads to an easier handling of the contingencies of life in terms of adaptation to changing realities. Concerning our subject one could argue that Buddhist security is always fragile, relative, depending on circumstances. Of course, the Buddhist community (*samgha*) has given itself a law and order (*vinaya*) that includes both changeable and unchangeable rules. Those unchangeable ones are linked directly with the Buddha and the *dharma* in so far as they follow consistently from the central teaching of Buddhism; such as non-violence, impermanence, basic equality of living beings, etc. And to the Theravada tradition the monastic rule has been the source of stability of the social order: monks with different

Figure 11.1: God Krishna as driver in Arjuna's chariot just before the decisive battle. **Source:** Copyright: Michael von Brück



views and philosophical persuasion could live under one roof if only the common morality and monastic rule was strictly observed, because this gave enough stability and security. In Mahayana, however, the idea of impermanence was extended also to the so-called unchangeable *dharmas*: here, reality is empty (*shun-ya*) of self-existence; all things are interrelated and depending on each other in ever new created formations. This view allows for greater adaptation to circumstances, flow, and acceptance of instability. Security would depend on the insight that everything is insecure.

11.3 Dharma and Svadharma in Hindu Culture – The Overcoming of Fear and the Framework for Proper Behaviour

The concept of *dharma* focuses on an all-encompassing reality. Cosmic events as well as microcosmic human fate are determined by the dharmic order, and so is the social level of human action. Dharmic behaviour results in social harmony, whereas un-dharmic action leads to disaster either immediately or later on, in this life or the next. In terms of the concept of security one could say that following the *dharma* provides for the maximum of a secure life both on the social as well as the individual level. Hindu texts again and again outline the benefits of moral i.e. dharmic action in terms of material benefit, social prosperity, and individual enlightenment. The social and the spiritual consequences are not to be separated. But what happens when conflicts of dif-

fering dharmic obligations occur? If there is an answer it should provide us with an insight into the Hindu idea of maximizing security in a situation of conflict of interests. Indeed, this is the case, and the most outstanding and widely influential example is given in the *Bhagavad Gita*, one of the root texts of Hinduism and a kind of unsurpassed gospel of many different Hindu traditions.

The *Bhagavad Gita* ("Song of the Lord") is an integral part of the large Hindu epos *Mahabharata*, composed probably between the 4th and 2nd century B.C. This epos reports early Indian history mixed with myths, fictional genealogies, stories of gods, descriptions of life in early India, discourses on law, and so on. It is divided into 18 books, and the *Gita* comprises 700 verses in the 6th book (*Bhishmaparvan*). In a commentary by Yamunacarya (10th century) it is said that the *Gita* presents a philosophy of life in view of the contradictions human beings have to go through because of contradictions which different demands make on human action. Arjuna, the princely hero, turns to god, because he is in a serious dilemma and conflict. His duty as a warrior prince (*svadharma*) compels him to fight a battle for a righteous cause, but his duty as a member of the clan (*kuladharmā*) hinders him from doing so, because on the other side of the battle line are all his relatives. It is not necessary to tell the story in detail, but it suffices to mention that the war to be fought is not only just in any regard, but necessary to uphold the *dharmā*. Arjuna, however, begins to doubt a world order which makes him face such a conflict of duties. God Krishna appears as Arjuna's charioteer, and in the midst of the battlefield enters into a discourse with Arjuna on the basics of proper life and action. We could transpose this dialogue into the framework of our question of how security may be established, both for the wellbeing of the individual, and the prosperity of society and the common good.

God Krishna uses various arguments to convince Arjuna to go to war. Thus, the *Gita* does not teach non-violence (in order) to reach (the) maximum (of) security (as Mahatma Gandhi interpreted the text) but openly calls for military action. The arguments may be summarized under three basic figures of thought:

1. *The distinction between matter and mind.* God Krishna declares that Arjuna fighting the war would and could not kill the eternal (*nitya*), unborn (*aja*) and therefore immortal (*anashina*) spirit (*atman*) of human beings, but only the material body which would be subject to decay and death in any case (chapter 2, 18).
2. *Action without selfish purpose.* Any action according to the *dharmā* should not be motivated by selfish interests. Thus, fighting a just war for the cause of *dharmā* should not aim at results (*phala*) which might bring personal gain such as an increase of territory or material wealth for the king, or the kingdom for a possible usurper etc (2, 47 et al.). Therefore, it is not by balancing out the possible results of war, but by the motivation to correspond with *dharmā* that violence may be justified. Arjuna's duty as a warrior, his *svadharma*, is to defend the *dharmā*, i.e. law and universal values, so he has to fight (2, 38).
3. *Participation in the divine action which establishes harmony, security, and peace.* Salvation cannot be attained by asceticism or by the attempt not to act at all. What is required is the dedication of all volition and action to god, who in the final consideration is the actor of all actions, for he is the creator and sustainer of life without whom nothing would happen at all. The highest creator himself is present in all actions of human beings, because through them he creates, sustains, and destroys the world (3, 15). In killing people during the war Arjuna would not be the actor but the divine power himself would be (3, 24ff.). The divine will is beyond time, so that Krishna argues: even if Arjuna would kill somebody right now it only appears as a killing in time, whereas in the trans-temporal divine perspective those beings would have been killed already (11, 26f. and 34). This argument, however, could be easily misunderstood, and that is why qualification is necessary: even the destructive action of God is subsumed under his all-encompassing love, which is the subject of the last two chapters of the *Gita*. However, it is clear: in order to protect the divine order (*dharmā*) violence might be necessary, and it is god himself who is finally the subject of all human action, that fosters harmony and security among beings.

No doubt the *Gita* and its concepts provide a framework for Hindu culture to deal with peace and war, security and uncertainty of life, the final goal of all human desire, etc. Again and again, from age to age and situation to new situation, these concepts have been creatively interpreted in order to raise the issue of a proper and good life in changing contexts. Most likely the *Gita* consciously and/or unconsciously plays a leading part in shaping social and individual

values in India today which exert influence on political life and action. However, the *Gita* is not a clear theory of political action but a religious worldview which tries to reconcile different historical experiences and normative tendencies. There are certain contradictions which need to be taken into account:

1. On the one hand the *Gita* sustains the classical system of brahmanical values; on the other hand it is based on the values of the moral order as acted out by the Kshatriya caste which explicitly questions the brahmanical rituals of sacrifice.
2. On the one hand the *Gita* praises asceticism; on the other hand it urges humans to act in history and shape politics actively.
3. On the one hand it is *moksha*, the liberation from the circle of life and suffering, which is declared as the highest aim of human life; on the other hand *sanatana dharma* (the eternal law) is being interpreted as *varna dharma*, i.e. the fulfilment of duties one has in belonging to a certain caste and/or social group. Of course, the *Gita* reconciles this contradiction in its characteristic understanding of acting, which asks neither for reward nor result. But the question remains: who is finally accountable and responsible for human actions, if god is the actual and real subject in all acting?
4. On the one hand the *Gita* holds the view that a person (*purusha*) may act and not produce *karman* if the action does not follow an ego-centred motivation. On the other hand the *Gita* follows the philosophy of Samkhya which holds that all action is only a self-movement of the *prakriti*-nature, whereas the *purusha* (the True Self or the Spirit) is not at all involved in it.

And so on. Security, it seems, is possible when the individual as representative of society is in accordance with god or the *dharma*. Nothing which could cause imbalance or fear would be thinkable in such a situation. However, what god or the *dharma* actually is in a given situation is not only open to interpretation but subject to the caste-*dharma*, i.e. depending on social status. Accordingly, individuals have different obligations and rights. If the caste structure were violated disorder would follow, as it is argued in the *Gita* (I, 40ff.) and elsewhere in the *Mahabharata*: by transgressing the order of the family-system the caste-system would be violated. If this order were destroyed, a general lawlessness would follow. If lawlessness were to exist/reign women would become permissive. If women were to transgress morality a

mix of castes would be the result, and a mix of castes would be the direct route to hell. This precisely is that situation of uncertainty, instability, and insecurity.

One final point needs to be added: Hindu non-dualistic thinking (*advaita*) culminates in identifying the real Self of humans (*atman*) with the ultimate ground of reality. Thus, in the deepest sense there is finally no otherness. What is real is the one reality (*tad ekam*) behind all appearances. Since there is no other, there is no need or reason for fear. If there is no fear, the main cause for aggression has been abolished. If there is no aggression, humans can live in security.

11.4 Security by Political Action in the Arthashastra

One has to understand that the common term “Hinduism” is a designation for a variety of cultures and religions given by outsiders (early Greeks, Muslims, later Western colonial powers). Hinduism in itself is a complex reality which comprises differences and contradiction, and this holds true for the construction of notions of security. Next to the religious texts which are concerned with *moksha* or the liberation from the cycle of life and rebirth ancient India has produced a vast amount of literature which is concerned with theories on social life, politics, arts, love, etc. The division cannot be explained by attributing “religious” texts which have an otherworldly orientation to Brahmin authors, and “worldly” texts which are interested in material gain, exercise of power, and satisfaction of physical desires to authors of other castes, particularly the ruling Kshatriya elite, for we also find texts which are “materialistic” or this-worldly oriented which clearly are authored by Brahmins. “Worldly” and “other-worldly” concerns are not as/obviously? different as Western interpreters would have them be, for it is in the different aspects of material and social reality that the one divine order (*dharma*) reflects itself in different and even contradictory ways. It is especially Kautilya’s *Arthashastra* (AS), the book on politics, state, and proper governance which concerns us here. It might be a brahmanical work due to its style and format, because its worldly interests and advice for ruthless power politics could be interpreted as an integral aspect of the lifestyle which had been classified in the religious works: worldly gains are necessary and follow a dharmic course if they are seen in a relative perspective.

Certainly, the final aim of life is *moksha* (liberation from the cycle of rebirth), but the immediate task is liberation from enemies which requires money for armies, spies, advisors, bribery, etc., for otherwise a secure life in a world of conflict could not be established. The *AS* is not only a treatise on the subject but “a whole old-Indian library” (J.J. Meyer 1977, XI) which is based on many other texts, notably the highly influential epic *Mahabharata*. For centuries these ideas have shaped the Indian value system of the upper classes, and it would be a surprise (if we were not to find) more than mere traces of these ideas in today’s Indian political thinking.

Whether Kautilya (alias Canakya), the chancellor of Maurya emperor Chandragupta (4th century BC), was really the author of this great and large work, or whether it is a compilation of several works in a rather extensive school of thought, is disputed, but it is clear that the text is authored by a political class that had developed a style of life and thought that was in tension with the other side of old Indian civilization, the dharmic concept of reality and *moksha* as the final goal to be sought for. Though the *AS* as a text had disappeared for centuries (newly found and reedited in 1909), it was and is present in political thinking all the time. It teaches power politics: the ruler who enlarges his territory by force is as praiseworthy as the one who rules his kingdom well. And the royal goal is to find its fulfilment in oppression of the ruler’s adversaries (Meyer 1977, XIX). The basic human situation is that of conflict and power struggle. Stability is never secure. Thus, the rulers have to use proper means to stay in power and to increase their influence and wealth in domestic as well as foreign affairs. Traces in the *Mahabharata* prove that Kautilya’s position was not isolated at all. For him what counts is only temporal gain and advantage. Good is what furthers material gains and power. The ideal ruler is the *vijigishu*, an imperialistic hero who has conquered as many countries as possible and thus has established a rule that is not threatened. This, one could say, is the fulfilment of security according to this outlook.

Let us consider some details which are also present in the theories on good governance in the great epics *Mahabharata* (especially book 1, 140, and 12, 103, further on 12, 140) and *Ramayana*. Important quotes have been collected by J.J. Meyer in his introduction to the *AS*. The book itself explains in detail the *rajadharma*, the duties of the ruler, and the final aim is the same as in the *Bhagavad Gita*: to encourage the king to perform his duty in defending

the country at all costs. The power politics of the *AS*, however, is embedded in the function of the king as upholder of the *dharm*a, thus taking on an obligation as the gods have. It is not for his personal gain, but for the prosperity of the country that the king has to act ruthlessly. On the contrary, only a man who is able to rule himself will be able to rule the country. Ruling himself by austerity (*tapas*) means to overcome one’s personal passion as well as one’s personal sentiments. The ruler has to stay in power by all means to guarantee stability and security for his country and his subjects. For this, he has to do everything to benefit his own subjects and to overpower the enemies. Security (stability of the king’s rule) within the country and with regard to possible enemies in foreign affairs is to be maintained by a cleverly organized system of spies and informers, which is one of the fundamental techniques of a successful politics (*AS* 1, 11 et al.). Every kingdom is surrounded by a concentric circle of states which need to be interpreted as enemies and possible allies. The first circle bordering a state is defined as enemies, because they are competing for power, wealth, and territory. The next circle surrounding these enemies consists of potential allies, because they have the same interest in containing the power of the second circle. And so on. Kautilya’s imperialistic king (*vijigishu*) is a power politician par excellence. Everything which may lead to success is not only allowed but commanded by the law, including lies, bribery, espionage, etc. A treaty of peace might be useful in case the two opposing powers are equally strong, but it is not an end in itself. As soon as the king can get an advantage in breaking the treaty, he may do so (*AS* 6, 1). Against other authorities Kautilya argues that the fortune of a king would not so much depend on his own intelligence and vigour (*virya*) but on his financial strength which would allow him to buy allies and perhaps employ people who could provide better advice. Thus, security of the state depends very much on financial resources. On the other hand, on that basis, it would also be useful to use reason and treason in order to gain the maximum result with a minimum of financial expenses (*AS* 9, 1). Kautilya advises the king to use treason, bribery, mimicry of the military forces, special forms of battle arrangement such as circular battle orders, etc. (*AS* 10, 3).

Were human beings to realize the great insight of the *Upanishads*, that each individual being is but an aspect of the one reality, so that everybody has his/her identity in the one divine Self (*atman*), the world would be at peace, for there is no other who could

Figure 11.2: Avalokiteshvara, the Buddhist Bodhisattva of Compassion who with his 1000 arms interferes benevolently into history and engages evil in all forms with his 11 heads, ten of them peaceful and one wrathful. **Source:** Copyright: Michael von Brück



be a danger to one's own being. Security would be no problem, and non-violence would be a natural state of the world. But we live in degenerated times (*Kali-yuga*) and that is why only power and the rationally organized use of fear and might can contain the evil forces. The non-violent gospel (*ahimsa*) of religious texts might be practised by some ascetics who have left the world for a life of contemplation, but the Kshatriya in general and the king in particular should never indulge in this non-violent illusion, but rather rule by execution of power and violence (*danda*). Fear of possible execution of violence makes people respect the royal power and order on which security of the state rests. This, however, should be administered on the basis of rational conclusion and not in rage or passion, for undue violence does not lead to the goal of attaining as much wealth and power as possible, rather it is a sign of weakness. Security can be achieved only by balancing out the forces of political action, and adjustment has to take place again and again not with regard to obligations one has due

to treaties, but in view of the actual strength of the actors in the political, economic, and military field.

11.5 'Security' in Buddhism

Buddhism in its history is not a world-denying religion, as many Western interpreters have claimed, but a world-shaping force. As such it forms and legitimizes politics, value systems, and institutions. Buddhism has been entangled in power politics and violence, but has also created a new basis and a new rhetoric for the problem of security as a high value of the common good. In this way Buddhism provides a new paradigm and a new rhetoric for the political code over against the views we have discussed so far with regard to the Hindu *dharma*.

The Buddhist focus on mental development, as the only means to cope with the ever changing events of reality (*anitya*) forms a direct antagonism to the power politics as displayed in the *Arthashastra*, the epics and also the brahmanic *Laws of Manu*, etc. (Gandhi's non-violence is influenced by Buddhism and Jainism, and less by this aspect of the Hindu tradition.) Buddhism emphasizes virtue irrespective of caste and social condition, and this means speaking the truth and acting with non-violence as a universal principle. It is not the caste system which is the backbone of social order and its security, but the mental and moral education of all classes and castes. In this sense, Buddhism has an idealistic tendency, though in extreme cases (especially in Mahayana) acts of violence may be permitted so that greater evil can be avoided.

The normative code of Theravada-Buddhism is the *Pali Canon*. It antagonizes both physical violence and mental coercion in any case. Mahayana, however, allows the killing of an evildoer if the actor is really rightly motivated (*Mahaparinirvana Sutra*), but this only in extreme cases as a skilful means (*upaya*) in order to protect the *dharma*. This is the case only when security for a larger group of people is at stake. Mahayana substitutes the strictly casuistic ethics of normative rules by an ethics that stresses the motivation of the actor.

Both in Theravada and in Mahayana the *dharma* in this sense of a universal order of stability and welfare for all (insiders as well as strangers) is the same for all groups of society, and this is the basic difference to the Hindu ideology described above. The classical example for Buddhist kingship (which was spread to Sri Lanka, Burma and Thailand) was the

rule of king Ashoka (273/265-238/232 B.C.) who tried to overcome the politics and security of the state based on military power (*danda*) by basing his rule on education and justice (*dharma*). This, of course, has had influence on later Hinduism, and the modern Hindu views on a corporate social system of justice (Ramakrishna movement) and non-violence (Gandhi) has much to do with this influence.

11.6 Conclusion

Obviously, Hinduism and Buddhism construct different paradigms of security. Hinduism is based on a society of clan and caste, i.e. cohesion by natural birth. The basic cell for a secure life is the family and its extension. Security means to uphold the value of life, to cling together in inherited structures and defend the established system. Thus, security is based on belonging defined by birth, all values are conservative, i.e. preserving the established order. The ideal for security is the paradigm of the past.

Buddhism is based on a society of the *samgha*, i.e. a conscious congregation of people who have a common goal. The *samgha* is open to everybody who shares the educational programme. The basic cell for a secure life is not the family, but the learning community which strives for an insight which is not yet realized. Security means to create a new human being, to cling together not in inherited, but in acquired structures. Thus, security is based on belong-

ing defined by intention and programme, all values are progressive, i.e. established on an order to come. The ideal for security is the paradigm of the future.

These two types intermingle, of course. Thus, the Buddha is a figure of the past and a model for the monk's life in the present which will be fulfilled in the future. And in Hinduism, a better life in the future may be obtained by recreating the past, which is more than just reciting it. In India Buddhism substantially contributed in reshaping ancient Indian culture, and the result is what we today call Hinduism. Nevertheless, we can observe two different types of establishing social coherence which would be fundamental to security.

It is assumed that these concepts form direct or indirect presuppositions for a rational construction of security-policies today. Notably, it is the basic insight of interconnectivity as a foundation for identity in personal, social, and political fields. Thus, partnership in security matters is mutual, for it is based on the more fundamental partnership or mutuality in identity formation. Asian states tend to think in alliances overarching national interests which might be based on cultural clusters. Security cannot be gained at the expenses of the other (potential enemy) but in realizing mutual dependency. At least, this basic principle, which has even a metaphysical grounding in Indian cultures, might be evoked as a normative insight so as to conscientize actors in the present political and military scene to develop strategies of mutuality.

12 Security in Chinese, Korean, and Japanese Philosophy and Ethics

Kurt W. Radtke

12.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the relationship between concepts of security and social norms expressed in the written and oral traditions of China, Korea, and Japan. It focuses on observable behaviour and related internalized notions of security without assuming an a priori definition for 'ethics', 'religion' and 'philosophy' and their links to concepts of 'security' in East Asia (see chapter by Arends). The change of the relation between religion, society and state during the Renaissance deeply influenced the development of European concepts of security, but East Asia developed differently. This also applies to the link between 'law', the state, and security, so important in Hobbes' seminal works on security. East Asian practice of law left little room for ordinary people to protect themselves against the state, fostered by the strong tendency to emphasize 'rule by man' rather than 'rule by law'. Globalization has not facilitated consensus on common concepts of security and international law by East Asian governments. Territories of pre-modern Europe were part of transborder communities that included European nobility, and easy exchange among cultural and intellectual elites largely absent in East Asian history. The discourse on security studies ought eventually to develop its own meta-language, transcending the concepts of any particular country, culture or scholarly icon.

Between the 17th and 19th centuries the Chinese and Japanese Empires were led by minority groups, the Manchus in China, and the Tokugawa clan and its allies in Japan. Maintaining power domestically was a priority of both governments, making national mobilization more difficult. Discourse on external and internal security until recently has been the virtually exclusive preserve of the elites, inhibiting informed public debate on external and economic security. By the 18th and 19th centuries economic interaction between regions in Europe was intense despite deep political divisions. The Chinese Empire maintained overall polit-

ical unity not reflected in China's divided economic regions. The central governments of China and Japan had only limited capacity to control the economic security of the realm, and both countries started displaying dangerous signs of economic decay from the beginning of the 18th century.

Like Greece (see the chapter by Arends) China, Japan and Korea each boast a considerable lore on the formation of alliances and their contribution to the unification of the respective empires or countries. These different historical memories shaped thinking on security and stratagems whose discourse was often quite removed from officially sanctioned social and political norms. Thinking on alliances, and the interpretation of Chinese military classics such as Sunzi, and Chinese strategic thinkers such as Cao Cao and Zhuge Liang (depicted in the lore of the 'Three Kingdoms') were adapted to different national traditions, conducive to a syncretistic approach as in the following quotation from Korea. The 'Hwarang Spirit' refers to a martial arts corps, and was described by the famous scholar Ch'oe Ik-hyon in the following words:

Our country had a profound truth refinement. The origins of this teaching were detailed in the History of Immortals. Containing Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism, it makes a deep impression on all living things. The Hwarang, when at home, were filial to their parents and when outside were loyal to the kind just as in the teachings of Confucius. They did not force matters but allowed them to unfold naturally as in the teaching of Lao Tzu. They did not commit evil acts, only good ones, as prescribed by Buddha (Korean Moral Philosophy).

As elsewhere the conceptualization of 'death' left a deep impact on the formation of martial values, particularly in Korea (*Hwarang*) and Japan (*bushidoo*). Unlike in China, the Zen school of Buddhist thinking has been used in Japan until the end of WWII to inculcate fearlessness in the face of death different from Christian and Islamic concepts of consolation after death. In East Asia we do not find epic discussions of moral dilemmas faced in war so important to the Indian tradition (*Bhagavadgita*, see the chapter by von

Brueck). The period of the Warring States (480–221 BCE) gave rise to numerous different views on human nature, state and society. Various ‘Confucian’ thinkers and schools differed widely on the link between ethic imperatives and metaphysical beings such as gods and/or the supranatural cosmos. Recent archaeological findings have also helped us to improve our understanding of ancient Chinese popular views on the creation of the cosmos (Hirase 2005). Rather than assuming an immutable truth, the search for the underlying true nature of change became a shared concern. Instability and threats to stability were widely interpreted in terms of skewed systemic balance, and the restoration of harmony (*hexie*) became a main focus of Confucian philosophy.

Most philosophical foundations of East Asian (political) society favour fairly complex notions of systemic balance inherent in the cosmos as well as in human society reminiscent of the concept of *dharma* in India (see the chapter by von Brueck), but Chinese concepts antedate the introduction of Indian concepts through Buddhism in China by several centuries. As levels of technology and economic complexity progress we often observe a concomitant centralization of political power, and an evolution towards greater unification of beliefs, exemplified in evolution and repeated reinterpretation of Confucian texts in China leading towards the imposition of orthodoxy. Notwithstanding, the resilience of patterns of power distribution between regions and the centre continue to have an impact until today. In the past elements of (local or ‘high’) religion and magic were at times included in official doctrines supported by the central government, tending to develop into a secularized public religion (Taylor 1998). The conscious use of anxieties and imagined threats fed by superstition also has an important function as means to maintain or restore security at the level of micro-society. Deceased people may turn into avenging ghosts, and ancestors may become forces of protection, depending on proper individual and group behaviour. Addressing oneself to ancestors (‘ancestor worship’) and deceased persons is therefore immediately linked to notions of security at all levels of society. They were usually not sufficient to create common notions of ethics needed to build ‘public morality’ (*gongde* in Chinese, *kootoku* in Japanese). In modern times political or ideological norms may also transform into highly emotional or even religious values and concepts. The development towards the Japanese emperor system since the foundation of the modern Japanese state in 1868, the elevation to quasi-religious status of Mao Ze-

dong in China during the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976), and the religious adulation of North Korean dictators Kim Il-sung and Kim Jong-il are instances of this phenomenon.

A common thread in East Asian thinking on security is formed by the concept of ‘disorder’ (*luan* in Chinese), which we may posit as the antonym for the concept “security” for which there was no shared concept. The different histories of unification and division meant that Chinese thinking on alliances deriving from the period of the Warring States (480–221 BCE) could not (easily) be adapted to Korea and Japan. ‘Disorder’ (*luan*) was formative in security thinking as it was for Hobbes, but the different relations between religion, law and the state are the cause of conceptual differences with Europe that continue in the age of globalization. East Asia also had its share of peasant unrest and civil war, sometimes linked to religious symbols. Governments reacted by strengthening controls over religious organizations to prevent them from interfering with ‘politics’. For discussions of a comprehensive framework for a comparative study of East Asian civilizations the reader is advised to consult Eisenstadt (1996) and Elias (1939).

The main division in East Asian society is between ‘officials’ and ‘ordinary people’, rather than between ‘state’ and ‘society’. Their behaviour is not necessarily “guided by socially shared and transmitted ideas and beliefs” (Berger 1996), partly because East Asian societies are not united in allegiance to one ethical and religious system, as is the pretence of monotheistic Islamic or Christian societies. Notions of security may best be observed when physical security is threatened. Besides physical threats, threats to identity are also frequently perceived as security threats. Notions of security can not simply be derived from canons of texts on ethics and philosophy, partly due to new challenges not predicted or predictable in ancient canons. In agricultural societies risk sharing enhances chances for physical survival of both the individual and groups. The way risks are distributed has a deep impact on the social, economic and political structure, best expressed in concepts of land use and ownership. Throughout most of East Asian history possession of land has always been subject to intervention by officials as a means to improve chances for survival of the community as a whole. Limited capacity for the exercise of power in pre-modern societies means that central governments are keenly aware of the need for politics of ‘divide and rule’, granting a fairly large amount of de facto local and regional autonomy while main-

taining the pretence of a government that unifies the country not only physically, but spiritually as well.

East Asian societies have many pluriform religions and (philosophical) traditions that made it advisable for officials to accept flexible notions of an overarching order, admitting different beliefs and philosophies as long as they did not threaten overall stability of the system of state and its economic foundation. This concerns the maintenance of the dividing line between officials as representatives of central government and local elites, and 'ordinary people'. There were only few attempts to impose one particular ideological or religious school on society as a whole.

The contribution to overall security is also a major criterion applied to political ethics usually identified with elites and the officials, such as Confucianism. If Confucian advisers, or members of Buddhist groups entrusted with spiritual protection of the state are found wanting in protecting state security, they may also suffer suppression and persecution. Numerous examples from Chinese, Korean and Japanese history demonstrate that in the long term maintenance of stability and security were more important than political correctness.

'Absolute truth' thus becomes ephemeral. Apart from a few minor schools of thought, history is not seen as developing towards a final goal, but is usually conceptualized in terms of alternations between 'disorder' and 'balanced order', and in China identified with notions of 'dynastic cycle'.¹ There was no dynastic change in Japan, but a succession of different political systems that ruled virtually independent of the (political) preferences of the emperor. Even though Korea may formally boast long-term dynasties, the power of regions and struggle for dominance continued throughout its history, and continues to be reflected in the politics of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

The Chinese examination system served as access mechanism to the governing elite, but also enforced rigorous conformity within that elite. Religiously informed notions of good and bad were usually related to a specific social context. In the absence of a shared set of religious norms history, in particular official his-

tory became a major source for moral standards especially in China and Korea. The relationship between popular culture in micro-society and 'official' norms for elites remains an understudied subject. Any particularistic philosophy or religion claiming possession of exclusive 'truth' would easily be termed 'evil teaching' and suffer suppression, not only in pre-modern times but also in modernizing Japan and in present day China (Falungong).

Different periods display different levels of ethical quality, waxing and waning with the degree of order and disorder. Concepts of order and change in the ancient Chinese classic *Yijing*, well known throughout East Asia, focus on factors damaging or contributing to the maintenance of balance (Smith 2003). They became easily attached to the major philosophical currents in East Asia, Confucianism, Buddhism, Daoism, Shintoism and Shamanism, and were interpreted in the context of Chinese, Korean and Japanese traditions. Syncretism was widespread in East Asia, and gave rise to local traditions based on different combinations. The term 'Confucianism' as observed in Chinese politics and society can therefore not be simply identified with the writings of the philosopher Confucius (in Chinese, Kongzi) or later philosophers such as Mengzi and Xunzi.

As mentioned above, countries and regions in East Asia share concepts of a clear division between rulers (officials, public realm) and ruled (ordinary people), even as society and social structure keep changing (Weintraub 1997; Bailey 2002; Huang 1993). From the beginning of the Chinese Empire in the third century BCE. Confucian values were gradually reinterpreted by the state for political purposes. Neo-Confucianism, especially the school of Zhu Xi (1130–1200) was used to legitimize an increasingly hierarchical social and political order with limited regard for concepts such as innate equality of all human beings (Li Wen 2005). In contrast to Korea and Japan, the Chinese state developed notions of loyalty to the state rather than to individual rulers, notions that were propagated since the Song Dynasty (960–1279). Regional and central elites in Korea and Japan were largely hereditary, but not in China. Throughout the second millennium tensions continued between loyalty to 'persons' and the 'state', especially after the Song Dynasty when China was ruled by non-Chinese dynasties except for the Ming Dynasty (1368–1644). These rulers – Mongols and Manchus – belonged to a tiny ethnic group compared to the Chinese population, and this may have contributed to the weakening of abstract notions of loyalty. As a result, the importance of personal rela-

1 This term refers to the notion that the history of a dynasty proceeds in four phases: the foundation of the dynasty relies mainly on military power, the second phase lays the foundation of economic strength, in the third phase the dynasty reaches full maturity and the zenith of its power, followed by decay both at the level of power and moral quality.

tions with and among officials both at the regional and central level increased (Shibata 1990). This made it more difficult to mobilize the country as a whole in times of internal unrest and rebellion or external invasion, characteristic for the decades of instability between the Ming and Qing Dynasties. Thus, the borders between abstract notions of 'loyalty' and 'betrayal' become blurred. In East Asia there are numerous examples of self-sacrifice in the name of loyalty, but the object, content, and meaning of loyalty differ widely according to country, region, and historical period. Elites in East Asia regularly faced dilemmas of loyalty to maintain security (internal and external) or loyalty to central leaders, whenever the policies of the central government did not serve this purpose. There are numerous examples in China, Korea and Japan of political advisers who wished to contribute to the security of their country or kingdom by advising against the policies of their rulers and were prepared to pay with their own lives, praised as a symbol of individual ethical behaviour for the common good.

Since security and ethics are perceived as intrinsically linked, officials also act as 'guardians' of social norms. Contrary to some other civilizations they are usually not representatives of a particular religious creed. Their social and political norms are more akin to notions of a 'public religion'. In China the political elite had usually close links to local elites, the *shi* (or *shenshi*, 'gentry'), but government positions could only be obtained by succeeding in the official examination system. It must be added though that corruption in the form of bribing one's way through the exams was not unknown.² This reduced the chance of a hereditary nobility usurping power, but in fact was normally accompanied by a kind of symbiosis between political elites (officials) and economic elites. Korea tried to reconcile the Chinese system with principles of hereditary elites (*Yangban*), whereas Japan never adopted the Chinese system.

This also affects notions of security even if there exists a common ethical and philosophical vocabulary mostly derived from the classical Chinese tradition. Although no particular religion was able to gain con-

trol over elites and the state in the long run, this does not mean that religious notions were excluded. Local concepts of the supernatural influenced both ordinary people, and elites:

Dazai Shundai asserted that the sages themselves did not believe in Shintoism, and that they used it as a means to educate the foolish and superstitious people of primitive times. The [early] rulers knew the truth. The ordinary people were very foolish and had doubts about everything. If gods and ghosts were not used as a means to teach them, the heart of the people would not settle (Ng 1998).

Long before Buddhism became a creed of ordinary people, Buddhist priests and temples were called upon to assist in protecting the security of rulers and the country in East Asia. Elaborate 'magic' schemes to enhance security are physically expressed in the layout of the architecture of capital cities of all East Asian dynasties and empires. Local traditions of diverse origins (e.g., Daoism or Shamanism) also found their way into official rituals. The current insistence by some Japanese leading politicians to visit the Shinto Yasukuni Shrine, a major cause of friction between Japan and its neighbours, may also be seen in this light.

Prior to the upheavals of the 19th century, economic and technological progress in East Asia had created complex societies, China being considerably more advanced than Europe until the 16th century, not only technologically but also in its complex bureaucratic organization. Progressive division of labour moved elites to promote universal social norms valid for people whose daily lives and work ethics may differ considerably, as expressed in family teachings (*jiaxun* in Chinese, *kakun* in Japanese). Governments remained extremely cautious towards universal ideologies that might have allowed ordinary people to appeal to common moral standards that would undermine the authority of officials. Confucian ethical norms are usually linked to a person's status in life, and did not result in effective demands for equality of citizens before the law. Notwithstanding, notions of 'common justice' (*tsuuzoku dootoku* in Japanese) were widespread at the grass roots level of micro-society.

When East Asia became destabilized in the 19th century mainly due to European and US colonialism in various forms and shapes, the loss of security and feelings of despair and injustice became a major element of revolutionary movements. Rebel movements in China, Korea and Japan attempted to overthrow traditional forms of government in search of 'national' security, including the mobilization of the

2 It would be interesting to compare (partly hereditary) socio-political elites in Korea and Japan with the function of social 'estates' (Stände) in pre-modern Europe (Ehlers 1991: 77ff.), but Chinese elites selected based on the examination system fall outside such definitions. On the transition to civil society in continental Europe, see Gall 1993.

'masses' in China and Korea. Even before the arrival of Western notions of 'equality' they opposed the traditional boundaries between 'officials' and 'ordinary people'. This search for security had a major impact on ethical notions. East Asian rebel movements in the past had sought to correct injustice and restore (human) security, but did not aim to overthrow the bipolar structure of society (officials vs. ordinary people). Mass movements in 19th century East Asia did display 'xenophobia', but also contained active attempts to rebuild security based on deeply restructured societies. Leaders of movements such as the *Taiping* in China (mid 19th century) and the *Tonghak* in Korea (late 19th century) were influenced by notions of survival similar to those of Social Darwinism. East Asia did not have to wait for Darwin's Theory of Evolution to realize that the arrival of the West was a challenge to the survival of East Asian civilizations.³ In the early 1860's the Japanese *Sakuma Shozan* stressed that Japan had to throw its traditions overboard for the survival of the empire. The figure of Napoleon also exerted his pull on minds in East Asia, as he combined revolution at home with the restructuring of the European continent.

The attempted revolutions failed first in China and then in Korea, but succeeded in Japan. The establishment of a Japanese nation state – a new concept in East Asia – was linked to the creation of a public religion to enhance cohesion and security of the young Japanese nation. Within a few decades this public religion assumed increasingly heavy religious connotations in the emperor system. Developments in China and Korea were more complicated, due to the long history of semi-colonialization of China and the annexation of Korea by Japan in 1910. After 1945 new nation states arose in Korea and China. Notions of security fundamentally changed, including the peace constitution in Japan, anti-communist ideology in South Korea and Taiwan (see chapters by Okamoto/Okamoto in this volume), and various brands of Communist regimes. Asian varieties of Marxist-Leninist ideology combined utopian internationalism and class struggle with a revolutionary approach towards domestic and international security.

The collapse of the Soviet Union initiated changes in the thinking on security in the context of globalization. This author analyses the function of 'globalization' as a model for restructuring in terms of the 'fran-

chise model' applied to international (security) relations. The 'franchise owner' superpower US seeks to impose a variety of global standards on the global community. While China and Vietnam have cautiously embraced this model with some alterations, North Korea has so far reacted negatively. Embracing similar models of economic and social development seems to promise greater economic and military security. Western nations have accepted notions of interference into the internal affairs of other countries to prevent threats to human security, but some countries – particularly socialist countries like China – argue that it is national interest more than ethical considerations that generate conflicts, and threats to domestic and external security. Even more than Putin's Russia, China regularly suspects that the activities of NGOs reduce government authority, and may lead to greater influence by foreign states in domestic affairs.

Irrespective of the promises of globalization we are still far removed from an international acceptance of notions of security rooted in similar ethical and philosophical norms. The presence is the child of a complex set of ancestors. Contemporary security identity and concepts of stable security vary considerably not only among countries and regions in East Asia. Most noteworthy are concepts of balance that are central to most major conceptualizations of security.

(Neo)realism, the major school of thought in international (security) relations in the US and its allies, assumes anarchy as the basis for thinking on 'balance of power'. It is indebted to pre-war thinking on united front strategies that aimed to balance against the most dangerous common enemy. This is hardly acknowledged by (neo)-realists (Kang 2003; Zhu 2001; Radtke 2000). United Front thinking still influences Chinese security strategy, and so do memories of periods of chaos, wars between alliances of Chinese (city)states that eventually resulted in the unification of the Chinese empire (Hirase 2005).

Throughout East Asia we find notions similar to 'balance of power thinking', not only influenced by traditional East Asian notions of systemic balance, rooted in visions of order of the cosmic and human world, but also by the historic experience of alliance politics during periods of national disintegration. The neo-realist assumption of anarchy linked to Hobbes' experience of confessional wars is rooted in specific European historical experience and is not shared universally. The concept of 'functional region' does not require the assumption of anarchy (Vaeyrynen 2003: 27).

3 Social Darwinism was introduced to China and Korea through Liang Qichao, after the concept had become known in Japan.

The driving force in functional regions is the economy (production networks), the environment (for example, acid rain), or culture (identity communities). ... Indeed, the transition from physical to functional regionalism is due to the increase in the interaction capacity of the system (Vaeyrynen 2003: 27).

David A. Lake and Patrick M. Morgan (1997) added further insights by formulating an approach that presumes the existence of a number of regional orders instead of a single international order in the post-Soviet world (Takahashi 1997: 103; Kang 2003).

Research on security in East Asia forms a vital part of the search for a more comprehensive, disciplinary approach in international (security) studies that includes culture and strategy, communication theory, and interpersonal behaviour across cultures. They are an important contribution to go beyond 'US-style neo-realism', including variants such as constructivism (Buzan 2000; Jervis 2002; Johnston 1994; Pye 1999; Radtke 2005). Research on East Asia should also transcend area studies. It can play a valuable role in creating a metalanguage for security issues no longer confined to the boundaries of one particular civilization.

12.2 History, Security, and Crises of Identity

When physical survival is threatened governments and individuals need to consider whether their convictions – ethic, philosophical or religious – are a positive contribution to security, or may possibly have negative effects as well. Invasions, or threat of invasions were fairly common throughout East Asian history (Li Wen 2005), and the inability of Buddhist or Confucian oriented officials, governments, and rulers to defend the physical security of their country repeatedly resulted in the repression of (the influence of) those who were found wanting. This happened particularly to organized Buddhism in Korea and Japan, and to a lesser extent in China, also due to the anti-hierarchical streaks in Buddhist thinking.

East Asia has its own share of martyrs who sacrificed themselves for the sake of their expression of unswerving loyalty to their rulers or dynasty, convictions related to the core of their identity. Threats to identity are of a different category, since they may affect or destroy self-esteem, and the ability to act of one's own will – a basic factor in the subjective perception of security and freedom. The Mongol conquest of China and Korea in the 13th and 14th centuries, the Manchu conquest of China in the 17th century, and the intrusion of highly organized West-

ern nation states in East Asia that led to the collapse of the social, political, and economic organizations, all contributed to crises of identity lasting for many decades.

The inability of China to ensure its own security in face of the onslaught of external aggression often resulted in attempts to cover up the reality of defeat by invoking pretence of cultural or moral superiority. The glaring gap between many decades of injured security and artificial feelings of moral superiority in defeat was depicted with undisguised sarcasm in short stories by one of China's greatest novelists, Lu Xun. Self-deception cannot replace the need for a thorough rebuilding of civilization in defeat: physical security is essential, and its maintenance may require deep changes in the composition of spiritual civilization – as also demanded by globalization. The current re-emphasis of tradition and nationalism in East Asia is not merely a countermove, but also serves to create the illusion of greater historical consistency even as tradition is further weakened. Cycles of destruction and rebuilding of security are accompanied by the cyclical development of behaviour and underlying norms. External invasion or domestic rebellions may lead to the (temporary) destruction of organization at the macro-level, periods sometimes lasting decades or even centuries during which the resilience of micro-society proves essential to provide a minimum of security for survival until new, more secure forms of macro-organizations are found. In East Asia, a unified central government repeatedly ceased to function for decades, if not longer, and the survivability and security was basically decided at the level of regional or even micro-society.

Understanding East Asian civilization means grasping the basic features of these dynamics of development, including links with changing ethics and philosophy. The attempt to find simple keys to Asia by referring to some eternal Asian values is an obstacle to serious analysis. East Asia cannot be reduced to sets of 'Confucian' values compiled by self-appointed gurus. Some observers identify Chinese thinking on security with China's well-known military classic Sunzi. Such an approach resembles the attempt to explain European medieval and modern warfare in terms of Greek and Roman classics. When combined with the apparent Confucian emphasis on harmony such an approach becomes dangerously misleading.⁴ Modern thinking on security in East Asia generally prefers a comprehensive approach that includes traditional concepts of military security and non-traditional security (Radtke 2005). This tendency is linked to idealis-

tic visions of world order in terms of a system, rather than stressing the role of independent actors.

Values do not operate like software that can be implanted in the human mind at the behest of leaders and rulers (Viehoff 1999: 9, 56). In his study on frontier areas in China, Skaff (2004) noted that “Postmodernist scholars have made strong claims about the power of ideological ‘discourse’ to affect loyalties and identities” (Viehoff 1999: 57). Contrary to what some postmodernists argue, concepts of order and security are much more likely to arise from the needs of specific circumstances (Saeki 2004: 131), and are frequently tested as to their efficacy during periods of threat. Not seldom they were found wanting. Feudal and other types of pre-modern government were based on more or less stable mechanisms of domestic ‘divide and rule’ that weakened the ability to face external threats.

During the rule of the Tokugawa central government in Japan (the *Bakufu*, 1600–1868) that exercised strict control over hundreds of local and regional domains, external defence relied in the first instance on geographically scattered, complicated systems for the mobilization of resistance. This was intended to avoid the gathering of military forces that might turn against the central government, which also developed sophisticated intelligence organizations to prevent challenges by domains (Fukai 1995).

The structure of the huge Chinese Empire during the *Qing Dynasty* (1644–1912) and the relatively small kingdom of the *Yi Dynasty* in Korea (1392–1910) differed completely from that of their Japanese neighbour, but as the 19th century showed, no government was able or willing to engage in efficient mass mobilization against incursions and invasions by forces from Europe and the US. Reflecting divided societies, people in East Asia did not share a unified set of values, neither within their own countries, nor at the level of Northeast Asia as a whole. The destruction of East Asian security engendered a new search for values, each nation following different approaches.

In the early decades of the modern Japanese state (*Meiji* government, 1868–1912) attempts were made to create a kind of ‘public religion’ to strengthen the nation-wide cohesion of society. It did not take long be-

fore it assumed characteristics of extremist ideology with religious connotations, the creation of the emperor as a ‘divine’ leader. The Japanese defeat in 1945 seemed to have put an end to ‘nationalism’ as a component of the Japanese security identity. But despite the embrace of ‘Western’ values, recent years have seen attempts to reinvent a new Japanese nationalism whose content and direction remain vague.

Continuing divisions within China, including changing politics in the People’s Republic (1949–), on the Chinese island of Taiwan, and in the Koreas resulted in conspicuous changes in (security) identity since 1945. During the Cultural Revolution in China (1966–1976) the Confucian heritage was actively destroyed, leading the government on Taiwan to strengthen emphasis on Confucianism. More recently PRC authorities have emphasized Confucianism as the core of Chinese civilization (see above), as separatists on Taiwan claim independence from a common cultural Chinese tradition. Wang Huning (Wang 1991) remarked that the socialist government of the PRC completely revamped and modernized political institutions also at the local level. It is still too early to assess the impact of tradition on modernizing China, but the long-term impact of China’s 1949 revolution may be less than is usually assumed. As an example one may refer to clans attempting to reassert some of their traditional power at the local level, especially in the countryside (Xiao 2002). As Luo Houli pointed out, nationalism as an ‘ism’ in its modern meaning developed under the impact of Japanese and Western thinking, and pre-modern nationalist group loyalty has to be linked with China’s ethnic-clan structure (*zulei sixiang*, Luo 2004: 280).⁵ Other scholars blame the long history of authoritarian government for the lack of healthy nationalism (*aiguo*).

12.3 Defining ‘Security’ in the Context of East Asian Civilization

A meaningful treatment of the ethical and philosophical context of security in the history of East Asian civilization and contemporary East Asia cannot be limited to analysing the major philosophical and ethical canons. By tracing selected security issues and their links to characteristic features of East Asian society, politics, and economics this author also hopes to raise

4 Major Goh Kong Yong avoids some of these pitfalls (Goh 1999). His explanation of the dynamics of strategic thinking in terms of tension between a ‘Confucian-Mencian moral-hierarchical worldview’ and the ‘China-among-equals realpolitik worldview’ underestimates the complexity of Chinese thinking on war.

5 For a comparative approach to nationalism in China and India, see Duara 1999.

questions on the meaning of 'ethics' and 'philosophy' in these non-Western traditions.

It is argued that patterns of thought and behavioural norms classified as 'Confucian' function in a similar way to Weber's concept of 'public religion'. It must be added immediately that 'public' in pre-modern Asia does not refer to a realm accessible to most 'citizens' (Mizoguchi 1994b), but refers to the privileged world of 'officials' who are permanently engaged in *preventing* ordinary citizens from gaining access to political and bureaucratic power (Mizoguchi 1994; Radtke 2005).⁶ The function of political Confucianism may nevertheless be described as similar to a *public* religion since it maintains the pretence of norms that need not be legitimated by any particular religion, even if it incorporates elements from various traditions, including religious and philosophical ones. Confucianism also provides the pretence of universal norms for a society that remains deeply divided between 'officials' as formal members of the ruling establishment, to be distinguished from the more general Chinese concept of 'gentry' (*shenshi* in Chinese). Recent research on pre-modern Japanese sociopolitical structure has challenged the view of the strict division of society in four hereditary categories of Samurai, peasants, artisans, and trading people or merchants (Tanaka 2005), and emphasized the gap between moral codes preached by the elites, and the moral norms prevalent in society in general (Saeki 2004).⁷ Economic difficulties, unequal distribution of wealth, and other factors such as external invasions threaten the survival of the government and order at the macro-level. At the micro-level disorder they may endanger physical survival. Breakdown of order at the centre, coupled with blatant injustice against weaker sections of society frequently result in local unrest, possibly expanding to rebellions (especially in China, less so in Korea and Japan). Micro society develops norms essential to survival that also demonstrate the limits to the power of the central bureaucracy and officialdom. Officialdom is usually wise enough not

to enforce Confucian (and other) norms that might easily provoke resistance (Nosco 1997). The political balancing act is accompanied by a complex ethical order answering to the needs of both micro- and macrosociety. The norms and culture of both sections of society need not be related along the lines of 'great' and 'little' tradition; case studies are required to trace behavioural norms that may differ widely in time and place. Thus, we cannot rely merely on notions of 'security' deduced from written canons and official sources. Government law was basically limited to criminal law, whose imperfections led to numerous complaints about injustice and hardly served as a source for positive moral standards. It also formally and blatantly favoured officials whose merits could serve to reduce the degree of punishment, compared to the level of punishment meted out to ordinary people. The weakness of the formal (criminal) system of justice was one of the factors stimulating revenge and retribution in society – an issue frequently denied by advocates of Confucianism.

Historical records were a prime source for norms of public religion. Official, non-official, and local histories are primary records for ethical behaviour in specific situations. The rise and fall of empires, dynasties or ruling families was directly linked to the waxing and waning of morality. History was not evolving towards an end, a utopia with well-defined characteristics. In China the cycle of rising and decaying dynasties was not an inevitable mechanism, but caused by the changing quality of morality described in terms of a cyclical evolution. Improving moral standards promised security and stability, cohesion of society and welfare.

12.3.1 The Impact of Physical Geography

The physical geography of China, the subcontinent, the Korean peninsula, and the three main islands of Japan (*Honshu* with Tokyo (Edo), Kyoto and Osaka, *Kyushu* and the smaller *Shikoku*) differ considerably, but geopolitical concepts are insufficient to explain national security culture. Some scholars attempted to find a constant factor of Japanese thinking on security in Japan's geographical position as an island nation, as did Kasa Shintaro who argued, "Japanese and Jews benefit from their natural environment, and don't have a natural concept of security" (Zhuge 2003: 254). Jiang Lifeng, in contrast, maintained that because Japan is an island state it has a very strong awareness of vulnerability (*youhuan*) (Jiang 2004). The closed off territory of Japan, and to a lesser degree Korea, easily

6 The assumption that 'civil society' is a term with universal applicability is fairly widespread in contemporary social and political sciences. This term is useful as long as there is a meaningful division between 'public' and 'private' in their standard Western definitions. If this is not the case the concept of a 'civil society' must be redefined to such an extent that it loses its usefulness for analysis. For an analysis of 'public sphere' and 'civil society' in China, see Huang 1993.

7 Among the many recent studies, see Sasaki 1993; Zhang 1998; Wang 1995; Mizoguchi 1994b.

gives rise to notions of the sanctity of territory given to its people by the god(s), and myths of creation and links between gods that created the Korean and the Japanese people play a much larger role than in the Chinese tradition. From the concept of territory under divine protection it is only a small step to notions of a chosen people, as is the case in pre-modern Japan (*kami no kuni*) (Tsushiro 2005: 178, 231; Blacker 1995). Natural conditions specific to the territory, such as unpredictable earthquakes and typhoons in Japan, or flooding and drought in China and Korea, have an impact on the perception of threat and concepts of security even if the Confucian-derived language of ethics and security is virtually identical in all three countries.

12.3.2 Security Aspects of Land Holding and their Ethical Context

The history of land management and concepts of property differ widely in the three countries, reflecting the need to adapt to differing physical environments. Governments in East Asia share common notions of the right of government to interfere with property and management rights for the sake of ensuring common survival. Strengthening individual property rights could not readily ensure the security of the individual against the claims of micro- and macrosociety. Examples can be found in pre-modern Japan (Edo period, 1600–1868) that prohibited the free disposal (sale) of land by private individuals (Tanaka 2005: 29), but are also present in the communist ideology in the People's Republic of China (Oi 1999). The ideological reasoning differs fundamentally, but it is tempting to link this tendency to older traditions. Both in pre-modern Japan and post-1949 China simple and widely available subterfuge was available, enabling the buying and selling of land. Despite official ethics and prohibitions, domain rulers of pre-modern Japan attracted settlers from neighbouring and other domains in order to strengthen their own domains economically, in contravention of official ideology. One important reason behind the apparent 'tolerance' displayed by officialdom is related to the need to ensure the production and distribution of food. Pre-modern East Asian governments and the contemporary Chinese reform government would not and still will not insist hard-handed on enforcing their 'ideologies' when this would lead to endanger economic security. This is not to deny that the imposition of socialist ethics in China and North Korea based on an ideology imported from the West made a deep impact

on ethical thinking lasting for several decades. The tragedies of the 'Great Leap Forward' and the 'Cultural Revolution' were a basic attack on humane ethics. Traditional common wisdom that sought to balance the norms of East Asian public religion against the demands for policies of survival were temporarily sacrificed, preparing the way for political opportunism that was elevated to the rank of highest moral value.

At the height of the Japanese Emperor System lasting from the beginning of the 20th century to Japan's defeat in August 1945 ideological norms that violated individual human security had also destroyed traditional values. Invented traditions, such as *bushidoo*, the Japanese way of the warrior (*samurai*), and modern ideology clad in quasi-religious terms replaced pre-modern public religion in Japan – not to speak of the compulsory religious veneration of North Korea's dictators.

12.3.3 Symbiosis of Political Elites in China, Japan, and South Korea

East Asian political culture is also characterized by a deeply engrained tendency towards symbiosis between political and economic elites, which further encumbers the development of clear distinctions between the private and the public realm in East Asia, notions that have a direct bearing on the strength or fragility of human security versus officials, bureaucracy, and the state (Radtke 2006; Rocca 2004; Mizoguchi 1994), a tendency also observable in Western 'corporatism', one of the social roots of pre-war fascism. It weakens the position of genuine privatization that may lead to undermining the assumed moral superiority of the state. Oi (1999) emphasized that it was not so much the state, but local (village) cadres that took the lead in local economic and enterprise reforms, characteristic for symbiotic relations between political and economic elites. In a recent comparative study on privatization of state-owned enterprises in China and Japan during the past decade, this author stressed (Radtke 2006) that opposition to privatization is directly related to different conceptualizations of economic and human security (Rocca 2004; Mizoguchi 1994). The attempted privatization of postal services in Japan, legitimated by its advocates on the basis of ideology-tinted economic rationalism, seeks to *increase* individual economic *insecurity* to improve market mechanisms (Radtke 2006). Opponents to privatization in East Asia usually refer to the need to maintain, or even strengthen the role of government

in maintaining social stability. For them privatization is thus not merely an item in an economic argument. It is debated in ethical and moral terms that put the human security of the individual and social cohesion first. The long tradition of symbiosis between political and economic elites promoted tendencies towards a culture of *modus vivendi*, compromise, and coexistence accompanied by tacit understandings that critics identify as corruption. The increasingly autocratic state also strengthened the formal ideological and moral underpinnings of its rule, but differing from modern totalitarian states was not yet in a position to rebuild micro-society along the lines of Confucian scholars in the service of government.⁸ Nevertheless, Ogyu Sorai, a 17th century Japanese administrator confronted with the task to restore social order and security of the million-city Edo (=Tokyo) developed concepts akin to those of modern Western totalitarianism.

In China Neo-Confucian orthodoxy was used to justify a frequently violent system perceived by many members of micro-society as unjust. The moral quality of East Asian governments during the past few centuries might be conceptualized in terms of its ability to achieve a sound compromise between its ideological pretence, 'Confucian' morality, and the need to build and maintain security and social cohesion at home. There was a keen awareness that weakening social cohesion went together with deterioration of the moral quality of society as a whole, possibly leading to local resistance or wider rebel movements, which in turn made the state more vulnerable to external threats. Micro-society developed secret societies (*mimi she-hui*) in China and their equivalents in Korea and Japan, which possessed their own rituals and moral standards.⁹ Pre-modern governments countered by maintaining highly developed 'internal security services' (*Tokugawa onmitsu soshiki*). Confucian scholars would preach harmony – but there were widely differing interpretations of harmony, depending on the implications for security and feelings of justice in various sections of society.

12.3.4 External Threats within Northeast Asia

There was less harmony in the relations among governments in East Asia than some modern politicians suggest. The adoption of Confucian style discourse among elites and officials did not lead to an international community of values. How deep the differences were and still are is apparent from the fact that there were no attempts in pre-modern times to compile histories of East Asia (including Vietnam) that were acceptable to historians and the public in each country. Despite some efforts after World War II to build an atmosphere of reconciliation, in recent years mutual suspicion increased. This author is not impressed by the record of some governmental attempts to create common history textbooks by committee – most likely to result in negotiations on political compromise.

During the past thousand years of its history East Asia repeatedly suffered major periods of foreign conquest and external threats to its security that had a deep, long-lasting impact on the structure of domestic society and politics. China was under non-Chinese rule (1276–1386), and from the mid-17th century until 1911. The Mongols also invaded Korea, which subsequently suffered repeated invasions from China and Japan, not to forget the frequent minor Japanese incursions into coastal areas of Korea that increased with the new Meiji state in 1868. Japan was also severely threatened by the Mongol fleet but escaped 'miraculously' thanks to the storms sent by the gods (*kamikaze*). During this period Nichiren, the founder of a Japanese Buddhist group, had predicted disaster for Japan should it not return to proper moral behaviour (as defined by Nichiren). He demanded commitment to purely religious values with claims of exclusive possession of truth. As in Korea and China, officialdom suppressed religious and other groups that placed commitment to pure religious values over allegiance to officials and the state. Nichiren and his followers suffered severe persecution, and suppression of Christian activities in East Asia must be interpreted in this context (Frank 2004; Zhang 2004).

The Manchu Conquest of China in the 17th century was observed with deep anxiety and fear in Korea and Japan, the latter fearing a possible attack through northern Hokkaido and southern Kyushu during the 17th century. The Manchus were called 'North Korea' in (confidential) Japanese government documents of the time (Kamiya 1997: 195ff). When the Russians appeared on the northern horizon of Japan from the late 18th century onwards, this was not the beginning

8 For research on the relationship between micro-society, elites officials, and government organizations in China, see Sasaki 1993; Zhang 1998; Wang 1995.

9 For a brief introduction to '*Fujufuse*' and '*Ikki*', see Nosco 1997.

of foreign threats from the North, but a continuation. The British victory in the Opium War (1839–1842) was perceived as a threat to the security of Korea, and in Japan, one decade before the US Admiral Perry threatened to use cannons if Japan would not open its markets for US goods (1853). This forced Japan to sign unequal treaties that impaired its sovereignty for several decades. Within two decades Japan used the same tactics to force an ‘opening’ of Korea through the Treaty of Kanghwa (1876). The issue of foreign ownership of railways in China became a constant focus of popular protests against what was perceived as a security threat both at the national and local level, and the movement for the Protection of the Railways (*Baolu yundong*) was an important factor in the eventual overthrow of the Manchu Dynasty, even if that had not been one of the original aims.

The inroads by European powers and the US in East Asia since the first half of the 19th century did not provoke a common reaction; neither race (Dikotter 1992, 1997) nor a common shared value system was sufficient to lead to a united defence of East Asian security. Japanese efforts at the private and official level to propagate an invented common identity to suit its political ambitions were largely unsuccessful (Radtke 2003). The contemporary European dream of the re-establishment of the unity of Europe was also inspired by a sense of cultural unity linked to memories of a Holy Roman Empire (Pfetsch 1996). It is extremely unlikely that memories of shared Confucian ethics would ever suffice to establish viable political bonds in East Asia during the 21st century. The so-called ‘Asianists’ pleading for Asian unity in Japan and China at the turn of the 19th and 20th century could not overcome mutual distrust. Most Asian and Western historians refer to Japan’s choice in its modernization efforts called ‘leave Asia and join the West’ (*Datsu-Aron*)¹⁰. This term is highly misleading, since it only refers to Japan’s adoption of some Western institutions at the same time as competing with Western powers in gaining influence in Asia. It was Japan that ‘opened’ Korea to trade even before the US did. It is not surprising that Koreans “sometimes saw Japan as acting in concert with Westerners” (Choi 2001: 13), and Japan’s acquisition of control over the Ryukyus and its successful attempts to wrest control over Korea from China, followed by the annexation of Taiwan (1895) and Korea (formally from 1910) seemed

only a prelude to further aggression against China (Babicz 1998). The historical experience of Korea, China, and Japan in their relations with Western powers differed considerably. Suspicion against Catholicism can be traced to Portuguese and Spanish colonial expansionism in Asia, memories that still played a role in the 19th century when Koreans were more willing to get in touch with the US and its culture because the US was perceived as a protestant nation (Choi 2001: 13). This also contributed to the growth of Protestant groups (mainly of US origin) in Korea.

The lack of a common history and fairly divergent patterns of economic, political, and social development implied that the relationship between ethical and philosophical norms, security and threat perception continued to differ throughout East Asian history, both in pre-modern and modern times.

12.3.5 The Tributary System and its Relation to Security Perception

The authoritarianism of East Asian governments increased during the second millennium. Officials remained wary of any outside interference that might link up with domestic opposition. This also contributed to the growth of the Chinese-led system of international relations in East Asia labelled (inappropriately) the ‘tributary system’ (*chaogong*), in which China’s relations with its neighbours were formally and ritually conducted in terms of China (‘mother’ of civilization) as the ‘elder brother’, for which the ‘younger brothers’ expressed gratitude and respect.¹¹ Rather than *encouraging* genuine exchange it can be interpreted as a way to channel and *control* contact between China and its Asian neighbours to prevent mutual interference in internal affairs, especially since the Ming Dynasty in China, and the Tokugawa period in Japan. The tributary system was *not* conceived in terms of a power hierarchy from a neo-realist perspective (Yan/Zhou 2004: 339ff.; Li Wen 2005). I doubt whether it is appropriate to conceptualize the tributary system as an East Asian counterpart of the pre-modern European state system (Hamashita 2004).

This lasting historical experience, coupled with different memories of external threats, is an important factor to explain why East Asia still finds it difficult to work towards regionalism, including cooperation on security.

10 Fukuzawa Yukichi coined this term, but such policies had commenced before he wrote his essay: “Datsu-Aron” published in 1885.

11 Koreans and Japanese were usually not classified as barbarians (Luo 2004: 286).

12.3.6 Security Concerns often prevail over Ideological Purity or Religious Values

The selection of Neo-Confucianism (*Zhu Xi*) and its system of values as the major form of discourse for purposes of government was mainly contingent on its usefulness in enhancing domestic and external security. Adopting an official discourse would normally imply a strengthening of the political position and power of the guardians of this discourse, officials, and scholars trained in Neo-Confucian orthodoxy. The relationship between beliefs and those in power is complex in all civilizations, and East Asia is no exception. Governments were not only wary of the potential of certain religious and other groups (secret societies, resistance among peasants) to destabilize domestic order; they also needed to prevent Confucian orthodoxy from establishing itself as a political power in its own right.¹² The efficacy of Confucians to contribute to security was also under frequent, if not constant scrutiny by pre-modern governments in East Asia.

Following Korea's liberation from the Mongols Buddhist religious organizations were blamed for Korea's inability to defend itself. This led to suppression of Buddhism in Korea that lasted into modern times. The *Yi Dynasty* (1392–1910) so heavily stressed Confucian institutions and rituals that China praised Korea as a highly civilized follower of Chinese civilization (Callahan 1999). The institutions of the Yi Dynasty were however poorly geared to the security of the country, and it did not take long before conservative Confucian officials were blamed for neglecting national defence. They were opposed by 'reform Confucians' (*Shirhak* 'Practical Learning') who stressed the importance of combining practical expertise and scholarly learning with its main focus on social, political, and economic organization. Yi Ih (Yulgok, 16th century) emphasized the need to strengthen social cohesion effectively through non-violent means by fostering 'harmony of public opinion' (*min'i*) (Korean

Moral Philosophy). Public opinion was also more influential in Tokugawa Japan than the ruling government discourse would have it (Tanaka 2005). This is reminiscent of the opposition to the Neo-Confucian orthodoxy in China, such as the traditions of 'practice-oriented' Confucianism in the Hunan province, and sections of the Wang Yangming school (Zhang 2004). Despite the formal adoption of (Neo-) Confucian orthodoxy especially during the early years of Tokugawa Japan (17th century), its ideological and political influence never reached the level that Confucianism had achieved on the Asian mainland. Thus, Confucianism was not a belief and value system that would have made it comparatively easy for China to interfere in the internal (security) politics of Japan.

This was underlined in the 19th century when Korea and Japan pointed to the inability of China to defend itself, leading some Koreans and Japanese to claim that the centre of civilization had now moved to Korea or Japan. The very moment China proved unable to resist Western incursions the tributary system broke down – it could no longer function as a vehicle for non-intervention. There was no attempt by Japan and Korea to rush to the joint defence of a shared civilization. Each country was fully engaged in dealing with its own domestic unrest and rebellions. Different from the past, the 19th century saw the rise of indigenous mass movements that did not only seek 'power' within the traditional framework, but genuinely attempted to overthrow the division of society in officials and ordinary people, in search of a new system able to provide domestic stability and external security. Even if these movements failed, the *Taiiping* in China and the *Tonghak* in Korea, their character as a mass movement attempting to fundamentally restructure the socio-political order demonstrated a kind of modernity. They did not shy away from incorporating some 'Western' values to rebuild security. These mass movements also incorporated religious elements from indigenous and Western religions, but this did not protect them from Western powers that collaborated with traditional governments in China and Korea in the bloody repression, once more repeated in the senseless massacres conducted against the anti-foreign Boxer Uprising (*Yibetuan*) in China in 1900. The governor of the Canton province Lin Zexu had attempted to resist British criminals trading large amounts of opium, thus endangering domestic security, but was removed from office when he tried to use mass mobilization to counter the threat. Eventually and ironically it was a large-scale movement to protect Chinese own-

12 It is admittedly difficult to neatly distinguish between carriers of political and ideological power. This author's working definition is: Politics is the business of those who set up, transform, and manage the institutional framework necessary to provide the link between economic elites (not just the rich, but those leading/managing economic production) and those engaged in providing military security both at the domestic level and in external security. Civilizations may be defined in terms of mechanisms that solve these tasks in similar fashion, although it is customary to associate specific religions with areas of civilizations.

ership of railways (*Baolu*) that spawned events leading to the downfall of the Qing Dynasty in 1911.

These movements also relied on widespread feelings of injustice within Chinese and Korean society. The legal system in 'Confucian' societies was notoriously weak (Radtke 2000; Liang 1996, 1997; Fan 1999). Although it was often argued that Confucian ethics preach 'harmony' a modern legal scholar, Huo Cunfu pointed out that the absence of access to a reliable criminal system explains why values such as revenge and retribution occupy a far larger role in the ethics of East Asian micro-society than official sources and documents would admit (Huo 2005).¹³ They do form a major theme in popular literature, such as the novel 'Water Margin' (*Shuihuzhuan*), which was also translated into Korean and Japanese, and became the model for numerous local adaptations. But different from the mass movements of the 19th century, the novel ends with the rebels returning into the fold of government, thus symbolizing the restoration of (traditional) order, functioning similar to a 'cautionary tale' in its ultimate rejection of rebellion - while allowing the reader to revel in detailed description of vice.

12.4 Post-Confucian 'Public Religion' in East Asia? Case of Japan

Even if East Asian countries failed to establish a common front against Western invasion, the notion of a 'clash of civilization' (*wenhua chongtu* in Chinese) was a widespread and popular topic in Japan, China, and Korea for about two decades since the late 19th century (Radtke 1993; Allen 2001; Stegewerns 2003).¹⁴

Each country opted for different attempts to rebuild its societies as a first step to strengthen security. The different social, political, and economic structures required different approaches, but most agreed that traditional ethics, including Confucianism in all its varieties, were not up to the task. Virtually all efforts at modernization in 20th century East Asia also involved a fundamental restructuring of ethical and philosophical notions not suited for attempts to estab-

lish a viable modern nation state. Japan was the first country to succeed. The revival and revitalization of popular religions in the 1840's culminated in the effort by followers of Shinto to establish Shintoism as a state religion, accusing Buddhists of causing difficulties for Japan (Kuroda 1981; Fitzgerald 2003; Reader 2004; O'Sullivan 2004). One group, *Yoshida Shinto* went to extremes in declaring the Japanese religion as the origin of all world religions and called for spreading Japanese ethics to the world (Tsushiro 2005: 231, 178). When rebels from Japan's south-western island of Kyushu usurped the central government and erected the foundations of a modern Japanese state in 1868 they first supported the strengthening of religious Shintoism, including violence against Buddhists and the destruction of Buddhist cemeteries. They soon took measures to control religions in ways reminiscent of 16th and 17th century Japan. The early Meiji government tried to counter the general moral crisis in Japanese society by consciously attempting to create something similar to 'public religion' (Tsushiro 2005: 125ff., esp. 128-129). Meiji leaders such as Ito Hirobumi and Ookubo Toshimichi had emphasized the need for a new system of values functionally similar to a 'public religion' (Tsushiro 2005: 131). Soon the new values propagated in the name of the emperor shifted rapidly into the direction of radical and even religious beliefs that eventually destabilized not only attempts to secure democracy in Japan, but were also used to justify and legitimize Japanese aggression against Asia.

During the modern history of Japan's intrusion on the Asian mainland there were many attempts to construct visions of Asian commonality, with the aim of establishing a security order under Japanese leadership acceptable to Chinese, Mongols, Manchus, and others. Sometimes emphasizing common ethics and identity between Japan and China, sometimes linking up with Mongols and Manchus (as defined by Japan), they were often self-contradictory and doomed to failure in the long run (Radtke 2003: 183ff; Stegewerns 2003).

Part of the new belief system was an emphasis on the 'way of the samurai' (*bushido*) that was propagated as an authentic reflection of ancient Japanese ethical codes. This was largely the creation of 19th century scholars, led by Nitobe Inazo (Saeki 2004: 266; Tanaka 2005: 35-36, 17).¹⁵ Religious overtones can be observed in the remark by a leading Japanese politi-

13 The topic is highly sensitive in many religions and civilization. As an example, see the different interpretations of revenge by the ancient people of Israel against the Midianites.

14 Okuma Shigenobu's famous book *Toozai bunmei no choouwa* [Reconciling Civilization East and West] points out the reality and danger of division. On the use of history and historical concepts in the age of globalization, see Radtke 2001.

15 This topic is related to cultural and ethnic nationalism; see Pitelka 2001 and Oguma 2002.

cian who mentioned that “the harvest was successful thanks to our emperor” (Radtke 1995). These words evoke the adulation of Mao Zedong during the (Great Proletarian) Cultural Revolution. The impact of Japan’s newly created emperor system on Japanese identity, ethics, and philosophy, and Japanese security perceptions are a topic that has not yet been sufficiently explored.

The subsequent emphasis on the uniqueness of the Japanese political order (*kokutai*) obviously conflicted with the active introduction of ‘capitalism’ as an ideology. Japanese nationalists working for reform used the concept of a native ‘emperor system’ to provide for legitimacy, simultaneously pushing for the introduction of concepts of private property and other elements of a capitalist order. Decades later there were lively discussions in the secret committee of the Upper House centring on the question whether the emperor system and the capitalist order were compatible. It was admitted that the two were incompatible, but this conclusion was kept secret since it might undermine state ideology (Tsushiro 2005: 127, 216). New and old religions (including Shamanism) had a major impact on rightist leading figures and politicians such as Ishiwaru Kanji, the initiator of the Manchurian Incident of 1931 (Tsushiro 2005: 227; Fukuda 2001) and Kita Ikki, ideologue of rightist statism in the 1930’s (Fujimaki 2005). The revival of religion was particularly strong in the Japanese navy of the 1920’s and 1930’s (Tsushiro 2005: 221, 139). Fascism as an imported foreign creed was opposed, and even formally suppressed when it appeared to conflict with the elevated status of the emperor, but discourse on ethics, philosophy, history and values in the 1930’s draws on elements from the Japanese past as well as Western civilization, including its totalitarian traditions. Interestingly enough Chinese and Japanese fascists did not join hands (Chang 1985).

The potential for conflicting uses of the past was evident in Tanaka Chigaku who founded a religious school supporting the emperor state, whereas ‘*Nichirenism*’ had usually placed commitment to religious commands above political demands. Other new religions, such as *Oomoto* that put religious commitment above loyalty to the state faced persecution (Tsushiro 2005: 209, 238). Buddhism played a significant role in stimulating modernizers, not only in Japan (Tokoro 1972), but also in Korea and China (including Mao Zedong). The Mencius school in Confucianism seemingly put human security and security of the empire above the *raison d’etat*, and was frequently cited as indicating a more liberal interpretation of Confu-

cianism (Paul 2005), but its influence was often severely circumscribed by watchful rulers.

12.4.1 Japan’s Defeat, Revolution in China and North Korea, and Impact of the Cold War on Norms and Security Thinking in East Asia

When belief systems collapse as they did in fascist countries, the Soviet Union or with Japan’s defeat in 1945, individuals are challenged to re-examine the way they were bonded and linked to society and its past (Radtke 2000: 181ff.). The vast majority of ordinary citizens were not directly involved in determining the character of states or government systems newly created in East Asia since 1949. The domestic situation in the People’s Republic of China, the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea (North Korea), the Republic of Korea (South Korea) and the government on Taiwan changed repeatedly, and sometimes dramatically, during the subsequent decades. Developments in Japan since regaining sovereignty in 1952 took place more slowly and incrementally. The People’s Republic of China marked the first occasion in more than a century when the Chinese state – or the Chinese Communist Party operating through the state – attempted to impose ethical values on individuals and society throughout the country. In the eyes of many, including the leader of the Republican Revolution, Chinese society had never displayed solid cohesion (Qi 2004, 149).¹⁶ ‘Private’ and ‘individualism’ were regarded with suspicion; ‘public’ and ‘collective’ were praised. It appears that this attempt built on previous traditions where freedom (*ziyou*) was usually seen as detrimental to the positive value of unselfishness (*gong*), concepts that had existed in pre-modern Chinese society (Mizoguchi 1994).

Elsewhere this author suggested the application of the franchise system as a paradigm for describing characteristics of a globalizing order. It compares the main members of the triad (US, EU, and Japan) to headquarters of a franchise system that provides models for economic, social and political order to other countries, and builds international networks with important implications for the structure of international relations (Radtke 2005). During the height of the Cold War security relations were often likened to a hub-and-spoke model with the US as the hub of a system of bilateral alliances directed against the main po-

16 Similar attempts by KMT governments were of limited scale and intensity and confined to relatively small areas.

tential enemies – the PRC, the Soviet Union and their allies, since the early 1970's the main target was the Soviet Union. Following a brief transitional period (1991–1993) North Korea became a central focus of US and Japanese security policy.

In recent years discussions in the US about China as a potential 'strategic competitor' of the US have changed the nature of the security framework in the West Pacific once more. When the globalizing order is seen threatened, members of core alliances (NATO, US, Japan) assume leadership to reinvigorate order as they perceive it, aided by more or less loose coalitions with the largest possible number of countries. Such coalitions have a remarkable similarity to united front tactics as applied by communist parties. If the United Nations is unwilling to support policies of the core states, it is the international community of core alliances, and not the members of the United Nations that seek to secure threats to established order. Shifts in security perspectives of governments of East Asian countries must be placed in a broad framework. Social, political, and economic changes since 1945 have deeply impacted behavioural norms related to philosophy and ethics, which this author proposed to conceptualize as part of long-term historical developments. The attempts during the French Revolution to establish rational management of society through the state, first in France, then in Prussia were first steps towards greater rationality.

12.4.2 The Impact of Globalization on Visions of Security

Since modernization got under way in East Asia in the 19th century it was first the state that was considered the prime vehicle for modernization (Yangwu movement in China in the 1860's). Japan also stressed the importance of the state, but from the early 1870's emphasized the role of private property of land and means of production in general, even if the state maintained a large role in the overall management of modernization. The rise of Marxist-Leninist states in East Asia had a deep impact not only on ethics and philosophy as part of state propaganda, but also on concepts of security as experienced by individuals in daily life. From the 1960's, and accelerating since the 1980's, the 'market' and its main actors, companies, were widely considered as the main pillars of a more rational and efficient management of all aspects of society.

Despite the vast differences of state systems in East Asia, it is remarkable that the social security of

the individual was not settled in the framework of the relationship between individuals and the state, but rather at the level of micro-society. In the PRC virtually all individuals were until recently embedded in 'units' (*danwei*) that were identical with the work place (Lu 1993, 1997; Zhang 2005). In Japan, employees of large companies relied mostly on their place of work for security and social benefits, and not so much on the state. Recent attempts throughout East Asia to rebuild labour markets and employment conditions according to ideals of a globalized market economy, mainly supported by the US, its allies, and some international institutions such as the IMF, World Bank and WTO have already affected basic notions of security at the level of the individual. The trend towards flexible labour markets contributed to an increase in feelings of personal *insecurity*, frequently coupled with notions of injustice (Zhang 2004: 39, 101) whose long-term effects are still difficult to assess. At such turning points the relationship between the citizen, society, and the state is likely to undergo important qualitative changes difficult to catch in simple or quantitative analysis.

However, economic 'privatization' is not coterminous with the retreat of the state. At one level, the tradition of symbiosis between political and economic elites continues to shape the character of 'privatization'. On another level, the state seeks new functions especially in the field of maintaining domestic and external security. In an interesting analysis of Dutch colonial administration towards the end of the 19th century Romain Bertrand has shown that the privatization of enterprises caused the colonial administration to shift its attention from direct control over enterprises, to an increasing 'snooping' of the government administration into the personal lives of workers in enterprises (Bertrand 2004). The 9/11 incident, and various 'wars against terror' have provided new rationales to strengthen the intrusiveness of states in the private lives of individuals on a global scale.

'Globalization' may also be interpreted as a universal phenomenon that occurs whenever hitherto fairly autonomous regions (countries, nation states) are forced to stabilize their own domestic system by engaging in the institutionalization of transborder interaction (political, economic, attraction of FDI and others). The increasing dependence on the import and export of (raw) materials and capital, has forced the newly rising powers of China, India, Brazil (BRICs) to overhaul and revamp their traditional security concepts to adapt to a more comprehensive approach to

wards security. The end of socialism as a global force accelerated changes in all aspects of China's institutional framework, and growing global interdependence has forced China to abandon its traditional socialist conceptualization of security ('struggle against (social) imperialism'). China's one-Party rule does not permit her to simply abandon core terms of its post-1949 security discourse, leading to a mixture of concepts in which growing demands for China's naval security in the West Pacific, the Malacca Straits, and the Indian Ocean are combined with vintage concepts of 'peaceful coexistence' that also echo Soviet discourse from the Brezhnev era. At the same time China's elite universities are teaching US mainstream security theories diametrically opposed to geopolitical theories prevalent in all former socialist countries, and continue to exercise their impact in former socialist countries of Eurasia.

'Globalization' does not only refer to the inevitable processes of increasing interaction, but is also widely interpreted as a US-led attempt to impose political and economic standards on a global scale, and was given further impetus by the break down of the Soviet Union and Comecon. This includes the conscious spread of US-based theories of international (security) relations. They claim an ancestry that goes back to Hobbes and further to the system of alliances built by the naval empire of ancient Athens. Japan's modern pre-war security concepts catering to the demands of its fast-growing naval empire were largely borrowed from the English and US naval empires. Japan's defeat in WWII, coupled with the gradual deepening of the US-Japan security cooperation, further strengthened the conceptual dependence on imported security concepts, creating an emotional tension between memories and dreams of Asia under Japanese leadership, and the reality of U.S. hegemony whose dominance may be threatened by the rise of China and India. This demands a reconceptualization of Japan's traditional role in Asia as a member of the 'West' opposing socialist states. Japan's inability to 'check' the 'rise of China' on its own, or even exert effective pressure on North Korea on issues such as the return of Japanese abductees, missile development, and nuclear armament has caused considerable frustration, and should be seen as one of the reasons for the rise of neo-nationalism in Japan's domestic and foreign politics.

Is there a possibility of a future convergence of basic philosophical and ethical norms in East Asia? Ideologically influenced notions of confrontation between capitalism and communism are giving way to a

revival of the concept of international order largely determined by the interaction of great powers. In Asia it is mainly China, Japan and India that cherish dreams of (global) great power status and regional leadership. One of the hallmarks of a great power is the possession not just of sheer power, but also the creation of independent visions of ideas and principles for international order.¹⁷ This is a sea change from China's position in the mid-1960's when there were attempts to establish a second United Nations led by the cooperation of China and Indonesia (under Sukarno) that put the Third World against the rich countries. Similar to its conceptualizations of international order in the 19th and early 20th centuries, Japan emphasizes the leading role of sovereign states as such, whereas Chinese commentators – at least in statements for public consumptions – focus on the need of major states to shape the character of the international system in the desired direction (Pang 2003). Koreans tend to stress the potential of Korea to act as a mediator.

This raises the question of leadership in East Asia. The future seems to harbour two major scenarios: one results in a long drawn competition for leadership. The other is managed competition whose shape is determined by governments and large economic actors, a new kind of globalized corporatism at the international level, with major ramifications for domestic society and politics.

12.5 Notions of Security and the Reappearance of Nationalism in East Asia in the Twenty-first Century

The heritage of the Second World War and the Cold War is not limited to fading memories. New nationalism is also linked to perceptions of injustice and its causes in the age of globalization. The global modernization of ethics leaves little room for the expression of basic human emotions such as 'revenge' and atavistic desire for 'retribution', and instead prefers perceptions of the 'self' in terms of victims that have the right to claim apologies, excuses, and indemnities (Le 2004: 276; Lind 2003). No Asian country was directly involved in the occupation of Japan, the main aggressor in Asia between 1910 and 1945. The recent strengthening of nationalism in East Asia, not just in

17 On the importance of building up maritime power in long-term Chinese strategy, see Hong/Zhang 2004: 316.

Korea, seems linked to the inability to engage openly in revenge. Citizens of countries occupied by Japan often perceive post-war settlement of claims conducted between the governments of Japan and neighbouring countries as completely insufficient. Popular dissatisfaction with their own governments for reasons unrelated to Japan may combine with repressed feelings of revenge for past damages and insults, contributing to nationalist currents and politics that may have a large negative impact on international security in East Asia.

The division of Korea, cemented by the Korean War (1950–53), is largely portrayed in all of Korea as a result of great power interference that caused the victimization of all Koreans. Seeking to avoid international polarization that would lead to a devastating conflict between the US and North Korea the Roh Moo-hyun (No Muhyon) government has embarked on diplomatic strategies and contacts with the PRC and the DPRK that are viewed with suspicion in Japan and in the US. For its government the survival of Korea is of greater importance than the overall security requirements of other great powers. Korea's nationalism also feeds on a perceived lack of international justice, and is linked to other security issues over which South Korea has little control, such as the nuclearization of the Korean peninsula, proliferation, conflicts over the demarcation of maritime boundaries (EEZ), instability in the Taiwan Straits, and the possibility of strategic competition between the US and China that may involve other countries as well (Zhu 2004: 58).

Neither the past nor the present contain sufficient elements of philosophical, ethical, and other norms to form the basis for similar perceptions of security in Northeast Asia. Current tensions dividing the subcontinent cannot be reconciled with simple notions of a 'clash of civilization' in terms of Samuel Huntington's works. Philosophy and ethics shape security concepts, but primary issues of security and survival also shape philosophical and ethical concepts. The modern reconceptualization of major East Asian currents such as Daoism, Confucianism, Shintoism, Shamanism in all its variants and Buddhism has been deeply affected by the demands of a modernizing Asia, but also by notions of philosophy, ethics and religions imported from the West. Since Holtom's publications on Japanese Shintoism it has often been argued that Shintoism is not a religion in the Western sense at all (Holtom 1963; Tsushiro 2005: 147, 221). These categories are genres of thought germane to Western civilization, and not necessarily applicable to East Asia. Hidden underneath lie basic differences in the conceptualization of cosmic order, change, and truth which still ex-

ert a pull on thinking, even if modern contemporaries are not consciously aware of them. It is difficult for both individuals and groups to admit that ethics and conceptualization of identity are themselves subject to evolution. In his work on globalization Guehenno takes his perception of contemporary Japan as a model for the future world, the imperial age, in which formal rules, rather than specific ethical codes, and values are uniting the globe (Guehenno 1993). His approach seems to be highly premature. For the foreseeable future we must take divergent ethics and philosophy seriously: "Much more just than military actions must form the equation of operational net assessment: the enemy's culture, his political system, and his economic structure" (Murray 2003).¹

12.6 Security Identity: Cases of Japan and China

It seems unlikely for the foreseeable future that Northeast Asia is ready to embark on building a community of values to form the basis for a common approach to security. Behavioural norms in China, Japan and Korea derive from diverse sources which makes it very difficult to establish a catalogue of well-defined common 'values' governing choice and legitimization of actions. The fragmentation of individual religious/ethic convictions and their uncertain position versus behavioural norms demanded by the state at least in the shape of outward conformity complicates the task of defining different categories of behavioural norms. Although all regions of East Asia saw periods of totalitarianism the attempt to enforce a particular ideology and its norms permanently ended in failure. The dictates of 'globalization' (market democracy) are not sufficient for reshaping East Asian societies based on the individual's internalized ethic system. It is easier to outline the security identity of states based on definitions of national interest.

In the long term it is the attempt of the PRC to build up for itself a position as a global maritime power that will encounter increasing opposition from Japan and the United States, for more than a century the main maritime powers in the Pacific (Hong/Zhang 2004: 316; Zhu 2004: 455). Related to this is the possibility of China increasing its influence in the Greater Middle East, including in South Asia and in the Indian Ocean as areas that complement the importance of the continental Eurasian heartland, the stage of the 'Great Game' in the 19th century. In the words of a Chinese strategist, Zhu Tingchang:

To ensure security for China, first China's territorial integrity (Taiwan), second, China must weaken the ability of the US-Japan alliance to restrain China (*zhibeng*), and in general weaken the security threat emanating from the alliance. Thirdly, the strengthening and protection of maritime interests has already become China's future important strategy - a lifeline for China's attempt to become a maritime great power. Fourth, China must strive to achieve benign (*liangxing*) dynamics within China-US and China-Japan relations, the kind of relations among great powers that will allow for a true rise of China to great power status (Zhu 2004: 349).

It is difficult to ascertain to what extent security perceptions found in contemporary sources from the PRC are rooted in visions of global order related to perceptions based on the thinking of Marx-Lenin-Mao Zedong (Li 2004: 3).¹⁸ China has become much less attached to utopian ideas, and its middle-class society less warlike (Hong/Zhang 2004: 54). New concepts of China as a great power with its own ideals and rationales for the international order are linked to wider changes in contemporary Chinese thinking. We may perhaps detect a preference for conceptual frameworks of 'balanced order' that echoes ancient visions of 'universal order' rather than emanating from Western concepts of 'balance of power'. Concepts of a 'balanced global order' rest on ethical and philosophical assumptions. Both socialism and capitalism share a utopian sense of establishing a social, economic and political order facilitating transnational cooperation, but in recent years the PRC has avoided adopting clear positions on this issue. As the PRC strenuously de-emphasizes the role of ideology in international relations in the post-Cold War era, the US has embarked on an opposite course, preaching 'regime change' as part of establishing a new global order based on cooperation of market democracies.

The background to Japan's position on security can be summarized by references to Japan's alliance with the US, the United Nations, and Japan's Constitution. As long as the United Nations is unable to guarantee Japan's security, Japanese security will be ensured by security cooperation with the US. An incremental reinterpretation of the Japanese constitution has enabled the Japanese government to build up its armed forces beyond the letter of the constitution, and bypass restrictions on collective defence. Beginning in the 1970's, Japanese governments have increasingly portrayed themselves as a member of the West.¹⁹ This, however, does not necessarily mean that

Japan has adopted full-scale domestic reforms along the lines of market democracy as demanded by the US. Surprisingly similar to contemporary China the government of Japan has remained vague on spelling out the philosophical foundations of its long-term strategies. Japan customarily denies that it has any strategy at all,²⁰ and prefers to reconfirm its basic solidarity with the US. One of the reasons may be that voicing an independent strategy might be taken as a challenge to the US and give rise to (unnecessary) friction in US-Japan relations.

South Korea under its current President No Muhyon is deeply divided over its future (security) relationship with China, North Korea, the US, and Japan. The lack of progress of the Six Party Talks on North Korea is not merely due to North Korean intransigence, it also illustrates the vast differences among these countries over finding a common ground to rebuild security in East Asia.

18 For a current interpretation of the global trend, see Shi 2004: 124.

19 Both for legal reasons (the Japanese constitution prohibits collective defence) and a complex domestic political situation, Japanese governments maintained until the 1970's a policy of formal equidistance towards the Soviet Union and China. For a treatment of the transition towards an openly expressed system of cooperation with the West, see Radtke 2005.

20 For an opposite view, see Zhang 2004: 380: "The dismemberment of China has always been Japan's strategy."

13 Security in Confucian Thought: Case of Korea

Eun-Jeung Lee

13.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with peace and security in Confucian philosophy. By and large, the author will limit this exposition to the case of Korea. The main reason is that Confucianism is not one body of thought, but instead evolved historically in manifold ways through the interaction of numerous philosophers and schools. There are significant differences in the thought of *Confucius*¹ or *Mencius*² and, for instance, between these and Chu Hsi's Neo-Confucianism³, which further develops their teachings. Similarly, Confucian philosophy in Korea and Japan took different paths than in China. Unsurprisingly, the reception of

Confucian thought took place under specific circumstances in space and time. Therefore, when one discusses Confucius, it is advisable to say clearly, just as in the case of, say, ancient Greek philosophy, to which philosopher or philosophical school one refers. Otherwise, one is in danger of merely repeating clichés and prejudices – a ubiquitous danger, as East Asian society is being seen quite commonly as having been formed by the Confucian tradition.

In fact, there already exists a long tradition to instrumentalize Confucius and Confucianism for ideological and political purposes. Therefore it is necessary to examine carefully what supposedly was created in the name of Confucianism or what is described as 'Confucian'. In what sense can certain thinkers be considered 'Confucianist', and if so, to which school or philosophers are they related? Similarly, when the security concept in Confucian philosophy is discussed, the different origins and traditions should be distinguished and discussed.

In this chapter, security concepts in Confucian philosophy are introduced, as they were developed in Korea within the Neo-Confucian tradition of Chu Hsi

1 Confucius is the latinized name of Kong Fuzi or K'ung-fu-tzu, lit. 'Master Kong', but most frequently referred to simply as Kongzi who had lived in China around the 5th century (551–479?) BC. He was a philosopher, political figure, educator, and the most important member of the Ru School of Chinese thought, which is known as Confucianism in the West. His teachings, preserved in the *Lunyu* or *Analects*, form the foundation of much of subsequent Chinese speculation on the education and comportment of the ideal man, how such an individual should live his life and interact with others, and the forms of society and government in which he should participate. Confucius' influence in Chinese history is compared with that of Socrates in the West. A large number of books about his thought have been published in English. Among them, Ames/Hall (1987); Creel (1949); Fingarette (1972); Schwartz (1985); see also at: <<http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/confucius/>> and at: <<http://www.iep.utm.edu/c/confuciu.htm>>.

2 Mencius, in Chinese Meng Tzu, 372–289 B.C., is together with Confucius the most important thinker in Confucian philosophy. Like Confucius, Mencius concerned himself entirely with political theory and political practice, and spent his life bouncing from one feudal court to another trying to find some ruler who would follow his teachings. See: Ames (2002: 72–90); Lau (1993: 331–335); Legge (1970); Shun (1997); see also at: <<http://www.iep.utm.edu/m/mencius.htm>> and at: <<http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/mencius/>>.

3 Chu Hsi (1130–1200) was a late Song Dynasty (960–1279) Confucian scholar. He edited the *Four Books* and defined what was later to be accepted as the standard interpretation of Confucian learning in the imperial examinations. He is a representative of the systematic and theoretical wing of Neo-Confucianism, which combined the traditional values of Confucianism with a metaphysical theory of humanity's relation to the universe. In his thought he absorbed many elements from Taoist and Buddhist teachings, but battled against the other-worldly tendencies of both teachings. This Neo-Confucianism became Confucian orthodoxy for several hundred years. In the 18th century Confucian scholars challenged this orthodoxy and wanted to return to the Confucian classics, before they were abridged into the *Four Books*. See: Chan (1987); Hoyt (1992); see also at: <<http://homepage.mac.com/haroldsjursen/ChuHsi.htm>> and at: <<http://www.asiawind.com/pub/forum/fhakka/mhonarc/msg00538.html>>.

and on the basis of classical texts like ‘*Ch’un-ch’ui*’ (Spring and Autumn)⁴ and ‘*Mencius*’⁵. Security in this tradition is considered as a moral problem, which, within the Sino-centric world order, is based on ‘*li*’, i.e. the rules of moral propriety among states. The politically highly unstable conditions during the *Ch’un-ch’iu Chan-kuo* period (722–221 BC)⁶ played a decisive part in the emergence of Confucian philosophy. Chu Hsi (1130–1200) refined and extended this philosophy.

In Korea the Chosôn-Dynastie (1392–1910) adopted Chu Hsi’s Neo-Confucianism as its ruling ideology. Thus, the view that the safety of the country within the Sino-centric world system was directly related to a moral principle became established in Korea. It replaced the pragmatic understanding of *shih-ta* (serving of the great by the small), *sadae* in Korean, which had been prevalent during the Koryô-Dynastie (918–1392).⁷ This pragmatic approach meant that the small states on the Korean peninsula, in view of the vast military superiority of the Chinese state, had to cultivate amicable relations with it. In contrast, the interpretation of *sadae* as a moral principle stood for the moral obligation to accept the Chinese state as eternally superior and to perform the corresponding rituals. This view became so deeply engrained into the thinking of the Korean political and scholarly class that some, at the end of the Chosôn Dynasty, would earnestly demand to guaranty the safety of the country by performing *shih-ta* toward China as prescribed by tradition.⁸

Particularly during the final stage of the Chosôn Dynasty, there were some scholars who insisted that Korea needed her own military strength. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that *shih-ta/sadae* as a moral principle – *sadaejjuûi* (*shih-ta*-ism) – was at the

centre of all considerations of security during the Chosôn Dynasty in Korea.

This chapter will analyse, first, how *shih-ta* as a system of relations among states was philosophically rationalized in the political thought of Mencius and Chu Hsi, second, how their security concepts became the ruling ideology of Chosôn in the 14th century, and, third, how the effects of this historical experience can still be felt today. Security concepts in the variants of Confucian philosophy discussed in this chapter are quite distinct from traditional security concepts in the West. At least in South Korea, they continue to play a certain role up to the present.

13.2 Security in Confucian Philosophy in Ancient China

During the *Ch’un-ch’iu Chan-kuo* (722–221 BC) period, in which Confucius and Mencius lived, the Chou feudal order collapsed and states of the holders of dependencies had begun to conquest other states. These states developed bureaucratic systems, pursued diplomatic activities, and possessed strong standing armies. They concluded treaties among themselves on a basis of equality. Unfortunately, this well-ordered world became subject to numerous wars. During the 258 years of the *Ch’un-ch’iu* period (722–453 BC) there were no less than 1,212 of them, while there were only 38 years without war. The number of states was reduced from 100–180 at the beginning of the *Ch’un-ch’iu* period to just 10 toward its end. A sort of law of the jungle had taken possession of the land (Lee 1997: 200). The stronger states fought for hegemon-

4 This is one of the earliest Chinese written documents and might have been edited by Confucius to record major historical events from 722–480 BC. See: Kennedy 1942: 40–48; Cheng 1993, 67–76.

5 This book bears the name of Mencius; see: Legge 1970.

6 The beginnings of feudalism reach back to the Chou Dynasty. It led to disunity and its latter destruction. This was the time when the Classical Age of Philosophy developed. Chou was the longest dynasty in Chinese history. It consisted of Western Chou (1127–771 BC) and Eastern Chou (771–256 BC). It is further divided into 2 sub-periods of decentralized rule, disunity and chaos: “Spring and Autumn” [Ch’un-ch’iu] (771–481 BC) and “Warring States” [Chan-Kuo] (463–221 BC).

7 On the History of Korea, see: Eckert/Lee 1990; Hong 2003; see also at: <<http://www.stockton.edu/~gilmorew/consorti/1deasia.htm>>.

8 There are differences in the traditional and the modern meaning of the term ‘security’ in China and Korea. The modern term in Chinese is ‘an-quan’ which is usually used for military security. Terms like ‘bao-an’ or ‘gong-an’ are used for public security. The modern term in Korean is ‘anbo’. It is composed of the Chinese characters for ‘comfort’ and ‘protection’. These terms are translations of the Western concept of security. They appeared in the late 19th century and early 20th century, when the region was confronted with Western imperial power. Traditionally the security was expressed with words like ‘ping’ and ‘an’ in Chinese, and ‘p’yôngan’ in Korean, using the same Chinese characters. ‘Ping’ means peace and ‘an’ comfort. The meaning was wider than that of the Western concept of security. It bears some similarity with the concept of human security, which recently has gained popularity in academic discourses.

ony, while the weaker states struggled to survive and to retain certain degrees of self-reliance.

During the course of these wars the treatment based on equality between the stronger and the weaker states eroded and was replaced by a hierarchical order among them. Lee Choon Sik writes:

The survival of small states depended upon their ability to find allies or to pick the winning side and join it. State security and protection were the exclusive concerns of the day, and this led to the formation of leagues or alliances of states. ... The small states acknowledged the supremacy of the leading power and followed their commands. In return for protection and security, the allied small states were responsible for making certain contributions, paying tribute to the allied leading power (Lee 1997: 353).

In the book *Ch'un-ch'iu of Tso-chuan* (Ch'un-ch'iu tso-chuan) the terms '*hsiao shih ta*' and '*ta tzu hsiao*' were used for these new inter-state relationships (Book X, 30TH year, par. 2.3; Legge, Vol. V, 1960: 734). They mean 'the serving of the great by the small' and, respectively, 'the cherishing of the small by the great'.

It is necessary to be clear on the meaning of *shih-ta* und *tzu-hsiao* in ancient China. James Legge translates '*shih-ta*' as serving and '*tzu-hsiao*' as cherishing (Legge, Vol. 5, 1969: 734). The origin of these terms can be traced back to the Chou Dynasty. In *Chou-li* (Rites of Chou) it says that when the state was properly ordered, the lords, the holders of dependency, did not attack each other and could live in peace, as the small state served the great and the great state cherished the small state (Duke of Chou 1999: Chou-li 33: 14b, 15b). A similar expression can be found in *Chou-li* (55: 3a) of the same book. Yet, as *Chou-li* is generally not counted among the Confucian classic texts, one hesitates to accept this text as the source of *shih-ta* und *tzu-hsiao*. On the other hand, the number of states in Western Chou, as already mentioned, was around 100 to 180 (around the 9th century BC) while the stability and prosperity of Chou depended on the harmony and solidarity of the small and the large dependencies. It had been Chou's political and military strategy to attribute the small to the large dependencies (Lee 1997: 249). Therefore, it would have been quite fitting for Chou to cultivate *shih-ta* und *tzu-hsiao*. The aforementioned quote of the *Ch'un-ch'iu* continues: "the reason why the States acknowledge the supremacy of the ruler of Tsin lies in the rules of propriety, by which are (here) to be understood the service of a great State by a small one, and the cherishing of the small State by the great one" (translation Legge, Vol. 5, 1960: 734).

In this sense *shih-ta* and *tzu-hsiao* belong to *li* (rules of propriety). The observance of *li* in Chou Dynasty (1046–771 BC) was facilitated by the fact that society was based on a common blood relationship. Because all rulers in Chou were related, there was little need to control the realm through physical force and punishment. Instead *li*, which was followed voluntarily, in Chou, became as binding as laws. As *shih-ta* und *tzu-hsiao* were part of *li*, the holders of dependencies were obliged to observe them too (Lee 1997: 249).

Figure 13.1: Map of the Chou Dynasty. **Source:** Printed with permission of The Minneapolis Institute of Arts; at: <<http://www.artsmia.org/art-of-asia/history/dynastychou.cfm>>.



In *Ch'un-ch'iu tso-chuan* (chapter Duke Gae, 7th year) it says: "It is by good faith that a small State serves a great one, and benevolence is seen in a great State's protecting a small one. If we violate [our covenant with] a great State, it will be a want of good faith; and if we attack a small State, it will be a want of good faith; and if we attack a small State, it will be a want of benevolence. The people are protected by the walls of cities, and the walls of the cities are preserved by virtue, but if we lose those virtues, our wall will totter; - how will it be possible to preserve them?" (Legge, Vol. 5, 1960: 814). What Legge translated as 'good faith', is in Chinese *hsin*, while 'benevolence' is *jen*. This shows that, on the one hand, the basis of *shih-ta* and *tzu-hsiao* rests on the moral value of *jen* and *hsin* and, on the other, that the security of the country was intertwined with it in a direct manner.

However, the *Ch'un-ch'iu Chan-kuo* period, in which Confucius and Mencius lived, was not ruled through *li*; instead those were lawless times, where the 'law of jungle' reigned. It is simply unimaginable that the small states would, when they barely could defend their existence against their stronger neighbours, ask the latter to exercise power within the limits posed by *li*. Ch'un-ch'iu tso-chuan refers to this when it says: "When Yu assembled the States on mount T'oo, there were 10,000 States whose princes bore their symbols of jade and offerings of silk. Of those there are not many tens which now remain; "through the great States not cherishing the small, and the small States not serving the great" (Legge, Vol. 5, 1960: 814).

Mencius thought that the restoration of the old order, of *li*, would open a way out of those chaotic times. When he was asked if there existed any way to regulate one's maintenance of intercourse with neighbouring kingdoms, he answered: "There is. But it requires a perfectly virtuous prince (*jentsu*) to be able, with a great country, to serve a small one - as for instance, T'ang served Ko, and king W'än served barbarians. And it requires a wise prince (*chihitsu*) to be able, with small country, to serve large one, - as the king T'ai served the Hsun-yu, and Kau-ch'ien served Wu" (Mencius 1a3, translated by Legge, Vol. 2, 1960: 155). When Mencius lived, the *li*-based political order of Chou had already collapsed. When he puts emphasis on *li*, he does not mean literally to restore the old order as such. Instead *li* with *jen* (virtuous, benevolence) and *chih* (wise) as the moral basis is a philosophically sublimated concept (Feng 1947: 253).

To readers unfamiliar with Confucian thought, the proposal that the security of a country depends on *li*, *jen*, *hsin* and *chih* may sound strange. Mencius explains it as follows: "It is not the exterior and interior walls being incomplete, and the supply of weapons offensive and defensive not being large, which constitutes the calamity of a kingdom. It is not the cultivated area not being extended, and stores and wealth not being accumulated, which occasions the ruin of a State. When superiors do not observe the rules of propriety, and inferiors do not learn, then seditious people spring up, and that State will perish in no time" (Mencius 4a1 translated by Legge, Vol. 2, 1960: 291). He continues: "if the prince of a State loves benevolence (*jen*), he will have no opponent in all the kingdom (*tienhsia* - in the world, EJJ)" (Mencius 4a7, translated by Legge, Vol. 2, 1960: 298). If a regent takes *jen* as a guiding principle of his policy, he will guard against any kind of violence and war, which en-

danger human beings. This holds for the domestic realm and for external relations. When the duke W'än of T'äng asked Mencius what he could do against the constant threats of a powerful neighbour, Mencius answered, that a good lord would even give up his land in order not to endanger lives through war (Mencius 1b, 15). The humanist character of Mencius' political thought becomes obvious here. In this, his thought is quite similar to modern concepts of human security.

For Mencius *jen* was the only realistic way to peace in the Ch'un-ch'iu Chan-kuo period, where public order was in almost complete disarray and human misery pervasive. Because the horrors of war were a permanent feature of his time, his philosophical endeavour was centred on the conditions of peace. In *jen* he discovered a central principle on how to guarantee the peaceful coexistence of the general population and of states and he sublimated *jen* into a philosophical concept.⁹

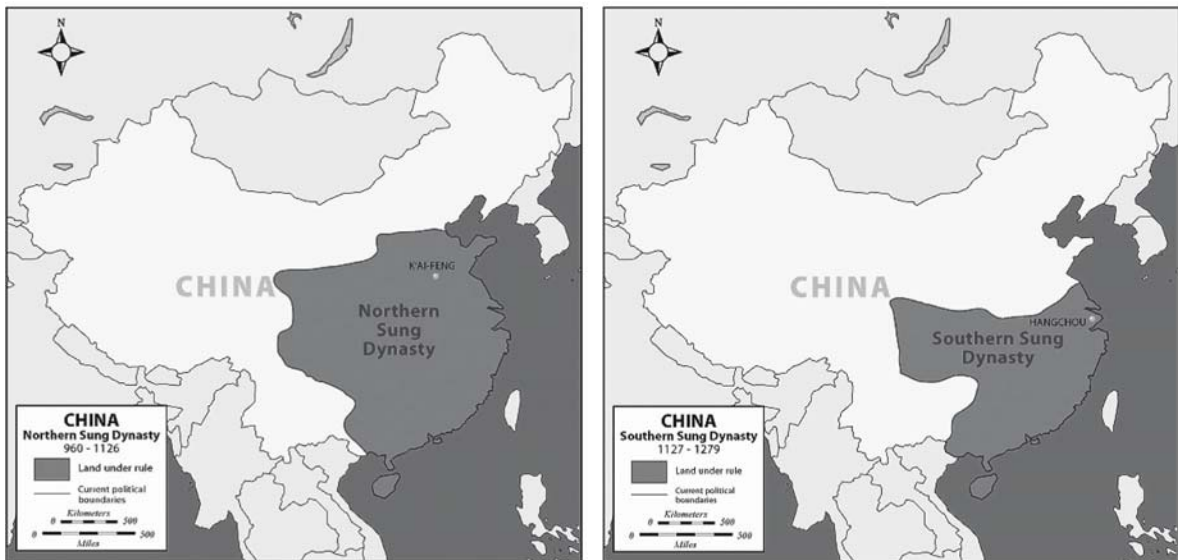
In reality, however, inter-state relations during the Ch'un-ch'iu Chan-kuo period were governed by military power and violence. The *shih-ta* relationship was not based anymore on *li*, but instead on 'realist' calculi of power. Therefore the *shih-ta* relationships changed according to military power and strategy. As none of the states of the Chan-kuo period was militarily strong enough to unify the whole Chinese realm, large states like Chin and Ch'u had to be content with the *shih-ta* of the smaller states. However, *shih-ta* alone was no guaranty for security and survival. Even the smaller states had to be strong enough to defend themselves (Lee 1997: 296).

After the formation of a unified empire in China by Chin in 221 BC the relation of China with her neighbours continued to be a power relationship. One should note that it was not necessarily only China which received tribute and *shih-ta*. Even though China in her Sino-centric world-view considered her neighbours as barbarians (*i*) and herself as cultivated (*hua*), there were times when the Chinese dynasties paid tribute to the mighty peoples in the north, who neither Chin (221-202 BC) nor Han (202 BC - 220 AD) had been able to subdue.¹⁰

In the 12th century, when the Sung Dynasty (960-1279) was under threat from peoples in the north, Chu Hsi, an important Neo-Confucian scholar, philosophically deepened the difference between the *hua*

9 As it is, it is not possible to identify any typological similarities between Confucian thought and the European traditions of, for instance, realists, idealists and pragmatists.

Figure 13.2: Map of the Sung Empire. **Source:** Printed with permission of The Minneapolis Institute of Arts; at: <<http://www.artsmia.org/art-of-asia/history/north-sung-dynasty-map.cfm>>.



and the *i* in the Sino-centric world-view. He did not define the difference between his own people, the *Han*, and other peoples in terms of relative military strength, but instead by means of the cultural superiority of the Han people. He declared that the barbarians in the North were creatures between human beings and animals. Therefore it was not possible to change their nature and to coexist with them in an orderly manner (Chu-tsu yü-lei: 4-1). Such a view was possible because Chu Hsi rejected all autonomy and subjectivity of other peoples (Kim T. 2000: 7). For him the hierarchical order of *hua* and *i* was an eternal law, just like hierarchies among people. Therefore, it could not be that barbarians conquered China: “when a common man (*hsiao-jen*) tries to overpower a gen-

tleman (*chün-tsu*) and when the barbarians attack China, this has to be seen as an abnormal phenomenon of nature, similar to the eclipse of the sun” (Chu Hsi 1962, Chu Wen-kung wen-chi, Literary Collection of Chu Hsi, Vol. II, quoted after Yu 2004: 96). In other words, what Chu Hsi tried was to strengthen Han nationalism in order to resist the real threat from the north. Han nationalism for him was based on the outstanding qualities of Chinese culture, on the idea of a *Kulturnation*.

All the same, Sung eventually succumbed to the northern barbarians and was replaced by Yuan (1271-1368). During the 100 years of the Mongols’ reign, Chu Hsi’s Sino-centrism could not pervade political order in China. Only with Ming (1368-1644), the Han gained predominance over the peoples in the North again and the Sino-centric world-view, the payment of tribute and *shih-ta* held sway again.

To recapitulate, unlike the Chou period the system of tribute of *shih-ta* during the Ch’un-ch’iu Chan-kuo period was not based anymore on *li* alone. It became a system, in which military and political strength also played a role. But even during the latter period *li* remained a diplomatic means to reduce military expenditure and to maintain peace, as it involved the mutual acceptance of the hierarchical order of the stronger and the weaker states. It was a system that could react to changes and challenges and find new balances. Yet, when the *shih-ta* system became integrated with Chu Hsi’s Sino-centrism, it became dogmatic and rigid. Chu Hsi refused to ascribe human

10 Kao-tsu, the founder of Han, for example, had to promise to pay tribute in a peace agreement with the Huns. In 141 BC the emperor Wu broke this agreement and attacked them. He sent his troops to their centre of power in the West of the Gobi Desert. The Huns escaped toward the west and became the cause of enormous migration (*Völkerwanderung*). As they arrived in Central Asia the people there were pushed south and became the founders of the Kushan Dynasty in India. Another group of Huns reached Europe through the Balkans and pushed the Germanic tribes to move elsewhere. These migratory movements in the 4th century heavily influenced European history - a long-distance effect of emperor Wu’s decision. Interestingly, Hegel in his Eurocentric views maintains that China became a part of world history only after the arrival of the Europeans in China in the 16th century (cf. Lee 2003).

Table 13.1: Chinese and Korean Dynasties and Philosophers, Key events and Philosophers in Europe

	China	Korea	Europe
1000 BC	Chou Dynasty	Ko-Chosôn (2333 BC founded?)	Socrates, Plato, Aristotle Ancient times
500 BC	Ch'un-ch'iu Chan-kuo (722-221 BC) Confucius, Mencius		
	Chin (221-207 BC)		
Year 0	Han (206 BC - 220 AD)	Three Kingdoms (1 st century-668 BC)	Fall of Western Roman Empire (476)
500	Three Kingdoms (220-280)		
	Eastern and Western Qin (265-420)		
	Northern and Southern Dynasties (420-588)		
1000	Sui (581-617)	United Silla (668-918)	Middle Ages
	Tang (581-907)		
	Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms (907-979)		
1500	Song (979-1279) Chu Hsi	Koryô (918-1392)	Fall of Constantinople (1453)
	Yuan (1279-1368)	Yi Saek, Chông To-jôn	
	Ming (1368-1644)	Chosôn (1392-1910)	French Revolution (1789)
Qing (1644-1911)	Yi I, Song Si-yôl		

qualities to barbarians, even in cases where they had, like Koryô (918-1392) on the Korean peninsula, successfully developed their culture through cultural exchange with China. In an interesting twist of history Chu Hsi's Neo-Confucianism with its rigid Sino-centrism was disseminated in the 14th century, toward the end of the Koryô Dynasty, to the Korean peninsula and became the ruling ideology of Chosôn Dynasty (1392-1910).

13.3 Neo-Confucianism in Chosôn and Security

13.3.1 Neo-Confucianism in Chosôn

Chu Hsi's Neo-Confucianism first was introduced to Koryô¹¹ at the end of the 13th century (Kim 2003: 2).¹² But for scholars like Yi Saek¹³ (1328-1396) and Chông To-jôn¹⁴ (1337-1398), unlike Chu Hsi, the Mongol

Yuan Dynasty in China was not considered a dynasty of barbarians, but just another dynasty within the tradition of Chinese culture. For these scholars not ethnicity, but culture was the criterion to distinguish between *hua* and *i*. This point of view had been developed in Kung-yang's Ch'un-ch'iu, a text written

11 The Koryô Dynasty was established in 918 and ruled the Korean peninsula from the fall of United Silla in 918 until it was replaced by Chosôn in 1392. The name 'Koryô' is a shortened form of 'Koguryô', one of the Three Kingdoms that were united by Silla in 668. The Portuguese explorers adopted the Japanese pronunciation of 'Koryô' (Korei); thus the Western name for 'Korea' appeared. In 1231 the Mongols invaded Koryô and it became a vassal state of the Yuan Dynasty, until, in turn, the Mongols were driven out of the Korean peninsula in 1336. Koryô had adopted Buddhism as the state religion.

12 On the history of Confucian thought in Korea see: Deuchler (1992) and DeBary (1985).

in the Han Dynasty. According to this text the barbarians could become part of *hua*, if they assimilated culture and became civilized (Do 2005; Sin 2004). It is easily understood that such an interpretation of *hua* and *i* was preferred by non-Han peoples. Even more, the Yuan Dynasty made Neo-Confucianism its ruling ideology and in order to improve its legitimacy it adopted this culture-based interpretation: Yes, the Mongols had conquered China by force, but they had absorbed Confucian culture and consequently had become real *hua*.¹⁵

Thus, the Neo-Confucian scholars in Koryô had no objection to enter a *sadae* relationship with Yuan. Too, it greatly helped that Shih-tsu (Kublai Khan) with the assistance of Hsu Heng, a Neo-Confucian scholar, became an emperor of high repute (Kim T. 2000: 21; compare Ma 2004). Hence, Yi Saek (2000) wrote in *Sônjabjibso* (Mogûnjip mungo Vol. 9), that Confucian thought was conveyed by Han Yü, Ch'eng I, and Ch'eng Hao to Hsu Heng, who in turn was an advisor to Kublai Khan (Yi Saek 1993: 72).

However, the Koryô scholars did not promote Neo-Confucianism for purely philosophical reasons. The situation of Koryô at the end of the 13th and early 14th centuries was quite precarious. Because of the long reign of the military, the invasion of Yuan and the political interventions of Yuan, political and social order had almost vanished. The exploitation by public

Figure 13.3: Historic map of Korea (Koryô). **Source:** Printed with permission of Henny Savenije; at: <<http://www.hendrick-hamel.henny-savenije.pe.kr/oldtonew.htm>>.



officials and nobles was so severe that many people had fled their villages. Furthermore, the farming population suffered from Japanese pirates and incursions of marauding groups from further north. The royal family was only interested to stay in power with the help of Yuan (Kim Y. 2006). In this situation, some scholars who wanted to overcome the social and political crisis turned to Chu Hsi's Neo-Confucianism (Mun 1982; Yi 2002; Ch'oe 2000).

Chông To-jôn complained about these conditions in *Bulssijabbyôn* (Sambongjip, vol. 9): "A son does not respect his father as his father, a subject does not respect the king as his king. Because people lack sincerity, they look at their parents as mere passers-by" (Chông To-jôn 1990: 452). The general crisis had sharpened the senses of the scholars and made them receptive for Neo-Confucian thought, which, apart from its culturalist and ethnic underpinnings, was practical philosophy, in particular when seen in contrast to prevailing Buddhism. While the latter only knows the suffering of the individual, Confucianism is about the well-being of society and the innate power and intelligence of human beings to organize society accordingly. The scholars wanted to use Chu Hsi's Neo-Confucianism in order to overcome the general crisis at the end of Koryô (Kim Y. 2006a). Therefore, they showed little interest for his Sino-centric worldview of *hua* and *i*, and for his principles of righteousness and virtue (Mun 1982: 117).

Thus, the reception of Neo-Confucianism in Korea was selective. This was also true of *sadae*. The scholars looked at the security of the country primarily in terms of situations of real power. It had always been essential for the Korean kingdoms and dynasties

13 Yi Saek was a philosopher, writer and poet, and played a crucial role in the introduction of Chu Hi's Neo-Confucian philosophy in Koryô. He had studied Neo-Confucianism in China (Yuan Dynasty) and on his return to Koryô opened a Confucian academy. Among his disciples were the founders of Chosôn, among them Chông To-jôn and Kwôn Kûn, who used Neo-Confucian as the ideological basis for overthrowing Buddhism, the state religion of Koryô. Yi Saek himself, however, remained loyal to Koryô and resigned from all political positions after the founding of Chosôn.

14 Chông To-jôn, with the pen name Sambong, was a student of Yi Saek and a major opponent of Buddhism at the end of Koryô. His family had emerged from commoner status, and slowly reached ever higher ranks of government service. His close relationship to Yi Sônggye was of extreme importance for the foundation of Chosôn. His political ideas had a strong impact on the politics of early Chosôn. He was a founding member of the Sônggyungwan, the royal Confucian academy, and one of its early faculty members. See: Deuchler (1992); Han Yeong-u. (1974); reprinted in Korean National Committee of UNESCO (2004): 55-74.

15 The same arguments were advanced in the 17th and 18th centuries, when the Manchu conquered China and founded Qing Dynasty. See: Hamashita (1997).

to have good relations to China and the peoples in the North and to accept *sadae* with them (Park 2005: 198; Kim I. 1999a). It was a flexible instrument of diplomacy. Thus, for example, Kongmin-wang (1330–1374), a king in the last period of Koryô, did not hesitate when he realized that Yuan would lose against Ming to enter a *sadae* relation with the new masters of China.

This sort of pragmatism was criticized by Yulgok Yi I (1536–1584), a famous Neo-Confucian scholar in the middle of the Chosôn¹⁶ Dynasty: “If the Three Kingdoms and Koryô, even when they practised *sadae*, were sufficiently earnest and sincere, I do not know. ... When *li* was followed properly, but insincerely, and when the ceremonies were magnificent, but insincerely done, how could one compare such an exercise of *sadae* with the earnest and sincere *sadae* of our country?” (Yulgok chônso, Habyu Vol. 4, Kongnoch’aek; Yi I 1989a: 536). From the point of view of a fundamentalist Neo-Confucian scholar, the behaviour of Kongmin-wang was not sincere. In fact, he had, out of concern for his country, even killed an envoy of Yuan and occupied the Liaodong peninsula, as he feared this area to fall into chaos during the transition from Yuan to Ming.

Thus, when Chu-Hsi’s Neo-Confucianism was introduced to Koryô, his Sino-centrism and the dogmatic distinction of *hua* and *i* along ethnic lines was largely neglected. To the contrary, Koryô was proud that the history of the Korean peninsula reached as far back as that of China, and that it already had become civilized in the times of the Chou Dynasty by Kija (Kitsu) (Han 1982).¹⁷ This pride was clearly expressed by king Kongmin-wang, when he addressed the inhabitants Liaodong after his invasion of 1371: “Our country was founded at the same time as Yao. Wudi of Chou sent Kija as our lord. Over generations we have defended our territory toward the west up to Liaodong. After Yuan unified China, it sent its princesses to Koryô. ... The inhabitants and leaders of this area ought to submit themselves voluntarily and accept their titles.” If they did not, that would be punished militarily (Annal Koryô, Yôljôn 27, Chiyongsu).

16 Chosôn, sometimes called the Yi Dynasty, after the name of its ruling family, was founded by a Koryô general named Yi Sông-gye in 1392. Chosôn established Neo-Confucianism as its state ideology. Its society was characterized by strict social divisions according to status (*yangban*) and occupation, and by the close observance of Confucian rituals.

17 Claims to ancientité is a common feature in Asia and elsewhere; see: Amelung/Koch/Kurz/Saaler/Lee 2003.

Kongmin-wang did not hesitate either to perform rituals for heaven (Annal Koryô, Sega 42, Kongmin-wang 21, Juni Ūlju), which were a prerogative of the ‘son of heaven’, i.e. the emperor in Peking. This shows that he aspired to be equal to China, even though he had accepted a *sadae* relationship and had formally subjected himself.

Yet, with the end of Koryô and with the adoption of Chu-Hsi’s Neo-Confucianism as state ideology by Chosôn (1392–1910), the dogmatic and rigid aspects of his philosophy came to gain ever more prominence. In the end, security was not any more a matter of a pragmatic evaluation of power relations, but had become a question of moral principle.

13.3.2 Neo-Confucianism as a Ruling Ideology

An important reason why Neo-Confucianism became more dogmatic during the Chosôn Dynasty is due to its foundation. While earlier dynasties were established as a result of conquest, Yi Sông-gye (1335–1408), the founder of Chosôn, inherited the throne. Formally, he inherited it from king Ch’ang-wang, but, in fact, he usurped it. Therefore, from the beginning Chosôn had a problem of legitimacy (Jin 2002: 444). The founders tried to solve this problem by a programme of reforms and by gaining the recognition of the Ming. To achieve the latter, they subjugated themselves to the Sino-centric world system.

Chông To-jôn, an important follower of Yi Sông-gye, went as far as to negate the historical importance of the previous Korean dynasties and traced the origins of Chosôn back to Kija, when Chou supposedly brought Confucian civilization to Korea. He spoke of Kija-Chosôn because, as can be read in his book *Chosôn Kyônggukjôn*, Sang, Kukho, the establishment of Chosôn a resurrection of Kija, the realization of the ‘Eastern Chou’ of which Confucius had dreamed (Chông To-jôn 1990: 414). Toward the middle of the Chosôn Dynasty this view had become so prevalent that Yulgok Yi I’s Confucianism made it the sole criterion of civilization. In Tongho mundap (Yulgokjônso, Vol. 15, Chabjô) he maintains that solely on the Korean peninsula only Chosôn had made Confucianism into its ruling ideology (Yi I 1989: 316–317).

Sin Ch’ae-ho, a historian who had fought against Japan during the colonial period (1910–1945) criticizes this sort of understanding history as a slavish glorification of *sadae*. In contrast, Kim Yông Su, a present-day historian, writes that Sin overlooks the fact that all dynasties since the period of the Three Kingdoms aspired to perfectly absorb Chinese civilization. One

ought to consider Chông To-jôn's views against this background. Hence, with the foundation of Chosôn a long-cherished wish of the people on the Korean peninsula had become true (Kim Y. 2006: 766).

Modern scholarship is divided on the issue whether, with the arrival of Chosôn, the old system of Koryô was maintained or was thoroughly changed by Neo-Confucianism (Kim I. 1999a; Sin 2000; Sim 2004). Martina Deuchler takes the latter view:

With the advent of Neo-Confucianism in Korea, an ideology emerged that was addressing itself in a comprehensive and compelling way to social problems. It stimulated an unprecedented clear percept of social political renovation and anchored the guarantee of their workability in the exemplary world of the sage-kings of Chinese antiquity. Moreover, the reformatory thrust of Neo-Confucianism turned its practitioners into activists and demanded their full commitment to its programme of social change. The Neo-Confucians of early Chosôn became infected with this call to action and strove to determine and implement a reform programme that would confucianize Korean society. After the failure of Wang An-shihís (1021–1086) reforms in eleventh-century China, their programme was to become the most ambitious and creative reform experiment in the East Asian world (Deuchler 1992: 27).

In contrast, Jin Duk-kyu, a Korean political scientist, holds that Yi Sông-gye and his followers basically adopted Neo-Confucianism in order to give legitimacy to their usurpation of power. Yet, this ought not to be understood as a serious effort to transform medieval society. There were some partial, even dramatic changes, yet they ought to be seen primarily as secondary reactions to ongoing social change. Thus, Chosôn is little more than the continuation of Koryô, except that it reorganized the chaotic system of government at the end of Koryô (Jin 2002: 397–445). The medieval power structure was not changed.

Whatever the case, Chosôn entered into a *sadae* relationship with Ming and within this framework established relations to neighbouring countries. In other words, Ming was at the apex of this hierarchically structured system, while the other countries were on par at the second level. However, at the beginning of Chosôn, *sadae* did not involve unconditional submission yet, but was, on the Korean side, still based on pragmatic considerations of relative power and influence. Thus, Chông To-jôn could argue that a small state does not have to follow *li*, when the large state does not follow it. This was his justification of his conquest of the Liaodong peninsula (Han 2000: 305).

During the reign of Sejong (1397–1450), the fourth king of Chosôn, the understanding of *sadae* became

more dogmatic. From a means to adapt to changing security conditions, *sadae* became a matter of “obedience and submission to hierarchical relations between king and subject”. At the same time the reception of Chu Hsi's neglected ethnic view of *hua* and *i* was set in motion and the rituals of *sadae* were carried out with great care. Similarly, the rituals directed toward heaven, which had been performed in the Koryô Dynasty, were abolished, because in the dogmatic worldview of *hua* and *i*, they clearly were a prerogative of the Chinese emperor. There were some protests against this course of events, arguing that in no point in history, state formation in Korea was done by the Chinese emperor and, to the contrary, that the Korean states had always enjoyed independence and had communicated with heaven directly (Kim T. 2000: 31). As one can see, in Chosôn too, there were conflicts about the right use of *sadae*. Interestingly, although the term ‘*sadae*’ is not in use anymore, nowadays, as we shall see, the same sort of debate can still be observed in Korea with respect to security policy (Kim Ch. 2003).

The dispute about the ritual for heaven was decided by King Sejong himself who said: “According to *li* it is unequivocal that the king is not allowed to perform the ritual for heaven. Even if he had a large domain, how could he observe *li*?” (Annals of Sejong, 1st year June, Kyôngjin). By this decision Chosôn had accepted to be a kingdom within the Sino-centric world system. A deeper reason for Sejong's decision could have been that he wanted to give an example of unconditional submission to his subjects and thus strengthen the formation of Chosôn as a Confucian state (Han 2000: 306). In King Sejong's understanding *li* was a principle to be applied to international relations as well as to the relations between the lord and his subjects.

Three times a year Sejong sent officials to Ming for court visits and for paying tribute. Besides, he repeatedly sent envoys and was most eager to learn about the more advanced Ming culture and to import its refined products. Ming in return considered Chosôn an obedient and exemplary prototype among the territories under its sway (Han 2000: 306). The relations between Ming and Chosôn were harmonious and peaceful until the end of the 16th century. One could say, Chosôn enjoyed a long period of external (and, as we shall see, internal) peace, because it strictly observed *li* within the *sadae* system.

Because Ming did not pose any serious military danger, Chosôn could develop a political system that was dominated by the literati. Furthermore, the mili-

tary was relegated to a subordinated position. The rulers of Chosŏ had learned a lesson from late Koryŏ, which the generals had wrecked. Then the nobles had their own armies and the state practically had disappeared. Therefore, the foremost aim of the early kings of Chosŏn was to destroy the private armies, to prevent an excessive centralization of military command, and to organize the state in such a manner that the military had no influence upon government (Lee 2003: 43).

Because Ming did not pose any serious military danger, Chosŏn could develop a political system that was dominated by the literati. Furthermore, the military was relegated into a subordinated position. In the control of the military Chosŏn was very successful – to the point that the military was practically unable to defend the country when it was under serious military attack. That happened when Toyotomi Hideyoshi attacked Korea in 1591.

Several decades earlier, Yulgok Yi I had warned that Chosŏn should train 100,000 soldiers to be prepared for an external attack, chiefly from Japan (Yi 1994). Yet, the Neo-Confucian literati of Chosŏn, which had enjoyed peace for almost two hundred years, did not pay much attention. In their obsession to build the perfect Confucian state, they did not show any interest in the preparation of an army. In their eyes Chosŏn was a great place of Neo-Confucian learning, in which *li* was at the centre of the hierarchical order among humans and states.

Chosŏn had found, in the sense of Foucault, a unitary and effective mechanism to reproduce its Neo-Confucian ruling ideology. Within the political unity called Chosŏn, all the literati were brought up with the same texts, shared the same interpretation of these texts, and acted accordingly. They followed the same laws and rules. Thus the reigning ideology and public order reproduced themselves almost automatically and formed the consciousness and everyday life not only of the elites but through time, also of the commoners. According to Jin Duk-kyu, the spiritual dependency on China in military, cultural, economic, and social matters became so widespread and so deeply engrained that it became an all-comprehensive and exceedingly rigid form of *sadae* (Jin 2002: 612).

The central question is whether *sadae* that relies entirely on *li* is a sufficient condition to guaranty peace, i.e. without an own defence capability. Historically, Ch'un-ch'iu Chan-kuo had shown that this was not the case. A small state had to practise *li* within a *shih-ta* relationship, yet it also needed sufficient military prowess to at least defend itself. Otherwise, it

was in danger of being conquered or swallowed up by more powerful states. When Mencius had emphasized peaceful relations based on *shih-ta*, *tzu-hsiao* and *li*, he was concerned about the sufferings brought upon his contemporaries by war and disorder, and their hopes for peace. But the literati of Chosŏn were naïve, even after two hundred years of external and internal peace, in their belief that only the proper observance of *li* would save them forever from disaster. For this mistake the country was punished heavily in 1591.

Surprisingly, after the Japanese invasion, the *sadae* relationship between Ming and Chosŏn became even more moralistic and dogmatic. Chosŏn held course unwaveringly when the Ming was replaced by the Qing Dynasty. Under the menace of the new Manchu rulers neo-Confucian scholars like Song Si-yŏl (1607-1689) turned even more to Chu Hsi's writings (Cho 2004). For them Chu Hsi had developed his views on *hua* and *i* at a time when Sung was in serious decline, and he had done this in order to motivate the Chinese people to fight against the invaders. Furthermore, the Neo-Confucian literati maintained that Chosŏn had to practise *li* faithfully, because the Ming had helped Chosŏn against the Japanese invaders.

It is true that Ming had sent troops to Korea, yet this was done because Toyotomi Hideyoshi had made public his ambitions to conquer China. A defeat of Chosŏn therefore would have endangered China. All the same, the Chinese generals repeatedly said that they had come out of compassion for the Korean people – and the literati apparently took the assertions at face value.

When the Japanese invasion had begun, King Sŏnjo (1552-1608) and the reigning elite fled to the north of the country, while the mostly rural population organized resistance and was partially remarkably successful. Naturally, the reputation of the king and his entourage suffered. After the war, the king gave merit to the Chinese troops. This he did to justify his and the court's behaviour. However, he was not ready to recognize the efforts of the people (Han 2000: 311). Furthermore, he ignored that the people not only suffered from the Japanese, but even more so from the Chinese army. Instead King Sŏnjo presented Ming as the saviour of the country and committed himself and the country to be grateful forever to China. As a result there was a huge discrepancy in the perceptions of the elite and the commoners.

How deeply this gratitude was rooted, became apparent at the coup of King Injo in 1623. It happened at a time when the Ming and Qing still battled for pre-

eminence. Kwanghaegun (1575–1641), the successor of Sônjo, observed the conflict in China from the distance and tried to be neutral and pragmatic. Precisely for that the conservative Neo-Confucian scholars declared him morally bankrupt and dethroned him eventually. Chosôn returned to its former position of absolute *sadae* loyalty to the Ming, while it despised the Manchu usurpers. Therefore the Qing attacked it in 1627. Chosôn asked the Ming for help again, but the Ming was not even able to protect itself, let alone to send troops. All this was the result of Neo-Confucian indoctrination of the Chosôn elite, who wanted to be ‘sincere’ and not betray the Ming, which for them remained at the centre of the Sino-centric world system of *hua* and *i*, while the Manchu clearly were in the camp of the barbarians.

13.3.3 ‘Small-Sino Centrism (sojunghwa)’ and Security

In 1633 Chosôn had to surrender to the Qing Dynasty. The king personally had to promise that he would enter a *sadae* relationship as a subject of the Qing. From now on Chosôn was obliged to obtain the recognition of its kings by Qing and to base *sadae* on *li*, as had been the case with the Ming. This was a terrible humiliation for the Chosôn elite, which had despised the Manchu as barbarians. In spite of their new *sadae* relationship, the ruling elite secretly continued to count the years as the Ming years (Yu 2004: 89). Because it continued to feel obliged to be sincere to the Ming, even certain rituals proper for the Ming ruler were performed in Chosôn. Thus the *sadae* relationship with China, which initially was based on pragmatic considerations, had become, under the auspices of the Neo-Confucians of Chosôn, a matter of sincerity and eternal loyalty toward the Ming, even after the latter’s disappearance, as well as, through the same *li*, a matter of loyalty of the commoner toward the legitimate ruler (Kim T. 2000: 67).

Song Si-yôl was one of those Neo-Confucian scholars, and for that one of the most influential ones. He was so stubborn in his regard for Ming and his repudiation of Qing that he asked, just before his death, one of his pupils to build a grave for the last Ming emperor, so that the required rituals could be carried out properly. This implied, of course, that Chosôn had become the inheritor of the Sino-centric world order from the Ming. Indeed, Song Si-yôl considered the Chosôn to be a small China and he believed that this state could be salvaged on the basis of Chu Hsi’s philosophy.

Song is quite explicit on these issues: “Since Confucius wrote *Ch’unch’iu* and thus had made clear the importance of the great unity of the world, the policy of reverence of *hua* and of fighting *i* (*chonhwayangi*) has become an immutable truth” (Songjadaejôn Vol. 5, Bongsa 27). “Ming, which was founded at the same time as Chosôn, is a country of mercy (*ûn*) and of *jaso* (*tzu-hsiao*) and cultivates the spirit of loyalty (*chungi*) and the sincere relationship between master and subject, whereas Qing is a thief, who stole this country with its *li*” (Bongsa 28, Song Si-yôl 1993: 199–200). For Song international relations were not a matter of circumstances and power, but an immutable normative order on the basis of his Sino-centric world view.

Of course, Song Si-yôl must have realized that Chosôn had to enter a *sadae* relationship with the Qing dynasty because of the latter’s military superiority. Yet, he believed that Chosôn had gotten into this situation only because of the decayed morality of its elites, which had reduced politics to power politics. It would therefore be of paramount importance to restore the moral order of the country and to establish ‘sincere’ relations with its neighbours on the basis of *li*. For *sadae* toward the Ming was in accordance with the heavenly order, while *sadae* toward Qing was motivated merely by human needs and avarice. “Reverence toward Ming and rejection of Qing” (*sungmyông panch’ông*) followed the heavenly order and was the result of moral education (Bongsa 9, Song Si-yôl 1993: 191). Thus, for Song Si-yôl all problems of the country – matters of political rule, international relations and of internal and external security – were directly related to the moral education of the individual and of society.

Moral education involved for Song Si-yôl the assiduous study of the teaching of the great Confucian scholars like Chu Hsi. This was an obligation not only of the commoners, but also of the rulers. If one came to understand through meticulous study the laws of heaven and learned to control human avarice, the world were to be well ordered and peaceful. In Song’s idealistic worldview, the best way to protect Chosôn from attacks by the Qing Dynasty and to preserve its autonomy was to return to the old Sino-centric world order. For him, the only valid way out of this crisis was the moral teachings of Chu Hsi.

Song Si-yôl’s worldview of Chosôn as a “small centre of the Sino-centric world” was elevated after his death to the rank of a state ideology (Yu 2004: 104; Roh 2003). More than 200 years later, when Chosôn came under pressure by Western and neighbouring countries, the same arguments were put forward.

Confucian literati, called *wijôngch'òksap'a*, argued that this crisis too could be overcome by strengthening the Neo-Confucian moral education along the lines of Chu Hsi and Song Si-yôl (Chông 2004). Neo-Confucianism again played the role of an ideology to protect the country. The Mandongmyo, which the disciples of Song Si-yôl had built to honour the Ming emperors, became a symbolic place for the protection of the Chosôn.

The protection of the country against its enemies was not primarily a military matter. All the way through Chosôn the literati were honoured and the military despised. The "protection of the country" (*hoguk*) was for Song Si-yôl and the Neo-Confucian elite something that could only be achieved within the framework of Neo-Confucian sincerity and virtue. Such a view was of little help against European and Japanese imperialism in the 19th and 20th centuries. Yet, for Neo-Confucians in Chosôn the maintenance of sincerity and virtue was more important than their own lives, and for these noble causes even the security of the country could be sacrificed.

13.4 Security through *sadae* and Security through one's own Strength

Summarizing, one could say that Chosôn (1392-1910) was a literati society, which could safeguard its existence and its external security through Neo-Confucianism as its ruling ideology and through the observance of a *sadae* relationship with China. The *sadae* relationship had existed long before the Ming and Qing Dynasties, yet, under the impact of Chu Hsi's philosophy, it took increasingly rigid, moralistic traits. The dependency on China became even stronger, not to say bizarre, after Ming had sent her troops to help Chosôn against the Japanese invaders in 1591. In any case, the *sadae* system gave legitimacy to Chosôn, especially in its founding years, while it was afterwards the central force that held Chosôn together (Jin 2002: 612).

During the last century of Chosôn the ruling elite had become unable to overcome the resistance of the general populace. As the Tonghak peasant movement had shown, the ruling elite asked the Qing Dynasty and even Japan for help to fight against the peasants. The country suffered a deep crisis because of a conflict between the farming population, who had tried to protect themselves with their own power, and the ruling elites, who had tried with the help of strong

foreign states to defend their privileges. Interestingly this kind of conflict is to be observed still today, especially in South Korea - after 35 years of colonization (1910-1945), three years of the Korean War (1950-1953), 27 years of dictatorships, and since democratization in 1987.

Certainly, the tributary system has disappeared. The relationship between China and South Korea is based - historically without precedent - on more or less equal relationship, at least at the formal level. There are no more rituals to be performed in order to reassure each other of the *sadae* relationship. Yet, it could well be that the *sadae* consciousness is so deeply engrained in the Korean psyche that one shows an almost instinctive reaction against situations of non-dependence. Not to be in a steady and safe external relationship would give rise to fear and insecurity.

This is, at least, an impression one can get from an emotionally very charged debate around the agreement between the Pentagon and the South Korean government to hand over wartime military control to South Korea by 2009 or 2012. The country is divided on this issue. The Grand National Party (GNP) and among others, the South Korean association of former military commanders, are violently opposed to this plan, because they fear that the security of the country could only be guaranteed by a strong external power like the US. The other camp says that it is the prerogative of a sovereign state to be in command of its own military. Hence, a debate has been raging over 'pro-American *sadae*-ism', i.e. dependence versus self-reliance.

The self-reliance camp argues that it is quite natural to assume this control, in particular, since the country's democratization after 1987. This camp would also think of South Korea as an independent player and partner of the countries in East Asia and favour economic and even political integration with the neighbouring countries. The conservative camp fears that such an independent course will endanger the good relations with the US and that Korea should not risk irritating or angering the sole superpower upon which the country depends for its prosperity and security. Yi Han-gu, a columnist, is quite explicit on this:

Since independence and up to the present time, the USA has been our most reliable ally and as long as we want liberal democracy it will remain our strongest partner. The prosperity we enjoy today has become possible because the cooperation with the world superpower has worked so well. If the alliance with the USA breaks down and, as a consequence, a power vacuum appears,

how shall we be able to enjoy the fruits of economic growth in safety? (Yi 2006)

On the other hand, critical journalists, politicians, and civil movements reproach the conservative camp for its obsessive 'pro-American *sadae*-ism'. They say, whenever the US is involved, this camp loses all sense of standards of 'normalcy and common sense'. Because of its unbridled *sadae*-ism people in this camp would believe that nothing was possible and everything was in danger without America (Kim Hy. 2006b).

In view of this debate, one cannot avoid the impression that the Chinese-Korean and the US-Korean relationship bear a certain similarity. The behaviour of the conservative camp is not so different from the one of the Neo-Confucian literati, in particular after Ming had helped Chosôn during the Japanese invasion in 1591. The Korean War and the US help would be the matching ideogram. As in the case of the assistance by the Ming Dynasty, it is of little avail to the people in this camp that the helpers possibly had other motives than altruism and humanism when they extended their help.

For many years now the presence of US troops is gratefully seen as essential for the security of the country. A certain anti-Americanism only emerged in the 1980's when the US supported, against the expectations of the citizens who waged the battle for democracy, the dictatorship of Chun Doo Hwan (r.1980-1987). Until then it was taken for granted that the alliance with the US was signed in blood and that it had saved the country. This way of thinking in reality has not changed much, as is shown by the recent debate about the military war command. Hence, Jin Duk-kyu maintains that the *sadae* consciousness, through centuries of Neo-Confucian training, has become so deeply rooted in Korean society and in the minds of the people that there exists a sort of psychological need to be under the protective umbrella of a stronger country, be that China or America (Jin 2002: 612).

13.5 Conclusion

Throughout Korean history, the external security on the Korean peninsula depended foremost on the relationship with a militarily much superior China. Therefore, the Korean states entered *sadae* relations of dependency and subordination with the dynasties in China to guarantee their safety. Historically, *shih-ta* emerged as a system during the Chou Dynasty in China as a means to regulate the relations between

larger and smaller feudal territories. During the chaotic times of Ch'un-ch'iu Chan-kuo, *shih-ta* became a matter of survival and was used pragmatically as a diplomatic instrument.

Confucian philosophy, as can be seen in the text *Ch'un-ch'iu of Tso-chuan* and in Mencius' writings, elaborated *shih-ta* (serving the great by the small), recurring on *li* (propriety, sincerity) of Chou and combining it with *tzu-hsiao* (cherishing the small by the great). Thus, the real differences in power of large and small territories were recognized, yet the maintenance of *shih-ta* relationships became a matter of moral and virtue. The moral principles of cultivating *shih-ta* and *tzu-hsiao* within *li* were *jen* (benevolence), *hsin* (trust) and *chih* (knowledge). These moral principles were instilled in and cultivated by each individual and were the basis of correct behaviour within the family, within the political system, and between states. In this sense, from the point of view of *hsiu-shen chichia chih-kuo p'ing-t'ein-hsia*, the security of a territory or country was philosophically sublimated into a matter of moral and virtuous behaviour. Chu Hsi, a Confucian scholar in the 12th century and the founder of the so-called Neo-Confucian School, extended this concept to *hua* (the Han people) and *i* (barbarians) and turned it into a hierarchical relationship within an immutable order.

From the times of the Three Kingdoms until Koryô Dynasty, even until early Chosôn (1392-1910), the Korean kingdoms had used the *sadae* relationship pragmatically. Yet, with Chosôn Neo-Confucianism took hold in Korea and became the ruling ideology. Through time, a dogmatic and moralistic understanding of *sadae* replaced the pragmatic use of the concept. For the ruling elite of Chosôn, the Neo-Confucian literati, this system became an immutable world system. The belief in this immutable system became even stronger after Ming had helped Chosôn to fend off the Japanese invasion of 1591. Ming had become the saviour of the country. Thus, the *sadae* relationship with the Ming Dynasty became absolute and a moral imperative without any strings. At one time, when Qing succeeded Ming, Chosôn remained steadfast in its absolute loyalty toward Ming - until Qing actually sent its armies. The dogmatic and rigid Neo-Confucian understanding of *sadae* had put the country in serious danger. Because of the vast superiority of the Qing Dynasty, Chosôn had to formally accept a *sadae* relationship, whereas it secretly performed the rituals befitting Ming, even after the latter's disappearance. The Chosôn literati even thought of themselves as the legitimate heirs of the Ming Dynasty and

considered Chosôn to be the small civilizing centre of the Sino-centric world.

The Neo-Confucian *sadae* philosophy was very effective in giving legitimacy to Chosôn and it pervaded the whole of its society over 5 centuries. A generalized consciousness of dependency became deeply engrained in all spheres of state and society. It can still be discovered in modern South Korean society. The US has taken the place of China. At least until the 1980's America was perceived as the saviour, the country that had shed its blood in and for Korea, and as the guarantor of South Korean security. After a certain recess due to America's support for the dictator Chun Doo Hwan during the battle for democracy, at present, possibly induced by the imminent transfer of the military war command to South Korea, apparently the number of people who desperately want to stay under the protective American umbrella is increasing. Correspondingly, President Roh Moo Hyun's (r. 2003-2007) modest policy of self-reliance has been violently attacked by the media and the opposition parties. They argue that a policy of self-reliance endangers the achievements of the past 50 years. It is not uncommon to read and hear about the need to be grateful, sincere, obedient, etc. toward the saviour and protector of the nation. Surely, there is reason to suspect that Chu Hsi's Neo-Confucianism is still alive and well.

14 Security in Japanese History, Philosophy and Ethics: Impact on Contemporary Security Policy

Mitsuo and Tamayo Okamoto

14.1 Introduction

The Japanese term for security is '*anzen-hosho*', a highly politically-charged term employed usually only in national or international policy and diplomacy. '*Anzen*' by itself means safety or freedom from damage, while '*hosho*' means guarantee, and accordingly *anzen-hosho* is not used about people's security, thus the expression '*ningen-no*' (human) '*anzen-hosho*' (security) sounds a little strange. Real security should belong to the people rather than to the state, but for human security a certain discrepancy exists between the interest of the state and that of the people. In Japanese politics, major political decisions are made by the triad of political party, bureaucracy, and business circles where people are often out of sight. Thus, human security is a reminder of the importance of 'people'-centred national and world politics.

The end of the Cold War in 1989 did not bring lasting peace to the world. It has become increasingly unsafe, especially after 11 September when the U.S. Government decided to retaliate against the terrorist attacks by bombing Afghanistan and attacking Iraq. Japan's self defence forces are still stationed in Iraq in the summer of 2006 to the dismay of many Japanese.

For ordinary Japanese the last war was the 15-year Asia Pacific War (1931-45) whose end brought about a major change in Japan's security concept. However, the military government did not protect the people, and with the U.S. use of two atomic bombs against the residents of Hiroshima and Nagasaki the world has been placed under the threat of total annihilation. 'Article 9' of the new Japanese constitution that renounced the right of the belligerency of the state has prevented Japan from engagements in war-making efforts.

The authors believe that Japan as the first nation irradiated by nuclear weapons, should work for the abolition of nuclear weapons and other WMD and aim for the realization of a peaceful world order with

nonviolent means such as through communication, dialogue, diplomacy, exchange of people, and cultural heritages. But the Japanese government seems to be headed in the opposite direction toward the coalition of war-makers by changing the 'Peace Constitution' and transforming the Self Defence Forces to a real army for war-making by enacting emergency defence laws.

This chapter analyses the decision-making process of the Japanese political leaders by tracing the modern history of Japan, its nationalism and the major turning point in 1945 (14.2), reviews the post-war nuclear conscious diplomacy (14.3), and discusses the nature of nuclear weapons (14.4), the efforts to revise the so-called peace constitution (14.5) and Japan's domestic conflicts on security (14.6) and it ends with brief conclusions (14.7).

14.2 Japan's Tendency to Nationalism

Japan owes much to the cultures of the Asian continent in forming its identity. Nevertheless, Japan often invaded and colonized neighbouring countries, with the exception of the times of self-imposed seclusion. In the new millennium, conflicts with neighbouring nations on the possession of small islands remain unresolved. Japan is still unwilling to make genuine apologies and compensations with regard to its aggression in Korea, China, the Philippines, and in other South-east Asian countries during the Asia-Pacific War. Since ancient periods and especially since the process of westernization, these problems arise from a nationalistic tendency that has led the Japanese and their governments to look at themselves and to deal with other nations. The Japanese believe that they have developed a unique culture, especially during the closed periode of their country.

However, uniqueness and nationalism are two different things. Being unique, Japan can contribute to

world peace by showing how nature and culture have merged in the creation of cultural products that can be enjoyed by anybody on earth, but by being nationalistic Japan isolates itself from the rest of the world that needs and wants cooperation from Japan in satisfying basic needs for human life. This tendency to nationalism is problematic from the perspective of global ethics where all nations should be united to gain and sustain global security against nuclear or ecological self-destruction.

Japan's nationalistic tendency was embraced in the 6th century or earlier when powerful clans fought for hegemony and had some contact with the continent. The race for hegemony in Japan ended with the victory of Yamato Clan that ruled for a relatively long period. The Yamato Clan established a legal and political system based on the Chinese models, which was only possible by sending official envoys to highly civilized China. But one official message from the Japanese chief to the Chinese leader betrayed his 'superiority complex' as the chief of the land where the sun rises.

The relatively long reign of the emperor was taken over by the rise of the warrior class that was in control of the country until the end of the 19th century. The business of the warrior, *the bushi/samurai*, was to resolve conflicts by the use of violence. Killing and being killed were everyday matters during the warring period. But when the first Tokugawa Shogun gained power, Japan was calmed down for nearly 260 years.

Japan has been to some extent politically peaceful during three periods in its history of 2000 years, first for about 300 years when the imperial court culture flourished in the *Heian Period* (794-1185), secondly, for about 200 years in the 17th and 18th centuries when the people in the towns developed their culture in literature, fine arts, and performing arts, while the country was closed to the rest of the world. Finally, the past six decades of peace after the end of the Asia-Pacific War in 1945 are notable as the state has refrained from displaying aggressive behaviour towards foreign countries except for occasional irritation that the prime minister has caused to the neighbouring countries by frequently visiting the Shinto shrine where the war criminals are enshrined who were executed by the Far East Military Tribunal of the Allied Forces immediately after WW II.

Although both Confucianism and Buddhism that have been introduced to Japan via the Korean Peninsula respected peace of mind and peaceful social order, they were powerless in preventing severe struggles in different periods of Japanese history. But

overall success of a long-standing administration is based on the establishment of a legal and bureaucratic system. At the same time the administrators were concerned about the legitimation of their reign by creating texts, often with recourse to Chinese texts.

In the 12th century the newly-risen warrior class took over the substantial power throughout the land. But most of the warrior class leaders sought the imperial court title of the grand minister while unifying the entire land, even though they lived far from the capital of Kyoto. The *bushi/samurai* rule lasted until 1868 when the Meiji Restoration took place in which no bloodshed was caused in the transfer of the power of the *shogun* back to the emperors who had resided in the former Edo Castle of the *shoguns*.

The Tokugawa Shogunate government employed Neo-Confucian philosophy as their guiding principle and soon closed doors to the external world except for trade with Dutch merchants. The Catholic missionaries from Portugal and Spain were expelled as they were suspected of taking over Japan religiously, and later politically. As the Dutch merchants lacked such religious and political ambition they were allowed to do business, albeit through a trade house in Nagasaki. The policy of banning Catholic Christianity and national seclusion seems to have helped Japan to evade the European push for colonization of several regions of the world during the 16th and 17th centuries.

The bureaucratic system of the Edo government was vertically structured but not merely despotic. Human security is not simply immunity from physical violence with basic human needs being satisfied, but also the desire of people to have freedom to develop artistic, creative capacities without fear of external threat or interference. The national seclusion policy was probably a thought-out option of feudal leaders in the age of colonialism or imperialism that reflected what the external world looked like in the eyes of the national leaders and the scholars who had the privilege of obtaining information about the outside world at Nagasaki from Dutch traders and physicians. When the feudal system finally broke up Japanese intellectuals recognized the need to learn from the West.

Toward the end of the feudal rule, there was much turmoil in the government's response to the revolts in various domains, especially by young warriors who wanted to overthrow the Shogunate government and restore the emperor's reign. The government was also threatened by visits of the fleets of the US, the UK, Russia and France, all of which demanded the ports to be opened to them.

The high regard for learning is an important part of the project to strengthen the state that was threatened by militarily stronger Western states. To strengthen its state power the Meiji government considered it essential to establish a military system based on European models. “Enrich the nation and strengthen the military” became the slogan of the Meiji government. The basic stance was to maintain Japanese tradition while employing Western technology. Hence the slogan: “Japanese spirit with Western knowledge.”

For modern Japan to obtain an equal status with Western nations the Meiji government embarked on a rapid economic development and emulated the colonial policy of the West. Japan’s adventurous yet successful wars first with Xing-China (1894–95) and then with Imperial Russia (1904–1905) were waged to reduce the influences of both powers for the grand design of colonizing the Korean Peninsula.

Japan’s military victory over Russia (1905) was a turning point in modern history. It dispelled the myth of the invincibility of the white race and brightened the hopes for India, Turkey and many other ethnicities that were under the colonial rule of Western powers. However, the price was a heavy militarization with a with a nationalistic fervour, and the military was eventually to overrule the civilian government.

The Meiji Constitution that emerged 21 years after the Charter Oath in 1889 was based not on the Oath but on the Prussian monarchical model bestowing supreme power to the emperor who had legislative superiority over the two-house Diet (the House of Peers and the House of Representatives), and the army and navy were directly responsible only to the emperor who was described as ‘divine and inviolable’. People were referred to as ‘the subjects to the emperor’ and obligated to serve in the military.

Fundamental rights of the people such as property ownership, freedom of religion, assembly, and petition were acknowledged in the Imperial Constitution as long as they did not disturb security or the social order. In this constitution the mythological origins of the emperor system were given supreme legitimacy. In 1870 Shinto was made the state religion. One of the first policies of the Meiji government was to separate Shinto from Buddhism, and for a time many Buddhist temples and texts were destroyed.

Shinto, the historically most important but problematic Japanese indigenous religion, is a mixture of animistic folk beliefs that everything has a soul, and a mythological narrative on the origin of the land, the emperor, and the people. The latter part was crafted in the early 8th century by the compilation of two

partly mythological, partly historical accounts of early Japan called *Kojiki* or *Records of Ancient Matters* and *Nihonshoki* or *Chronicles of Japan*. They were later utilized by the government of the Meiji period as the source for the state religion. In these texts the emperor was regarded as a deity, representing the legitimate lineage of the offspring of the female deity *Amaterasu* (heaven-shining) who was depicted in the mythologies to be in charge of the management of deities in heaven. She was born when *Izanagi* (a male deity) purified himself and washed his left eye, after he returned from Hades. He went there to get back his wife *Izanami* who had died accidentally from the injury that her son the god of thunder caused. *Izanami* said she would return to heaven if *Izanagi* would never look at her while she consulted with the king of Hades about her return to her husband. But like *Orpheus* in Greek mythology *Izanagi* forgot his promise and had to glimpse at his wife smeared with maggots. *Izanagi* escaped from his pursuers and came to a stream where the purification rite was performed.

As this story illuminates, for the Japanese people the act of purification, the *misogi*, most commonly enacted by using fresh clean water, is supposed to cleanse the dirt and sins of the external world. The purification rites are taken seriously even among present-day politicians, both at the state and local level. Politics here, unlike in the Greek origin, is closer to religious rites than to the equal people’s open debate and discussion in a civil society. In fact, an older Japanese term for politics was *matsurigoto*, which meant both religious festival and politics. The emperor’s official denial of his godhood came only after the end of the Asia-Pacific War in 1945.

In the early Meiji period, the emperor was given absolute powers that were displayed externally in the wars against China and Russia in establishing hegemony in the region, particularly in the Korean Peninsula. After winning both wars, the Japanese government strengthened its tendency toward militarism and the suppression of the rights of the people. Externally, Japan colonized Korea in 1910 and intervened in the matters of Xing China. Internally, progressive activists such as anarchists, socialists, and communists, were arrested, tortured, and some even executed for treason.

In the second decade of the 20th century, there was a movement called “*Taisho* Democracy” in which liberal thinkers discussed the importance of democracy. They did not call for equal participatory democracy but for a people-centred approach in politics. They demanded universal suffrage that was realized

after Japan lost the Asia-Pacific War, although male suffrage was granted already in 1925. While the emperor was no powerful figure, the government was ready to suppress various rights of the people as well as the liberal labour and farmers' movements by enforcing the *chian-ijibo*, or the Peace Preservation Act immediately after the adoption of male suffrage. Under this Act several liberals and left-wing activists were arrested and tortured. One well-known proletarian novelist, Kobayashi Takiji (1903-1933), was tortured to death by the thought-police.

All Japanese were involved in the 'Fifteen-Year Asia-Pacific War' either as soldiers or as Red Cross nurses on the front, or as family members of soldiers back home. Even middle school children were mobilized to tear down empty houses to block the spread of fire in preparation for the impending American air raids.

14.3 Nuclear-conscious Diplomacy

In order to guarantee its security and prosperity, it is essential for Japan to establish and maintain regional peace, stability, and prosperity. The Japanese government has derived three basic principles to this end. First, Japan will continue to ensure deterrence against destabilizing elements in the region in close cooperation with the United States. Second, Japan will actively promote regional cooperation and take the initiative in the modernization of the entire region, no matter what the cost. Third, Japan will continue to strengthen dialogue and cooperation with major countries outside the region.

This observation represents more or less the *official* Japanese viewpoint. The half-hidden agenda of the declared viewpoints resides in the primacy of the US military presence in the region. People in Okinawa, for example, feel very much the continuation of the Cold War configuration of world politics due to the overwhelming US military presence there. The Japanese government, despite its progressive constitution with a unique pacifist philosophy of nonviolence, seeks to consolidate a strong military alliance with the United States, which intends to exert its political, economic, and military control in the region. There is no doubt that the American military-industrial complex feeds on a Northeast Asian situation of this kind.

While in Europe NATO plays a central role for the security in the region, there is no such arrangement in the Far East. In Northeast Asia the US has a separate

dyadic military alliance with Japan, Korea, and Taiwan. No nations comparable to Great Britain and France exist in this region that can negotiate with the US as historically equal partners. Nor is there an international city like Geneva where diplomats from different countries exchange opinions on political and economic implications. And yet the region is surrounded by three major nuclear powers, Russia, China, and the United States.

There exists a deep-seated suspicion between China and Japan, primarily due to Japan's aggression against China (1931-1945) and Japan's strong military alliance with the US. The lack of a sincere apology by Japanese leaders for this aggression, coupled with some impertinent yet provocative remarks made by leading Japanese politicians on Japan's military aggression during the first half of the 20th century, reinforces China's suspicion. The Japanese people, especially the conservative politicians, should cultivate greater sensitivity on how the history of Japan's military invasion in China has remained a traumatic experience for the Chinese, even some sixty years after the end of WW II.

The frequent visits to the war-related Yasukuni Shrine by Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi since taking office in 2001 understandably stirred up considerable indignation in neighbouring countries in general but in China and Korea in particular. He does not seem to worry much about hurting international relations due to his personal perception of modern history. His behaviour is supported by like-minded Japanese who consider the Asia-Pacific War (1931-1945) as a just war to defend Japan's political and economic lifeline and survival vis-à-vis Western colonialism and aggression.

The relation between Japan and the Republic of Korea (ROK) has considerably improved since the 1980's. The so-called 'Sunshine Policy' of President Kim Dae-Jung, which has been usually evaluated only in the context of his discreet and peace-minded overtures to North Korea, was also directed to Japan, and contributed to a significant improvement of political, economic, and cultural relations between the ROK and Japan.

With regard to the proliferation of nuclear weapons in the region, the joint project of Japan and the US to develop a theatre missile defence (TMD) is far more worrisome as it might destabilize the East Asian political and military situation and give rise to a new nuclear arms race in the region. North Korea's withdrawal from the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) has generated widespread concern about its further nu-

clear development, which may also lead to a possible confrontation between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) and the US.

The incentives to defend against short- and medium-range missiles have become strong due to the increased missile potential in the region. The joint US-Japanese regional TMD project is regarded by some experts as an alarming element that may destabilize the political situation in Northeast Asia. While Taiwan has a strategic interest to join the TMD project with limited capabilities, China and the DPRK expressed their concern that the deployment of the TMD will trigger regional arms competition and give the US a free hand to dominate the area.

Although the gap between North Korea and the US is still wide, the six-party talks on the Korean nuclear issue may offer hope for peace and security in Northeast Asia. It would be a unique opportunity for Japan with its historic experience of Hiroshima and Nagasaki to demilitarize the mind of politicians, for they and not the people start war. But unless demilitarization goes hand in hand with denuclearization, its significance will diminish. As the Russell-Einstein Manifesto (1955) rightly points out, unless war is prohibited, leaders of any nation would seek to resort to nuclear weapons in times of war. Before going further, the nature of nuclear weapons will be examined.

14.4 Nature of Nuclear Weapons

A visit to the world's first irradiated cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki helps understand the inhuman nature of nuclear bombs (figure 14.1). One nuclear bomb can kill the same number of people as those killed in a carpet bombing with 10,000 of incendiary bombs used simultaneously. It releases three different kinds of energy, namely blast, heat rays, and radiation that can be initial and/or residual. People near the hypocentre at the time of explosion could be just evaporated without any trace of their existence being left. Those who survive the initial blast or heat rays may get severe burns that can leave the body disfigured and painful. But the worst effect that exposure to the bomb leaves on the human body is the effect of radiation that slowly encroaches as cancer, leukaemia, cancers of the thyroid, breast, lung and other organs. After over 60 years, A-bomb survivors, called *Hibakusha*, still suffer from and die of cancer. The Government's treatment of their health problems was inadequate, and initially they were not medically treated at all.

The purpose of the Atomic Bomb Casualty Commission (ABCC), established by the US military government in Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1947, was to collect data on the effects of the bombs on human bodies. It was established by the US National Academy of Sciences (NAS), with funding from the US Atomic Energy Commission that emerged from the Manhattan District Project to develop, produce, and test nuclear weapons during the Second World War. The establishment of the ABCC implemented President Harry Truman's directive "to undertake a long-range, continuing study of the biological and medical effects of the atomic bombs on men".¹ This directive was a response to the request by US generals in preparing for nuclear warfare with the USSR.

As a joint product of the US medical and military establishments, the ABCC was not engaged in health-care activities, nor was it assigned to give medical treatment to A-bomb victims when it was direly needed. The ABCC conducted the research in the early years of operation treating the *Hibakusha* as a huge group of 'guinea pigs'. This fact remained unknown to the world due to strict censorship imposed by the Supreme Commander of Allied Forces (SCAP). This early behaviour, especially from 1947 until the end of the occupation in 1952, would never be justified by their later conciliatory policies towards the Japanese public. There was a serious violation of the irradiated people's rights to humane treatment, even during military occupation.

Some medical scientists at the ABCC station were trying to determine the genetic influences of radiation on the offspring of the *Hibakusha*. From this perspective, medical intervention was considered an obstacle in the observation of the causal processes of irradiation (Lindee 1994). One example is their genetic studies, which included the collection of data through midwives; whose reports of each birth of a child from irradiated parents was remunerated with ten *yen* (cents). The accuracy of the study of abnormal births was questioned within the ABCC with regard to the grouping of the parents. There was a debate about how to categorize the subjects by the distance from the hypocentre or by reports of symptoms (Lindee 1994: 202). They also failed to include the father in determining the effect of radiation. The study design was defective and the results were inconclusive.

1 This statement is displayed at the entrance of the Radiation Effects Research Foundation (the ABCC's successor) in Hiroshima, Japan.

Figure 14.1: TMiyukibashi, 2.2 km from the hypocenter. A picture taken 3 hours after the explosion on August 6, 1945 by Yoshito Matsushige. **Source:** Permission has been granted by the copyright holder Ittetsu Morishita Art Studio.



Medical scientists at the ABCC used control groups to make their study look like a genuine scientific endeavour. But the study did not get the conclusive results they wanted. The policy only put unpleasant pressure on the non-irradiated people used as control subjects. In this study, there was a mother of a stillborn abnormal child, who never got her baby's body back after it had been taken by the ABCC for autopsy (Sagara 1995: 45). The incident only contributed to the mother's resentment and unwillingness to cooperate.

Since the ABCC's greatest interest was in the immediate effect of the nuclear bombs, medical scientists were much less interested in the slow after-effect of direct irradiation and residual radiation. Lindee (1994: 8) describes the ABCC's downplay of long-term radiation effects on the *Hibakusha*. Keloids were explained as the result of bad burn therapy (Lindee 1994: 61). Researchers had difficulty making sense of the births of microcephalic babies who had been in utero less than four months and within one mile or so from the hypocentre. There were 15 such cases (Sagara 1995: 51). The ABCC chased after the children for examinations while explaining to the mothers that there was no causality between their irradiation and the ab-

normality, and that malnutrition was the only cause for the children's problem.

The causal relationship between radiation and cancer or other health hazard is undeniable, but the US Government ignored it and continued to create radiation victims by nuclear experiments both at home and in the South Pacific regions. The horrendous acts harmed the lives of a great number of innocent people and also the natural environment. Yet they have neither apologized nor compensated for the damages they inflicted so devastatingly. According to a report by the US National Research Council (2006) health risks exist when people are exposed to low levels of ionizing radiation, e.g. due to the medical use of radiation. Thus, people should also be more cautious about the so-called peaceful use of radiation, especially in nuclear power plants.

Japan's 'three non-nuclear principles' not to possess, produce nor permit the introduction into Japan of nuclear weapons were officially adopted by the ministerial cabinet in 1971. They have been observed so far to ward off US pressures on nuclear weapons. But the US is pushing Japan to change its constitution so that Japan's Self-Defence Forces (SDF) can become a

full-fledged military power, which may go nuclear regardless of the US policy of keeping Japan under its nuclear umbrella.

14.5 The Peace Constitution of 1947

Since 1947 all human rights are protected by the new constitution that also prohibits waging war. Wars have been destructive, and WWII brought nothing beneficial except ending militarism and imperialism Japan had practised against neighbouring countries, and it demanded cooperation from the Japanese people. The new constitution has provisions for people's basic human rights, including welfare rights, and above all for the renunciation of war. Article 9 of the Peace Constitution states:

Aspiring sincerely to an international peace based on justice and order, the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as means of settling international disputes.

In order to accomplish the aim of the preceding paragraph, land, sea, and air forces, as well as other war potential, will never be maintained. The right of belligerency of the state will not be recognized.

This peace constitution of 1947 is under threat of revision by the present government with the support of the US Government that wants Japan to become a full-fledged military power. Keeping this constitution and sharing with other nations the memories of war and of nuclear bombs are two issues the Japanese should maintain as ethical imperatives.

Since its formation in 1955, the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) had aspired to change the constitution, especially Article 9, and they consider the time as ripe as the influence of the opposition parties in the Parliament has significantly decreased. According to a publicized draft of the revised constitution (published on 22 November 2005), Paragraph one of Article 9 is to remain the same, whereas Paragraph two will be changed so that Self-Defence Forces can become a full-fledged army. With a change of Article 9, arms export would not be constrained any longer.

The Japanese public have a different perception of the status of Japan's Peace Constitution. According to an opinion poll conducted by *The Asahi Shimbun* (3 May 2006) in April 2006, the majority of Japanese believe that over half a century Japan has not been directly involved in war primarily due to the constitution. As the only nation that suffered from atomic bombs, Japan could continue to play an important role in communicating to the world the necessity of

abolishing nuclear weapons. Contrary to this poll in which 43 per cent of the Japanese are in favour of changing Article 9 whereas 42 per cent are opposed, a national opinion poll by citizens shows a marked difference.

Seventy-seven per cent of the public is against revising the constitution's war-renouncing Article 9, according to the results of a street survey released Wednesday by a citizens group. Of the 28,169 people polled, 21,652, or 77 per cent, opposed revision, 3,270, or 12 per cent, supported revision, and 3,247, or 11 per cent, had no opinion, the group said (*The Japan Times*, 4 May 4 2006).

But Japanese political leaders have no vision to fulfil an international role as a neutral mediator in resolving conflicts that often arise between different religions and ethnicities. They ignore the true sentiment of the people about peace. The major mass media lack an independent stance and do not report what the majority of Japanese think about peace. To assume the role of a neutral mediator in world politics, the Japanese should overhaul their own value system also in a historical context, because there is an unfortunate trend in contemporary Japan to regard security as a 'national matter' instead of 'common security' which concerns everyone. In the ongoing security debate two schools compete.

14.6 Japan's Domestic Conflicts on Security

On security issues Japan is deeply divided between two camps of thought, one is represented by the ruling Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), holding power for more than fifty years, while the other group is supported by leftist parties, social democrats and communists, and numerous grass-root activists. But there are grey areas and variations in each camp and between both groups. There are also a vast number of especially young, non-political people. Those belonging to the mainstream advocate capitalist market economy that is involved in economic globalization manoeuvres in developing countries, want to make the self-defence forces to a full-fledged army by changing the peace constitution, and tend to downplay Japan's aggression against the Asia-Pacific countries during World War II, while the latter camp opposes these perspectives. Nonetheless, there are still some LDP members who are opposed to the revision of the peace constitution.

Both camps have different perceptions of the recent history of Japan, especially on Japan's wartime

involvement. The fifteen-year Asia-Pacific War killed more than 2.5 million Japanese, it killed and injured more than 20 million Chinese, and 4.25 million Chinese people were killed during Japan's invasion in China. The Japanese army also invaded and occupied the Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia, etc. and many Japanese soldiers committed war crimes such as vandalism, rape, and murder. In Okinawa a considerable number of residents were killed by the Japanese army for reasons of military manoeuvre, although the islanders were judicially recognized as Japanese. The end of the war came only after the US atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki that irradiated more than 600,000 people, killing more than 200,000 instantly or slowly by the end of 1945.

In presenting the above figures, Ienaga Saburo (1979) points out that the Great Japan Empire and the post-war government as its successor should take the whole responsibility for causing the war and for making compensation for the damages that the war efforts brought forth. He also argues that the Japanese, both during the war and now, have been responsible for this war. The present generation inherits this responsibility as we live in the same space though at different times. This view is shared by those who regard Japan's militarism and invasion in foreign countries as unjustifiable and the post-war democracy as a major progress, even though it was imposed by the occupation army.

In 1965 Professor Ienaga filed a lawsuit against the government with regard to a history textbook screening. He launched three suits that reached to the Supreme Court and he won a partial victory. The Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT) tends to avoid themes such as 'comfort women' used by the Japanese army and Japan's various aggressions in Korea, China, and South-east Asian countries during the Asia-Pacific War. In 2002 a history textbook was published that obscures the nature of Japan's war of aggression and the MEXT was eager to have it adopted by as many schools as possible as it suits the government's stance, but as of September 2005 only a few schools have adopted it. In Japan the superintendent and members of the Board of Education are appointed by the local government and they can decide on the textbooks to be used. The history textbook controversy still goes on and the number of the schools adopting it may eventually increase. Thus, those children using the textbook will nurture a false image of Japan's recent history and indulge themselves in the 'glory' of Japan's military advances with the victories over Russia and China. Many young Japanese do not understand

why, when they are confronted with occasional outburst of rage by Chinese and Koreans.

The present Japanese administration wants to make compulsory the raising of the national flag and the singing of the national anthem that is titled 'To the reign of the emperor'. In 1999 it enacted a law to enforce it, ignoring those who feel ill at ease with the flag and the anthem primarily because both were identified with aggression and conquest during the war days as symbols of Japanese imperialism. In some cases, the local educational board observes each school ceremony, thus the offenders (who do not stand up when they are supposed to do so) will be punished.

14.7 Conclusion

As the above review indicates, no uniquely Japanese philosophy and ethics can contribute to the idea of human security other than the love of the Japanese people for nature and harmony despite the political aggressiveness to the outside world. While some Japanese politicians are responsible for initiating the UN human security programmes, the conceptual ideas expressed by the Human Security Commission (CHS 2003) came mainly from Professor Amartya Sen. But it is more important to implement the universal values that are expressed in this report in various sectors of national and international politics, and not just in the official ODA efforts.²

People as well as nations can agree at the level of ethics, namely when they need to work for peace and security as global values while they can differ in their philosophical views of nature and culture. Japan could contribute to world peace and security when the Japanese people and the government cease to be self-centred, self-righteous, and aggressive. Even if we avoid destruction by nuclear weapons and/or radioactive pollution, ecological destruction may be imminent and the earth may become uninhabitable. No nation can afford to remain self-centred or nationalistic. Thus, Japan should now act as a reminder to the former forerunner of democracy who promoted the values of equality and freedom in the past, but who is now apparently indulged in pursuing unilaterally the dreams of a holy empire, and become so anachronistic and harmful for the rest of the global community.

2 Scholarly contributions to the human security discussion include: Mushakoji (2003), Katsumata (2001) and research programmes and symposia on human security held at various institutes and universities.

15 Thinking on Security in Hinduism: Contemporary Political Philosophy and Ethics in India

Naresh Dadhich

15.1 Concept of Security

The concept of security is as old as human civilization. The search for security for oneself from death and bodily harm is innate in human nature as part of its biological self which is common to all living beings. In the beginning it was intuitionist but gradually rational measures were sought to safeguard oneself. Thus began the thinking on security. The term security became popular during the Roman Empire (see the chapter by Arends in this volume.). In Latin, *securus* represents a state of psychological status of mind to secure oneself against enemies. It was used more for the emperor and his family than for the public. Security of the emperor was considered as security of his empire.

In Indian thought this meaning is also reflected in ancient texts. The term 'security' means to be without sorrow or anxiety, confident, free from danger, safe, stable; to ensure and 'secure' refers to the state, feeling, or means of being secure, the protection from espionage, a surety, etc. In contemporary social sciences security is considered an ambiguous concept. It is used not only for understanding international relations, a very important area of study, but its application is extended to civil society where it is also used both with a normative as well as pragmatic meaning. Security in the international arena is concerned with a state's sense of safety which is essential for the well-being of its citizens. It is essential but not a sufficient condition for welfarism of citizens. It is not merely the power of defending oneself in the wake of an attack from another state, but to have military or non-military power to dissuade other states from even thinking of attacking. This requires not simply brutal force but also diplomatic skills, propaganda, alliances, and a normative moral stature. The welfare schemes for citizens provided by the state are also a form of security for its citizens if we broaden the scope of security.

In the twenty-first century security involves not only security from enemies of the state but also 'human security' and 'environmental security'. Global warming, changing climatic conditions, tsunamis, and the thinning forestry have become security concerns. Security also has a philosophical dimension which centres on man's quest for eternity and this forces man to think beyond the immediate future and even beyond life. The philosophical or spiritual quest for eternity is also a part of security thinking.

The traditional concept of security is confined to 'real threats' to the state emerging from another state. This traditional notion of security is analysed through many approaches including idealism, realism, rationalism and others. But for the purpose of an exhaustive analysis, a wider notion of security has to be accepted, which includes not merely military aspects but also economic, social, and environmental security aspects. Security in this sense is a part of policy within the state. The welfare state is a type of state which stresses 'social security' issues.

15.2 Security in Hinduism

In the ancient Hindu texts, the security of the citizens is considered to be maintained when the state functions according to *dharma* (the law of the social order) or maintains *rta* (the rigvedic notion of *dharma*). But elaborate precautions are mentioned in *dharma-shastras* (a branch of Brahmanical sacred literature dealing with civil and religious law, a source of law of the social order) about security of the king and his family. The security of the king was considered to be of primary importance as the security of the state and its citizens were directly connected with it.

15.2.1 Kautilya

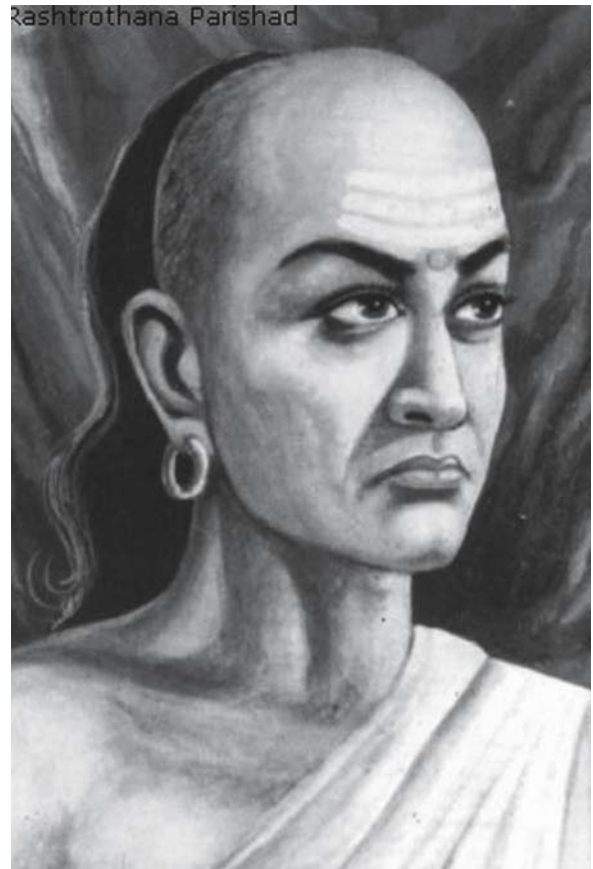
After the Vedic *samhitas* and *bramanas* were composed in the early period (600–325 BC), *dharmashastras* were written and continued to be written well up to AD 1000. The earliest of them was *Arthashastra* which was a special branch of *dharmashastra* and was written by many scholars but with the exception of Kautilya's *Arthashastra*, no complete work of this class has been handed down to us. The only surviving parts are references and quotations by later authors. Kautilya himself has frequently quoted his predecessors either for support or for criticism.¹ Later Kautilya's follower Kamandaka in his text *Nitisara* repeats citations from earlier writers of *Arthashastra*. The branch of knowledge manifested by *Arthashastra* introduced for the first time the rigorous scrutiny of the king's administration, of interstate relation, and of the security of the king and the state. Kautilya defines *Arthashastra* as "The source of the livelihood of men is *artha* (wealth); that is to say, the territory (and the inhabitants following various professions) is the wealth (of a nation). The science by which territory is acquired and maintained is *Arthashastra* - the science of wealth and welfare" (Kautilya 1992: 100). The same definition was applied by Kautilya in his own work when he stated that his work summarizes extensively all other *Arthashastra* works prepared by early masters on the subject of the acquisition and preservation of the dominion (*prithvi*).² Kautilya emphasized that the king is the centre of society and the power behind the state.³ It is thus necessary to provide adequate security to the king in order to prevent the state from collapsing and to prevent resultant chaos in society. Regarding the security of the king, Kautilya discussed the problem and the importance of the king's protection against his own sons. This problem was discussed by many scholars before him and he provides interesting solutions for the king's safety (Ghoshal 1966: 92–93).

1 Kautilya, also known as Chanakya and Vishnugupta, wrote *Arthashastra*, which was the most comprehensive treatise of statecraft of classical times. He destroyed the Nanda dynasty and installed Chandragupta Maurya as the King of Magadha.

2 Dominion means acquisition and rule over a geographical territory. It is not a system of rule of political regime. It is hegemony over geographical territory.

3 Kautilya has been frequently compared with Machiavelli who also centred his thought around the Prince and who among others introduced *realpolitik* into Western political thought.

Figure 15.1: Chanakya: Also known as Kautilya, the Writer of Artha-Shastra, the first known treatise on the government and economy in the 3rd Century B.C. **Source:** <<http://www.kamat.com/kalranga/ancient/3335.htm>>. Copyright © 1996-2007 has been granted by Kamat's Potpourri on September 2007



Bharadwaj declares that the princes for whom their father feels no affection at their birth should be killed in secret.⁴ Vatavyadhi advised that the princes should be deliberately lured to sensual indulgence so that they would not develop hate for their father.⁵ Other writers suggest different methods of keeping the prince under restraint, indicating a total distrust of the prince. All of them agree that the greatest danger to the king lies in the unprincipled ambitions of his sons, and therefore, the security of the king's person

4 Bharadwaj was an ancient Indian philosopher. He was radical, materialist, and refused to adhere to the notion of a soul substance. He found no evidence for any sensitive substantial self after the extinction of the body.

5 Vatavyadhi was an early *Arthashastra* authority of whom little is known. Fragments of his commentary on *Arthashastra* are cited by others.

against them should be a fundamental objective of state policy. The king whose safety is ensured from those far and near is capable of protecting his kingdom.

Kautilya rejected the view that sons of the king should be treated as his potential enemies. He rejected Vatavyadhi's view that princes should be lured to sensual indulgence in the interest of the king's safety. He rather advocated that the prince should be given a good education under the guidance of experts that prepares him for being a future ruler. While a prince without respect for his father may be put into prison or banned from the state, a self-controlled prince should be appointed as Crown Prince. Kautilya in two chapters of his book *Arthashastra* describes in detail how the king should secure his safety in his palace, particularly during the acts of visiting his queen, taking his meals and attending to his bodily needs, witnessing shows, visiting gardens, hunting, granting interviews, joining fairs and festivals.

Kautilya also suggests that the king should watch the behaviour of his own officials as well as those of his enemies. This certainly requires an elaborate system of espionage. Kautilya enumerates nine different classes of spies and explains how the first five classes should be stationary and the remaining four should be peripatetic. He was also concerned about the enemies' deceitful behaviour in luring the king's own loyal and disloyal subjects, and wanted the king to seduce loyal servants of the enemy. He assigned duties to spies to look after such dangers to the king and he elaborated strategies of how to counter such manipulations by enemies. In this strategy, the role of masses is very important and all efforts should be made to mobilize public opinion in the king's favour.

Kautilya believes that the judgment of the masses is based on popular slogans and not on reasoned convictions. Masses have no principles but only passions. It is the task of the statesman to take advantage of such situations to win mass opinion in favour of the king. In the chapter entitled "Extirpation of Thorns" Kautilya advises the king to crush his enemies completely for his own security. The king should apply against the chief officers (*mukhyas*) defying his authority or aligning with the enemy the weapon of espionage and official propaganda. In conclusion, Kautilya attributed sufficient importance to the safety of the king, which to his mind was a prerequisite of the safety of the kingdom and therefore of its citizens.

15.2.2 Manu

Manu in his *smriti* (a source of state law from the period of 200 BC to AD 300.) elaborated the policy of public security which a king should follow.⁶ Public security is threatened by two classes of thieves, one is the *open thieves* and the other the *secret thieves*. The open thieves consist of those who live by *dishonest* means like, gamblers, physicians guilty of improper conduct, rogues, cheaters, etc. The secret thieves comprise of burglars, inhabitants of the forest, etc. The King should get these thieves caught and punish them severely. The punishments are also mentioned by Manu for damaging public property and thus threatening public security like breaking down dams of tanks, cutting off the water supply, adulterating commodities, dishonest dealing with patients or customers, etc. Manu, like Kautilya, is concerned with public security and prescribes drastic measures to protect the public from the anti-social elements. Manu's methods of implementation of this policy which are almost as drastic as those of Kautilya comprise, besides the posting of armed guards and spies at public places as a preventive measure, the punishment of offenders through agents, the arrest of thieves through their treacherous associates, and their wholesale extermination as well as punishments for various other offences (including the negligence of duties by government servants and the indifference shown by the people in cases of breach of peace (Ghoshal 1966: 181).

15.2.3 Kamandaka

Kamandaka's *Nitisara* follows the *Arthashastra* tradition in its instruction to the king to acquire land and for the preservation of dominance.⁷ As was the practice in ancient India, the political system revolved around the king and the political analysis is concentrated on the role of the king and his strategies to safeguard himself and to enhance the power of his kingdom. Like older *Arthashastras*, a full chapter is de-

6 Manu was the first thinker who drew on jurisprudence, philosophy, and religion to create an extraordinary, encyclopaedic model of how life should be lived, in public and private. He wrote *Manusmriti*, which was later modified by others but it became a standard source of authority in the orthodox tradition for Hinduism.

7 Kamandak is the true follower of Kautilya. His work belongs to AD 300–800. He addressed his book to the king and elaborated the role of the army and inter-state relations.

voted to political expediency as well as to a branch of policy called extirpation of thorns (*Kantakasodhan*). Kamandaka says that the king should direct all his energies towards improving the state territory (*rashtra*) and should protect his person, as that will ensure security of the people of his kingdom. He further states that slaying the wicked for the sake of *dharm*a is not a sin and should protect his subjects with all means and punish all those who oppress the subjects. Enemies of the state from within (those favourites of the king who oppress the kingdom) should be put to death either in an exemplary manner or in secrecy. The king was also warned against greedy and haughty princes, and measures to be adopted by the king were prescribed accordingly. The king should raise his son in a virtuous and disciplined manner, and a disciplined son should be declared as Crown Prince. On the other hand, an undisciplined son should be tamed like a rogue elephant.

Kamandaka follows Kautilya's policy towards security measures in the public interest as well as in the interest of the king. The king's security is held to be the means of ensuring public security. The suppression of public enemies is a sound policy, both politically and morally. He also devoted a full chapter on inter-state relations where he elaborated on peace, war, attack, and neutrality.

Several works from this ancient period up to the tenth century AD were lost but have been referred to and cited by later writers. Among the authorities cited by the fourteenth century *Smriti* writer Chandesvara⁸ in his *Rajnitiratnakara* are fragments of Vyasa, Narada, Harita, Brihaspati and Padma, Sukra, Srikara and Gopala. Most of these thinkers wrote about security in the sense of the king's security as that alone can give security to the subjects of his kingdom. The distinctive duty of the king according to this 'ancient school' consists in protecting the people, ensuring their security, not retreating from battle, and honouring the Brahmins. Sukra with Kamandaka believes that a king's behaviour and values should be different from those of an ordinary man as son and father turn against each other out of greed for the kingdom. Vasishtha comments that a state deprived of its ruler is like a woman bereft of her husband.

15.2.4 Somadeva

In the period extending from the ninth to the thirteenth century A D. Jaina writers flourished. Of these, two wrote on polity in the same class of the previous commentators from Kautilya onward. In the tenth century Somadeva wrote a work on polity known as *Nitivakyamitram* (The nectar of sayings on polity).⁹ In the eleventh century Hemchandra wrote *Laghvarhanniti* (abridgement of the science of polity of the blessed one).¹⁰

Somadeva on the one hand is more versatile and defining *niti* in its wider sense covered general morality, poetry, music and dancing, etc. along with prescription for the king and his kingdom, while Hemchandra devoted his four chapters on the king and his offices, war, punishment, the law, and legal procedure and penance. Somadeva followed the *Arthasastra-Smriti* tradition in formulating his ideas regarding polity especially represented by Kautilya and Manu. He warns the king to be constantly on vigil against his own and his enemy's people, for with his own security everything is secure. Without the king the state has no centre to hold it in the same manner as without a backbone a human being cannot hold all his bone structure. He prescribes reasons for allowing some groups to be kept near the king and some to be kept at a distance. A king may allow nearness to his women, his kinsmen, and his sons. After analysing the complex nature of women, he warns the king not to trust them completely and keep them in good humour. The kinsmen may be given power according to their ability and loyalty but the king's loyal servants should constantly watch them. The sons of the king should be given a good education, which may save the fortune of the king's family. The king's security is considered as the key to the security of the state.

Sukra in his *Nitisara* also followed his predecessors Kamandaka and Kautilya in describing the king's security as the key to the security of the people. He elaborated on the dangers for the life of the king and how to overcome them, especially from his own sons.

The ancient Hindu concept of security of the people and of the state was thus confined to the security of the king in that almost all ancient texts give elabo-

8 Along with Vachaspati Mishra and Upamanyu Upadhyaya, Chandesvara was a well-known commentator on Dharmasashastras who belongs to the Mithila region of Bihar.

9 Not much is known about Somadeva's life except that he was a Jain saint and author of a literary work 'Yasatilaka'. His famous book on political science is called 'Nitivakyanmiritam'. It was composed in AD 992.

10 Hemchandra (1088-1172) was a Jain saint and a Sanskrit scholar. He wrote many treatises including biographies of saints, dictionaries, philosophy, and yoga.

rate measures to prevent the king from being killed by his own sons, kinsmen and friends, along with his enemies.

15.3 Contemporary Indian Thought

Raja Ram Mohan Roy, who wrote in the early nineteenth century, is widely acknowledged as the first modern thinker of India.¹¹ He is known for his rational thinking and acclaimed as a crusader for radical social reforms, including the ban on *sati* (the burning of the widow). In the nineteenth century Indian thought, the important questions were related to socio-religious reform and to growing nationalism. Not much was written on the questions of state policies, inter-state relations or welfare schemes.

In the early twentieth century when the national movement against the British started making an impact, scholars like Gopal Krishna Gokhale¹² and Bal Gangadhar Tilak¹³ wrote about the duties of the state and demanded political reforms. The nature and methods to fulfil their demands were different, and on that basis they were broadly divided into two groups, namely moderates and extremists. Gokhale believed that for developing a sense of security in the citizens, the British Government should gradually associate Indians with the governmental work and eventually give self-government to Indians. Tilak believed that only *Swaraj* could give Indians a sense of security. *Swaraj* is complete independence, and is both a spiritual and a political concept. Most thinkers of that time were concerned with India's independence and their thought revolves only around this question. M.K. Gandhi known as *Mahatma* (The Great Soul) Gandhi was among the exceptions who gave transcendental thought while leading the national movement for more than a quarter of a century.

11 Raja Ram Mohan Roy (22 May 1772–27 Dec. 1833) was the first Indian thinker who introduced modern ideas in Indian thinking. He was a rationalist and well acquainted with western ideas of his time and also influenced by them. Among other treatises, he wrote, *Tahfal-ul-Muwabhidin* (a gift to Deists) in 1803–1804.

12 Krishna Gokhale (9 May 1866–19 Feb. 1915) was an important political leader who held moderate ideas, and Mahatma Gandhi acknowledged him as his political mentor. He wrote many treatises.

13 Bal Gangadhar Tilak (23 July 1856–1 Aug. 1920) was a radical political leader who introduced mass politics in India and used religious festivals to propagate ideas of nationalism. Among many treatises he wrote, his commentary on Gita (*Gitarahasya*) was the most popular.

Figure 15.2: Gandhi dressed as a satyagrahi (non-violent activist) in 1913. **Source:** Internet at: <http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Image:Gandhi_satyagrahi.jpg>. A South African work that is in the public domain in South Africa according to this rule is in the public domain in the U.S. only if it was in the public domain in South Africa in 1996, e.g. if it was published before 1946 and no copyright was registered in the U.S.



15.3.1 M. K. Gandhi: Non-violence and Security

Gandhi was no systematic thinker in the sense of a professionally trained philosopher. He wrote extensively and his collection of writings runs into more than 100 published volumes comprising about fifteen million words. He wrote on diverse subjects including food habits, nature cure, truth, non-violence, British rule, religious commentary, social problems, etc. Gandhi's writings sometimes lead to contradictory interpretations but there is a common essential thread combining all his diverse views into one coherent philosophical outlook that has certain characteristics.

First, Gandhi believed that human history includes a constant struggle between evil and good as human beings combine both elements of good and bad. This is also constant struggle within one's soul and it is a duty to promote the good or divine elements within oneself.

Second, non-violence is the basis of all existence. Non-violence or *ahimsa* (which conveys positive love) is the ultimate value. Gandhi believed that in its positive form, *ahimsa* means the largest love, the greatest charity that binds us to one another and to God, *ahimsa* and love are one and the same thing. Although both violence and non-violence are part of life and values of human life, non-violence is a higher value. He says, "I have found that life persists in the midst of destruction. Only under that law would a well-ordered society be intelligible and life worth living" (Gandhi 1931: 1). Gandhi has been correctly described as a prophet of non-violence. It is he who successfully demonstrated that non-violence could be used as a potent weapon of protest and conflict resolution.

Third, for Gandhi every human activity is directed towards realizing truth. Truth is objective but its manifestation is subjective. To realize this truth, non-violence is the only means. One can only pursue this path successfully when one constantly purifies oneself by abiding by certain vows including no possession, no stealing, and celibacy. Gandhi's political movement was thus called *Satyagraha*, meaning clinging to truth or to the force of the soul. Gandhi's thought was comprehensive and revolved around concepts which were popular during the freedom struggle in India. These concepts such as: *Satyagraha*, *Swadeshi*, *Swaraj*, *Sarvodaya*, *Ramrajya*, *Trusteeship*, *Bread labour*, *Ahimsa*, *Satya*, etc. were used by Gandhi to explain his thought that was not limited to these concepts only. The important political concepts used in Western political thought like freedom, justice, equality, rights, political obligation, state, democracy have also been analysed by Gandhi directly or indirectly.

Gandhi treats the concept of security in a different way. At the individual level Gandhi favoured spiritual or religious (his religion was not confined to rituals only) solutions for fearlessness. At a societal level, he supported community associations to secure the life and belongings of citizens. Gandhi was a philosophical anarchist and thus had no faith in the state. He believed that evil lies in the concentration of power. The state is only an extreme example of the concentration of power. The state thus cannot provide security to its citizens. Gandhi did not have any faith in the military,

which he thought was not necessary for the security of a state. At a meeting of the Congress Working Committee in September 1938, Gandhi wanted that the Congress should declare that a free India would not have any army to defend itself. In other meetings in 1939 and 1940 Gandhi also reiterated his demand for abolishing the military in an independent India. For providing security to the citizens, war was objected to by Gandhi. He was a pacifist who believed that war itself was a crime against God and humanity. During World War II, while sympathizing with the Jews, he said, "If there ever could be a justifiable war in the name of and for humanity, a war against Germany, to prevent the wanton persecution of a whole race, would be completely justified. But I do not believe in any war" (Gandhi 1994: 156-57).

In ancient Indian political thought war was considered necessary for the security of citizens and the protection of the state, but Gandhi did not believe in it. During his formative years, Gandhi participated in war as a medical volunteer. In 1899, Gandhi supported the British in the Boer War as he felt that as a citizen of the British Empire, it was his duty to support it if he wanted rights from it. But later on he changed his opinion on the British Empire. The Zulu rebellion in South Africa in 1906 was an eye-opener for him as he witnessed atrocities and violence committed during that war. During the First World War Gandhi helped raising recruits in India and an ambulance corps in London. Gandhi's participation in the Boer and Zulu wars as well as in World War I invited criticism from pacifists. The Dutch pacifist, the Rev. B. De Light, even asked him to explain his conduct in public in light of his commitment to *ahimsa*. Gandhi explained his conduct in many articles he wrote, especially in 1928 and 1929, by asserting that non-violence was not simply a philosophical principle for him but was the rule and the breath of his life. He reminded that he was uncompromisingly against all war and strongly convinced that war can neither provide security to anyone nor can it provide a lasting peace. His participation in wars was peripheral and propelled by a sense of duty towards justice and citizenship. Time and again he emphasized that his energy was devoted to prevent violence and war, and as an unconditional pacifist and war resister he held that participation in war is neither righteous nor fruitful and nothing positive has ever come out of an armed conflict.

Gandhi had doubts about the state's intention and its capacity to provide protection to its citizens. He believed that the state represents violence in a concentrated and organized form and has no soul, and so it

can never be weaned from violence to which it owes its very existence. Even the political sovereignty of the state could not escape his scrutiny. Gandhi questioned the legitimacy of the theory of absolute sovereignty, and like T. H. Green he believed that politics is an expression of the moral life. Sovereignty of the state was a challenge to the moral right of man to shape his own destiny. The state thus was not considered a prime institution to provide security to its people. Gandhi's disbelief in the state and its instruments of protection was based on a fundamental understanding of human beings, their goals, nature and historical experiences. Gandhi emphasized the importance of the individual. He asked, "If the individual ceases to count, what is left of society?" (Gandhi 1994c: 254-255) Individual is the centre of any authority and value system. If the individual is the supreme consideration then the law which governs his behaviour should be of supreme importance. This law is the law of non-violence.

It is because of Gandhi's firm belief in ultimate superiority of non-violence in philosophical and practical terms that he linked the question of security with non-violence. No external institution can provide an adequate sense of security to the individual, as violence can never guarantee safety and security to anybody. When the life is given by God and is governed by the eternal law of non-violence, the individual can have a sense of security in non-violence and truth. Gandhi's theory of non-violence is not a simple theory. It has its own philosophical implications. He believed that non-violence (*ahimsa*) is synonymous with love, God and truth, and in fact there is no other means to achieve truth than *ahimsa*. He says, "Without *ahimsa* it is not possible to seek and find truth. *Ahimsa* and truth are so interlinked that it is practically impossible to disentangle and separate them. They are like the two sides of a coin, or rather of a smooth unstamped metallic disc who can say, which is the obverse and which is the reverse? Nevertheless, *ahimsa* is the means, truth is the end" (Gandhi 1961: 27). Gandhi did not take a narrow view of *ahimsa* equating it only with non-killing and non-injury. For him violence also means being hurt by evil thought, by undue haste, by lying, by hatred, by wishing ill to anybody, or by holding on to what the world needs. For Gandhi *ahimsa* means infinite love, unbounded charity, voluntary self-suffering, non-attachment, fearlessness, strength and innocence. Gandhi distinguished among three types of *ahimsa* based on nature and practice.

The highest type of *ahimsa* is what Gandhi calls the enlightened non-violence or resourcefulness or the non-violence of the brave. It follows from one's firm convictions and becomes a law or habit of life because one is incapable of engaging oneself in violence after reaching a particular level of being after self purification. This perfect stage is utopian in nature and useful only as an ideal to be followed by human beings. Gandhi did not include himself in the list of those persons who practice such *ahimsa* as he was aware of his own shortcomings and was not hesitant to confess them.

The second type of *ahimsa* is that which is adopted as a measure of expediency and sound policy in a certain sphere of life. Gandhi calls it the non-violence of the weak or the passive non-violence of the helpless. Although it is not as effective as the first type it is easier to cultivate also in groups.

The third type is the non-violence by mistake, or the passive non-violence of the coward. This is the non-violence of the coward who cannot face challenges and takes recourse to non-violence out of fear. Gandhi did not accept this type of non-violence as "cowardice and *ahimsa* do not go together anymore than water and fire" (Gandhi 1994b: 296). He even advocated violence instead of adopting this type of false non-violence. He says, "It is better to be violent if there is violence in our breasts than to put on the cloak of non-violence to cover impotence" (Gandhi 1994a: 301-302). Gandhi would prefer a violent man to a coward preaching non-violence, as a coward does not have faith in God or even in himself, while a violent man is courageous and can accept the challenge of self-suffering by accepting *ahimsa* as a way of life after transformation.

Gandhi believed that *ahimsa* being superior to violence requires a higher kind of courage, that is, the courage of dying without killing. Gandhi argued that *ahimsa* is the greatest force at the disposal of mankind and acknowledging its importance, should be used by human beings to fight evil. Gandhi's understanding of and immense faith in *ahimsa* leaves little space for any other institutional arrangement or policy to provide protection to citizens in the wake of danger from other states or from internal enemies.

This faith in *ahimsa* makes Gandhi a spiritual man but he also presented rational practices and arrangements based on a utilitarian application of *ahimsa* in political and social matters and that makes him a unique man in the history of human society. His instinctual suspicion of the state and rulers ruled out any possibility of protection from them towards their

Figure 15.3: A studio photograph of Gandhi taken in London at the request of Lord Irwin in 1931. **Source:** at: <http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Image:Gandhi_studio_1931.jpg>. The photographer is unknown and the photo is more than 70 years old. According to the Bern Convention and the law of most countries, this photo is in the public domain.



subjects. Gandhi's ideal society *Ramrajya* (which is a utopia) is a stateless society governed by mutual respect and sustained by non-violent conflict resolution. In it, sovereignty resides in people and rules and regulations derive their strength from moral authority. Gandhi's second best state is the welfare state, which is democratic in nature and committed to the welfare of the people. Gandhi supported democratic decentralization, autonomous village economy, strengthening of *gram sabha* (village council), and a comprehensive developmental theory incorporating various aspects of human life including the moral dimension.

Gandhi's critique of modernity and his attempts of retaining a reformed tradition with unique definitions and interpretations of religion, *dharma*, non-violence, truth, social reforms, spiritualization of politics, and a village self-sufficient economy also effected his notion of security which in his thinking is not merely security of the human body but of securing one's soul and

mind, values and understanding, culture and humanness. This broad interpretation of security goes beyond even the concept of human security, which is how security is defined nowadays. Gandhi was thus ahead of his time in conceptualizing many new phenomena, including that of security. Gandhi drew his strength from his spiritual convictions and single-mindedly applied himself in practical affairs including political and social reforms. His was a moral vision which included a moral foundation of society as well as of the individual. If an individual has strength derived from his moral and spiritual conviction, especially his belief in effectiveness of non-violence, then he can take care of his security and the same law is applied to society also. The institutions of society should be based on moral foundations and non-violent structures be encouraged so that 'structural violence' does not threaten security of members of society.

Gandhi was the only contemporary political thinker who is well recognized universally and whose contribution in conflict resolution theories and practice in the form of *Satyagraha* is accepted as a unique contribution. After Gandhi, in contemporary Indian political thinking not much is written about security. Indian thinkers like M. N. Roy (1952) tried to indianize Marxism whereas Vinoba Bhave (1973) and Jaiprakash Narain (1959) carried forward Gandhian messages in their own way, B. R. Ambedkar (1948) wrote primarily on the plight of lower castes in India and Aurobindo Ghosh (1951) tried to combine western evolutionary theory with Indian cyclic theory of development. Jawahar Lal Nehru (1961) wanted to develop India on modern lines by establishing big industries, constructing big dams, establishing scientific laboratories and centres of research. Security in Nehru's vision was linked to modernization and industrialization. A modern industrial society will make the Indian citizen more secure and a democratically elected government, which follows the rule of law, is a necessary condition for any type of security.

15.4 Conclusion

Indian political thought is rich in describing various aspects of politics, although the description is at times in different conceptual framework than used by western political thinkers. Security is also such an issue which has been given adequate attention by Indian thinkers, but in their own way. In ancient times, security was primarily that of the king who was the centre of every kingdom and on whose security and safety

lay the security and safety of the people. There are various ways suggested by ancient writers to provide security to the kings.

In the modern era, security was linked with political freedom as most writings during this period belonged to the Indian freedom struggle, and until and unless Indians get freedom from British rule security of Indians could not be guaranteed. Gandhi successfully linked the question of security with non-violence.

In the contemporary world where security is being redefined daily and is being dissociated with military and linked with questions of human rights, democracy and good governance, the Indian idea of security is also changing with the times and the rise of civil society in India is an indication in this direction.

The Human Development Report defined human security as people's "safety from chronic threats and protection from sudden hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life" (UNDP 1994) and listed seven components of human security economic security, food security, health security environmental security, personal (physical) security, community security, and political security (see this vol. and vol. IX in this Hexagon series). Contemporary Indian thinking represented by Amartya Sen and others has taken these issues seriously.

16 Human Security in Jewish Philosophy and Ethics

Robert Eisen

16.1 Introduction

The subject of security has undergone significant changes in recent years. For the better part of the past century, security studies had as its goal the examination of international affairs with the hope of finding ways to minimize armed conflict between nations. However, in the past decade or two, security specialists have recognized that security defined in this fashion is of little utility. Human beings may live in a world devoid of war but still be miserable if their lives are endangered by a host of factors in other realms, such as the economy, the environment, and politics. The focus of recent explorations of security has therefore shifted away from the security of states to the security of individuals, with an interest in examining the nexus of factors that affect the individual's physical well-being.

To my knowledge, the present chapter is the first attempt to explore this new conception of security from a Jewish standpoint. My goal here will therefore be to establish whether Judaism even has such a conception. In the first portion of my analysis, I will examine this question from a broad theological perspective by evaluating the extent to which Judaism values the physical well-being of the individual. I will argue that Judaism not only has concern for this issue, but that it is basic to its world-view. I will then discuss how Jewish sources grapple with specific topics in human security. It is beyond the scope of this chapter to conduct a comprehensive discussion of all such topics because of the large volume of Jewish material on these issues. I will therefore concentrate my efforts on three major topics: war and peace, human rights, and poverty. My hope is that a discussion of these themes will give a sense of the richness of Jewish sources regarding human security. Finally, I will address the role the State of Israel has to play in Jewish conceptions of human security in the modern period.

My analysis will be based on a reading of Jewish religious sources that is admittedly selective. First, I

will focus mainly on biblical and rabbinic texts since biblical and rabbinic Judaism are the twin pillars upon which all later Jewish thought and ethics are based.¹ Secondly, even my citations of biblical and rabbinic texts will be selective because those texts present a wide range of views on any given topic. Therefore, one can speak only of a preponderance of opinion in biblical and rabbinic sources with respect to the issues discussed here. Nonetheless, the sources present enough of a consensus on those issues that conclusions can be drawn about what constitutes mainstream Judaism.²

16.2 General Theological Considerations

One might expect that Judaism would offer a paucity of material on the subject of human security, given that this topic is so closely tied to the political realm. Throughout their history, Jews have had relatively little opportunity to deal with political matters. Jews have spent almost two-thirds of their three-thousand year history governed by others, and thus a large portion of their sacred texts were written when they did not have political sovereignty—most notably, the entire corpus of rabbinic Judaism which includes the Talmud.

However, Judaism has a great deal to say about human security and this is so for several reasons. First, Jews did have sovereignty for many centuries in ancient Israel and therefore the Hebrew Bible furnishes

1 The following primary texts have been used: a) *Babylonian Talmud*: Standard edition; b) *Jerusalem Talmud*: Standard edition; c) Maimonides, *Moses: Mishneh Torah*, Standard edition; d) *Midrash Rabbah*: Standard edition.

2 This is a problem that afflicts all religions with a long history, such as Judaism. In such religion, there is rarely unanimity on any given issue, but rather tendencies and emphases in one direction or another.

much material on political issues. Second, the later rabbis often reflect on political matters even though their discussions are mostly theoretical in nature, seeing as they could not implement them in practice. Third, when Jews lived under the sovereignty of others in the medieval period, they were often allowed to govern their own communities and they therefore evolved an extensive body of legal literature concerning politics as applicable to this local form of government, limited as it was. Fourth, in the past several decades Jews have once again gained sovereignty with the establishment of the State of Israel and this has thrust new attention on the question of the political in Judaism and has revived interest in developing this area. Fifth, Jewish sources often have an acute sensitivity to issues related to human security because Jews have had an extensive history of persecution and suffering. In fact, in the biblical text Jewish nationhood is forged in the bonds of the Egyptian slavery. This sensitivity has inspired Jews to place great value on human physical well-being.

Yet, perhaps the most important reason that Judaism has a lot to say about human security lies in the very nature of Judaism itself. One of the hallmarks of Jewish religion is its highly positive view of the mundane world. One is supposed to enjoy God's earth in all its materiality and physicality – though within limits set by God's commandments. Striving for physical well-being is therefore not only permitted but a divine imperative.

16.2.1 The Hebrew Bible

This insight is borne out by a selective perusal of Jewish sources. In the Hebrew Bible, Adam and Eve are initially placed in the Garden of Eden where all of their physical needs are taken care of. Idyllic human existence is therefore characterized by human security. When Adam and Eve sin and are expelled from Eden, their punishment is that their security is effectively taken away. They lose their economic security in that they must now produce bread by the sweat of their brow, and their security is further compromised when violence and murder are introduced into the world with Cain's killing of Abel (Gen. 3:17-8, 4:1-16). That violence only grows over the next few generations so that finally God decides to destroy the world in the Flood Story (Gen. 6:5-12). The stories about the Patriarchs also reflect a concern for physical well-being. The relationships that the Patriarchs develop with God are inextricably tied in with such mundane issues as health, wealth, and family dynamics. In

fact, one reason why the stories in Genesis have had timeless appeal is that their characters are so human in their involvement with mundane concerns.

The central theme of the Torah and a key theme in the Hebrew Bible as a whole is the covenantal relationship between God and the Israelites, and that relationship is very much centred on this-worldly concerns. According to the terms of the covenant, the Israelites will merit reward if they obey God's will and will be punished if they do not. Obedience here is the strict adherence to God's laws which specify not only the proper worship of God through ritual but also the construction of a just civil society that allows the Israelites to thrive both as a nation and as individuals. Therefore, human security is central to God's plan for the Israelites.

Even more important, the concern for human security is evident in the nature of the rewards and punishments which according to the Bible come as a consequence of obedience or disobedience to the covenant. These are defined entirely in physical terms; there is no mention of spiritual rewards in an afterlife. Reward consists of residing in the land of Israel which is characterized by its economic wealth; it is a land flowing with milk and honey. Reward is also equated with ample rainfall, physical health, abundant crops and livestock, and peace with Israel's neighbours. Punishment is the opposite of these: famine, disease, poverty, war, and exile (Lev. 26; Deut. 28).

Also relevant here are the eschatological passages in the books of the Prophets which imagine a period free from material want and violence from Israel's enemies. The prophet Micah, for instance, predicts that in this period "nation shall not take up sword against nation; never again shall they know war. But every man shall sit under his grapevine or fig tree with no one to disturb him" (Mic. 4:4; Is. 2:1-4). Thus, when the prophet envisions the messianic era, he describes a society in which the nation and its individual members are physically secure. Eden is re-created.

One can, of course, question the relevance of this conception of human security for our own time, given that in the biblical text physical well-being is a consequence of obedience to God – not political, economic, or social policies. Still, it is noteworthy that the Hebrew Bible places such a high premium on physical well-being when one considers the fact that the sacred texts in many other religions denigrate life in this world and place greater value on a spiritual existence detached from physical needs both in this world and the next.

16.2.2 Rabbinic Judaism

If an argument can be made that human security is a central concern in the Hebrew Bible, perhaps an even stronger case can be made with respect to rabbinic Judaism. The major accomplishment of the rabbis was building a comprehensive system of Jewish law, or Halakhah, in the wake of the destruction of the second Temple in the first century, a project that continued throughout the Middle Ages and for observant Jews today is still ongoing. The rabbis constructed Halakhah through extensive interpretation of biblical laws and with the help of oral traditions. Ultimately, Halakhah governed every aspect of Jewish life, ritual and ethical.

It is, of course, the ethical dimension of rabbinic law that is of greatest interest to us here. The rabbis conducted detailed legal discussions that gave much sharper definition to the features of the just civil society envisioned by the Bible. The Babylonian Talmud, the primary legal compendium of the early rabbis, thus has treatments of such minute matters as the damages one must pay when one's ox gores another person's cow or how to return lost property. Biblical injunctions relating to human security are therefore further refined.

Moreover, an important principle underlying the rabbinic world-view that supports human security is that life in this world is to be celebrated. Thus, it is a divine mandate for all Jews, including the rabbis themselves, to marry, have children, be employed, and participate in the life of the community. One is supposed to enjoy God's world - though once again within the limits set by divine law.³ The rabbis generally reject extreme forms of asceticism. The notion that one achieves closeness to God by retreating from society or by depriving oneself of life's basic needs is generally frowned upon by the rabbis (Urbach 1960).⁴

The rabbinic concern for human security is especially evident in the value the rabbis placed on the

preservation of human life in both their homiletical and legal discourses. For instance, according to a well-known Talmudic statement, preserving one life is like preserving a whole world and destroying one life is like destroying a whole world (*M. Sanhedrin* 4:5). The value placed on human life is also evident in scores of rabbinic legal prescriptions. For example, all divine commandments are suspended for the sake of saving a life - except the gravest prohibitions, such as those against murder, incest, adultery, and idolatry (*B.T. Sanhedrin* 74a-b). The concern for life also underlies the rabbinic view that suicide is a grave sin. In fact, any physical harm that one inflicts upon oneself intentionally is considered sinful (Herring 1984: 74-8). Strict limitations are placed on euthanasia for the same reason (Herring 1984: 78-88). The value for life also comes out in rabbinic restrictions placed on martyrdom, which is justified only in extreme circumstances (*B.T. Sanhedrin* 74b; *M.T. Yesodey ha-Torah* 5).

The focus of rabbinic Judaism on matters of this world led medieval Christians—and Muslims to some extent - to accuse Jews of being 'carnal', of adhering to a religion that lacked spirituality, of focusing on the letter rather than the spirit of the law. But it is precisely this mundane focus that is responsible for the fact that Judaism has so much to say about human security. Moreover, the critics of rabbinic Judaism misunderstood its premises and badly underestimated its spiritual power. Jews did not neglect the realm of the spiritual; rather they defined it in their own way. The spiritual realm was indissolubly linked with the physical. That is, God was to be found in the details of obeying His will and observing His commandments regarding life as lived in this world, not in some nether realm detached from the here and now. Jews did not see a distinction between letter and spirit. Therefore, in Judaism the pursuit of human security is charged with religious meaning.

16.3 Jewish Views on Aspects of Human Security

16.3.1 War and Peace

The field of human security began with the insight that human well-being requires more than freedom from the scourge of war. For decades, it was assumed that this condition was the only one necessary for human security, when in fact much more is required in the economic, environmental, and political spheres. Still, freedom from the hardships of war is an impor-

3 For the imperative to marry, see *B.T. Kiddushin* 29b; *Yevamot* 63a; to have children, see *M. Yevamot* 6:6; *B.T. Yevamot* 61a-64a; to be employed, see *Mekhilta de-R. Shimon bar Yohai* 20:9; *Genesis Rabbah* 16:8.

4 This mundane focus also explains why there is relatively little interest in rabbinic literature in metaphysical speculations on such issues as the nature of God or the afterlife. Interest is placed primarily on life as lived in the everyday world. In the medieval period, however, schools of thought arose in philosophy and Kabbalah that placed greater emphasis on the life of the spirit and the afterlife while denigrating the life of this world.

tant prerequisite for human security and it therefore behoves us to begin by looking at how Judaism deals with this issue.

It might seem that the Hebrew Bible is a poor source for this aspect of human security, because in various passages war is depicted as a divine mandate. In a central passage in Deuteronomy 20, the Israelites are commanded by God to utterly destroy the seven nations that inhabit the land of Canaan so that they can occupy it in fulfilment of the covenantal promise. In wars waged against other nations, inhabitants must first be offered terms of peace. If they surrender they are required to perform forced labour; if they do not, the Israelites are commanded to kill all the males and take the women and children as booty (Deut. 20:10–18). In other passages in the Hebrew Bible, God commands the Israelites to wage perpetual war against the Amalekites as revenge for attacking them after their departure from Egypt (Ex. 17:14–6; Deut. 25:17–19).

There are, however, passages in the biblical text which have a negative view of war. In a lengthy exposition in the first chapters of Amos, the prophet rails not only against Israel's enemies waging war on her, but against non-Jewish nations waging war on each other (Amos 1–2:4). The eschatological passages mentioned earlier also imply an opposition to warfare by painting the idyllic messianic existence as one of peace. Scholars have also noted that I and II Chronicles contain a subtle critique of war (Niditch 1993: 139–49).

Opposition to warfare becomes more pronounced in rabbinic Judaism. There are dozens of rabbinic passages extolling the value of peace. Thus, for instance, the rabbis inform us that “Great is peace for all blessings are contained in it...Great is peace for God's name is peace” (*Num. Rabbah* 11:7). The rabbis interpret the biblical commandment that an altar for sacrifices not be built with stones cut with metal as a symbolic rejection of the implements of war (*M. Middot* 4:3). Even the destruction of one's enemy is not cause for joy. In one Talmudic source, the angels express the desire to praise God in the wake of the destruction of the Egyptian army at the Red Sea, but God rejects them saying: “My creatures are drowning in the sea, and you sing songs of praise?” (*B.T. Megillah* 10b). The opposition to war in rabbinic Judaism is also manifest in how the rabbis dealt with the catastrophic rebellion against Rome in 66–70. The rabbis led by R. Johanan ben Zakai preferred to surrender rather than fight, a view sharply at odds with that of the Zealots (*B.T. Gittin* 55b–56b).⁵

The rabbis do not provide an extensive treatment of the actual laws of war, which is no surprise given that most rabbinic texts were composed when the Jews did not have an army. Nonetheless, their discussions of war reflect their reservations about this issue. According to the rabbis, there are two types of war: wars that are commanded by God and discretionary wars. Wars commanded by God include Israel's war against the seven nations in the conquest of Canaan, the war against the Amalekites, and wars waged in self-defence. Discretionary wars are those meant to increase the prestige and power of Israel (*B.T. Sotah* 44b; Shapiro 1975: 80–3; Gendler 1978: 197–200; Dorff 2002: 164–71).

What is significant here is that, according to these definitions, there is no justification for war in the post-biblical period – with the exception of defensive wars. In the category of commanded wars, the conquest of Canaan is a one-time event. The war against the Amalekites, according to most rabbinic authorities, is not binding in the post-biblical era, at least not in any literal sense (Kimelman 1991: 266). Discretionary wars require consultation with the *urim ve-tumim*, an oracle used in ancient Israel by the High Priest that no longer existed in the rabbinic period. This type of war also required the approval of the Sanhedrin, the major rabbinic court that had been disbanded by the time the Talmud was redacted (*B.T. Berakhot* 3a; *Sanhedrin* 2a, 16a, 20a). Therefore, in effect, the only type of war that can still be waged by Jews is defensive.⁶

Accompanying rabbinic reservations about war and violence is an interesting psychological shift regarding their notions of manhood. Recently, scholars have taken great interest in the fact that the rabbis

5 See Kimelman 1968 for a discussion of third and fourth-century rabbinic sources supporting non-violence.

6 Kimelman argues that discretionary wars are still applicable in the modern era (Kimelman 1991: 265, 282–3). His opinion, however, appears to be in the minority. There is a debate in rabbinic sources about how one classifies a pre-emptive war against an enemy that one fears will attack but has not done so yet. According to one opinion, pre-emptive war is essentially defensive and is therefore permitted. According to another opinion, it is discretionary because the enemy has not yet struck and war cannot be defensive until the threat is actual. Therefore, it is not permitted. Yet, even though rabbinic sources discuss pre-emptive war as a separate category, its permissibility is still dependent on the question of whether or not it is defensive. See *B.T. Sotah* 44b; Gendler 1978: 198–9; Bleich 1989: 251–92; Kimelman 1991: 267–8; Dorff 2002, 167.

tend to exalt those virtues which in many cultures are associated with the feminine, such as modesty, humility, meekness, compassion. At the same time, the rabbis completely redefine the typically male virtues of physical power and bravery in terms of rabbinic ethics. Thus, the rabbis refer to themselves as ‘warriors’ but not in the literal sense; instead, they are warriors of Torah battling each other in intellectual combat to give the best interpretation of God’s laws. Similarly, in numerous rabbinic sources, the great warriors of the biblical tradition, such as Joshua and David, are depicted as pious rabbinic scholars. These observations again attest to rabbinic reservations about violence and war (Boyarin 1997: 1–186).

That the rabbis should have a negative attitude toward war falls in line with what we said earlier about their overall agenda. The rabbis value life in this world in all its mundane aspects and war is clearly inimical to that ideal. It should be emphasized, however, that the rabbis do not seek to repress violence entirely. Violence is mandated to defend the sanctity of life, which is of higher value for the rabbis than non-violence. An individual is allowed to kill in self-defence and a nation is allowed to wage war for the same purpose, as we have already noted. Therefore, the rabbis are not pacifists, if pacifism means non-violence at all costs (Lamm 1978).

The soberness of rabbinic attitudes to war resonates well with present-day discussions of human security. Like the rabbis, theorists of human security generally recognize that states need armies to protect their citizens. However, they also strive to limit war to defensive purposes and to contain its deleterious effects.

16.3.2 Human Rights

If the absence of war is an important condition of human security, human rights are another. Therefore it is imperative that we look at how Judaism has dealt with this issue. There has been a lively debate among modern Jewish thinkers whether from a theoretical standpoint a conception of human rights in Judaism is even possible. Many deny that possibility. One problem, for example, is that in Judaism moral imperatives are defined primarily as duties requiring the performance of specific actions. Human rights, however, are natural and ideally require no action whatsoever; all human beings are born with them automatically. A second problem is that in Judaism duties are commanded by a personal God and He can therefore implement or rescind those norms at will. Human

rights, by contrast, are inalienable and therefore cannot be nullified. A third difficulty is that the Jewish God seems to privilege one group over another by making the Jews His chosen people. Human rights, by contrast, are premised on the notion that all people are equal and that human rights are universal (Breslauer 1993: 3, 8–9; Mittleman 2000: 107–43).⁷

Others claim that Judaism supports human rights. A philosophical argument for this position is that human rights make sense only if their source is a personal and omnipotent God of the kind that Judaism upholds. The whole conception of human rights assumes absolute moral standards and these have to be grounded in a single, all-powerful deity to have universal meaning (Breslauer 1993: 9).

One can also point to Jewish texts as support for the notion of human rights. The Bible informs us in its first chapter that all human beings are created in the image of God. The context of this idea suggests that human beings are divine in the sense that they are given dominion over the earth. They are God-like in that they share His power (Gen. 1:26–28). What this implies is that human beings naturally possess a high degree of dignity and freedom, features essential to a theory of human rights. In fact, the biblical text itself invokes the notion that humans are created in the image of God to explain the prohibition of murder, a prohibition that is in effect a positive formulation of the right to life (Gen. 9:6). These observations provide a response to the argument that Judaism has no conception of human rights because its moral imperatives are dependent on the arbitrary will of God. The divine aspect of human beings is an essential feature of God’s creation which therefore cannot be rescinded (Breslauer 1993: 11–12).

The concern that Judaism speaks only in terms of duties and not rights can be parried by noting that many of those duties *entail* rights. For instance, one cannot be expected to perform duties unless one has the right to act freely. Also, many specific duties in Judaism imply concomitant rights. For example, as just noted, the duty not to murder implies a right to life. The duty not to steal or to return lost objects implies that human beings have a right to property. Thus, while Jewish sources do not use the language of rights, they take positions that often amount to a defence of rights.⁸ Some thinkers concede that Judaism

⁷ This is just a sampling of the difficulties which the notion of human rights raises for Judaism. For a fuller discussion of these and other difficulties, see Breslauer 1993: 3–21.

supports only duties and not rights, but claim that this focus has advantages. Rights alone are only protective of people's interests, while duties go further by demanding that human beings actively seek the good of others (Breslauer 1993: 3, 5, 10, 12; Cohn 1984: 17-9).

In response to the concern that God privileges the Jews over other nations, one can point out that in rabbinic Judaism non-Jews are required to adhere to a series of seven commandments known as the Noahide code given by God to human beings shortly after creation. These commandments, which overlap a great deal with the Ten Commandments, indicate that Judaism believes in moral norms applicable to all humanity (*B.T. Sanhedrin* 56a-60a; Novak 1983; Breslauer 1993: 5).⁹ Moreover, even if many of the other laws of Judaism were not originally meant to be treated as universal, there is no reason why the values which underlie those laws cannot be universalized. If Jews believe that these are divine norms, why should they not be shared with others? After all, Jews view themselves as "priests among nations" (Ex. 19:6), a metaphor implying that Jews are to serve as models of living in accordance with God's dictates.

A historical factor also has to be considered here. We mentioned earlier that Jews seem to have been particularly sensitive to human security because of their long history of persecution and suffering. This would explain the fact that in the last two hundred years Jews have been involved in human rights causes. Jews were at the forefront of the civil rights movement in the United States in the 1960's and the movement to defeat apartheid in South Africa in the 1970's and 1980's. Therefore, regardless of whether Jewish sources speak explicitly about human rights, Jews have taken up that cause on account of their history (Breslauer 1993: 5, 13).

A treatment of how Judaism supports specific human rights is well beyond the parameters of our discussion here.¹⁰ However, it is instructive to look briefly at how Judaism developed safeguards against tyrannical government because such protections are basic to human rights in our own day and age.

On the one hand, many Jewish sources seem to encourage the potential for tyranny by investing hereditary kingship with great power. The central legal source in the Hebrew Bible that discusses government is Deuteronomy 17:14-20, and it assumes that kingship is the only legitimate form of government for the Israelites. Later rabbinic and medieval authorities also endorse monarchy as the preferred form of government. Some authorities give Jewish kings substantial powers - legislative, judicial, and executive - even though kingship technically did not exist in the post-biblical era and rabbinic discussions of this institution are therefore only theoretical. According to some medieval authorities, kings are even allowed to amend Jewish civil law. For some, that authority applies to criminal law as well (*M. Sanhedrin* 14:12, 18:6; *M.T. Melakhim* 3:1, 5:1-3, *Rotseah* 2:4; Elon 1974a: 30; Kimelman 1995:199-201; Walzer/Lorberbaum/Zohar 2000:108-65).¹¹

On the other hand, there is a strong countervailing tendency in Jewish sources which seems to recognize the dangers of one-man rule. In the same passage in Deuteronomy that identifies kingship as the only form of government for the Israelites, several restrictions are put on the king to check his despotic tendencies. He is limited in the number of horses he may own, the number of wives he can marry, and the amount of gold and silver he may acquire. He must also commission the writing of a Torah scroll and study its contents thereby demonstrating his subservience to God (Deut. 17:15-20). Such restrictions are impressive in light of the widespread view in the Ancient Near East that kings were gods. In I Samuel, when the Israelites ask the prophet Samuel for permission to appoint a king over them for the first time, they are warned explicitly about the tyranny that accompanies monarchic rule (I Sam. 8:10-18). Reservations about monarchy and its tyrannical potential are also expressed by rabbinic and medieval authorities (*Sifre Deut.* 156; *Deut. Rabbah* 5:11; Kimelman 1995: 199-201; Walzer/Lorberbaum/Zohar 2000:108-65).

Most interesting is that Jews in the medieval period often opted for a quasi-democratic form of government. As mentioned earlier, Jewish communities in this period were generally allowed to install their own governments and run their own internal affairs. Rabbinic authorities justified the authority of these governments by claiming that Jewish communities

8 This issue is also dealt with extensively by Novak (2000) who proposes his own solution.

9 There are disagreements as to which commandments are included in the list of seven. One common list includes the prohibitions against idolatry, blasphemy, bloodshed, sexual sins, theft, and eating from a living animal, as well as the positive injunction to establish a legal system.

10 See Cohn 1984 who attempts to do this.

11 However, Jewish law involving ritual, family laws, marriage, and divorce were always under the exclusive jurisdiction of the rabbis

possessed the legal status of kings. That is, the authority held by the monarchy in biblical times was now transferred to the Jewish communities as a whole. In many instances, medieval Jewish communities elected their leaders, so that the powers of the king now resided effectively in those representatives. Thus, monarchy was replaced by democracy. Some rabbis even allowed elected leaders to make amendments to Jewish civil law just as in former days a Jewish king could (Elon 1974a: 31, 1974c: 645, 1983: 188–91; Walzer/Lorberbaum/Zohar 2000: 379–439).¹²

One should not exaggerate the democratic element in medieval Jewish government. In many communities, Jewish communal leaders were not elected but appointed. In those communities in which leaders were elected, communal amendments had to meet the approval of established local rabbinic authorities so that there was no notion here of a clean separation between church and state as one finds in a modern liberal democracy (Elon 1974b: 659–60). Practices also varied as to who could vote. Some rabbinic authorities argued that all members of the community had an equal vote, while others claimed that only members with wealth, prestige, and learning could vote or that the vote of such members should have greater weight (Elon 1983: 196–99). Still, it is impressive that many medieval rabbinic authorities supported democratic elements in Jewish governance.

Biblical and rabbinic literature do not support a theory of political rights in the modern sense, nor should we expect them to, seeing as they are written before such rights were conceived of. Nonetheless, the Jewish tradition contains a strong and consistent voice recognizing the dangers of tyrannical government, and medieval authorities even encouraged a limited form of democracy. Thus, if Jewish sources do not explicitly support a modern conception of political rights, they certainly contain ingredients essential to that conception.

16.3.3 Poverty

If there is any test of a society's commitment to human security, it is in the treatment of its most impoverished members, and it is therefore to this issue that we turn in the final portion of our discussion. Judaism has a great deal to say about the treatment of the poor. Interest in this question is tied in with a larger concern in Judaism for society's oppressed and underprivileged, a sensitivity that has its source in the foundational events of Jewish history. As noted earlier, the beginning of Jewish nationhood is marked by the slavery of the Israelites in Egypt, an experience that leaves an indelible imprint on Jewish consciousness. Jewish texts from the Bible onward constantly invoke this experience as the source of numerous imperatives to care for society's needy on the premise that Jews should be sensitive to suffering on account of the hardships they themselves endured. The importance of these imperatives is underscored by the fact that in a number of biblical passages, God Himself is depicted as the defender of the poor and the oppressed, and He will lash out at the Israelites with severe punishments if they are callous to them (Deut 10:17–8, 24:15; Ps. 145:15–16, 132:15).

In the Hebrew Bible, caring for the poor is mandated by an extensive series of divine laws formulated specifically for an agricultural society. Farmers are required to refrain from harvesting the corners of their fields so that the produce in those areas can be claimed by the poor (*pe'ah*). Sheaves or fruit forgotten while harvesting also go to the poor (*shikhehah*), as do sheaves that fall from the farmer's sickle (*leket*) (Deut. 24:10–21). A tithe is designated for the poor every third and sixth year of the sabbatical cycle (*ma'aser 'ani*) (Deut. 26:12). In the sabbatical year, farmers are required to let their fields lie fallow and all produce that grows naturally on the land is to be gathered by the needy (Lev. 25:9–15). Care for the poor is not just for fellow Israelites. Numerous statements mandate proper treatment of 'the stranger'. Here too the memory of the Egyptian slavery is key. Israelites must not mistreat the stranger, because the Israelites themselves were strangers in Egypt (Ex. 23:19).

In the books of the Prophets, concern for the poor takes centre stage. The prophets were primarily social reformers who railed against the moral injustices of Israelite society. A chief concern of theirs was injustice that victimized the impoverished. Here there is no new legislation, only an attempt to enforce the old laws and the spirit of justice and compassion that underlies them.¹³

12 According to another approach, some Halakhic authorities recognized the community as having the status of a rabbinic court. Communal amendments were therefore justified because the community as a whole effectively had rabbinic authority. Another important precedent for conferring authority on communal leaders in matters of Halakhah is found in Talmudic sources which recognize that "the townspeople" (*benei ha-'ir*) could impose legislation on themselves regarding monetary matters (Elon 1974c: 645, 1983: 188–91; Walzer/Lorberbaum/Zohar: 378–439).

The importance of charity is carried over in rabbinic and medieval Judaism. According to one Talmudic passage, for example, charity is as important as all other commandments combined (*B.T. Bava Batra* 9a). The theological justification for charitable giving is that all wealth ultimately belongs to God and that human beings are only the stewards or guardians of that wealth. Therefore, God has every right to command us to give charity since our possessions really belong to Him in the first place and He has the right to determine who should have them. Some Jewish thinkers infer from this logic that a person who does not give charity is a thief (*M. Avot* 3:8; *B.T. Ketubot* 67b, *Sanhedrin* 39a; Sherwin 2000: 140–3).

The challenge for rabbinic authorities was to adapt the laws of charity to a commercial rather than agrarian economy. Rabbinic law specifies that the amount one should give to charity is ten percent of one's income (*B.T. Ketubot* 50a; *M.T. Matenot Aniyyim* 7:5). Furthermore, people at all economic levels are included in the imperative to give charity. Even the poor person who is dependent on charity is required to give a portion of his income to others (*B.T. Gittin* 7a). Rabbinic authorities recognize the fact that in charitable giving, choices need to be made given the volume of need and the limitations on resources. Rabbinic sources therefore establish a number of priorities. One is first required to support the needy in one's family, then those in one's city, and finally those outside one's city (*M.T. Matenot Aniyyim* 7:13). Another premise is that those who are most vulnerable must be cared for first. Thus, women take priority over men, and orphans take priority over people with family.

The rabbis have a good deal to say about the manner of giving. A common refrain running through a number of rabbinic texts is that charitable giving should be done in a way that is mindful of the dignity of the recipient (*J.T. Pe'ah* 8:9, 21b; *B.T. Hagigah* 5a). For this reason, it is preferable to give anonymously so as to avoid any potential embarrassment for the recipient (*B.T. Bava Batra* 9a, 10a; *Ketubot* 67b; *Ta'anit* 21b–22a). The same reasoning underlies a number of opinions which claim that the greatest form of charity is in the form of a loan or entering into a partnership with an individual. Here the dignity of the recipient is preserved through a façade of self-sufficiency (*B.T. Shabbat* 63a, 66a; *M.T. Matenot Aniyyim* 10:5).

One of the most remarkable accomplishments of medieval Judaism with respect to the treatment of the

poor is the welfare system that Jewish communities set up to deal with those in need. Most medieval Jewish communities had communal funds for charity supported by a compulsory tax that was levied by Jewish communities on all their members (*kupah*) (*M.T. Matenot Aniyyim* 10:5). Many communities also had soup kitchens (*tambuy*) (*M.T. Matenot Aniyyim* 9:13).

Finally, it should be mentioned that early rabbinic sources recognize the need to support the non-Jewish poor in addition to supporting Jews. While technically, rabbinic laws of charity do not apply to the support of non-Jews, a Talmudic source decrees that one must do so "for the sake of peace" (*mipney darkhey shalom*) (*B.T. Gittin* 61a).

The sources summarized here provide a rich body of material that can be applied in any number of ways to human security in the modern era. Most obviously, Judaism's overall concern for the poor is right in line with human security in that Judaism clearly obligates a society to provide basic needs for its poor and most vulnerable members. Judaism also exhibits a balanced and nuanced perspective on how that help is delivered. The Jewish model for dealing with poverty is neither socialist nor capitalist in orientation but something in between. Some degree of state or communal participation is necessary to ensure that the poor are cared for. Thus, taxes are levied to support a welfare system. On the other hand, it is not the goal of Jewish law to redistribute and equalize wealth. Rather, society provides the poor with their basic needs so that they can be empowered to succeed on their own. As we saw, the highest form of charity is not to dole out money to the poor, but to form a business partnership with them (Tamari 1987: 277).

One may also speculate on how the priorities of charitable giving in Judaism would be applied in the modern world. As we noted, one is required to give to local charities before supporting those in other cities. This would suggest that foreign aid be given a much lower priority than aid to those in one's own locale or country. Yet, in a world of mass communications, international travel, and globalization, one could argue that the distinction between local and foreign communities is harder to make and that therefore we should give a relatively high priority to international aid. One could also ask how the highest form of charitable giving in Judaism could be implemented on a global scale. If the best type of charity is to enter into business partnerships with the poor, this would mean that richer nations should help poorer nations not by giving them money but by cultivating shared economic

13 This theme permeates prophetic writings. See, for instance, Isaiah 1:10–16.

interests and developing industries from which both can benefit.¹⁴

16.4 The State of Israel

A final question that needs to be considered is that of the State of Israel. Israel is at the centre of tensions between the Muslim world and the West, and many see Israel as a danger to human security not just in the Middle East but elsewhere. However, it is questionable whether a discussion of Israel is relevant here. The focus of the present discussion is conceptions of human security in Jewish religion, and Israel is a mostly secular state. The majority of those who founded Israel were secular Zionists motivated more by nationalistic than by religious motives. Today, the law-system and government of Israel are mostly secular. Eighty per cent of the Israeli population is not only secular but tend to be hostile to the influence of religion in public affairs. This is not to say that religion has no influence in Israel. The Israeli parliament contains religious parties that have exerted significant influence in recent decades. Rabbinic courts also govern on personal status issues, such as marriage, divorce, and child custody. However, the religious parties in Israel are relatively small, and the power of the rabbinic courts over personal status issues, while certainly relevant to issues of human security, is of limited significance for our topics. One could also argue that when Judaism does play a role in Israeli politics, in most cases it is in more of a cultural sense than a strictly religious one. Most important, Israel's policies on the major issues we have discussed – war and peace, human rights, and poverty – are not determined by Jewish religious sources.¹⁵

The one group in Israel that has brought politics together with religion in a manner relevant to our concerns is the religious Zionist movement. According to many of its adherents, the founding of the State of Israel is the beginning of the messianic redemption that will eventually result in a state governed by Jewish law. This philosophy has spawned the settler movement which believes that Israel must expand its borders to include the territories captured in the 1967 War since,

according to rabbinic sources; these lands are designated to be part of the future messianic kingdom. The most extreme members of this group support an aggressive policy toward the surrounding Arab states and the denial of rights to Palestinians in Israel and the West Bank. Some even advocate their expulsion altogether so as to create a purely Jewish State in preparation for the Messiah.¹⁶

This viewpoint is clearly inimical to conclusions drawn earlier in this discussion. It is an approach that is religious in its origins but far more bellicose and far less generous on the issue of human rights than the positions I have identified with mainstream Judaism. This should occasion no surprise. As I pointed out at the beginning of this discussion, Judaism is an ancient and complex religion that speaks with many voices, and therefore the settlers can find justification for their viewpoint with their own peculiar understanding of Jewish sources. Still, I stand by my analysis as the one I believe to be most in agreement with mainstream Judaism. Furthermore, the number of Jews in Israel who represent the position of the settlers is relatively small and therefore not representative of Jews either in Israel or in the Jewish Diaspora. It is only because of their strategic importance in the contentious relationship between Israelis and Arabs that they often appear to outsiders as more representative of Judaism than they actually are.

16.5 Summary and Conclusions

In conclusion, Judaism is supportive of human security in its overall orientation and in the specific topics we have analyzed. Biblical and rabbinic sources express a mostly positive, even zesty attitude toward life in this world. It is a divine gift that we are invited to enjoy. Human physical well-being is therefore nothing less than a religious ideal. That viewpoint is embodied in Jewish approaches to war and peace, human rights, and poverty. This does not mean that Judaism speaks with one voice. Much depends on how the sources of Judaism are interpreted, and for this reason some religious Zionists in Israel take positions that in key respects are at odds with those I have sketched out. Still, I believe that the evidence adduced here supports the conclusion that mainstream Judaism sees human security as an exalted religious ideal and values human security in its many facets.

14 A number of studies attempt to apply the laws of charity in Judaism to modern social and international policies: see, for example, Tamari 1987; Levine 1993; Dorff 2002: 126–59.

15 There is an extensive literature on the relationship between religion and state in Israel. Some of the more recent studies include Sharkansky 2005, 2000; Efron 2003; Cohen/Susser 2000.

16 Studies of religious Zionism include Sprinzak 1991; Ravitzky 1996.

17 From Homer to Hobbes and Beyond – Aspects of ‘Security’ in the European Tradition

J. Frederik M. Arends

*‘prosthe leôn, opithen de drakôn,
messê de chimaira¹
deinon apopneiousa puros menos
aithomenoio’ (Homer)*

17.1 Introduction²

To study the history of concepts seems the innocent pastime of philological hobbyists. At least in the case of the concept of ‘security’ that judgment might prove to be a misunderstanding. The history of ‘security’ has two phases: the first, in which the word coined by the Romans as ‘securitas’ and accompanied from the beginning by ambivalence and religious connotations at the end of the Middle Ages had conceded most of its territory to ‘certitudo’; the second, starting in the times of Thomas Hobbes in which the word became one of the paradigmatic ‘great words’ of the modern state. In this second phase, ‘security’ became associated with the genesis of the authoritarian ‘super state’ – Hobbes’ *Leviathan* – committed to the prevention of civil war. Surprisingly, in this phase an ancient Greek concept was revived, functioning during Athenian imperialism of the fifth century B.C.; especially Thucydides, Hobbes’ favourite classical historian, influenced its modern, ‘Hobbesian’ meaning. The contemporary concept of ‘security’ therefore proves to be a ‘chimeric’ combination of a) the ancient Athe-

nians’ intention to prevent the destruction of their empire, b) the religious connotations of Roman ‘securitas’, and c) the Hobbesian intention to prevent civil war.

When writing about ‘security’ in the European tradition, one is confronted with the long history of this concept and with the relevance of its contribution to European and even contemporary global political philosophy.³ This chapter accentuates the connection between Thomas Hobbes and the ancient Greek historian Thucydides (fifth century B.C.) making necessary an *excursus* beyond Latin ‘securitas’ to the Greek precursor of ‘security’: ‘asphaleia’.

17.2 ‘Securitas’: Evolution of the Term and the Concept

17.2.1 Latin Roots

‘Security’ is derived from Latin ‘securitas’, a word itself composed from the elements ‘se-’ (‘without’) and ‘cura’ (‘care, carefulness, concern’).⁴ Translated care-

1 Homer (1924–1925), *Iliad* VI, 181–182; “in the fore part a lion, in the hinder a serpent, and in the midst a goat, / breathing forth in terrible wise the might of blazing fire” (translation S. Butler); English ‘chimera’ is derived from these lines in Homer, where the *chimaira* – initially simply meaning ‘goat’ – appears as a composite monster.

2 In the following the author uses ‘securitas’ and ‘security’ where the word itself is meant, as ‘signifiant’, i.e. as combination of sounds/letters; we will however write securitas and security where the ‘signifié’ is meant, the ‘object’ intended and denoted by the word.

3 For this study we make frequent use of the works by Kaufmann (1973) and Schrimm-Heins (1991, 1992). As both wrote in German, quotations will be given in English. Hobbes will be quoted according to the Molesworth Edition (1839–1845); where clarifying, Thucydides will be quoted in Hobbes’ translation (Molesworth Edition, English Works, vol. 8 and 9).

4 See Lewis/Short (1958). Latin has more comparable words: *secessio*, *secretio*, *secubatio*, *seditio*, *seductio*, etc.

fully, 'securitas' means 'freedom from care, unconcern, composure'. 'Freedom from care' may or may not have a basis in 'objective reality'; where that basis is given, 'securitas' already for the ancient Romans means 'freedom from danger, safety, security'; where that basis fails, 'securitas' means 'carelessness, heedlessness, negligence'. These possibilities make that from the beginning 'securitas' has in the European tradition been appreciated both positively and negatively.

With 'cura' or 'care' and 'securitas' or 'freedom from care' not just an arbitrary aspect of human life is mentioned; 'securitas' refers to a group of emotions – and corresponding words – to which also belong 'fear', 'fear of death', and their complement: 'trust', 'confidence' etc. Religion also is involved in these kinds of emotions. That explains why already in the earliest phase of the history of 'securitas' an intense – if negative – connection of the adjective 'securus' with religion may be observed: in the philosophical poem *De Rerum Natura* by Lucretius (c. 94–55 B.C.; Hammond/ Scullard 1970: 622). The connection with religion and the semantic influence of religion on the concept of 'securitas' is found also in later periods of European history, long after the Roman Empire. Because of this longstanding connection, the history of 'security' cannot be written without considering its meaning in the context of ancient Roman religion, and Christian religion and theology.

It is usual to connect 'securitas' with the name of the Roman statesman and philosopher Cicero (106–43 B.C.), the first author in whose work the word occurs; it is further usual to connect 'securitas' with Greek 'ataraksia' (Makropoulos 1995: 745 ff.). *Ataraksia* had an important place in the ethics of the hellenistic philosopher Epicurus (341–270 B.C.; Hammond/Scullard 1970: 390–392), who considered *ataraksia* ('impassiveness, calmness')⁵ as the necessary condition for attaining 'the ultimate good' of *eudaimonia* (true, full happiness); in scholarship it is generally supposed that centuries after Epicurus the Romans starting from 'ataraksia' coined 'securitas', as analogy of 'ataraksia'.⁶

So we have to go back to the pre-Roman roots of 'securitas'. The following might help us to recognize the importance of this: Epicurus' most important Roman 'disciple' was Lucretius, who based on Epicurus' materialist theory of atoms argues in his *De Rerum Natura* that it is irrational to be afraid of death. Epicurus' and Lucretius' atomism, all too easily interpreted as atheism, was not appreciated in the Christian Europe following Roman Antiquity. However, in the 17th century a renaissance of the study of Lucretius took place; central in that renaissance was Gassendi (1592–1655 A.D.) who during the eleven years of Hobbes' exile in Paris was his intellectual *intimus*. With Hobbes starts the second phase in the history of 'securitas', its 'renaissance', during which 'securitas' – developing into English 'security' – became the central goal and standard of the modern state. Considering the intense intellectual contacts of Gassendi, as the initiator of the revival of Greek atomism, with Hobbes searching a scientific foundation for his anthropology and political theory, a foundation independent of party strife, it seems inevitable to go back beyond Cicero to the ancient Greek atomistic tradition as received by Hobbes.

17.2.2 Greek Roots

There however is still a better reason to go back to the Greeks. In the time before his Parisian exile, Hobbes as a man of 40 years published his translation of the Greek historian Thucydides (c.460–c.400 B.C.). For Hobbes' intellectual genesis no classical author was of greater importance than Thucydides, *the* historian of Athenian imperialism of the 5th century B.C.⁷ Athens' empire in Thucydides' opinion perished from inner causes, as Athens was afflicted by civil war. Thucydides characterizes the imperialist Athenians as men who – when confronted with the threat of rebellion and revenge coming from their subjects – do everything required to avert that Athens will be *overthrown*. In the final phase of Athenian imperialism, not *glory* but *security* is the central goal of Athenian politics.⁸ The Greek word used to denote 'security' is '*asphaleia*': "security against stumbling or falling"

5 See Liddell/Scott (1961), s.v. *ataraksia*; cf. *ataraktos*: 'not disturbed, without confusion, steady'.

6 '*Ataraksia*' and 'securitas' are both composites beginning with a negation: the Greek word with an 'alpha privans', the Latin with 'se' ('without'); 'taraksia' is derived from Greek 'tarassein' (Little/Scott 1843, 1961): "to stir, trouble the mind, agitate, disturb".

7 On Thucydides and Athenian imperialism, see the classical monograph by de Romilly (1947); on Hobbes and Thucydides, see Tönnies (1925: 6 ff.); Strauss (2001: 51 ff.); Martinich (1995: 224–228). For a recent discussion, see Podunavac (2000–2001).

8 Thucydides (I, 75–76) mentions three motives for Athenian imperialism: honour, fear, and advantage.

(Liddell/Scott 1843, 1961), the capacity to prevent that one will be overthrown – a term originating from wrestling.

In this chapter our hypothesis will be that the renaissance – and even triumph – of ‘security’ since Hobbes was caused by Hobbes’ intertwining Greek ‘*asphaleia*’ – as understood in the context of Thucydides’ anthropological and political views – with Democritean-Epicurean atomism and with Lucretian ‘anti-clericalism’, as mediated to Hobbes by Gassendi. To understand the triumph of ‘security’ since Hobbes, we have to go back – beyond ‘*securitas*’ and even beyond Epicurean ‘*ataraksia*’ – to classical Greek ‘*asphaleia*’ from the 5th century B.C.

‘*Asphaleia*’ is composed from *a-* (a negation) and the root *sphal-* also occurring in the verb ‘*sphallô*’ that means “make to fall, overthrow, *properly* by tripping up, trip up in wrestling” (Liddell/Scott 1843, 1961); primarily associated with wrestling, ‘*sphallô*’ is also used metaphorically: Liddell and Scott (1843, 1961) mention *sphallousi tas poleis* as “they make to fall their city-states” (Thucydides (1919-1923), III. 37).

17.2.3 ‘Security’ in Homer and Thucydides

In Homer, some three centuries before Thucydides, the connexion of ‘*sphallô*’ with wrestling still is clear (*Ilias* XXIII, 719); the adjective ‘*asphalês*’, derived from ‘*sphallô*’, here also is found as meaning “not liable to fall, immovable, steadfast”; it is said about Mount Olympos, that “there is the always *asphales* seat of the gods” (Homer 1919, *Odyssey* 6. 42); in fact, looking beyond the superficial translation of ‘*asphalês*’ as ‘immovable’, it is said there that the Olympos “may never be tripped up”.

The substantive ‘*asphaleia*’ becoming so important in Thucydides does not occur before the 5th century B.C., meaning “security against stumbling or falling” (Thuc. III 22), “steadfastness, stability, assurance from danger, personal safety”; its opposite is *kindunos* or “danger” (Liddell/Scott 1961).

So ‘*sphallô*’ originally is associated with wrestling, and from here additional meanings develop. ‘*Asphalês*’, derived from ‘*sphallô*’, already in Homer and Hesiod (1999, *Theogony*: 137) has more ‘solemn’ connotations than just ‘trip up’, as it refers to the ‘steadfast abode’ of the gods. In Sophocles’ *Oedipus Tyrannus* (51) from the middle of the 5th century B.C., ‘*asphaleia*’ refers to the ‘stability’ of the city-state. In the course of time the prestige of ‘*asphaleia*’ apparently increases.

Forms of ‘*sphallô*’, ‘*asphalês*’ and ‘*asphaleia*’ are frequent in Thucydides.⁹ This chapter just focuses on one characteristic example, which requires a sketch of its political and historical context. The basis of fifth century Athenian imperialism was its thalassocracy over the eastern part of the Aegean Sea; after the victorious naval battle of Salamis (480 B.C.), a Greek maritime alliance under the hegemony of Athens soon developed into an organization in which initial allies became tributary subjects. The formula of Athens’ empire was surprisingly simple: a few years after the expulsion of the Persians from the Aegean, the smaller city-states substituted their laborious *in natura* contribution (ships-plus-crew) by paying an amount of money, in order to finance the building of new ships built in Athens and manned by Athenian citizens; here the basis was laid for Athenian *democratic* imperialism; democracy and imperialism proved compatible.

As the reluctance of the allies against their membership increased, the Athenians started using the ships co-financed by the allies to compel unwilling allies to continue the payment of their contributions. In this way Athens’ former allies became its subjects, who however continued to be called ‘allies’. All this happened in the years 480-430 B.C., known as the ‘Pentekontaëtia’ or the ‘The Fifty Years’ which with good reason are considered as the culmination of Athenian culture.

In the course of these years, Athens’ motives for developing and maintaining its empire changed: from initial *freedom of the Hellenes* (from the Persians) to *glory* (of Athens) to *the desire to maintain and consolidate power*; in the final phase, as the repugnance of the ‘allies’ developed into hatred, the *need to protect Athens against the revenge from the side of the ‘allies’* became the paramount motive. It is at this point that ‘*asphaleia*’ or ‘security’ appears in Thucydides’ history of the decline and fall of the Athenian Empire during the ‘Peloponnesian War’ (431-404 B.C.).

The necessity of *asphaleia* compelled Athenian imperialism to radicalization: Athens could only defend itself if it might pay ships and crews; the money required for that had to come from the ‘allies’. As these became more rebellious and dangerous, Athens had to impose higher tributes for building and manning a fleet mainly used for repressing the ‘allies’

9 Tufts University website, at: <www.perseus.org>, mentions 29 occurrences in Thucydides of *asphaleia*, 58 of *asphalês* and 52 of *sphallô*.

financing this fleet: the allies were trapped. Their sole hope was Sparta, not – as fifty years before – to ‘liberate the Hellenes from the Persians’, but to liberate them from the Athenians. That liberation was the goal of the Peloponnesian War.

As an effect of this war, the Athenians developed an amoral and practically atheistic view of man, gods, and world; as a consequence, we owe to Thucydides the first description of ‘Realpolitik’ and of a notion which in the course of time proved to be essential to Hobbes’ interpretation of ‘security’: the *bellum omnium contra omnes*, the ‘war of all against all’, as civil war leaves no room whatsoever for neutrality; and the insight so important to Hobbes that civil war perverts our speaking and thinking, so that in civil war intellectual impartiality becomes impossible; and finally the argument of the irrelevance of the gods, as these either do not exist or have made the world as it is, so that we are justified to do whatever we do.

In the ‘dialogue between Athenians and Melians’ (Thucydides 1919–1928, *Histories*, V, 87–111), one of the great texts of world literature, *asphaleia* plays an important role. Although the Athenians in the course of years have gained control over the islands in the Aegean, the islet of Melos remained independent and neutral in the conflict between Athens and Sparta. But neutrality of an islet situated in their ‘backyard’ is something which the Athenians consider not to be permissible, as it might be a precedent for Athens’ subjects; if neutrality is allowed at all, Athens’ subjects also will claim neutrality, and so will stop financing the Athenian fleet; in that case Athens will be exposed to revenge from the subjects. Melos therefore has to resign its neutrality. In this context *asphaleia* appears as an argument.

The Athenians argue (Thucydides 1919–1928, V: 91) that they fear less the subjection by Sparta than revenge from their own ‘allies’. As the ‘allies’ would interpret Melos’ neutrality as a sign of weakness of Athens, the Athenians see no possibility furthermore to allow Melos its independence: “the ‘allies’ think that it is from fear if we do not attack you; so by your subjection you would not only contribute to the expansion of our empire, but also to its *security* (to *asphales*)” (Thucydides 1919–1928, V: 97).¹⁰ The

Athenians make no effort to ‘justify’ their attack on Melos’ neutrality. So the Melians conclude that the Athenians will attack because they consider this to be *advantageous* (*ksumpheron*; Thucydides 1919–1928, V: 90). In that case however, the Melians have another argument: for Athens it is rather advantageous to maintain the existing rules of conduct between city-states, just in case the Athenian empire should ever be ‘tripped up’ and its subjects were to take revenge: “maintaining law is also in your interest, because, if ever you are tripped up (*sphalentes*), you would be for the others a warning example of most bitter revenge” (Thucydides 1919–1928, V: 90).¹¹ The Melians here allude to the consciousness of the Athenians that in their case ‘*asphaleia*’ means to prevent that the ‘allies’ take revenge and ‘trip up’ Athens and its empire; by using ‘*sphalentes*’ the Melians in passing allude to the etymological background of ‘*asphaleia*’: derived from ‘*sphallō*’ or “trip up, bring to fall”.

The Athenians do not adopt the Melian argument: the hatred of the ‘allies’ and the warning coming from the Melians only are arguments for further radicalization of Athenian imperialism (Thucydides 1919–1928, I: 75–76). The Melians continue to argue about *security* (*asphaleian*, Thucydides 1919–1928, V: 98): it is in the interest of the *security* of the Athenians, argue the Melians, to keep the number of Athens’ future enemies as small as possible (Thucydides 1919–1928, V: 99). Finally, the Athenians conclude that the Melians do not want to understand that advantage (*ksumpheron*) and security (*asphaleia*) may well be combined (Thucydides 1919–1928, V: 107): “So you do not believe that advantage is closely connected with security.”¹²

Twenty centuries later, Hobbes will write that in the *bellum omnium contra omnes* language also is misused, as an instrument in political strife. Thucydides’ clearest description of the political instrumentalization of language is to be found when he writes on civil war at Corcyra (Hobbes 1839–1845, III, 82–83); but in the “dialogue with the Melians” too the political manipulation of language appears, e.g. in the Athenian ‘re-interpretation’ of ‘justice’: to the argument of the Melians that because of the justice of their cause they feel entitled to support from the gods, the Athenians answer that their own behaviour

10 Hobbes (1839–1845a) translates: “So that by subduing you, besides the extending of our dominion over so many more subjects, we shall *assure* it the more over those we had before” (vol. 9, p. 101). As Kaufmann (1973: 72, n. 22) remarks, Hobbes in his early work alternates between ‘safety’ and ‘security’.

11 Hobbes (1839–1845a): “you shall else give an example unto others of the greatest revenge that can be taken, if you chance to *miscarry*” (vol. 9: 100).

12 Hobbes (1839–1845a): “You think not then, that what is profitable must also be safe” (vol. 9, 105).

also is in harmony with human nature, and therefore ... just (Thucydides 1919–1928, V: 104–105). The Athenians give a new meaning to ‘honour’ and ‘dishonour’: real ‘dishonour’ is to cause one’s own destruction; therefore the Melians will behave in a ‘dishonourable’ manner if out of ambition they make the wrong choice between war and their own *security* / *asphaleia* and if they do not subject themselves to Athens (Thucydides 1919–1928, V: 111, §4); only that behaviour is *honourable* which contributes to the *survival* of one’s city-state; a fool is he who, when confronted with a more powerful adversary, hopes for divine support (Thucydides 1919–1928, VIII: 27, § 2–3). If confronted with a more powerful adversary, one has to subject oneself, in order not to jeopardize the survival of one’s city-state. The security/*asphaleia* – understood here as ‘survival’ – of one’s city-state is the ultimate criterium of politics; so Athenian imperialism however violent is *eo ipso* honourable, contributing as it does to Athens’ survival: ‘right or wrong, my Athens’. Morality is deduced here from politics which itself gets its standard from *asphaleia* understood as a polis’ ‘not being tripped up’, not being a loser in the ‘catch as catch can’ of inter-polis politics.

This sketch of ‘*asphaleia*’ in Thucydides could show us that young Hobbes, when developing his concept of ‘security’, adopted the disillusioned view of human nature characteristic of late-democratic imperialistic Athenians in their ‘dialogue’ with the Melians. The concept of ‘security’ or ‘*asphaleia*’ applied in Thucydides to the external relations between Greek city-states was adapted by Hobbes to the internal relations of a state: ‘Interpret the wars between sovereign Greek mini-states as one and the same conflict *involving all Hellenes*, and you witness a civil war between Hellenes bound to go on and on, until finally an omnipotent sovereign appears: Philip of Macedon’. As Thucydides went through the school of Greek sophistics (Guthrie 1969, III: 84 ff.), one finds in his work an illusionless view of reality which, when reappearing twenty centuries later in the work of Hobbes, is welcomed by those less familiar with Greek Antiquity as the ‘starting point of modernity’. In fact Hobbes’ intellectual attitude might with equal right be understood as renaissance of the Greek ‘Enlightenment’ connected with the ‘First Sophistic Movement’.

When one considers the frequency of ‘*sphallô*’, ‘*asphalês*’ and ‘*asphaleia*’ in Thucydides, and considers that the link of ‘*asphaleia*’/‘*asphalês*’ with ‘*sphallô*’ / ‘to trip up’ (Liddell/Scott 1961) is alluded to by the author himself, it seems clear that for Thucydides the leading metaphor for the security of a state is derived

from wrestling. By doing so, he continues a tradition originating from Homer. For the Athenian politicians portrayed in Thucydides, ‘*asphaleia*’ means to prevent that Athenian thalassocracy is ‘tripped up’ by lack of ships to defend Athens against its rebellious subjects. Greek ‘*asphaleia*’ lacks the ambivalence (‘objective security’ *versus* ‘illusion of security’) which until Hobbes will remain characteristic of Latin ‘*securitas*’.

Before we pass to ‘*securitas*’, some remarks still have to be made about the Greek notions of ‘*ataraksia*’ and ‘*apatheia*’,¹³ the first of which generally is thought to have been inspiring Latin ‘*securitas*’.¹⁴ Speaking generally one might say that Greek philosophy until Aristotle (384–322 B.C.) started from and returned to the *polis* (city-state), as it was the *polis* within which *eudaimonia* – as focus of philosophical thinking about man – eventually was possible. During Hellenism however, after the death of Alexander the Great (356–323 B.C.), things changed: previously responsible citizens of small city-states became apolitical subjects of big monarchies.

The notion ‘*apatheia*’ (‘freedom from emotion’, Liddell/Scott 1961), central in Stoic philosophy, may be understood as ultimately inspired by Socrates (469–399 B.C.), the Athenian *philosopher* who considered himself to be the only true *statesman* of contemporary Athens (see Plato 1961, *Gorgias*, 521d7–8); in the Stoa a certain concern of philosophy with the state remains discernible. Quite different however the philosophy of Epicurus (341–270 B.C.), where an apolitical tradition starts which silently assumes that the general interest has been managed well enough by the state at large, so that individual man – and certainly the philosopher – has no responsibility for his *polis*; the privatized individual may spend his life pursuing his particular *eudaimonia*. Revealing is the famous dictum *lathe biôsas* or “live inconspicuously” attributed to Epicurus. Previous philosophical theory now was ‘reorganized’, from an almost imperialistic conquering the structures of knowing and being, and applying them to the *polis*, to acquiring such concepts about world, gods, and man as may most contribute to one’s private happiness. Democritus’ theory of at-

13 On ‘*ataraksia*’, see Reiner (1971); on ‘*apatheia*’, see Engelmeier (1971).

14 According to Winkler (1939) ‘*securitas*’, having its philosophical origins in Epicurus (1993), for the first time occurs in Cicero and Lucretius, meaning the same as ‘*ataraksia*’: ‘freedom from pain, pleasure in tranquillity’; see Kaufmann (1973: 65, n. 4). ‘*Securus*’ occurs 5 times in Lucretius (III, 208, 935, 976; V, 82; VI, 62), ‘*securitas*’ however does not; see at: <www.perseus.org>.

oms by Epicurus was ‘tailored to measure’, not from theoretical interest but because here a theory was offered which might serve as a foundation for ‘tranquility of mind’: if essentially ‘there are only atoms and vacuum’ (Democritus), either gods do not exist or they too have to be explained on this basis. In that case however, the reason for our fear of the gods – and of death – disappears, and we may free ourselves from the power religion exercises over our life; such was the conclusion of Epicurus’ famous disciple, the Roman Lucretius – and ultimately of his most famous disciple, the German Karl Marx.¹⁵

In this apolitical climate, Epicurean ‘*ataraksia*’ has its place. The word is a composite, like ‘*asphaleia*’ and ‘*securitas*’: in the case of ‘*a-taraksia*’ (‘impassiveness, calmness’, Liddell/Scott 1961) one wants to avoid ‘*tarattesthai*’ (“being brought into a state of disorder”, Liddell/Scott 1961); its opposite is ‘*galênê*’: “tranquility of mind, equanimity, serenity”, comparable to the surface of the sea during a complete absence of wind.

17.2.4 ‘*Securitas*’ in Roman Philosophy

There are several reasons to wonder at the ‘success-story’ of Latin ‘*securitas*’.¹⁶ ‘*Securitas*’ for the first time occurs in the work of Cicero (106–43 B.C.); that does not necessarily mean that Cicero himself coined the word, as neologism from the Greek. ‘*Securitas*’ generally is considered as the Latin equivalent of Greek *ataraksia* but from an etymological point of view is far removed from it. ‘*Securitas*’ (properly: ‘*securitas*’) rather is the exact ‘latinization’ of Greek *akê-deia* (*a-kêd-eia*, “carelessness, indifference”, Liddell/Scott 1961), a word with still a great future in Christian tradition. If Latinized more exactly, ‘*ataraksia*’ should rather – hardly elegantly – have been rendered as ‘*imperturbabilitas*’. Possibly ‘*securitas*’ also owes its existence to the fact that Latin, *mirabile dictu*, had not yet available a word fit to express what we mean when we speak about ‘security’.¹⁷ And the fact that – as far as we know – it was Cicero who introduced the word into literature may not have harmed its career.

There is still a better reason for amazement: ‘*ataraksia*’ originates from the apolitical Epicurean tradition; and, as they say, it was Cicero who Latinized it into ‘*securitas*’. If however during that first century B.C. one Roman was not apolitical it was Cicero, the man for whom the idealized Roman Republic was the centre of the universe. And out of all people exactly this *homo politicus* is supposed to have adopted a word originating from an apolitical philosophical school, to coin as its equivalent a Latin word which – many centuries later – in its English version would become a key notion of political life.

‘*Securitas*’ appears late in the history of Latin (Conze 1984: 832). As a substantive it probably is derived from the adjective ‘*securus*’, “free from care, careless, unconcerned, untroubled” (Liddell/Scott 1961), which in authors from the end of the first century B.C. appears as synonymous with traditional ‘*tutus*’: “safe, secure, out of danger” (Liddell/Scott 1961). ‘*Securus*’ already appears in the middle of the first century B.C., in the philosophical poem of Lucretius (ca. 94–55 B.C.), a contemporary – but hardly a philosophical friend – of Cicero; in Lucretius, ‘*securus*’ means “free from care, untroubled, tranquil, serene, cheerful, bright” (Liddell/Scott 1961).

‘*Securitas*’ itself first occurs in Cicero, as a philosophical term meaning “absence from grief, sorrow and care” (Liddell/Scott 1961).¹⁸ Cicero connects ‘*securitas*’ with ‘*vita beata*’ or “blissful life”, i.e. with the traditional philosophical question of *eudaimonia*. Cicero elsewhere connects ‘*securitas*’ with *Democritean* ‘*euthumia*’ (“cheerfulness”, Liddell/Scott 1961).¹⁹ An explicit link of ‘*securitas*’ with *Epicurean ataraksia* is not to be found in Cicero, as little as with Stoic *apatheia*.

In scholarly literature it is a received opinion since Winkler (1939; Kaufmann 1973: 65, n. 4) that ‘*securitas*’ was formed as analogy to Epicurean ‘*ataraksia*’; it might however also, in our opinion, have been formed as analogy to Stoic ‘*apatheia*’ (“freedom from emotion”, Liddell/Scott 1961), which as an ideal is cognate with and as a word – composite beginning

15 Karl Marx wrote his doctoral dissertation about the difference between Democritus’ and Epicurus’ philosophies of nature. Characteristic of Marx’s own ‘interest’ in this theme is his motto taken from Aeschylus (1956), *Prometheus Bound*, 975: “In one word, I hate all the gods” (Marx 1975, I 1, p. 14). Philosophical atomism in history served as a vehicle for freedom from religion.

16 For our discussion of Latin ‘*securitas*’, our most important source of information is the erudite study by Schrimm-Heins (1991, 1992).

17 Latin ‘*salus*’, coming near to ‘*securitas*’, should be translated as “sound and whole condition, health, welfare, prosperity, preservation” (Liddell/Scott 1961).

18 “*Securitatem appello vacuitatem aegritudinis, in qua vita beata posita est*”, Cicero (1927) *Tusc.*, V. 42.

19 “Democritus’ notion of ‘*securitas*’ which so to say is ‘tranquility of mind’, which he called ‘*euthumia*’” (Cicero 1914, *De Fin.*, V.23). ‘*Euthumia*’ too is a composite (*eu-* or ‘well’; *thumos* or ‘soul, spirit’), but with another structure than ‘*ataraksia*’ and ‘*securitas*’.

with *alpha privans* – has the same structure as ‘*ataraksia*’. Considering the eclectic character of Cicero’s philosophy, it seems wiser to us to leave both options open. That not exclusively Epicurean associations may be at work even becomes plausible, if one considers that Cicero connects ‘*securitas*’ with ‘*dignitas*’, a word associated in Roman ‘shame culture’ with someone’s prestige in society: whoever has *tranquillitas animi* and *securitas*, says Cicero, also acquires *dignitas* (Cicero 1913, *Off.* I, 69; Schrimm-Heins 1991: 134). ‘*Securitas*’ if understood from Epicurean – and apolitical! – ‘*ataraksia*’, could for the *homo politicus* Cicero impossibly have been a cause of *dignitas*.²⁰ To summarize: the meaning of ‘*securitas*’ as used by Cicero is ‘tranquillity of mind, absence of care and fear’;²¹ *securitas* is a prerequisite for someone’s personal happiness (*vita beata*) and his prestige (*dignitas*) in society.

For Seneca (4 B.C. – 65 A.D.) also, two generations later, whose mainly Stoic philosophy contains Epicurean elements, ‘*securitas*’ is connected with the question of a life in happiness, the *vita beata*: *Quid est vita beata? Securitas et perpetua tranquillitas*.²² *Securitas*, here almost identical with *eudaimonia*,²³ is thought – ultimately inspired by Socrates – to be “the characteristic good of the wise” (*proprium bonum sapientis*, *Dial.* II 13.5); *securitas* makes the wise come close to God, as only (a) God has no need to be afraid of death (*securitatem dei*).²⁴ We perceive here, which central region of human life and culture is affected by ‘*securitas*’. In Greek tradition, only the gods had no reason to be afraid of death. Considered that way, the ambition of philosophers (visible in e.g. Plato, but paramount in Lucretius) to overcome the fear of death is tantamount to the attempt to become equal to God. Seneca’s connection of ‘*securitas*’ with the divine would explain, why precisely during the reign of his

former pupil Nero (emperor 54–68 A.D.) unmistakably suffering from megalomania, ‘*securitas*’ for the first time appears on Roman coins, with inscriptions alluding to the divinity of the Emperor: ‘*Securitas Augusti*’, ‘*Securitas Caesaris*’.²⁵

In addition to its initial and positive meaning, ‘*securitas*’ also soon gets a negative meaning, possibly because it is no longer understood – as in Cicero and Lucretius – before the background of Greek philosophical notions as ‘*ataraksia*’ and ‘*apatheia*’, but etymologically, just as the Latin word it is: when literal ‘freedom from care’ is understood as “carelessness, recklessness, levity”. This negative meaning also is found in Seneca (*Benef.* V 12.2; Schrimm-Heins I, 136); – inspired by his disappointing pupil Nero? – ‘*securitas*’ is understood here as ‘*segnitia*’ or ‘slowness, inactivity’ (Liddell/Scott 1961). Another generation later, the rhetorician Quintilianus (c. 30–100 A.D.) – again from the expertise of an educator – writes that students should not be praised too much, because immoderate praise causes indifference (*securitatem parit*) (*Inst. Orat.* II 2.6; Schrimm-Heins 1991: 136). This negative interpretation reappears in Augustinus (354–430 A.D.), one of the intellectual ‘fathers’ of the Christian West, who warns of a ‘lethal indifference’ (*mortifera securitas*) at the question of one’s own sal-

20 Cicero (1913) speaks in *De Officiis* (II 2) about *voluptatibus indignis homine docto* or “pleasures unworthy of a man of learning”. If to Cicero ‘*securitas*’ would have had Epicurean connotations, he would not have qualified it as causing *dignitas*.

21 Exactly *this* concept of ‘*securitas*’ is rejected by Hobbes (1839–1845): “we should however know that the happiness of present life does not consist in tranquillity of the mind” (“*vitae praesentis felicitatem non consistere in tranquillitate ... animi*”; *Leviathan, De Homine*, Cap. XI, p. 77).

22 “What is a happy life? *Securitas* and a perpetual tranquillity of mind” (*Ep. Luc.* 92.3).

23 “Security here is the essence of a happy life” (Schrimm-Heins 1991: 135).

24 “Ecce res magna, habere imbecillitatem hominis, securitatem dei” (Seneca 1917, *Ep. ad Lucilium*, Lib. 6, 53.12).

25 The first representations of ‘*securitas*’ on coins are from the time of Nero; ‘*securitas*’ continues to be represented until the time of Constantine (285–337 A.D.); see Schrimm-Heins 1991: 139. ‘*Securitas*’ is represented allegorically as a sitting female person, often with sceptre, horn of affluence or wreath, and with inscriptions like ‘*securitas Augusti*’, ‘*securitas Augusti nostri*’, ‘*securitas rei publicae*’, ‘*securitas populi Romani*’, ‘*securitas imperii*’, ‘*securitas saeculi*’ etc. These coins according to Schrimm-Heins 1991: 139 document the expectation that the Caesar will take care of public and private, interior and exterior security: ‘*securitas*’ is the personification of absolute political stability; Schrimm-Heins (1991) also draws attention to the deification of ‘*securitas*’, as recognizable in its allegorization and personification, and to the interweaving of religion and politics in Rome. Nevertheless, a critical remark seems at place here: in the literature on ‘*securitas*’ there is an inclination to overestimate the relevance of ‘*securitas*’ during the Roman Empire (e.g. “a central concept of the Roman Empire”, Schrimm-Heins 1991: 137). ‘*Securitas*’ however is only one of the several ‘slogans’ and personifications on coins from the Roman Empire; comparable are ‘*Aeternitas Imperii*’, ‘*Felicitas*’, ‘*Pax*’, ‘*Tranquillitas*’, ‘*Laetitia*’, ‘*Indulgentia*’, ‘*Beatitudo*’; see Kaufmann (1973: 63 ff.). Possibly the political key notion-character of ‘security’ since Hobbes has been retrojected on Roman ‘*securitas*’.

vation (*Virg.* 49, 50; Schrimm-Heins 1991: 137); within the Church of Rome this negative meaning will lead to the interpretation of ‘*securitas*’ as ‘*akêdia*’, a ‘mortal sin’ (Cross/Livingstone 1997: 10; Conze 1984: 832); it reappears with the reformer Luther (1483–1546); apparently, this negative meaning is a constant factor in Christian thought about ‘*securitas*’.

Additionally to these original, ‘subject-centred’ meanings, ‘*securitas*’ after some time also is used to refer to the world surrounding these ‘careless subjects’, as offering them ‘real security’ and as the objective cause of subjective ‘freedom from care’. This meaning first appears in the literature in the first century A.D. ‘*Securitas*’ now denotes the ‘atmosphere of peace and tranquillity’ entering Rome during Augustus (27 B.C.–14 A.D.), founder of the Caesarean phase of Roman history;²⁶ Augustus’ contemporary Velleius Paterculus (c. 19 B.C.–30 A.D.) speaks about the “hope for the uninterrupted security and eternity of the Roman Empire” (*spem ... perpetuae securitatis aeternitatisque Romani imperii*):²⁷ the *Imperium Romanum* itself here is the ‘subject’ which has no reason to be afraid of its own ‘death’, as it may hope for ‘eternity’ (*aeternitas*); the *securitas* of the *Imperium Romanum* henceforth is the basis of the personal *securitas* of its subjects.

In order to understand the use of ‘*securitas*’ in imperial Roman propaganda, we have to remember what the century previous to Augustus had been like: since the Gracchi-brothers († 132 and 121 B.C.), Rome had suffered the horrors of civil war, to which only Augustus made an end; that explains why Augustus’ era was applauded as a new ‘Golden Age’. *Securitas* – understood as ‘freedom from care’ – previously to be found only in the sphere of private life and philosophy, with Augustus got a basis in political reality. The positive connection of ‘public security’ and philosophical ideals is expressed, a generation later, by Seneca: ‘public security contributes to the project of living well’, i.e. of living according to virtue.²⁸ Seneca however also mentions the possibility of friction between public order, dependent as it is of the emperor, and the private sphere of living according to philosophy; in a treatise written for Nero, Seneca presents *securi-*

tas as based on mutual trust between ruler and ruled: “security has to be acquired by mutual security; clemency in public will contribute to the safety of a king”;²⁹ it would be a mistake, continues Seneca, to think that ‘then only a ruler is safe when nothing is safe from the ruler’;³⁰ ‘*tutus*’ and ‘*securus*’ are synonyms here.

Another generation later, the historian Tacitus (c. 56–115 A.D.) refers to the *antagonism* between the old Republican ideal of *libertas* and the new Caesarean value of *securitas*; when ascribing to Nerva and Traianus (emperors respectively 96–98 A.D. and 98–117 A.D.) the restoration of *pax* and *libertas*, Tacitus reminds of the incompatibility of *principate* (a euphemism for Caesarean autocracy) and *libertas*;³¹ their predecessors had accentuated the connection of *principate* and *securitas*. Tacitus, impressed as he is by the restoration of *pax* and *libertas* after the death of Domitianus (emperor 81–96 A.D.), understands the new *securitas publica* as the confidence of the citizens that they will no more be threatened by the state.

17.2.5 ‘*Securitas*’ as ‘*Pax Romana*’

For these Romans from the end of the first century A.D., ‘*securitas*’ had become a key notion to designate the *Pax Romana*, the ‘Roman Peace’, understood as security of public and private life under the protection of the emperors (Schrimm-Heins 1991: 139). But even in this Rome-centric perception of ‘*securitas*’, differences may be recognized: Augustus, at the beginning of the century, brought *securitas* – and order – after an age of *civil war*; Nerva and Traianus on the other hand, at the end of this century, after the terror exercised by Domitianus, while maintaining *securitas* re-introduced *libertas* and confidence in something like a state under the rule of law.

17.2.6 From Roman ‘*Securitas*’ to Christian ‘*Certitudo*’

In later Roman Antiquity, Christian authors like Tertullianus (160–240 A.D.) and Augustinus use ‘*securitas*’ in the new meaning of ‘assurance of faith’, as con-

26 Hartmann (1921): “Schlagwort aus der Zeitstimmung des ersten nachchristlichen Jahrhunderts”; see Schrimm-Heins (1991: 137).

27 Velleius Paterculus (1924), *Res Gestae*, II 103, 3 f.; the suffix *-que* ‘intertwines’ *securitas* and *aeternitas*.

28 “*Ad propositum bene vivendi confert securitas publica*” (Seneca 1917, *Ep. Ad Luc.*, 73,2); see Schrimm-Heins (1991: 138).

29 *Clem.* I 19, 5; see Schrimm-Heins (1991: 138).

30 Schrimm-Heins (1991: 138); Seneca is referring here to a *topos* from Greek philosophy: ‘Excellent people are threatened by tyrants, because tyrants feel threatened by excellent people.’

31 *Res olim dissociabiles* (Tacitus 1914, *Agricola* 3, 5); see Schrimm-Heins (1991: 138).

trast to ‘dubitatio’ or ‘doubt’. This new meaning gradually passes on to a new word created by Christian authors and emerging between the 4th and the 7th century: ‘certitudo’, a “cognitive notion describing a state of knowledge”.³² In matters of religion – and only there – ‘certitudo’ substitutes ‘securitas’; according to Schrimm-Heins (1991) this substitution is connected with the importance of the ‘assurance of salvation and belief’ in Judaeo-Christian religion: “Not until the appearance of Judaeo-Christian religion the relation of the individual to a God intervening into history is at stake” (Schrimm-Heins 1991: 141–145). ‘Certitudo’ functions in a situation in which the (Christian) individual asks a question unusual in traditional Roman religion: the question of her/his own individual salvation.

The substitution of ‘securitas’ (henceforth understood as “assurance of faith”) by ‘certitudo’ becomes definitive with Pope Gregorius the Great (540–604 A.D.) who makes ‘certitudo’ into a central concept of Christian theology (Schrimm-Heins 1991: 144); for Gregorius, ‘certitudo’ is directed at the contents of creed, as the persuasion that certain contents of the Gospel are absolutely true (Schrimm-Heins 1991: 147); ‘securitas’ on the other hand, understood as ‘assurance of one’s personal salvation’, is now considered to be the ‘mother of negligence’, as it threatens to slacken one’s struggle against sin.³³

At the end of the Roman Empire in the West (end of the 5th century) ‘securitas’ no longer appears in connection with the state, but it ‘survives’ in the liturgy of the Church of Rome, where already during the 4th century a fusion of *Imperium Romanum* and *Imperium Christianum* had taken place. In liturgical prayers, the formula ‘pax et securitas nominis Romani’ (“Peace and security of whoever bears the name of ‘Roman’”) appears, as well as ‘Romana securitas et devotio Christiana’; as Schrimm-Heins comments, the “‘Roman security’, understood as peaceful and well-ordered domination of the world by the Roman Empire, was considered as a divine gift to Christianity”.³⁴

17.2.7 ‘Securitas’ from Middle Ages to Reformation

Outside of liturgy, ‘securitas’ in the Middle Ages is reduced to a ‘verbal formula’ in juridical language.³⁵ The end of the Roman Empire in the West also brought the end of ‘securitas’ as a synonym of ‘pax’ or ‘peace’. When peace is guaranteed, the only word used to denote it from the 12th to the 15th century is ‘pax’. In the Middle Ages, ‘securitas’ – in striking contrast to the first century A.D. – is “neither central notion nor slogan” (Schrimm-Heins 1991: 151).

In the field of theology and religion, ‘securitas’ continues to be used as a synonym of ‘certitudo’, with ‘territorial loss’ however caused by its negative connotation of ‘superbia’ or ‘haughtiness, pride’; ‘securitas’ now gradually is substituted by ‘certitudo’ which begins to be used even there, where previously ‘securitas’ had been used: as “oath, guarantee, pledge, charter” (Schrimm-Heins 1991: 152). In non-liturgical – especially juridical – meanings of ‘securitas’, ‘certitudo’ becomes the equivalent of ‘securitas’. The substitution by ‘certitudo’ however is not total; two meanings of ‘securitas’ are not assumed by ‘certitudo’: as religious ‘indifference’ (*akêdia*), and as ‘pax’.

One must conclude that since Christian Roman Antiquity ‘securitas’ increasingly is a ‘loser’. It is ‘certitudo’ – as “assurance of faith” – and not ‘securitas’ which ascends to a central notion of scholastic theology and philosophy (Schrimm-Heins 1991: 171); the synthesis of the three relevant forms of *certitudo* as “certitude of faith, knowledge and action” takes place in the theological-philosophical system of Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274) (Schrimm-Heins 1991: 169).

This additional ‘territorial loss’ of ‘securitas’ to ‘certitudo’ is confirmed when Luther (1483–1546) in his negative interpretation of ‘securitas’ revives Augustinus’ interpretation of ‘securitas’ as ‘*akêdia*’ (‘inability either to work or pray’), one of the deadly sins in the lists of the spiritual writers of Antiquity and the Middle Ages (Cross/Livingstone 1997: 10); in Luther’s opinion, ‘die Sicherer’ (the ‘secure people’) are those who do not put their trust in God. The reformer Calvin (1509–1564) too understands ‘securitas’ (“carelessness”) as a state of mind dangerous to the Christian; positive ‘assurance of faith’ is denoted by Calvin not as ‘securitas’ (or ‘certitudo’) but as ‘*fiducia*’ or ‘*confidentia*’ (Kaufmann 1973: 65; Schrimm-Heins 1991: 212).

32 *Certitudo* is derived from *cernere* (“to distinguish by the senses”); see Liddell/Scott (1961); Schrimm-Heins (1991: 141–145).

33 *Mater neglegentiae solet esse securitas* (*Moral.* XXIV, XI, 62); Schrimm-Heins (1991: 147).

34 Schrimm-Heins (1991: 148); see: Tellenbach (1934: 11).

35 See Conze (1984: 834 f.).

The German and French Reformation affected the intellectual monopoly of the Church of Rome and undermined the medieval feeling of security caused by feeling oneself part of a theologically established transcendent order (Schrimm-Heins 1992, 115 f.). In northern Europe, in the 16th and 17th century a transition to an anthropocentric world view took place. Henceforth Man – and no more God – stood in the centre of thought (Kaufmann 1973: 164; Schrimm-Heins 1992, 115). The loss of medieval security may have caused the need for a new type of safety; now began a “renaissance of the concept of security in the ancient Roman meaning of a condition of tranquillity and peace guaranteed by the state” (Schrimm-Heins 1992, 171). Connected with this renaissance is the name of Thomas Hobbes (Schrimm-Heins 1992, 171).

17.3 Hobbes' Concept of Security

The success however of ‘securitas’ and ‘security’ since Hobbes should not make us oversee that, considering the continuous territorial loss of ‘securitas’ since later Roman Antiquity, the rebirth of ‘securitas’ as ‘security’ hardly was to be expected.

The philosopher Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679) made ‘security’ to the central notion of the modern state.³⁶ Hobbes’ work has to be understood before the background of the confessional civil wars in the England of the 17th century. However the influence also of the ancient historian Thucydides on Hobbes’ view of man, society, and politics should be considered. After a ‘Grand Tour’, as educator of a young nobleman, Hobbes devoted himself to the study of classical Greek and Roman authors, as ‘source of true knowledge’;³⁷ Thucydides became his favorite author, and in 1628 Hobbes published an English translation of Thucydides’ *History of the Peloponnesian War*.

Apart from the agony of Athenian imperialism, Thucydides also described the moral degeneration of the Athenians caused by civil war and pestilence, and their cynical, post-religious, ‘modern’ view of man, state, and world. Thucydides’ description gave to Hobbes the basis for his own anthropology and political philosophy; Hobbes probably perceived contemporary civil wars with the conceptual ‘filter’ offered by Thucydides.³⁸

36 Schrimm-Heins (1992: 172); Conze (1984: 832) recognizes a *caesura* in the history of the concept and links the concept of ‘security’ with the genesis of the modern state.

37 For Hobbes’ biography we follow Tönnies (1925: 4 ff.).

Freund mentions as an unusual fact for Hobbes’ time that his political theory is based on an anthropology (Freund 1982: 107–108); Macchiavelli had done so before, in an attempt to abstract from divine or metaphysical authority (Freund 1982: 113). Here however Freund should more deservedly have mentioned Lucretius who, 1500 years before Macchiavelli, in Book V of his *De Rerum Natura* sketched the genesis of world, man, society, and culture without any recurrence whatsoever to a divine contribution. Why Lucretius? In 1634, the 46-year old Hobbes was admitted to Mersenne’s circle to which the famous Gassendi also belonged (Tönnies 1925: 15); with Gassendi, Hobbes’ closest intellectual friend for many years, started the renaissance not only of the study of Lucretius, but also of atomism. For Lucretius, the fear of death – Hobbes’ ‘lifelong twinbrother’³⁹ – plays a paramount role in human culture, causing the genesis of religion; atomism offers a philosophical possibility to escape from fear of death, and so from the power of the priests – motives recurring in Hobbes.⁴⁰

It seems plausible that Hobbes, when seeking a scientific basis for his anthropology as an instrument to escape from civil war perverting language and thought, *via* Gassendi found his way to Lucretian atomism and philosophical ‘materialism’. In descriptions of Hobbes’ ‘project’ to find a *fundamentum inconcussum* for his anthropology and political theory, Hobbes’ intention (deduction from a mathematical foundation independent of party strife) and what in fact does take place easily is confused:⁴¹ what in fact takes place is induction starting from a Thucydidean anthropology, to a physical and mathematical ‘foundation’ far from civil war; a model for such a ‘foundation’ was offered in the philosophical atomism of Lucretius (1975) and Gassendi (1972).⁴²

38 The influence of Thucydides on Hobbes has been recognized long ago; see Tönnies (1925: 277, n. 4) and supra, note 7. As far as we know, the Thucydidean notion of *asphaleia* in its relevance for Hobbes’ notion of ‘security’ so far has not yet been discussed in scholarship.

39 As Hobbes (1839–1845) wrote in the distichs of his autobiographic *Vita Carmine Expressa*: “*Atque metum tantum concepit tunc mea mater, / ut pareret geminos, meque metumque simul*” (“At that time my mother became so afraid / that she gave life to twins, to me and at the same time to fear”), *Latin Works*, Vol. I, p. LXXXVI, ll. 26–7.

40 On Epicureanism as source of inspiration for Hobbes, see: Ludwig (1998).

41 For an example of such confusion, see Schrimm-Heins (1992: 174).

The *bellum omnium contra omnes* or “war of all against all”, i.e. the ‘state of nature’ previous to and leading to the genesis of a state, for Hobbes is characterized negatively by a) the ‘war of everybody against his neighbour’, b) ‘the impossibility to transmit one’s possessions to one’s children as heirs’, c) the total absence of security (*nulla securitas*)⁴³ and – positively (see *sed libertas*) – by a ‘for every man complete and absolute freedom’; the cause of all this is the absence of law and political power (*Inter homines sine lege, sine imperio*).⁴⁴

What during this *bellum* passingly is considered as ‘peace’, in truth only is a pause in a permanent war, as Hobbes writes in a passage inspired by Thucydides (1919–1928, III, 82–83): “neither if they cease from fighting, is it therefore to be called Peace, but rather a breathing time, in which one enemy observing the motion and countenance of the other, values his security not according to the Pacts, but the forces and counsels of his adversary” (*De Cive*, XIII 7). In this ‘state of nature’ people have mutual fear: all are inclined to harm each other (*mutua laedendi voluntas*). That makes that ‘we’ (writes Hobbes, in the first person plural) neither are able to produce our own security nor may expect it from others (*De Cive*, I 3). The opposite of *securitas* is *metus*, ‘fear’, not – as in Lucretius – fear of death in general, but – more precisely – fear of a violent death: *metus mortis violentae*.⁴⁵ As Freund writes, this fear is a decisive pre-condition of

Hobbes’ political theory (Freund 1982: 115; Schrimm-Heins 1992: 184).

Men are evil by nature, and only the threat by a state powerful enough to execute punishments in case of transgression of the law, makes people willing to obey the law, and so to make an end to the ‘war of all against all’. *Securitas* is not produced by agreements, but by *punishments* for not keeping agreements (*De Cive*, VI 4). For the execution of sanctions a sovereign is required; for the genesis of a sovereign, a ‘treaty of subjection’ (*subiectio*) is required, simultaneously with a ‘treaty of consent’ (*consensio*): “*Quoniam ... requiri ad securitatem hominum diximus non modo consensionem sed etiam subiectionem voluntatum ... et in ea unione sive subiectione consistere naturam civitatis*” (Hobbes 1983: *De Cive*, VI 3).⁴⁶

Without a sovereign able to enforce the observance of laws and treaties, these are ‘mere words’, and unfit as instruments to *securitas*. In *De Cive*, V 3 *securitas* appears to be a link in a *causal* chain aiming at the genesis and maintenance of peace; the necessary instrument to peace is the exercise of the law of nature (*Cum ergo ad pacem conservandam necessarium sit legis naturalis exercitium*); as for the exercise of the law of nature *securitas* is a prerequisite, it has to be ‘considered what might provide such a security’ (*considerandum est quid sit quod talem securitatem praestare possit*). In other words: what in the causal chain precedes *securitas*?

Hobbes writes that no other answer to that question is possible, than that everyone provides himself with allies, thus making it dangerous for everybody else to attack others; in order to arrive at this mutually enforced self-control, someone (‘A’) has to acquire so many allies that it becomes evident to ‘B’ (and/or ‘C’, ‘D’ etc.), that it is wiser not to attack ‘A’ (and his allies); at this point, the emerging state is not yet more than the collection of ‘A’ and his allies, discouraging ‘B’, ‘C’ (and their respective allies) to attack ‘A’. The causal chain so far has become: the joining together of individual men → *securitas* → exercise of the law of nature → peace.

And still the causal chain is not yet complete: the genesis of a state requires two additional acts which for Hobbes coincide: the *consensio* or agreement of individuals to join together, and their *subiectio* under

42 Hobbes is already 40 years old when he is ‘struck’ by Euclides and the cogent character of mathematical deduction; see Tönnies (1925: 12–13).

43 In the English text of *Leviathan* – as well as in Hobbes’ translation of Thucydides – the terminology is not yet ‘crystallized’: Hobbes alternates between ‘safety’ and ‘security’, between ‘to secure’ and ‘to caution’. According to Kaufmann (1973: 72), one cannot yet speak here about ‘security’ as a ‘word symbol’. Kaufmann does not use Kuhn’s (1962) *Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, and especially not Kuhn’s notion of ‘paradigm’.

44 “*Inter homines sine lege, sine imperio, bellum unicuique contra vicinum est, nulla autem haereditas filiis transmittenda, nulla proprietates bonorum, nulla securitas, sed libertas unicuique plena et absoluta*” (Hobbes (1839–1845): *Leviathan, De Civitate*, XXI, p. 162); see Schrimm-Heins (1992: 180).

45 Hobbes (1839–1845): *Leviathan, De Homine*, X, 78. ‘Hobbesian’ sounds Thucydides’ *asphaleiai de to epibouleusasthai aprotropês prophasis eulogos* (III, 82, § 4, 15–16), translated by Hobbes as “To re-advise for the better security was held for a fair pretext of tergiversation” (Hobbes (1839–1845), VIII, 348).

46 “Because we said ... that there was requir’d to the security of men, not onely their Consent but also the Subjection of their wills ... and that in that *Union* and *Subjection*, the nature of a *City* consisted” (Warrender 1983).

the state which for Hobbes in principle has already come into being by their *consensio*. So the complete causal chain is: *consensio subiectioque*⁴⁷ -> *genesis of the state* -> *securitas* -> *exercise of natural law* -> *pax or peace*.

In order to attain peace – as *causa finalis* of this chain – a state powerful enough to exercise sanctions against transgression of the law is an absolute prerequisite. To this power of the state everything else has to be subordinated, including cultural and religious traditions. Questions of good and evil, of ethics and religion are subordinated to and deduced from the self-preservation of the state as necessary instrument for maintaining security, and finally peace; no longer, as in the Aristotelian tradition, politics is subordinated to ethics (Schrimm-Heins 1992: 179).

As the state is not the *final* cause of this teleological chain, even the seemingly omnipotent state for Hobbes is an instrument, owing its *raison d'être* to its function within the causal chain, and having to legitimate itself by exercising its function: the production of *securitas*; if and when a state stops to produce *securitas* it loses its *raison d'être* (Kaufmann 1973: 68). This is why Hobbes recognizes the right of subjects to rebel against the state: subjects do not have the duty of obedience to a state impotent to provide its subjects with *securitas* (Schrimm-Heins 1992: 187).

17.4 Critics of the Hobbesian Concept

Hobbes' work seems characterized by an obsession with *securitas*, based on his post-religious anthropology biographically going back to his traumatizing experience of civil war. The one-sidedness of Hobbes' approach did not remain unremarked by a socially more successful contemporary as the German-Swedish Samuel Baron von Pufendorf (1632–1694). For Pufendorf, *securitas* – as to be provided by the state – implies: “Interior and exterior security, peace (*pax*), protection of property, common prosperity (*salus communis*) and a pleasant and comfortable life (*commoditas*)” (Schrimm-Heins 1992: 196). Pufendorf ties in with Hobbes, but starts from an anthropology presupposing not only Hobbes' ‘instinct of self-preservation’ and ‘self-love’ but also the fact that man is too weak not to occasionally need help from others (*imbecillitas*) and therefore needs companions (*socialitas*), a need even constitutive for the anthropology of

Grotius (Schrimm-Heins 1992: 157, n. 17). Hobbes, though having broken with the Aristotelian tradition of political philosophy, is so to speak reintegrated into that tradition by Pufendorf (Schrimm-Heins 1992: 178, n. 28).

Whereas for Hobbes, during the genesis of a state, the treaty of consensus (*consensio voluntatum*) and that of subjection (*subiectio voluntatum*) coincide (Schrimm-Heins 1992: 184, n. 58), Pufendorf (1995) discerns two different steps: first the *pactum unionis*, by which the voluntary gathering into a society is declared, and then the *pactum subiunctionis*, by which a society transfers the power of ruling it to a sovereign (Schrimm-Heins 1992: 193).

For Pufendorf, the treaty of *consensio* does not automatically lead to the treaty of *subiectio*; in the time between, people may deliberate about their desirable future constitution (Pufendorf 1995, *De Jure Naturae et Gentium*: vii 2.8; Schrimm-Heins 1992: 193). The obligation entered into by the treaty of subjection is bilateral: the ruler obliges himself to take care of common *securitas* and welfare (*salus*), the subjects oblige themselves to obedience to the sovereign who is guaranteeing their *securitas* and *salus*.

For Hobbes the genesis of law is simultaneous with that of the state. For Pufendorf however, man already previously to the genesis of the state possesses natural rights (equality and freedom) and is a ‘moral person’, a *persona moralis* (Schrimm-Heins 1992: 194); if therefore such ‘moral persons’ possessing natural rights conclude a treaty, they have to explicitly renounce their previously possessed natural rights. So the state too coming into existence by the union of these ‘moral persons’ becomes itself a kind of ‘moral person’: a ‘composite moral person’ (*persona moralis composita*) (Pufendorf 1995, *De Jure Naturae et Gentium*, VII 2, 13; Schrimm-Heins 1992: 195). That means that according to Pufendorf – in contrast to Hobbes – politics has to be subordinated to ethics. And nevertheless Pufendorf too – as Hobbes – holds that the intellectual and religious freedom of citizens should be restricted when the security of the state is jeopardized (Schrimm-Heins 1992: 195).

17.5 Emergence of Social Security in the 20th Century

The 20th century brought the triumph both of ‘social security’ and of ‘(political) security’, henceforth increasingly understood globally.⁴⁸ Considered historically, the success of the notion ‘social security’ served

47 In *consensio subiectioque* the suffix *-que* suggests near-identity of *consensio* and *subiectio*; *supra*, note 27.

as ‘launching site’ for the global success of ‘(political) security’. The triumph of ‘social security’ began under F.D. Roosevelt (US president 1933–1945); as Kaufmann (1973) however points out, the notion ‘social security’ itself has its roots in Hobbes: “Man is jeopardized primarily by man himself; and that means that already for Hobbes the problem of security genuinely is a problem of *social* security; security is the state of mutual trustworthiness to be produced between men” (Kaufmann 1973: 68–9; *italics* by the author).

The success of ‘social security’ is connected with the global economic crisis of 1929 (Kaufmann 1973: 13). The concept got its historical form in Roosevelt’s Social Security Act (1935), became a collective and global goal with the Atlantic Charter (1941) and in 1948 became embedded in the Declaration of Human Rights; since 1950 there was such a consensus about the content of the concept – “legal measures directed at securing the income of persons with reduced or lacking possibilities to acquire an income, or directed at securing their health” (Kaufmann 1973: 1) – that henceforth discussions about ‘social security’ chiefly dealt with technical aspects (Kaufmann 1973: 13).

According to Winkler (1939: 16 ff.) however, the 20th century career of *political* security already started earlier, with the ‘14-Points Declaration’ (1918) by US president Wilson (1913–1921), at the end of W.W. I; in Wilson’s ‘Principles of a Peace Order after the War’, ‘safety’ and ‘security’ alternated (Kaufmann 1973: 72, n. 22). In the 1919 ‘Statute of the League of Nations’, inspired by Wilson, one finds in the Preambles the combination “peace and security”, but in Art. 8 “national safety”; Kaufmann concludes that the “crystallization” of ‘security’ – and not: ‘safety’ – to a political keyword had not yet been completed during the presidency of Wilson. Even during the presidency of Roosevelt (†1945), ‘safety’ and ‘security’ with regards to exterior policy still were used as synonyms; it is only after W.W. II that the scale tipped in favour of ‘security’.

The notion of ‘security’ – as an instrument to characterize the paramount goal of US foreign policy – was part indeed of Roosevelt’s design of postwar policy, but Roosevelt himself in connection with foreign policy preferred ‘safety’, not ‘security’ (Czempiel 1966: 60; Kaufmann 1973: 71, n. 21). After W.W. II a development in the use of ‘security’ took place, as the problem of ‘external security’ began to play a prominent role; ‘security’ uncontroversially became con-

nected with questions of *external* security. ‘Security’ proved more successful than ‘safety’, also in the domain of exterior policy (Kaufmann 1973: 71, n. 21; Czempiel 1966: 243).

The years 1945 and 1949 have been landmarks in US foreign policy: 1945 by the victory in W.W. II, 1949 by the genesis of the ‘Cold War’. Czempiel distinguishes two connected models of US ‘security policy’: a) in 1945 the “ ‘model of collective security’, which according to US postwar policy should cover the whole world”, and b) in 1949 “the system of mutual security’ of the states allied with the US, after the crystallization of the contrast with the Soviet Union”; the element connecting both concepts was – according to Czempiel – the paramount character of US hegemony, which however should not be enforced by military instruments but should be implemented under the conditions of cooperation with – and not subjection of – other states (Czempiel (1966: 200 ff.). Said in terms of the Hobbes-Pufendorf controversy, the aim of US policy was to persuade to *consensio* in order to make *subiectio* superfluous. Here reappears the relevance of ancient Thucydides, especially when Czempiel observes: “Only in the case of small states security is identical with being protected against possible and actual attacks. Simultaneously with the size of a country the range of fields increases where its security may be at stake indirectly ... In 1945 it was generally recognized that the range of US security comprised the whole world” (Czempiel 1966: 61; Kaufmann 1973: 73, n. 24). This also was the core of the problem in Thucydides’ dialogue between Athenians and Melians: if the Athenians allow neutrality to the Melians, that means a security risk to the Athenians, as this suggests to their ‘allies’: ‘There is a possibility to escape from Athenian imperialism!’ The parallel between ancient Athenian and modern US policy and between the Thucydidean-Athenian and the Hobbesian-American approach both trying to avoid crude *subiectio* by making *consensio* attractive is remarkable.

It is Kaufmann’s merit not only to have made a historical study of the concept of the ‘*signifiant*’ ‘security’, but also to have tried a systematic study of the ‘*signifié*’, the phenomenon intended by the word. At the end of our historical sketch, a short discussion of Kaufmann’s systematic contribution seems appropriate. The sociologist Kaufmann uses different methodical approaches related to different disciplines; a minor disadvantage of his work is that the German word ‘Sicherheit’ – etymologically derived from ‘*securitas*’ and influenced, in the 20th century, by ‘security’ –

48 The following pages mainly rely on Kaufmann (1970, 1973).

plays an important role in his work. Nevertheless, most of what Kaufmann writes also seems relevant for 'security'.

Kaufmann observes that the German 'Sicherheit' frequently is used as equivocation; the word seems to become more univocal, the more in fact it becomes multivocal (Kaufmann 1973: 36; Conze 1984: 831). The emotional content of the word always is positive – this is also a recent phenomenon in the history of the word – making “that the content of the notion seems to become wider and wider, and less definite ... that simply hearing or seeing the word is enough to cause a certain excitement, giving the word in the realm of man a comparable function as the trigger stimulus has for animal instincts” (Kaufmann 1973: 37).

As the “inner structure of the contemporary problem of security” Kaufmann (1973: 16ff.) considers: a) “need of a guarantee for the absence of danger coming from the outside”; b) “need of order c.q. of orientation”; c) “need of psychical equilibrium”. Kaufmann (1973: 16ff.) analyzes 1) ‘economic insecurity’, 2) ‘political insecurity’, 3) ‘insecurity of orientation’ and 4) ‘personal insecurity’.

The cause of ‘economic insecurity’ is not *factual* existing poverty or need, but the *risk* to become poor or needy; the more prosperous people become, the more they wish for economic security (Kaufmann 1973: 17–18). “Political insecurity” is aiming at “occasions for crystallization of anxiousness”: “it is tranquilizing to know what it is that one has to be afraid of, and the anxious consciousness is therefore looking for objects appropriate to transform its undetermined anxiousness into fear of a seemingly determined danger” (Kaufmann 1973: 20). Kaufmann relativizes contemporary growth – in the seventies of the 20th century – of feeling ‘political insecurity’: seen from the outside, contemporary insecurity in those years was not greater than in previous times (Kaufmann 1973: 21). About ‘insecurity of orientation’, Kaufmann following Luhmann writes that this kind of insecurity is the effect of the loss of an order offering security; efforts aim at regaining this order, ‘order’ meaning here “reduction of the complexity of the world” (Luhmann 1968).⁴⁹

Concerning ‘personal insecurity’ Kaufmann following Riesman’s *The Lonely Crowd* distinguishes

between ‘inner directed’ (and ‘secure’) and ‘other directed’ (and ‘insecure’); security leads to goal-oriented, insecurity to threat-orientated behaviour; in the neo-analytic school of psychiatry “the pursuit of security is regarded as an expression of the pathological nature of man” (Kaufmann 1973: 24–27).

Illuminating is Kaufmann’s discussion of ‘security’ as a ‘societal word symbol’ (“gesellschaftliches Wort-symbol”): ‘security’ has acquired the same status as other ‘big words’ like ‘freedom’, ‘democracy’, ‘justice’, etc. ‘Security’ likewise expresses an “idea of value transcending every goal which might possibly be implemented” (Kaufmann 1973: 33); that does not mean however that ‘word symbols’ are useless: their function is, to make more concrete cultural standards which otherwise would have remained abstract, and to mediate between standards and concrete reality, by materializing the standards via corresponding ways of behaviour; a symbol ‘ties down’ complex contents of meaning which transcend possibilities of expression in behaviour or words (Kaufmann 1973: 39).

Kaufmann considers ‘big words’ as “idées directrices [or] leading concepts of institutions”, a notion which has to be understood as “meaning of the whole, becoming increasingly clear during a process of institutionalization”. At the end of such a process, an ‘idée directrice’ retro-acts on the further development of that institution; in more complex cultures an ‘idée directrice’ not only transcends the functions of the corresponding institution, but also the objects and concepts in which it is symbolized and made explicit. Kaufmann concludes that ‘social security’, being such an ‘idée directrice’, cannot possibly be concretized; at best it functions as the standard to judge concrete actions.⁵⁰ If Kaufmann is right, the same argument might hold in the case of ‘(political) security’: the ‘idée directrice’ of an institution, a standard to judge actions, but not itself to be completely and finally concretized. A historian of western philosophy might comment that Kaufmann’s argument leads to the conclusion that ‘security’ has to remain a ‘Platonic idea’, never itself finally to be made concrete; the return of ‘big words’ in politics is a return to political Platonism.⁵¹

49 N. Luhmann, as cited by Kaufmann (1973: 23); Schrimm-Heins (1992: 115) shows that a loss of *ordo* also occurred at the transition from Middle Ages to ‘modern times’, causing an increasing need of *certitudo* in all domains of life.

50 Kaufmann (1973: 33; 40–41) gives ‘justice’ as an example of an ‘idée directrice’: “justice ‘has to happen’, independently of whether the idea of severity or the idea of benevolence is connected with it”. Another example might be ‘truth’, as ‘idée directrice’ of the institution science/academy/university.

51 On political Platonism, see Hentschke-Neske (1995).

17.6 Conclusions

By Hobbes’ removal of ‘metaphysical rests’ – in fact by removing God – from anthropology, new room was created for Man. In Hobbesian anthropology, the ‘highest good’ is security and the prolongation of physical existence on earth (Schrimm-Heins 1992: 178). Two forms of fear play a role here: fear of violent death and fear of the future (Freund 1982: 116). In this view, man – as Schelsky (1981: 33; Schrimm-Heins 1992: 177, n. 25) wrote – has to create his own future and his own fate, without support from Nature and without guidance by something Eternal in him. Kaufmann even more profoundly interpreted the Hobbesian attitude as aiming at the destruction of the temporality of the future (Kaufmann 1973: 118; Schrimm-Heins 1992: 176). But is there an alternative to such ‘destruction’, in an age of nuclear weapons and all the other threats to mankind?

Schrimm-Heins characterized the intellectual process leading to Descartes’ emancipation of philosophy from theology as *secularization of certitudo*. The other way round however, we might since Hobbes speak of the *sacralization of security*. This is easily to be recognized in Hobbes’ aphoristic *Extra civitatem nulla securitas* (“Outside of the State there is no Security”),⁵² as paganistic alternative to traditional Roman Catholic *Extra ecclesiam nulla salus* (“Outside of the Church there is no Salvation”). Schrimm Heins concluded her study with the words: “Security, the goddess of the Romans, has survived the Roman Empire” (Schrimm-Heins 1992, 204). The religious dimension indeed accompanies ‘*securitas*’ since the poem of Lucretius, and *a fortiori* since an allegorized ‘*Securitas*’ appeared on coins from the Roman Empire. The millennia-old connection of ‘*securitas*’ with religion makes it probable that in a globalizing world, with its religious and post-religious diversity – from fundamentalism to atheism and paganism – ‘security’ will remain a controversial concept. What a fundamentalist ‘true believer’ condemns as detestable, at the same time for a paganized ‘modern’ is a question of responsibility for her or his own future.

In Hobbes’ ‘Thucydidean’ anthropology, the pursuit of security proves to be a constant; this requires a social treaty (*consensio*) coinciding with a political treaty of subjection (*subiectio*); both treaties together lead to the creation of an omnipotent sovereign (‘Leviathan’) punishing transgressions of the law. Applied

to the contemporary globalizing world, one might by analogy say that an unreflected process of making ‘security’ to an absolute and ‘highest good’ not only prepares us for the necessity of global *consensio* – as Pufendorf would say – but also for that of global *subiectio* to a Hobbesian ‘Leviathan’ identifying *consensio* and *subiectio*.

Ancient Greek philosophy might be helpful here. In Platonic philosophy, where the ‘idea’ of a virtue is understood as the ‘pure’ and absolute standard of that virtue, the attempt to implement this ‘idea’ is to be applauded more in the same measure as the ‘idea’ is approximated more; absolute approximation of the ‘idea’ – if possible – would deserve absolute applause. Platonizing contemporary statesmen seem to conclude from such a view on moral ‘goods’, that the more ‘security’ they implement, the more applause they deserve. Aristotle, however, against Plato pointed out that virtue is a good to be found in the middle between two vices, as e.g. courage is found in the middle between cowardice and rashness.⁵³ If we apply Aristotle’s analysis to the complex *chimera* of contemporary ‘security’, we become aware that ‘security’ – in order to be a ‘good’ at all – should not be seen as a Platonic ‘idea’, as an absolute ‘good’ to be approximated absolutely, but rather as an Aristotelian ‘middle’ between two evils: between the evil of absolute fear and the evil of absolute security which, in the words of Immanuel Kant, is to be found only at the cemetery.⁵⁴

52 Hobbes (1983), *De Cive* X 1; Schrimm-Heins (1992: 185, n. 66); Schmitt (1982: 75).

53 See: Aristotle (1926), *Ethica Nicomachea*, 1106 a 26ff.; see Ottmann (1980).

54 See: Immanuel Kant, 1795: *Zum Ewigen Frieden*, preface. Kant of course wrote on ‘eternal peace’, not on ‘absolute security’; the line of argument might however be the same; Kaufmann (1973: I, n. 1).

18 Security Conceptualization in Arab Philosophy and Ethics and Muslim Perspectives

Hassan Hanafi

18.1 Primary Remarks

The term 'security' is a new term in Arabic/Islamic thinking. It is used in political science and in the contemporary political discourse in Western political science, and translated as *Amn*, from the same Arabic root which means faith *Iman*, the verb *Aman* means to believe. Another derivative *Aman* means peace treaty.

The term 'security' is not used with this meaning in contemporary Arabic/Islamic discourses. It is used with the adjective 'national' as 'national security' and the institution is called 'National Security Council', and an eminent position is called 'National Security Advisor'. Security is here linked to defence. It is no philosophical or ethical concept but a military one, how to defend the nation against external threats in the present or future. Lessons from the past can also be drawn.

The term 'security' is also generally linked with 'peace', in the common expression as 'peace and security'. Peace precedes security as if there is no peace without security and there is no security without peace. The question is: which is the condition for the other? Is peace the prerequisite of security or is security the prerequisite of peace? A dialectical relation can also be conceived. Both peace and security are mutually conditioned (chap. 4 by Wæver).

18.2 Security in Classical Arab/Islamic Thinking.

The term 'security', *Amn* means quietude or peace of the soul. It is used in the holy Koran with different meanings. Regarding the linguistic forms of the term 'security':

a) The term is mentioned 20 times in different forms. All of them are verbal forms which mean

that security is an act and a process, not a given situation.

- b) The term is used 15 times with pronouns, which means that security is related to human and social relations, not to individual positions.
- c) The term is also used 15 times addressing pronouns to the group, which means that security is always a perception of the other, not of the self, and may be an illusion and not a reality.

Concerning the meaning of the term 'security':

- a) Security is a *state of mind* or a *feeling* that those who commit unjust acts cannot achieve or have security. More than half of the usages in the Koran refer to this meaning. It is almost a law of history that the feeling of insecurity usually results from violating the rights of others. It is due to power without justice. Unexpected punishment will come for those who committed injustices and feel insecure. The wrongdoers will never feel safe from an earthquake which shakes the earth beneath their feet, or a blowing wind which destroys their towns. There is no power without a superpower. An unjust superpower is a weak power. A just power is a superpower. This is the collective insecurity resulting from collective injustices of hegemonic nations and big powers invading small nations and exploiting their natural resources.¹
- b) *Mutual feeling of a group* resulting from peace between neighbouring communities.²
- c) *Mutual security* vis-à-vis each other, *trust and trustworthiness*. This is the case of Joseph and his brothers who were unworthy of trust.³
- d) *Mutual security* vis-à-vis things as deposits and trusts, loans, etc. Ethics prevails on interests. Honesty is the law of transactions. This mutual honesty is applicable irrespective of creed.⁴
- e) *Individual security* for oneself, internal feeling of quietude once there is a sincere commitment to

the universal code of ethics and the realm of universal norms.⁵

The verb *Itma'anna* is from the same root which means to be sure without fear, to be quiet without anxiety and to acquire the peaceful soul, *al-Nafs al-Mutma'innah*.

- a) The verb with its derivatives is mentioned 13 times, 9 times as verb and 4 times as adjective, which indicates also that quietude, namely peace in the soul, is an act not a thing, from the subject side not from the object one. All verbal forms refer to the third person as an impersonal reality, an objective truth with indicative statements.
- b) The principal meaning in 7 verses that quietude is in the heart not on the ground, a state of the mind, not physical boundaries. Revelation represents a certain kind of universal code of ethics and norms of conduct. It gives quietude in the heart.
- c) Quietude in the heart requires proofs, rational or natural. Abraham believed but he needed more

rational or natural proofs to combine feeling and reason, intuition and demonstration.⁶

- d) Quietude comes from the essence of truth not from the utility of the fact. It is related to the ideal not to the benefit.⁷ Compulsion does not disturb internal conviction of truth. Quietude in the soul is the only source of acts of piety.⁸ It is the only saved soul. Quiet souls are like angels on Earth.
- e) A peaceful village, living in quietude and affluence was not thankful to God. It deserves hunger and fear. Modesty is a pre-requisite for security.⁽⁹⁾

In the prophetic tradition the term *Amina* is mentioned over 70 times. All of them mean individual security not group or security of nations. The risk for the security of a society comes from the individual. The evil individual may threaten people in their lives and belongings. The good individual gives security to the community. Security must be given from the

- 1 "Did the people of the towns feel secure against the coming of our wrath by night while they were asleep?" (7: 97); "Or else did they feel secure against its coming in broad daylight while they played about?" (7: 98). "Do then those who devise evil feel secure that God will not cause the wrath to swallow them up, or that the wrath will not seize them from directions the little perceive?" (16: 45); "Do ye then feel secure that He will not cause you to be swallowed up beneath the Earth when you are on land, or that He will not send against you a violent tornado so that ye find no one to carry out your affairs for you?" (17: 68); "Or do ye feel secure that He will not send you back a second time to sea and send against you a heavy gale to drown you because of your ingratitude so that ye find no helper therein against Us?" (17: 69); "Do ye feel secure that He Who is in Heaven will not cause you to be swallowed up by the earth when it shakes?" (67: 16); "Or do ye feel secure that He Who is in Heaven will not send against you a violent tornado so that ye shall know how was my warning?" (17: 17); "Did they then feel secure from the plan of God? But no one can feel secure from the plan of God except those doomed to ruin" (7: 99); "Do they then feel secure from the coming against them of the covering veil of the wrath of God, or the coming against them of the hour all of a sudden while they perceive not?" (12: 107).
- 2 "Others you will find that wish to gain your confidence as well as that of their people. Every time they are sent back to temptation they succumb thereto" (4: 91).
- 3 "He said: Shall I trust you with him with any result other than when I trusted you with his brother aforetime?" (12: 64); "They said: O our father why dost thou not trust us with Joseph, seeing we are indeed his sincere well-wishers?" (12: 11).

- 4 "And if one of you deposits a thing on trust with another let the trustee discharge his trust and let him fear his Lord" (2: 283); "Among the people of the Book are some who if entrusted with a hoard of gold will pay it back. Others who if entrusted with a single silver coin will not repay it unless thou constantly stooped demanding because they say: There is no call on us with these ignorant pagans" (3: 75).
- 5 "And when you are in peaceful conditions, if any one wishes to continue the *Umra* or the *Hajj*, he must make an offering such as he can afford" (2: 196); "If ye fear pray on foot or riding but when ye are in security celebrate God's praises in the manner he has taught you" (2: 239).
- 6 "God made it but a message of hope for you, and an assurance to your hearts" (3: 126), (8: 10); "Those who believe and whose hearts find satisfaction in the remembrance of God" (13: 28); "He said: does thou not then believe? He said: Yea, but to satisfy my own understanding" (2: 260).
- 7 "Some who serve God, as it were on the verge. If good befalls them they are therewith well content. But if a trial comes to them they turn on their faces" (22: 11); "Those who rest not their hope on their meeting with us, but are pleased and satisfied with the life of the present..." (10: 7); "Anyone who, after accepting faith in God, utters unbelief except under compulsion his heart remaining firm in faith..." (16: 106).
- 8 "But when ye are free from danger set up regular prayer" (4: 103); "To the righteous soul will be said: O soul, in rest and satisfaction" (89: 27); "If there were settled on earth angels walking about in peace and quiet" (17: 95).
- 9 "God sets forth a parable: A city enjoying security and quiet, abundantly supplied with sustenance from every place. Yet was it ungrateful for the favours of God. So God made it taste of hunger and terror like a garment because which wrought" (16: 112).

neighbour to his neighbour. Once security is given to everyone, it has to be preserved and respected. Only a few times is collective security mentioned. Security is mentioned between nations such as between Arabs and Romans by treaties of reconciliation, *Sulh* (Wensinck 1988: 105-107).

The four classical Islamic disciplines: theology, philosophy, jurisprudence and mysticism dealt with the notion of security differently and with different degrees of importance. Ethics is no independent science but infiltrates all other disciplines.

- a) In *theology*, the term *Iman* which means faith is derived from the same root as *Amn* which means security, because faith brings security. Faith is internal in thoughts and feelings as well as external in sayings and doings.
- b) In *philosophy*, peace in the mind results from the communication of the human intellect with the intellect-agent, not from sensations or experimentations. Islamic ethics is oscillating between Aristotelian and Platonic ethics. Neither of them is based on the notion of security. Muskaweh defended Platonic ethics based on the tripartite divisions of the faculties of the soul: Continence for volition, courage for passion, and wisdom for reason. Justice balances the three other virtues. Al-Farabi¹⁰, Avicenna¹¹ defended a theory of communication between the human intellect and the active intellect. Virtue is the centre between two extremes, as for Aristotle. Happiness is in knowledge and goodness. Only al-Farabi in his description of the 'virtuous city' describes the city based on power (*Taghleeb*) as a perishable city such as other cities based on ignorance and pleasure. Only the virtuous city is based on reason. Security meant only in-

ternal security of the state not external security between nations.

- c) In *mysticism*, the term security is no mystical technical terms such as fear, hope, awareness, drunkenness, absence, presence, reliance, resignation, patience, acceptance, satisfaction, etc.
- d) In *jurisprudence*, the term *Aman* which means treaty of peace, non-belligerence is used to indicate the state of peace between two nations after signing a peace treaty of non-aggression. *Dar al-Aman* means literally the home of security, by opposition of *Dar al-Kufr*, place of non-belief is related to the old jurisprudence in early Islam for the sake of expansion. Islam would offer three choices: Islam, *Jizyah* which means taxes, or war. Islam means the realm of reason and public welfare. *Jizyah* is a tax to the state in return for defence and protection. War as a third alternative is unconceivable because it means antagonism to the new wave in history. The holy war is not an offensive war but only a defensive war, a legitimate self-defence in case of external aggression. No coercion in religion is the Islamic dictum for individual and state behaviour.

18.3 Security in Contemporary Arabic/ Islamic Thinking

As the Arab and Muslim world was nearly totally occupied by foreign powers, and as Palestine, the Golan Heights in Syria, and the Shab'a Farms in Lebanon are still occupied, contemporary Arabic/ Islamic thinking on security perceives threats from the outside. Sayed Qutb's (1951) *World Peace and Islam* is an example of modern writings, not on security but on peace, since both are linked together as 'peace and security', where priority is given to peace. Its main goal is based on four steps in the vision of peace: Peace in the consciousness *Dhamir*, peace at home *Bayt*, peace in society *al Mujtama'*, and finally peace in the world *al-Alam*.

- a) *Peace begins in the consciousness (Dhamir)* as the centre of the world. Individual consciousness is free from all hegemonic religious or political powers. Individual needs, material and spiritual, are both to be fulfilled, and there is no tension arising among them having to sacrifice one for the other. Man does not carry any original sin legitimizing his errors. He commits only ethical mistakes following his inclinations or misjudgements and then he repents afterwards and begins again. His duties

10 Ab Nasr Muhammad ibn al-Farakh al-Frbi or Ab Nasr al-Frbi (also known as Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn Tarkhan ibn Uzalagh al-Farabi, in the West as Alpharabius, Al-Farabi, Farabi, and Abunaser (870-950) was one of the greatest scientists and philosophers of his time. See at: <<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Farabi>>.

11 Ibn Sina, Abu 'Ali al-Husayn ibn 'Abd Allah ibn Sina, Abu Ali Sina often referred to as Avicenna was a Persian physician, philosopher, and scientist (980-1037). He was the author of 450 books. many on philosophy and medicine. He was one of the Islamic world's leading writers in medicine and his most famous works are: *The Book of Healing* and *The Canon of Medicine*; see at: <<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Avicenna>>.

are proportional to his capacities, no less and no more. The affiliation to a universal code of ethics gives him internal assurances and a peaceful state of mind. Assurances and guarantees make him secure.

- b) *Peace at home (Bayt)* is the second larger circle after the individual smaller circle. The home is the miniature of society. It is a holy link between two bodies and souls in a well-balanced life between indoor and outdoor. Divorce is the exception to the rule, like war is the exception to peace. Polygamy is also an exception to monogamy. Family solidarity is a reduced image of social solidarity.
- c) *Peace in society (al Mujtama')* is the third larger circle after the individual circle and family circle. Society is based on social solidarity not on social polarity between rich and poor, on social cohesion not social contradiction. The common cause preserves society from disintegration and lethargy. The Islamic political system is similar to social democracy. The legal system is independent from the executive power. Security guarantees are given to all members of society on equal terms. Everyone is entitled to various forms of social security including medical care and education. Social balance prevents society from dislocation. Islam is against all monopoly of economic power, i.e. capital, defends public welfare, preventing any social damage. For Islam labour is the only source of value, it prohibits monopoly, protects public property, requires the fulfilment of basic needs, and rejects wasteful spending. Islam also prohibits accumulation without spending, has a system of checks and balances, has a fiscal system of gradual taxation proportional to earnings, and calls for the supremacy of the law.
- d) Once these three circles live in harmony the fourth circle crowns the *harmony in the world (al-Alam)* stemming from the principle of unity. Free citizens and nations lead to a humankind without wars of aggression motivated by race or interest. Tolerance between nations precedes revenge. Politics yields to ethics. These four concentric circles are in the view of Sayed Qutb (1951) the basis of global security.

Security has been discussed by modern thinkers from a scholarly rather than a political reformist perspective. World security is based on justice and the equality of all nations before the natural and rational law. Revelation, reason, and nature are identical. The Islamic *Umma* is not only made up of Muslims but of all communities. Each one has its own autonomy and

its legal system, language, manners and customs, confederated with other communities by a pact of non-aggression and equality of rights and duties. The Covenant of Medina in early Islam during the time of the prophet is a model. The United Nations Charter is another modern model without the right to veto since all nations are equal *de jure* irrespective of the *de facto* cleavage between small or large nations. Some scholars tried to modernize classical notions of peace and security in Islam to cope with the modern situation and new international conventions, but many argued that Islamic international law preceded the modern one. They also refer to the limitations of the modern one by the misuse of the UN Charter by big powers and the double standard in its application which creates frustration in the Arab and Muslim world.

18.4 The Realities of the Muslim World Today

It may be argued that the present realities of the Muslim world: violence, civil wars, kidnappings, hijackings, torture, and assassinations are far from the preceding ideal image of Islam as a religion of peace and as a universal code of ethics. If this ideal is not practised by the Muslims themselves, how can it be applied by non-Muslims in the rest of the world? Indeed, such an argument could be valid if the Muslims had tried to apply the ideal and failed. But the realities of the Muslim world are as such due to the absence of this ideal. Muslim societies are not yet prepared for life in peace. Peace exists neither in the external, nor in the internal world, neither on earth, nor in the soul. Muslim societies are suffering from the most horrible forms of social, economic, and political injustices. As long as this situation persists, Muslim societies will not be prepared for life in peace. But once it is changed for the better, peace would prevail. The intention of the gradual revelation in history was to prepare peoples, societies, and nations for life in peace and security. Once the purpose of revelation is fulfilled, the distance between the ideal and the reality would disappear.

In the present Muslim world there are seven forms of injustice which are behind all kinds of violence and disturbance of public order, on the international as well as on the national levels. They are everywhere, motivating individuals and dissident groups for action and inviting peoples to revolt.

First, the occupation of the land as a remnant of the colonial era. In spite of the huge process of decolonization, parts of the Muslim world are still occupied: Palestine, Iraq, and Afghanistan. Occupation can also be indirect, such as the presence of foreign military bases in many parts of the Muslim world (Saudi Arabia, Turkey). In Islam, the 'kingdom of god' is in heaven and on earth, not only a kingdom in heaven (Christianity) or a kingdom on earth (Judaism). War against decolonization is a just war, and Jihad is legitimate for those expelled from their homes and expatriated.¹² As interpreted, the Jihad is a defensive war to re-establish justice and order. Occupation occurs through aggressive wars and ends with liberation wars.

Second, internal oppression and dictatorial regimes are causing much internal violence in the Muslim world. The rule of the Muslim majority by a secular minority, in the name of secular political ideologies, liberalism, socialism, nationalism, and Marxism is a usurpation of power. The source of authority in Islam is neither heredity (kingdoms), nor coups d'état by free officers (people's republics), nor referenda (parliamentary systems), but Islamic law. The political power is only an executive power, neither a legislative nor a judiciary power. In Islamic rule, freedom of expression is the duty of every Muslim knowing the law. Each must order the good to be done and prevent the evil from being done.¹³ He has to begin with peaceful advice, then by appealing to the judiciary, and finally by a revolt against the despot who does not apply the rule of law. Although the high judge is nominated by the head of state, he cannot be dismissed by him. On the contrary, the head of state can be dismissed by the high judge if the former does not hear and obey the advise of the knowledgeable people, and before a revolt against him occurs. As long as political regimes in the Muslim world continue to rule in the name of secular ideologies, practising the most horrible forms of oppression and dictatorship, violence will always continue to destabilize these regimes, supported by for-

eign powers. Muslim societies can be prepared for life in peace, once freedom of expression stipulated in Islam is implemented in practice.

Third, the polarity between rich and poor inside Muslim societies has reached a stage where a few people own almost all the wealth, and the majority is starving. The distribution of wealth between those unequal who have and those who have not, between oil rich countries and poor countries, between royal families and the populace, between multimillionaires and the majority living under the poverty line, is a major cause of social unrest. As a result, national capital has flown to foreign capitals, and national sovereignty has yielded to multinational corporations. In Islam, wealth cannot be in the hands of a minority ruling over the majority. It has to be divided and given to all social classes in the whole nation.¹⁴

Wealth and the whole world belong to God. Man is only a depository. He has the right to use, to invest, and to spend according to his needs. But he has no right to misuse, to monopolize, or to exploit. If he does, the state, representing mass interests, intervenes. The state has the right to nationalize, to confiscate, and to own. General interests cannot be owned individually; such as grass (agriculture), fire (industry), and salt (big trade). God in Islam is defined in terms of human needs: food against hunger, as well as security against fear.¹⁵ A society would collapse, and the state would be destroyed, if we had a high palace, looking over a closed well, that means the domination by the wealthy minority of the poor majority.¹⁶ As long as a few are dying from satiety and over-filled stomachs, while millions are dying from drought, hunger and poverty, Muslim societies will not be prepared for life in peace.

Fourth, the dismantling of the Muslim world, the breaking of its indestructible tie, the dismemberment of one organic body, continue to be one major cause of violence, border clashes, and civil wars. Before the era of colonization, the Muslim world was one united

12 "To those against whom war is made, permission is given (to fight) because they are wronged, and verily, God is most powerful for their aid. (They are) those who have been expelled from their homes in defiance of what is right (for no cause), except that they say, Our Lord is God" (22: 39).

13 "Let there arise out of you a band of people, inviting to all that is good, enjoying what is right, and forbidding what is wrong" (3: 104); "Ye are the best of Peoples, evolved for mankind, enjoying what is right, forbidding what is wrong" (3: 110).

14 "What God has bestowed on His Apostle (and taken away) from the people of the township, belongs to God, to his Apostle, to Kindred and Orphans, the needy and the wayfarer, in order that it may not (merely) make a circuit between the wealthy among you" (59: 7).

15 "Let them adore the Lord of this House, who provides them with food against hunger and with security against fear (of danger)" (56: 3-4).

16 "How many populations have We destroyed, which were given to wrong-doing? They tumbled down on their roofs. And how many wells are lying idle and castles lofty and well-built?" (22: 45).

world. Every Muslim could travel from one corner to the other, looking for knowledge, without barriers or frontiers. After decolonization, new nationstates were created against the will of the people and contrary to their long traditions. With ignorance, backwardness, and foreign conspiracies to strengthen ethnic and religious differences, wars began between or inside countries.¹⁷ The old Roman dictum, *'divide et impera'*, was successfully implemented by big powers to divide the Muslim world and to swallow it piecemeal. As long as the dismantling of the Muslim world continues, border clashes and civil wars will also continue. Once the Muslim world returns to its unity, as the image of god's unity, there will be no more violence and bloodshed.¹⁸ The desire for unity is as deeply felt now as it has been in the past. The Muslim world aspires for unity, but big powers oppose any form of unity, even the partial unity between neighbouring states, in the name of Arab or African unity, Afro-Asian solidarity, or non-alignment.

Fifth, the backwardness of Muslim countries (as 'underdeveloped' or 'developing'), is another cause of disturbance. The lack of infrastructure at all levels, especially public services, makes the whole society live in distress and constant depression. All forms of underdevelopment such as dependency for food and nutrition, foreign aid, increasing imports and falling exports, lack of heavy industry, widespread consumerism, deficit in balance of payments, foreign debt, open door policies, tax evasion, the rise of new middle classes, corruption, foreign banks draining money from inside to outside, black markets, brain drain, lack of planning, these create frustration among those who cannot compete in the new lifestyle. Therefore, crime increases, and security declines. As long as Muslim societies continue with this social disorder, neither peace nor security will exist. It is quite easy through Islam to prepare Muslim societies for life in peace by asserting the sense of vocation of a Muslim in particular and a human being in general, as God's 'assistant manager' on earth, fulfilling His message and realizing His word.¹⁹ The struggle against underdevelopment is a struggle for peace.

Sixth, Westernization of Muslim societies and the threats to cultural identity are behind the upsurge of Islamic fundamentalism and the violence against the symbols of Western imitation and pro-Western policies. As long as the process of Westernization continues, a counter-reaction will always be generated in defence of indigenous tradition. The polarity between the 'self and the other' will reach a point of no return. Development does not necessarily mean adoption of the Western model of growth, modernization, and consumerism. An indigenous development rather than an exogenous one would protect cultural identity. As long as the relationship between centre and periphery continues as it is now between trainer and trainee, master and disciple, teacher and pupil, knowledgeable and ignorant, a one-way transfer from those who have to those who have not, and a dissemination of knowledge from the centre to the periphery - the superiority complex in the other, and the inferiority complex within oneself will continue as a major source of violence and revolt. Once all nations become equal partners, having an equal share in the making of humanity; once the process of knowledge and learning becomes a two-way process; once the history of humankind is not reduced to the European modern era, then Muslim societies will be better prepared for life in peace.²⁰

Seventh, the lack of mass-mobilization in the Muslim world, for a huge project of a global Renaissance, leaves the masses an easy target for all kinds of underground movements. Violence, bloodshed, and wars are not inherent in human nature. They are an exception to the rule. Violence is usually committed either by secret organizations (for instance Jihad groups and) Hizballah in Lebanon or by a big power (US invasion of Grenada, bombing of Libya, Russian invasion of Afghanistan). But the global commoners are peaceful. The abolition of all political parties, the oppression of the opposition by the ruling party, or the

17 Wars between two countries such as Iran and Iraq, Egypt and Libya. Wars inside the same country such as in Sudan (North-South), Morocco (Polisario), Lebanon (civil war), the Philippines (Muslims in Mindanao).

18 "Verily, this Brotherhood of yours is a single Brotherhood, and I am your Lord and cherisher" (21: 92; 23: 52).

19 "Behold, The Lord said to the angels: I will create a Vice-Regent on Earth..." (2: 30); "O David! We did indeed make thee an assistant manager on Earth..." (38: 26). "It is he who hath made you (His) agents, inheritors of the Earth..." (6: 165; 10: 14; 10: 73; 35: 39; 7: 09; 7: 74-27.62).

20 "To each among you have We prescribed a Law and an Open Way. If God had so willed, he would have made you a single people but (His plan is) to test you in what he hath given you: so strive as in a race in all virtues..." (5: 51); "If thy Lord had so willed, he could have made mankind one people, but they will not cease to differ" (9: 118. 16: 93).

acceptance of a multi-party system without a level playing field create a façade democracy where ruling parties win elections by 99.99% of the votes. This encourages the emergence of unrecognized, secret and militant Islamic parties which are highly attractive to the Muslim youth. It is astonishing that in the whole Muslim world there is no legal and popular Islamic party which would fill the gap in the political life, despite the complaint expressed by all political leaders about the political vacuum in their respective societies. The idea of a militant Islamic party is crucial for every Muslim society.²¹ Once such a party is allowed, the Muslim masses will have an open forum to express their grievances against the status quo and their hopes for their ideal societies.

As long as these actual dramas of the Muslim world are not resolved, Muslim societies will be unprepared for life in peace, and remain the victims of the most horrible forms of violence and war. Nuclear arms, star wars, and problems of disarmament are more linked to Western societies. If it is easy to find solutions for nuclear threats through bilateral agreements between nuclear powers and through East-West summits, it is very difficult to solve the seven dramas of the Muslim world.

The threats to the Western world are recent, only since the Second World War, and created by actions of the Western powers themselves. The dramas of the Muslim world are the heritage of a long history since its decadence, and caused mostly by outsiders. The preparation of Western societies for life in peace requires political treaties on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. The preparation of Muslim societies for life in peace requires a change in the course of history.

21 In the Qur'n there is a duality between the party of the devil, applied to actual secular parties, and the party of God, which is usually a secret militant Islamic group. The party of the devil, "The Evil One", has got the better of them. So the devil has made them forget God. They are the party of the Evil One. Truly it is the Party of the Evil One that will perish" (58: 19); "But people have cut off their affair (of unity) between them into sects; Each party rejoices in that which is with itself..." (23: 63, 30: 32); the party of God, such as: "As to those who turn (for friendship) to God, His Apostle and the (Fellowship of) believers. It is the fellowship of God that must certainly Triumph" (5: 26); "They are the party of God. Truly, it is the Party of God that will achieve felicity" (58: 22).

18.5 Confronting Common Challenges in Today's Environment

To think is not a purely intellectual exercise limited to resolving mathematical equations, or counting facts, or numerating events. Thinking is a self-commitment of the thinker. Formalism is void of content, quantity without quality, form without matter. Experimentalism is without significance, matter without form, facts free of values, the world without its soul. The thinker is in the world, confronting its challenges. Thinking is committing, meditating is positing. The world is not silent or stagnant but an utterance, an *αλετια* in Heidegger's term, an intention towards the thinker countered by another intention from the thinker towards the world. This double way from the object to the subject and from the subject to the object on the level of knowing is also called intentionality on the level of being, namely behaving. The thinker is a phenomenologist by nature, perceiving the world as a living experience and acting in it as a field of action.

The phenomenological analysis is capable of describing the linkage between civilizations and harmony from one side, and a political dimension on the other. Therefore, the environment does not mean only natural environment as understood by the Greeks and modern environmentalists and to be protected against pollution, desertification, etc. It also includes the human and social environment, called in French 'milieu' and in German 'Umwelt'.

There are seven common challenges the world is confronting today.

- The *first* is what has been labelled as the *clash of civilizations*, Huntington's (1993, 1996) famous thesis, spelling out what has always been spelt in, making explicit what was previously implicit. The clash of civilizations has always been practised parallel to colonialism in the name of acculturation, erasing indigenous cultures of the colonized for the benefit of the Western one, that of the colonizer. Languages and cultures of the Western Hemisphere became 'Indian Reservations' for Hollywood for the benefit of the English in the North, Spaniards in the Centre and South, and the Portuguese in the South. Africa is split between Francophone and Anglophone. English is spoken in India, the language of unity of the subcontinent. Spanish is spoken in the Philippines. In Algeria the slogan during the colonial period was *L'Algérie Française*. Paris was the metropole and France

and Africa were the *Communauté*. Great Britain and its colonies formed the 'commonwealth'.

Subduing cultures was a permanent guarantee to subdue peoples. The cover-up was modernization as Westernization, Europeanization, and now as Americanization. The 'clash of civilizations' is used now as a cover-up for a new economic, political, and cultural hegemony since the periphery is still linked to its tradition, and eager to struggle against the hegemony of the centre as a continuation of the decolonization process. While in reality the intention is to defend globalization and to hide the economic domination of the centre over the periphery.

- The *second challenge* is the one-polar system called *globalization* after the collapse of socialist regimes in Eastern Europe and in the former Soviet Union. It is an unhealthy phenomenon given the absence of competition, of another alternative for a real choice. A one-polar system is a sort of a unilateral oppression. Capitalism is the end of history.

In spite of depression and the economic crises, capitalism is the peak of development, the accomplishment of prophecy, and the end of time without resurrection. Each economic system has to cope with capitalism. Globalization is a cover-up of capitalism. The world as one village, not mutual and regional cooperation, or humanitarianism fighting disease, drought, hunger, desertification, ignorance, illiteracy, etc. Globalization is the consolidation of the power of the centre and the dismantling of the periphery. It is not a one way direction, the unity of the centre, but a two-ways direction, the fragmentation of the periphery. Each nation has to relinquish its national sovereignty, open its borders, lift custom barriers, sign the WTO Charter, accept competition, open its markets for imports, accept the multinational corporations, and digest the results of the information revolution including the global value-systems of consumption, profit, modernity, Western lifestyle including double-standard norms, one for the overdeveloped and another for the underdeveloped.

Since the periphery cannot compete with the centre, and as there is no other bloc which can support the periphery against the monopoly of the centre, as was the case with the previous socialist bloc headed by the former Soviet Union, violence erupts: Demonstrations within the centre in Seattle, Prague, Paris, London, Davos and Geneva, and violent attacks from the periphery against the symbols of power in the centre: the World Trade Center, the Pentagon, the White

House. Symbolic violence means the revolt of the self against the other, the affirmation of identity against alienation, the explosion of an inferiority complex against a superiority complex.

- The *third challenge* is *power without justice*, economic power based on market economy and profit with a huge disparity between the rich and poor, political power based on the military-industrial complex, and the use of the UN system to legitimize a military intervention (as in the case of Yugoslavia), or over and above the UN mandate (like the invasion of Afghanistan).

In the Arab and Muslim world there is a huge sense of injustice and frustration vis-à-vis the Palestinian people, another example of power without justice. Israel has denied the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people for self-determination, refused the application of UN resolutions requiring the withdrawal from the occupied territories, and rejected the implementation of the Madrid Accords and Oslo Agreements. These double-standards are manifestations of power without justice. The Palestinian resistance is labeled as terrorism while the Israeli action is self-defence. The Palestinian Authority is not considered as a partner in the peace process while Israel is. Quid pro quo or 'horse trading' is also practised, the Americans consent to the Russian invasion of Chechnya, and in return the Russians consent to the American invasion of Afghanistan.

- The *fourth challenge* is violence, lately called *terrorism*. A 'war against terror' was launched after the events of 11 September 2001. In fact, these events are a result of something else, a conclusion not a premise, a reaction, not an action. The silence and the incapacity of the Arab and Muslim world increased the sense of frustration. The events of 11 September 2001 - in the perception on the street in many Arab and Muslim countries - is a reaction to 29 September 2000.

According to some in the West, violence is only related to religious violence, and religious violence is only due to Islam. But this perception is erroneous. ETA, a non-religious group, is practicing violence in Spain for an independent Basque state. In Ireland, the terrorism of Catholics against Protestants is also religiously based. The war in Sri Lanka between the Tamils and the Hindus has also been religiously motivated. The Sikhs in Punjab, the Hindus in Kashmir, Zionism in Palestine, American liquidation of the Weco cult and the Japanese arrest of the *Om* sect all were

religiously motivated. Yet, only Islam has been linked to terrorism, and only Arabs to violence. *Jihad* is seen as an aggressive war, although it is only a form of self-defence to which an individual or a community resorts if he/it is under attack. It is often forgotten that Islam is also linked to reason, nature, human rights, equality, progress, and urbanism; one only has to recall classical Islam and the Andalusian symbiosis in Granada, Seville, Cordoba, and Toledo.

The fifth challenge is settling colonialism and the occupation of territories. Palestine is the last spot of modern colonialism created by the British in 1948, just one year after they created Kashmir. Ceuta and Melilla on the northern shore of Morocco are still occupied by Spain as a leftover of the medieval fall of Andalusia. Chechnya is still under Soviet occupation and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan was followed by the American invasion. Occupation is a crime against humanity because it is the negation of the right of people for self-determination. It is a leftover of the European 19th century model going beyond the borders of Europe to Africa and Asia looking for raw materials, markets, and cheap labour. Political Zionism found in religion a better ideological justification at a time when secularism was presented as a universal value for all.

Liberation wars and national resistance movements are among the most honorable phenomena in the 20th century. They were able in two decades to put an end to a colonial movement that had lasted for more than two centuries. The American revolution against the British, Simon Bolivar's resistance against Spanish settlers in Mesoamerica, the Vietnamese resistance against American aggression, and the Algerian struggle against French occupation are but few examples illustrating the fact that history is the story of liberty, and that the national struggle of the Palestinian people is part of such a historical process.

- The *sixth challenge* is *poverty* and *unequal resource distribution*, not only inside states but also among states. Poverty on the national level is common in both developed and underdeveloped countries. Discrepancy between rich and poor is growing, unemployment is increasing, and foreign debts in Third World countries is rising. The prices of major commodities were and are still unproportional to local wages. The poor and oppressed are easily recruited by radical religious movements that protest against the *status quo*. Salvation in the future generates simultaneously a yearning for the golden age and the lost paradise,

and the messianism of utopian thought and the virtuous city.

At the international level there are rich and poor nations. A huge discrepancy between the lowest and the highest national income reaches 1 to 1,000. The wealth of the centre came partly from the raw materials in the periphery. Five per cent of the world is consuming 75 per cent of world production. The population and the brain drain from the South to the North and from the East to the West is a result of such an imbalance in the world's distribution of wealth.

- The *seventh challenge* is not only *human rights* but also *people's rights*, the right to self-determination and self-rule. Two declarations on human rights were issued in the West, one in the aftermath of the French Revolution in 1789, and the other in 1948 following the end of the Second World War. The latter – the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* – is based on an individualistic concept of rights but is void of any responsibility or duty. It is applicable only within Western European geographical borders, not outside where most human rights violations were practised. Human rights violation files are used as a whip against any political regime disobedient to the big powers. The *Universal Declaration of people's rights*, proclaimed in Algiers 1971, is based on the communitarian and a universal concept of self-determination as a right that all peoples, irrespective of race, religion and colour, can exercise. Only when this right is respected can independent states live in harmony in an interdependent world.

Gender and minority issues can be solved within global communities. In a society where the concept of citizenship is still obscure the gender issue risks splitting the nation into a male-female dichotomy, one antagonizing the other, while both males and females are the victims of common enemies, internal oppression and external domination. A pluralistic society in which the right to differ is a natural right is based on the equality of rights and duties, not only for individuals but also for sub-groups within global citizenship.

The common challenges in today's environment may differ in perspective, depending on the human condition which varies from one region to another, one continent to another, one culture to another, perhaps even from one historical phase to another. Peoples and cultures may live in the same chronological time but they do not live in the same historical and cultural time.

Modern times feature mostly Western Europe, not even the whole of Europe and much less America, whose history is relatively short. From an American perspective the major challenge in today's environment is terrorism, while from an Arab and Muslim perspective it is the continuation of the decolonization processes and the right of the Palestinians, Kashmiris, and Chechens for self-determination. From a Western perspective globalization is a necessary law of history with which the world must cope, while from a Third-World perspective a regional cooperation in an interdependent world preserves the periphery from being absorbed by the centre. Common challenges are conditioned by the socio-cultural and historical condition of every community. The common is relatively common. The global is the dominant local. The free world may be the oppressive world. Every human being in the depth of his heart is looking for a lesson of modesty, a Christ washing the feet of His disciples.

19 Security in African Philosophy and Historical Ideas

Jacob Emmanuel Mabe

19.1 Introduction

Security is a political principle with the primary function to guarantee national and international peace. As a philosophical concept security is an ancient human ideal to which individuals as well as communities have constantly aspired. Thus, the concept of security assumes a metaphysical and ethical meaning. This chapter focuses on the security thinking in Africa by reviewing the perspectives of a few thinkers in the written records without ignoring the oral tradition, to which a high value is still attributed in African philosophy (Mabe 2001, 2005; Hountondji 1983, 1995, 2002).

19.2 Vital Force and Security in the Oral Tradition

Security is given much attention in African societies, especially in their oral traditions. Security can be satisfied less by material goods than by a spiritual energy that counters negative intrusions on human life. This energy, also called 'vital force', embodies all constantly active immaterial forces in human beings providing not only good health, a balanced nature, satisfaction and thus security, but also transmitting the inner confidence that one does not have to be afraid of anything. There are people in Africa who believe in the existence of such forces, which can protect them from unnatural death and incurable diseases as well as from witchcraft and magical attacks, which can cause mental and physical suffering (Hallen/Sodipo 1986; Oluwole 1992; Hebga 1982). They believe that these forces make them immune. Along with the faith in the positive effect of vital force, there is an almost boundless dominance of the spiritual self over the possession of material goods (money, wealth, food, accommodation, clothes, etc.).

This view of security relying primarily on oral traditions has a large influence both on ethno-philoso-

phy as well as on other scientific disciplines dealing with traditional myths and rules of life. As far as vitality is concerned, its effect is interpreted in the oral-traditional metaphysics as a transcendent moment, whereby the soul moves between the sensory and extra-sensory sphere and between this and the next world. This association of vital force and security may appear mystical, but it must not be attributed to superstition, rather it has a rational basis.

Beyond its rationality, the security concept proves that the feeling of need in traditional Africa was no simple projection of emotions on social and cultural life, but has rather been connected with intellectual life. The ensuing ideas have an integrating function, merging the demand for security into one's life process that the protection of the individual includes the community.

Furthermore, the claims for the rationality of the oral-traditional consciousness of security explains itself, stating that security is not understood as a need based only on sensations such as fear, isolation, mourning, powerlessness, and desperation, etc., but rather as a necessity in thinking reasonably in order to preserve one's life. It is precisely the confrontation with the circumstances of a mundane existence which forces human beings with a talent for common sense to use their vital force (and not magic powers) as well as their extrasensory or transcendent ability. Reason thereby has the function of increasing the sensitivity of a human being in such a way that he senses his vital force and can use it accordingly.

However, there is also the belief that man's intrinsic sensitivity is neither sufficient for recognizing the measure of his vital force nor finding compensatory forces to strengthen mental and physical efficiency in the case of low vital force. It may be that one can attain security-autarchy by rescinding or compensating for one's insufficiency in spiritual energy. There is unfortunately not a single oral-traditional teaching that rationally explains what vital force is and how one obtains it.

It would be correct to say that one can make the connection to the other world by exact knowledge of the laws of nature, which one acquires by the methods of initiation, inspiration, and mediation. In the oral tradition one speaks of contact with immaterial essences, i.e. the ancestors, who allegedly determine the interrelation between the other world and this one. By so doing, the ancestors are regarded as intermediaries between the visible and the invisible world, between the living and dead. In all likelihood, memorial celebrations for the ancestors probably developed from the need to call for the assistance of the deceased.

Other peoples in Africa practice no ancestral cult but nevertheless regard their deceased relatives as companions of fate who are always present despite their invisibility, not only with them, but protecting them against any curse. Some who often visit fortune-tellers, oracles, clairvoyants, and visionaries wish to re-establish an interrupted link with the ancestors through them. Carrying talismans, amulets, pieces of bark and other jewellery made out of gold, silver or diamonds is linked, however, to the intention of preventing the entrance of evil and thus achieving a life in absence of suffering without the direct effect of vital force.

During ancestral memorial celebrations, which symbolize the meeting between deceased and living persons and are still practised in many parts of Africa, the dead are called upon to be constantly present in their living descendants, as well as to provide for their security. But the ancestral faith in Africa owes its lasting meaning to the various malaises in all cultural and social areas connected to the modern trend. There individualism, egoism, greed for money, power and fame, luxury, personal prestige, etc. caused the decay of traditional customs and morals. From this, two almost irreconcilable antagonistic developments resulted: on the one hand, a return of superstition at an explosive rate due to the moral erosion, and on the other hand, a rapid return of the spiritual for some, as well as a passionate striving towards it, for others. It is precisely this dominance of the spiritual which proves that not all Africans are victims of moral perversion, but rather that many remained faithful to their ethical and metaphysical traditions. Indeed, spirituality indicates a nostalgic striving both for the proximity of the ancestors and for harmony. Security for most Africans is reached only if people live in harmony with themselves as well as with their environment and with fellow men.

Among the spiritual inheritances of the oral tradition lie the rituals, the customs, as well as the living norms documented in the various languages, which for generations have been the basis for the metaphysical, ethical, cosmological, logical, and aesthetic thinking and behaviour of the African peoples. They are the most important indications of the African spirituality, which show that life for the previous generations was understood not simply as a random process, but rather as a conscious act connected with a decision based on free will. The oral-traditional inheritance may be based on unwritten theories; nonetheless, it represents a substantial source without which a complete or adequate development of security consciousness cannot be possible in Africa.

Although the following security concepts have been passed on verbally from generation to generation, they still influence the thinking and behaviour of most African peoples:

- *Old age security* by one's own child-bearing or by a close family bond and family loyalty;
- *Protection of the home* (mystical safety of house and property);
- *Physical and personal protection* (use of vitality for protection from unnatural death, voodoo, illnesses and suffering caused by witchcraft, accidents and other handicaps);
- *Protection of the soil* (spiritual safety of the soil or fields from infertility and possible harvest failures, which could be caused by others through envy, disfavour or jealousy);
- *Food-security or security of food resources.*

If these concepts are indications of times which remind one of the intellectual achievements of the earlier generations, they nevertheless make it clear how people dealt with their existential fears in the past (fear of hunger, death, suffering, loneliness, etc.). This is because they thereby could also cultivate positive emotions (joy, peace, well-being, solidarity, love, compassion, etc.), in order to overwhelm negative emotions (mourning, rage, aggression, hate, egoism, envy, jealousy, etc.), which usually created uncertainty or insecurity in people.

In Africa's present societies most scholars no longer think only in categories of oral traditions. Rather they rely almost exclusively on philosophical methods and theories. Thus, they understand security as a term which one can interpret as metaphysical, ethical, hermeneutic, etc. But for the overwhelming majority of African sociologists, security is above all about protection from

- political or religious persecution,
- social inequality,
- racial and sexual discrimination,
- hunger and poverty,
- hate, envy, and war.

19.3 Security in Written Philosophy and Historical Ideas

19.3.1 Introduction

The written intellectual history of Africa goes back to Egyptian antiquity. The characteristics of this form of diffusion and articulation of knowledge is the individual philosopher's claim of finding truth, from *Imhotep* (c.2800 BC), *Ptahhotep* (c.2750 BC) and *Akhenaton* or *Amenophis IV.*(1372-1354 BC) through *Apuleius* (c.125-180), *Plotin* (c.204-270), *Aurelius Augustine* (354-430), *Averroes* (1126-1198), *Ibn Chaldun* (1337-1466), *Anton Amo* (c.1700-c.1759) and up to *Alexis Kagame* (1912-1981), *Cheikh Anta Diop* (1999), *Abmadou Hampate Bâ* (1901-1991), *Samir Amin* (*1931); *Ebenezer Njoh-Mouelle* (*1938) and others.

Each philosopher thereby strives through subjective concepts to make a conclusive break with verbalism, however, without having to put the entire tradition of culture into question. Although all major African scholars have grappled with the general problems of existence, only a few of them have concerned themselves with the question of security regarding the political, economic, and social requirements of their respective age. Among the most frequently discussed security questions of the last centuries are, among other things: slavery and the slave trade, colonial conquest and violence, the political emancipation movements, the formation of new states, as well as general development problems.

19.3.2 Security and State in the Philosophy of Ancient Egypt

As in other oral and intellectual traditions in Africa, different terms for security are used: protection, safe keeping, conservation, defence, etc. Regardless of their high estimation of the metaphysical, African philosophers are nevertheless conscious that the principle of the rhythm of nature, or the observance of the holy directives, does not always affect social life directly. Due to this knowledge they endorse the creation of artificial means, in order to secure the com-

mon survival of the population. At the very centre of African security thought is the question: How can the respective societies of Africa be organized politically and economically in such a way that all those living within them (young and old, ill and healthy, weak and strong, etc.) can satisfy their most elementary needs for security (a healthy home, food and clothes, etc.)?

Regardless of its divergent opinions, one thing is common to all African philosophers since antiquity, namely that they regard the preservation of human existence not only as a task of God, of nature, of the village community or only of the family, but also as a task of the state. Already in Egyptian antiquity, philosophers considered a theoretical as well as practical application of the *Maât*, which they interpreted as a political way of life and order, wisdom, truth and justice.

In the opinion of the philosopher *Ptahhotep* (approx. 2,700 B.C.), the observance of the *Maât*, as an eternal rule of life, is the only path to security.¹ Moreover, he denotes the *Maât* as a law reconcilable with the order of the universe, whose neglect entails war, chaos, and uncertainty. *Ptahhotep* assigns to its *Sebayt* (wisdom doctrine) the task of freeing the mind of the reader so that he always recognizes and follows the correct path to the *Maât*. The *Maât* itself should help each individual to find harmony within himself and with the universe, and help him to achieve a peaceful coexistence with his fellow beings. *Ptahhotep* appeals to the rulers to always make their political concepts in writing, and to make them public in order to facilitate governing for its successors or thereby show them how they could avoid unnecessary errors in governing. Only by good governance does a nation achieve good fortune, and according to *Ptahhotep* correct rule consists of acting and governing according to the *Maât*.

Moreover, *Ptahhotep* names the assured supply of food as one of the most important state functions apart from peacekeeping measures and the promotion of education. In Egypt it was in fact the obligation of the state and the temple priests to distribute food in such a way that each citizen had a sufficient supply. *Ptahhotep* explains the right to food, which today one could call a basic or human right as: "He who has an empty stomach is a plaintiff"; and he adds that a fair and thus safe country is one which has a "well-nourished population".

1 *Ptahhotep* was an adviser to King *Isesi* of the Fifth Dynasty and the first known philosopher in world history (Jacq 1993; Diop 1974, 1999).

Education and security go hand in hand, because security presupposes confidence in the social order just as it does in knowledge. But according to Ptahhotep, without education there is no trust. Thus, he recommends that highly respected personalities in the country formulate their opinions on education in such a way that they apply indefinitely, i.e. that they can also be accepted by all following generations as general principles and yardsticks of the truth or of wisdom. According to Ptahhotep, human beings always need noble role models whose moral actions and behaviour, as well as perception of order, they can aspire to emulate.

Before Ptahhotep, the architect and philosopher *Imhotep* (approx. 2,800 B.C.) produced different writings, among these “the Protection of the Weak and the Minorities,” which could not be found.² As an inventor of stone architecture, Imhotep established the first Mer (pyramid) in Sakkâra for King Djoser. Aside from their aesthetic (tomb art), chemical (mummifying), and scientific-mathematical meaning (astronomical computations, time calculation, conservation of writings and knowledge), pyramids also had a religious function, to the extent that they served as a cult area (temple) for honouring the dead.

The establishment of the first pyramid was accompanied by a spiritual transformation of the traditional cult of death. From then on the dead king or pharaoh was no longer present only in spirit but also as a tangible thing: the mummy being present during sacrificial and memorial ceremonies. Moreover, the pyramid temples pointed the path to the heavenly god Rê and made communication with god possible in the presence of the dead king whose authority was therefore affirmed. Hereby each individual was allowed the opportunity to ask god directly for his protection or to seek harmony with him. Apart from this, pyramids served as a safe haven for people who honoured their dead kings.

With *Echnaton* the Egyptian intellectual life took on a new form. *Akhenaton* identified himself as a servant of the god Aton and thereby ended the traditional belief in the direct influence of god on the world. The new faith which he established was di-

rected towards the recognition of god as well as a trust in him. Echnaton’s teaching was that one arrives at this knowledge only through the belief that the sun is a symbol of the existence of god. Also the confidence in god, which brings security, results solely from the contemplation and perception of the sun. With this thesis, Echnaton claimed not only to know the Maât, but also to adequately apply it in a practical way to optimize political rule and the pacification of communal life (Obenga 1990).

19.3.3 Security and Belief in God in the Middle Ages

What security and faith have in common is the problem of suffering and death, because there is nothing which causes people more hopelessness and uncertainty as the fear of suffering and death. Even the old Egyptians already had a negative attitude towards dying. In particular they regarded early death and the associated suffering as humiliation. Thus, they regarded life without suffering as the only redemption. But also in the still extant traditional societies of Africa, the concept prevails that death belongs to the grey-haired, in particular if the person can no longer bear his age-related suffering. Therefore, every form of dying at an early and middle age is deemed to be unnatural.

From this perspective, several efforts were made (since the beginning of the history of the Christian church in Africa with Tertullian) to counter the negative attitude towards death. The African church scholars, from *Tertullian* (c.160–220) and *Origen* (c.185–254) through *Aurelius Augustine* (354–430), *Marcus Cornelius Fronto* (100–170), *Apianus* (90–160), *Cyprian* (200–258), *Arnobius* (250–310), *Cyrril* (350–444) up to *Philopones* (490–575), had again and again striven to convey the belief in a blessed death in order to relieve people of their fear of death. Because death, from a Christian point of view, is not primarily considered to be punishment for one’s sins, but rather it is considered as a time of predetermined ‘homecoming’ to God. Faith should therefore bring redemption as well as protection from the power of sin, suffering, and death. Moreover, suffering and fear of death are deemed to stem from a state of personal insecurity as well as from a lack of self-confidence, which can only be overcome by a confession and confidence in God.

If faith protects against sin, then this implies, from *Augustine’s* point of view, that sin is not the work of God, but of human beings. Thus, sinners cannot attain redemption from evil, not even through their

2 *Imhotep* lived during the *Old Kingdom* and was born a commoner during the *Third Dynasty*. He was a thinker, poet, chemist, and architect. He wrote many medical and didactic texts. He is best known as the chief architect of the first pyramid at Saqqara, one of the most brilliant architectural wonders of the ancient world (Wildung 1977; Assante 2000).

own strength. In his predestination doctrine, Augustine makes clear that according to the will of God men are destined either to receive His mercy or perish. Are sinners therefore condemned to eternal suffering? Although Augustine does not expressly maintain this, his theory of suffering differs from that of the oral-traditional views, according to which suffering is considered something negative. With Augustine and his Christian contemporaries, however, suffering is viewed positively, in as much as it is portrayed as a force which helps to give insight into human finiteness on the one hand as well as divine infinity on the other.

With regard to the contemplation of death, parallels can be drawn between Christian and Islamic thinking in Africa, in as much as both traditions of faith do not consider death as being the end of life. Although this belief goes back to the Jewish tradition before Moses, this chapter is limited to the two script religions which affect the African spiritual life in the present as in the past. While Christians interpret death as a simple 'coming home' to God and at the same time connect life without sin to the entrance into the realm of God, the Muslims argue that the dying are called from this life in order to live on beyond death. From the viewpoint of the Islamic scholars of Africa such as *Ibn Ishaq* († 873), *Al-Farabi* († 950), *Averroes* (1126–1198), etc. death therefore means nothing other than the return of human beings to their original life. The Qur'n itself is for them a spiritual book which indicates the path to happiness. This view of security has hardly changed up to the present time.

According to *Ibn Chaldun* (1337–1466) it is, however, not faith as such, but rather the state, which provides for the security of the population required to co-exist (Fischer 1992). However, such a state requires power in order to exercise its authority. Without power it is not possible to secure and sustain a peaceful coexistence. Chaldun assigns to the rulers the task of finding an adequate method of action (*siyâsa*, or politics) for the implementation of its goals. In so doing he differentiates between three forms of power:

- *pure power*, which determines or represents the interests and objectives of the government and to which all inhabitants are subjected;
- *political power*, which governs in accordance with the yardstick of reason and for the purpose of safeguarding the public welfare;
- the *power of the Caliphs*, who govern as a successor to the prophet only in accordance with the

Shariah, and which represents the interests of the Muslim community in this life and the next.

Moreover, Chaldun differentiates between:

- a *civilized state*, which is created by a sage,
- a *barbarically* (founded in a uncivilized manner) state,
- and a *religious* state.

From Chaldun's point of view the practice of politics is necessary and indispensable, as long as it not only provides for the security of individuals and the community, but also places everyone under a common authority which at the same time controls the limits of their individuality and their liberty. If politics are applied in accordance with the Shariah, then they can contribute to the liberation and the illumination of the human soul. Chaldun calls the Shariah a law of enlightenment, which assures eternal bliss. As to the question of the extent to which a secular state and the Shariah can be reconciled without conflict, Ibn Chaldun no longer deals with it on a purely philosophical level, but rather on a religiously neutral one, by only recommending that either the state subjects itself to the Shariah and to Islam or that it separates itself from both.

Present-day Muslim philosophy and theology have been in this dilemma for centuries. Even today it is represented by two rival currents between which a common position cannot be agreed upon. On the one side there are the traditionalists who energetically commit themselves to the inseparability of religion and state and who see in the Qur'n a universal remedy for all of life's problems. On the other side there are dedicated modernists, for whom Islam is nothing but a religion of enlightenment which is not responsible for the organization of human coexistence.

19.4 Security in Modern Philosophy and Historical Ideas

19.4.1 Security and Self-preservation in the Philosophy of the Enlightenment

William Anton Amo (c.1700–c.1759) was the only African philosopher of the Enlightenment who dealt intensively with the question of security.³ To elucidate his thesis he uses two essential terms for security: self-preservation and perfection. Amo argues abstractly, proceeding thereby from the assumption that philosophy is always related to knowledge. In addition, he states that each philosophical knowledge must be di-

rected toward perfection because perfection has its own destiny regarding the purpose of knowledge; i.e. it refers only to knowledge which is applied for a specific purpose.

According to Amo, a finding is only perfect if it is also useful. The purpose therefore of philosophy, in accordance with its usefulness, consists of the preservation and perfecting of the human species. By perfecting, Amo means natural as well as moral perfection. Natural perfection aims at self-preservation and safeguarding a basic existence as well the just and intelligent actions which are associated with it, i.e. intellectual exercises for the sake of truth. Moral perfection, however, refers to wisdom in the sense of conformity of knowledge with the divine Being and has eternal bliss as its goal.

19.4.2 Security and the State in Contemporary African Thought

The development of the contemporary security thought goes hand in hand with the developments of the natural sciences – from medicine through biotechnology and ecology up to energy technology which,

with ever new finding – assert the claim of helping people to have a more contented life. The African intellectual culture did achieve new weight as a result of scientific innovations, but did not, however, gain moral and cognitive quality.

For most political philosophers of Africa the term ‘security’ represents a principle underlying all national actions, which pursues the goal of promoting economic and political development. This has led to African states always associating their familial, social, and economic policy with the protection of families and human rights, the safeguarding of the right to work, the protection of the rights of mothers, women, and children by acknowledging their dignity, with consolidation of peace outwardly by the military and inwardly by the police, with social safeguards, with the guarantee of good healthcare, etc. If one translates the traditional behaviour and rules of thought into the current reality, then one can observe that the attitudes of the African in matters of security have changed somewhat less socially and culturally than economically and politically.

The fact that the post-colonial states have so far not succeeded in fulfilling the desires of their citizens for security can be explained by the following line of argument: it is undeniable that those in the West, with the use of economic, developmental, and security policies, have for decades restricted the freedom of action of the elite African leadership. However, since the independence of their countries, the latter have also made the error of exercising their authority for power instead of developing it through the acceptance of the population. Unfortunately, even some young rulers continued this wrong strategy by continuing to rely on measures of intimidation of the population by the judicial authorities, the police, and the military. They thereby hope to promote the adjustment of their fellow citizens to the requirements of modern democracy and development. And thus, they find themselves in a dilemma: On the one hand they want to take care of everything themselves, including the citizen’s individual security. On the other hand they demand more self-initiative from their people, although they do not grant them any rights of liberty. In this way no durable positive effect has resulted from more than 40 years of synergy of state and development in the fight against the substantial number of infant deaths, malnutrition, insufficient medical treatment, low life-expectancy, etc.

Moreover, the failure of the old idea of authority with the associated expansion of the national power monopolies led to a troubling depoliticizing of the cit-

3 Amo was the most important African philosopher in the Enlightenment in Europe. He was born in Ghana. As a child, Amo was brought to the Netherlands. Soon he was turned over to the German Duke Anton Ulrich Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel. In addition to mastering German, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and French, Amo also spoke fluent English, and Dutch. In 1727 Amo entered the University of Halle where he studied philosophy and law. In Halle, he became acquainted with the thoughts of Christian Thomasius, Christian Wolff, and René Descartes. Amo received his doctorate in philosophy in 1730. He then studied physiology, medicine, and pneumatology (psychology today) at the University of Wittenberg, receiving a degree in medicine and science in 1733. In his address, the Rector of the University emphasized the high regard Amo held in academic circles and said that the work proved that Amo’s intellectual ability was as great as his powers of teaching. Amo was the first black professor in Germany. He taught at the universities in Halle, Wittenberg, and Jena. His first work, *Dissertatio Inauguralis De Jure Maurorum in Europa* (1729), concerned the rights of Africans in Europe. In 1734 Amo published his second doctoral dissertation, *De Humanae Mentis “Apatheia”* (On the Absence of Sensation in the Human Mind). Amo’s third major publication was: *De Arte Sobrie et Accurate Philosophandi* (1736, Treatise on the Art of Philosophizing Soberly and Accurately). Amo moved in 1739 to Jena, where he taught at the university. Amo sailed probably in 1747 to his native Gold Coast (today Ghana).

izens. The displacement of the inhabitants has had many consequences, not the least of which being that the traditional authorities (sages, healers, fortune-tellers, etc.), which in the past embodied the familial and ethnical entity and with whom people once sought protection, have almost lost their importance. But for some Africans the real problem of their countries lies primarily in their confidence in the state and the modernism of its political and university leadership elites, which for years have been destroying the oral along with all other cultural traditions in favour of a modernistic development. The actual danger thereby exists in the neglect of verbal forms of predictions, foretelling, prophecy, and sapience, which in the past served the organization and the cooperation of the community.

For Africa's contemporary state theoreticians security has a direct relation to dignity, liberty, and well-being. Until 1960, colonial violence, oppression, and exploitation stood at the centre of state-theoretical considerations. Aimé Césaire (*1913), Léopold Sédar Senghor (1906–2002), Kwame Nkruma (1909–1972), Frantz Fanon (1925–1961), etc. as well as the pan-African civil rights activists from America were unanimous in their opinion that the Africans' uncertainty is to be attributed to the degrading of cultures as well as the destabilization of the African societies caused by colonization. Because Africa in their opinion had been condemned to liberty, one had to undertake everything possible to end the colonial subjugation and thus help Africans to restore their lost dignity.

From this assumption, Léopold Sédar Senghor and Aimé Césaire used poetry to try to communicate to Africans a new sense of self-value and security. They believed to thereby overcome the sense of shame and inferiority developed from racist discrimination which, in their opinion, made Africans feel insecure in their thoughts and acts. Frantz Fanon for his part recommended the use of force in order to counteract colonial oppression. It remains unclear however whether or not in so doing, he preferred military operations exclusively. In contrast to this, Amílcar Cabral (1924–1973) postulated the use of magic, witchcraft, gris-gris, voodoo, amulets, etc. in the fight for independence, in order to blind and weaken the attacking enemies.

Apart from his untiring commitment to African unity, Nkrumah, with his *Consciencism*, tried to develop a society of equality on the basis of socialism. With his Ujamaa doctrine, Julius Nyerere (1922–1984) strived towards a socialism based on a fair distribution of goods. Being firmly convinced of the fact that only

labour could ensure individual and collective security and liberty, Nyerere pursued the goal of not only removing the gap between rich and poor but by using Tanzania as an example, he showed how one could assure the right to work for each citizen of the state. Up to today, Samir Amin (1996) still struggles for the substitution of the existing metropolitan world market order which promotes the pauperization of the African and South American countries as well as some parts of Asia, to a capitalism-free and safe world.

All states which have become independent since 1960 have let themselves be influenced directly or indirectly by totalitarian ideologies, which declare the solution of all security questions including 'humanitarian security' (the protection of children, civilians, the disabled, the elderly, land, property, etc.) to be the exclusive task of the state. According to Fabien Eboussi Boulaga (1977), the fact that all political strategies have so far failed can only be attributed to the ethical retardation of Africa. Without founded ethical bases, neither politics nor its different ideologies can meet the challenges of modern society.

The other contemporary philosophers such as Marcien Towa, Georges Ngal (*1933), Theophile Obenga (*1936), Paulin Hountondji (*1942), Henry Odera Oruka (1944–1993), Kwame Gyekye, Olusegun Oladipo, Mogobe Ramose, Phambu Ngoma Binda, Rabia Mimoune, Hassan Hafani, Jean-Godefroy Bidima (*1958), Marie Pauline Eboh, Laila Abdel-Wahab, Albertine Tshibilondi Ngoyi, etc. all demand a new ethical start in Africa.

19.4.3 Security and Vitality in Ethnophilosophy

The term 'vital force' was introduced to African ethno-philosophy by the Belgian priest Placide Tempels (1906–1977) in order to emphasize the special ontological quality of African thinking. By vital force Tempels means an energy inherent to all creatures, predetermined by god, and which serves the preservation of life as well as assuring survival. As creator of the universe, god not only bestows life, but also steers the worldly powers according to his own will. Tempels is, however, of the opinion that vital force comes to the living just as it does to the dead and varies according to age, social rank and category of species. He speaks of a hierarchy of power, at the summit of which stands god as creator of the worldly powers. In his opinion, the deceased possess more vital force than the living, the older persons more than the younger, and the healers, fortune-tellers and village guardians more vital force than any others. Vital force

can moreover decrease or increase, regenerate or degenerate. From this it is clear that Tempels (1959) considers security only to be possible under the direct divine influence on life.

In contrast, *Alexis Kagame* (1912–1981) argues that in accordance to their human nature and independent of their culture, biological origin or age, all human beings possess the same measure of vital force (Kagame 1976). He is also of the opinion that the term ‘vital force’ cannot be applied to immaterial entities such as god and the deceased. In this regard, Kagame consciously disassociates himself both from the Christian belief in the eternal effect of the spirit of god on terrestrial lives as well as from the oral-traditional spiritual faith. Apart from this, he assigns human beings worldwide with the ability to increase their energy, which Tempels limits only to Africans. According to Kagame all organisms (human beings and animals) possess a vital force. But while that of animals is of physical nature, the vitality of human beings is characterized by its intellectual valence. It is, however, common to the two categories of organisms that due to their vitality they both strive for perfection and unity in life. In other words, vital force helps to bring a secure life to the world.

Meinrad Hebga (1995, 1998) believes likewise that something like vital force can exist. He warns, however, against witches and magicians who manipulate and abuse natural forces in order to intimidate and control others. According to Hebga, the fact that an overwhelming majority of Africans south of the Sahara today feel insecure in their countries or do not dare to visit their homeland in fear of witchcraft and magic, indicates how great the seduction of sin and superstition is in these places. As a philosopher of religion he considers redemption from the power of superstition only possible if confidence in the natural forces is exceeded by reverence for god. In his opinion, belief in God helps to accept his omnipotence regarding perfection and security.

A closer look reveals that the belief in the existence of demons and spirits, which harm more than they help, is an age-old phenomenon in Africa. Even the ancient Egyptians were convinced of the existence of invisible spirits who had access to all areas of life and to living individuals. Like the Egyptians, Hebga also has great doubts about a permanent link between living persons and dead ones outside of certain sacred places. He argues that an uncontrolled contact with the other world can bring the person more harm than good. As a solution to this problem the ancient Egyptians built temples and pyramids in order to celebrate

the cult of their ancestors or their dead. In traditional Africa there are still similar mysterious sites in which the living can honour and contact their dead. In addition, these meeting places serve either as religious and ritual educational facilities or as places of refuge for those who, out of fear of magic and witchcraft or political, ethnical, familial, and religious oppression, yearn for or can find protection, peace, and security.

19.4.4 Security and Life-Unity

According to *Abmadou Hampate Bâ* (1972), security is the feeling of being associated with the unity of life, and that one is not cut off from his environment and fellow beings. But this feeling only develops in those who maintain a certain bond of trust with nature and society and who are careful not to violate the basic rules which govern them. According to Bâ, neglecting this rule results in both the imbalance between the natural forces and in social and cultural chaos. Moreover, Hampate Bâ attributes each disturbance in nature and society to the failure of human beings, which he calls Maa (master of oneself). Because of their characteristic as Maa, human beings possess the ability to live in harmony with Mother Earth and at the same time are able to fulfil their task as preservers of creation and of the natural as well as communal equilibrium.

19.4.5 Security and Well-being

Hardly another modern occupational philosopher has dealt as intensively with the term ‘security’ as *Eben-ezer Njoh-Mouelle* (*1938). In his book: *De la médiocrité à l'excellence* (1988) he draws a close correlation between security and poverty. By this he means the impoverishment of existence by avarice and excessive greed for wealth. Njoh makes ignorance, which he calls the real obstacle to liberty and security, responsible for this poverty. The fact that most Africans strive solely for consumption instead of well-being is, according to Njoh-Mouelle, a logical consequence of post-colonial politics. Because, after their independence, the African governments limited their development policies to securing material prosperity, and by so doing oversaw the fact that real security is based less on material than on moral and intellectual aspects. Instead of promoting moral behaviour, local customs, and spirituality, the post-colonial state continued fighting for its own survival and that of its power-holders.

Njoh-Mouelle differentiated between two forms of security: Security as a life-preservation and security as an accomplishment and preservation of humanity. In the first case, security concerns the preservation and safe-guarding of earned life. In the second case it aims at the realization of humanity in mankind, i.e. well-being for all. What then is well-being exactly? Njoh calls it a condition of the balanced and healthy body and spirit with the exclusion of the satisfying or consumption of subjective and individual desires for security based on luxury and abundance, for which today all human beings worldwide strive.

Moreover, according to Njoh, well-being is synonymous with qualitative and objective security. Thus one should not confuse it with greed or both quantifiable and insatiable material security needs. Objective security, which is at the same time well-being, goes beyond the material fortune of human beings and includes physical, emotional, and spiritual contentment by healthy living, healthy food, and a healthy way of life. According to Njoh, the realization of well-being presupposes above all the use of intellectual means (by education and instruction), which helps people to become creative beings, humans who can secure their biological and spiritual existence through their own strength. This means that the striving for well-being accompanies the spiritual emancipation of human beings towards liberty and bliss.

If security needs are an instinct of self-preservation, then human beings who follow the law of nature create artificial means which can serve their preservation and the perpetuation of human kind. In opposition to this, Njoh-Mouelle believes that human beings, due to their ability to reason, are condemned to invent technical and other artificial means and to use them in such a way that they do not stand in contradiction to nature or run contrary to their existence. In this regard, security makes a demand for objectivity only if the human lifestyle corresponds to a large extent to the natural order as well as to the social harmony. Self-preservation thus includes not only life-preservation and self-realization, but also the preservation of the species and the achievement of the goals of mankind. Njoh-Mouelle therefore pleads that both well-being, as an ideal condition in life and the goal of security, should be attained in dignity.

19.5 Epilogue

The conclusion of this chapter depends upon the awareness that security is not a culturally inevitable

phenomenon, but rather that it is a cultural invariant as well as a universal value, and one that African thinkers want to preserve absolutely. It is nonetheless noteworthy that traditional beliefs, disregarded in the waves of modernization, have not forfeited their timelessness. Whereas oral-based thinkers see security as an ideal attainable through confidence in tradition, text-based theoreticians strive to delineate a rational awareness from faith-based beliefs. In this pursuit they want to prevent security from becoming a closed matter and to assure that it instead remains an open venture. The future of security will remain open as long as people are constantly confronted with the following questions of sustenance:

- *Old age security* by one's own child-bearing or by a close family bond and family loyalty;
- *Protection of the home* (mystical safety of house and property);
- *Physical and personal protection* (use of vitality for protection from unnatural death, voodoo, illnesses and suffering caused by witchcraft, accidents and other handicaps);
- *Protection of the soil* (spiritual safety of the soil or fields from infertility and possible harvest failures, which could be caused by envy, disfavour or jealousy by others);
- *Food-security or security of food resources.*

20 Security in Latin American Philosophy, Ethics, and History of Ideas

Georgina Sánchez

20.1 Introduction

Life in ancient Latin American civilizations was dominated by cosmogonies based on the principle of harmony between humankind and nature. The threats and conflicts of daily life were seen in this general framework which gave precedence to collective interests. Community was thus a lighthouse which organized the present and cared for the future in which individuals had to contribute to the unending cycle of social and natural life. In the Aztecs homeland, in the central valley of Mexico, Nahuatl philosophy inspired the doctrine of ‘the face and the heart’ at the basis of the education system. Cooperation, dignity, and freedom were the highest values, as well as the values of the heart – solidarity, love, and peace. Security was thus conceived as the capacity to live in harmony and to assure sustainability for future generations.

As civilization developed and some form of wealth appeared, the concepts of political power and of particular interests had to be thought within the original cosmogony. From the emergence of the Aztec and Inca Empires and their posterior territorial expansion, and later the arrival of Europeans, security in Latin America became a lot more complex and had to integrate the influence and power of external actors and the constant tension between openness and inertia towards them. There never existed a common Latin American identity that would be able to erase social, economic, and political tensions between political actors, and no specific Latin American philosophy emerged to reflect on the challenge of building a region around shared interests.

For the past 3,000 years, security visions in the Americas have been the product of cultural transformations which did not have a linear evolution, because of the extension of the region and the major shock of the colonization: it is rather a complex layering of old indigenous cosmogonies that still pervade cultural life, with new regimes and rapidly changing social patterns. With strong external interferences,

cultural cross-fertilization coexisted with the ebb-and-flow of imported ideologies and a cultural synthesis was formed from a variety of interests and power resources. However, during the past centuries, ‘security of the state’ has been invoked in order to legitimize the powers in place. More recently, emerging new threats to security led to new proposals and actions that reflected the elaboration of new security concepts.

On the threshold of the 21st century, the main challenge appears to be the search for a common identity that would recognize the basic heterogeneity of the region. Without the development of the positive aspects this heterogeneity entails, nationalism, security schemes without direct relationship to the local and regional environment, and pressures from globalization, the vulnerability of Latin America may increase. At this juncture, the concept known as ‘human security’ appears as the one most compatible with the aspirations for development and democratization that are shared by Latin American people, and would help level out the obstacles of nationalism that have prevented Latin American nations from setting up a regional security framework which would reflect the common features and interests at the root of their identity. In so far as ‘sustainable development’ concepts and centuries are concerned, old cosmogonies share a common preoccupation with the environment. For the first time maybe in the history of Modern Latin America, the focus is on reconciliation rather than the clash of civilizations.

20.2 Pre-Columbian Period: Cosmogonies and Religion

The complex working of cosmic cycles constituted the main referent for the life, security, and development of ancient American civilizations. Recently discovered prints¹ show that there were already human settlements in Mexico some 40,000 years ago, but

organization into rural communities can be traced back to 5,000 years ago. The first cosmogonies to appear, long before religious cults were institutionalized, were based on the vision of humankind as an integral part of nature. Harmony and the balance of the universe depended on the adequate working of the cosmic clock, and human beings would be safe as long as they integrated in the natural cycle without interfering.

Three major civilizations developed in America: the Nahuas (Mexico), the Mayas and Quiches (in Yucatan and Central America), and the Incas (Peru). The Tolteques, the first Nahuatl group to arrive in Mexico's central valley, documented precisely the history of the universe: it took 2,628 years of constant fighting between the gods of light and dark. The god Quetzalcoatl was in charge of the creation of humankind, which would be allowed to transform nature in order to develop into better human beings. The cosmos was perfect and harmonic, and humankind was the conscious being of the world.

The Mayas, exceptional mathematicians and astronomers, had a cosmogony of the creation of the world as an ordered place, divided by the cardinal points, where the sky and earth were formed and distributed evenly by a measuring cord. It was thus possible to reach a rational understanding of the world.

The Inca Empire had its probable origin in the upper Amazon valley. At its apogee in the 10th century AD, the empire extended from Ecuador and Peru, to Bolivia, Chile, and northwest Argentina. The Incas formed the dominant ethnic group, the empire of the Quechua-Aymara language, which subjugated cultures from the Pacific to the Andes. Their cosmogony linked the fate of individuals to the gods of nature, as shown at Cuzco where the astronomical centre of the empire was represented in an impressive architectural complex based on 41 lines (ceques) connected with sacred natural places (huacas) with precise astronomic functions.

In these cosmogonies the concept of individuality, and therefore individual consciousness, did not matter because the emphasis was put on the link of all beings with the universe. Shamans and priests gave representations of nature in which human beings were assimilated to other natural beings or elements. The

first traces of civilization in Mexico – such as a social structure, work specialization, full participation of the communities in the rituals and sophisticated artistic expressions, ceramics, dance, poetry and singing – date back to 1,500 BC in Tlatilco. Nature representations testify to the praying rituals to nature performed in order to demand the satisfaction of the needs of the community. At this early point it is thought that humankind had not yet elaborated the intellectual formulation of synthesis and therefore the structure of religion (Séjourné 1975: 58–62). Security was still viewed as depending on uncertain situations governed by the laws of nature, and that could only be obtained through efficient rituals performed by skilful magicians.

As in all other major cultures and civilizations, the Nahuas, Mayas, and Quiches possessed genesis myths characterized by the power of the verb as a force of creation, and a symbol of consciousness and rationality (De la Garza 1978: 40–41). The meaning of life was to worship the gods of nature, to nourish and maintain them, which created a complex interdependence between humankind and these divinities. After them, humans were the most perfect beings, and human life was conceived as the life of the spirit, the understanding. The Nahuas, Mayas, and Quiches coincided on the conception of original wars, wars between the forces of light and darkness that were the source of the dynamics of the natural life cycle: plants nourished the animals, which fed the humans who nourished the gods of nature with their blood in ritual sacrifices. The existence of gods of nature responded to the necessities of the life of human beings, very conscious of their lack of self-sufficiency (De la Garza 1978: 49). Symmetrically, the gods of nature themselves were not self-sufficient, but had to be acknowledged, worshipped, and nourished by human beings. In the end the harmony of the cosmos depended on the smooth working of this relationship between the gods and mankind.

The god Quetzalcoatl created the spiritual principle of faith, as well as the sense of a centre, a unity and a rationale in human existence. The emergence of the idea of the absolute is thus identified with the god of creation Quetzalcoatl in the Nahuas (Mexico) and Mayan traditions (Yucatan). This absolute was the 'breath of life' which gave the first impulse to movement and time, nature and the world, and engendered the divinities. As the basis of the Nahuatl religion, it fostered a solid spiritual life oriented towards the liberation of the soul. Whereas local and tribal wars took place, often in order to capture people for

1 In July 2005, these prints were discovered by a team of British scientists from the universities of Liverpool, Bournemouth, and Oxford. In: *El Universal*, 5 July 2005.

sacrifices, the most feared wars were those that opposed the gods. The existence of such wars reinforced adherence and compliance to the law of nature, and collective cooperation in order to increase survival became a major cementing social bond in these cultures.

In the 11th century AD, the Aztecs, a tribe of warriors and hunters arrived from the north to the Mexican valley. They reinterpreted the Nahuatl religion and converted the spiritual rituals into actual death and war. When extending the power of the Aztec Empire took central stage, the pillar of the original Nahuatl cosmogony – integration between mankind and nature – became secondary.

Towards AD 1440, the Aztec Empire had extended its power from northern Mexico into Central America through military conquest, becoming a brilliant and fearful civilization. From northern Mexico to Panama, Aztecs subjected hundreds of communities and cultures by force and cunning under a military power.

Pre-Hispanic cosmologies were very complex structures of thought in which intervened an acute knowledge of mathematics, astronomy, physics, biology, arts and religion, all put to the service of strengthening the imperial power. Quetzalcoatl was no longer the keystone of the world order; he was turned into lightning as source of development and the legitimizer of the world order and the dominance of the Aztecs over the other ethnic groups. Emperors and the military became his agents on earth. Use of force was legitimate in order to cause the submission of other groups. State-like institutions were established on a complex structure, organized in a vertical and highly hierarchical way. Bureaucrats, military officers, priests, and noble classes dominated by force, fear, and wealth. In religion, the oneness represented by Quetzalcoatl was imposed over other gods of nature, justifying the impossibility of ever contesting Aztec supremacy.

Until recently, Western thought considered pre-Columbian thinking from the perspective of anthropology, history or archaeology. It has rarely studied the Nahuatl philosophy that the Aztecs inherited from the ancient Nahuas. Beside Aztec militarism, sacrifices, and imperial wars, humanism of the origins subsisted and was quite developed too. The Tlamatinime were intellectuals, poets, and philosophers who were concerned with fundamental questions about mankind and the inherent truth of the universe, life, and death. This humanism considered that life was only a transitory period from which they inferred that truth was not to be found in the here and now of life, but

elsewhere in a different dimension. It was therefore necessary to look beyond the palpable and visible towards what surpasses mankind. The Tlamatinime worked on numerous hypotheses, but did not base their answers on religious rituals, seen as a harmful and useless way of transformation of the gods. Neither was rational thinking the answer, because adaptation of thinking to the reality was worthless under a constantly changing reality, the universe being where ‘everything changes, dies and seems like a dream’. Indeed, for these Nahuatl philosophers, contingency and fragility were the dominant features of the universe, as if to reflect the power of nature expressed in times of natural disasters, hurricanes (from a Caribbean word), and earthquakes.

Tlamatinime created the ‘flower and song’ philosophical thought meant to explain duality, where everything is itself and its contrary in a continual fecundation process. Ometéotl was the blow of life², the origin which allows us to explore the soul – lightning energy – creating humankind with ‘face and heart’ (Séjourné 1975: 83). This philosophy was not only meant to serve as an explanation, and they elaborated a doctrine to be put into practice through teaching. They gained responsibility for educating wise people with solid hearts where lying, egoism, violence, and power ambition would have no place. Wisdom was then will, good judgment, prudence, discretion, imagination and thinking, affection, rationality and responsibility (De la Garza 1978: 74). The core values of human life were to defend and foster life combating anything which ventured against it; to maintain the social cohesion of the community by the accomplishment of the contingent destiny of man, to give birth to the truth and the meaning of all things on earth, and to the universe (León-Portilla 1979: 320). Beauty of flowers and songs could transform fragile mankind by becoming the truth itself and the truth was the keystone of security, harmonization between mankind, nature, and the universe. Nevertheless, this humanist approach never gained enough strength to contain the extreme militarism of Aztec elites, built on the alliance of political and military leaders with priests and magicians. In the Aztec Empire security of the state prevailed over the notion of human security of the ancient Nahuatl cosmogony and religion.

2 Interestingly enough, this concept of ‘breath of original life’ has some similarities with the Chinese one of ‘chi’, blow of vital energy, just as the ying and yang harmony by complementation and opposition as source of life in a universal vision.

20.3 The Conquest: Cosmogonies and Religion

A similar concept prevailed among Spanish conquistadores. They acted in the name of the God of the Roman Catholics and the Crown³. Catholicism disembarked with them and was consolidated during the colonization of America. Inca, Aztec, and Mayan liturgical calendars coincided on the arrival of conquerors and the demise of the existing regimes. The Aztecs even confused the arrival of the conquerors with the return of Quetzalcoatl and they presented little opposition to Hernán Cortés. Also, as the empires were always confronted with the uneasy compliance of vassal ethnic groups and with the power ambitions of aspiring elites, the Spanish were able to forge alliances against the central powers. Nevertheless, the native groups who rebelled against the Spaniards were punished in a brutal and severe way⁴. The internal opposition did not rebelled fiercely, they still do not nowadays, they would be sacrificed by the emperors. If natives did not embrace the Catholic faith, they were forced to, militarily and politically (Todorov 2003: 53). Even more important, conquerors did not understand the Amerindian cosmogonies, religion, and philosophy, but they understood that their power would not be established if they did not first destroy and take possession of the local holy places, this being the reason why they built their churches over the pyramids. The demise of the world order they had always known increased the fear of natives; combined with threat, it was often enough to produce compliance and collaboration. Wild punishments and new pathologies arriving from Europe also contributed to the reduction of America's population, which decreased from 80 million in 1500 to only 10 million 50 years later (Todorov 2003: 28, 144).

In terms of security, the conquest was marked by the personal power and wealth of the conquerors by the appropriation of territories and noble titles, personal wealth and private business, rapes and slavery.⁵

The conquest of the new territories was not financed by the Crown, which did not have the means to do it, but by private funds. The Crown had to refund the financing in exchange for territories, recogni-

tion of its sovereignty, and a tax over the benefits. The wildness of the conquest is then explained by the need to refund this private financing and somehow the 'permission' given to conquerors to act 'freely' and personally, over the local populations and territories, to the detriment of the monitoring and governance of the Spanish state.⁶ Whereas conquerors participated in massive destruction, wildness of domination, and conquest of wide territories and peoples, only 4% participated in the concentration of wealth (Moreno Toscano 1974: 50).

Spanish military strategies and the use of force derived from this context, but their success was determined by another factor. The Aztec Empire was relatively young; it grew between 1420 and 1500, when it reached its conquest's summit over the peoples and cultures of Mesoamerica. Cultures dominated by the Aztecs turned out to become good allies of the conquerors. So, internal divisions explain the asymmetrical forces at play against the Aztecs, where the Spanish controlled the chain of command but Indians formed the real army, in proportions that go from 1 to 50 (Moreno Toscano 1974: 52) to 1 to 1,000 (Todorov 2003: 69).

In Peru, the Inca Empire was also divided: after the death of the leader Inca Huáscar Cápac, his sons disputed violently the legitimacy of the heritage of the Inca Empire, which was about one million square kilometres, extending from Colombia to Chile and Argentina. Spanish conquerors arrived from Panama just in time to take advantage of the brothers' war. Notwithstanding the revolts launched against the violence of the Spanish conquerors, internal divisions were the source of the fall of the Inca Empire (León-Portilla 2004: 113, 120). As in the case of the Mayas, internal divisions split this civilization, which fell under Spanish control by 1546.

3 Major references for this period are: De Sahagún 1956; de las Casas 1951; Cortés 1963.

4 In 1550, Pedro de Valdivia informs the king that Araucans, inhabitants of Chile, did not accept submission, so he declared war and after winning, he punished them "cutting 200 hands and noses ..." (Todorov 2003: 53).

5 This is crucial for the theme of the book and you should elaborate this a bit more and add sources. Do you have sources for this clear argument? Is this a Machiavellian or Hobbesian notion of the security where the power of the conquerors and colonial power as well as of the Catholic Church prevailed? Who were the referents of securitization: the colonial rulers and the Catholic hierarchy? You may also consider adding a simple map in black and white of the colonial period, e.g. of Colonial America 1535 to 1783 (p. 164) based on the Times Atlas of World History. This may take one column in the final print.

6 In some regions, such as the Caribbean, Indian Taínos and Arawacs were practically eliminated; Indians of the Southern Cone - namely in Argentina and Uruguay - had the same destiny.

A second determinant factor that facilitated the conquest was, in the three civilizations, the prophecies of catastrophes which were predicted by the fortune-tellers and pre-Hispanic priests close to the emperors and kings.⁷

A third factor common to these dominant civilizations which assisted the conquest was the element of surprise. All over the continent, the foreigners took the Indians by surprise. The latter, paralysed in face of the Spanish and their apparent attitude of friendship and negotiation, confused their foes with the gods. The role of priests and noble classes which preferred to negotiate with the conquerors rather than fight also had an influence on people's beliefs.

In sum, many internal differences in pre-Hispanic Latin America, urgent economic private interests, religious domination, prophecies of catastrophe and surprise, counted for more in the Spanish Conquest than the guns or the strategic or philosophical thinking of the conquistadores. For over 200 years, the colonial state prevailed, founded on medieval philosophy and Catholic religion.

Whereas the colonial period was less wild than the conquest, it was also imposed by compulsory means, frequently wild. But the native gods and practices were hard to forget, so after the initial violence period, the Church accepted some religious syncretism and mixed marriages between the Spanish and the Indians. These facts contributed to control power, minds and hearts.

20.4 Security in the Pre-Columbian and Colonial Periods

In terms of security, two visions were to be confronted in Latin America. The first one was guided by the cosmogonies founded in the harmony, balance, and integration of humankind with nature, a collective security in which the social cohesion was sustained by collective needs. Whereas there were wars and conflict, societies had a strong driving force towards a humanitarian vision and responsibility in face of nature, the collective belonging, and the future.

7 "Taken together, these stories astonish by their uniformity: the arrival of the Spanish always is preceded by prophecies, their victory is always announced as certain. Moreover, from one extreme to the other of the American continent, they present weird similar features: a comet, a thunder, a fire ..." (Todorov 2003: 82).

The second one represented quite the opposite: the 'reason of the state' based on political power, the individual interest of private groups, and the economic and religious power from pre-Hispanic Latin America to colonization. The will to impose and keep power turned out to be the driving force of hierarchical societies; ambitious individual interests and power with a short-term vision, ready to subjugate peoples and destroy nature contrary to the Tlamatinime conception, acting 'as if the universe was permanent, not contingent, and strong, not fragile'. Material interests, violence, militarism, and hegemonies of the pre-Hispanic and Hispanic Empires contributed to erase the security understood as safety of the human being in harmony with nature and the universe which Nahuatl philosophy proposed.⁸ Latin American modern political systems have their roots in this depredatory vision of the power, centered in individual interests and power not as a mean, but as an objective. From here derives the extended corruption and clientelism practices and some of the difficulties associated to the consolidation of democracy.

20.5 Independence and Consolidation of the Modern State: Philosophy and Democracy

Philosophy, as known in the Occident, only arrived in Latin America 500 years ago with the European conquest. From the 16th to the 18th centuries, state and religion were closely linked by the diffusion of the Scholastics, a pre-modern form of thinking which became the major philosophical trend in the New World.⁹ In the name of Catholicism and Spain, the 'spiritual conquest' took as its task the Christianization and Hispanization of the new territories; this 'Occidentalization' was also done in order to justify and legitimize the European imperial expansion (Moreno Toscano 1974: 54). Catholicism was consolidated during the period of colonization, less wild and more effective, through the conquest of the spirits, a matter of security not only for Catholicism, but also for the Spanish Empire. However, since then and in spite of several

8 Miguel León-Portilla (1979, 2004) is undoubtedly the most important interpreter of Nahuatl philosophy.

9 Among scholastics major representatives are Francisco Suárez (1548-1617), a Jesuit Spanish philosopher and theologian and Francisco Gamboa, or better known as Francisco de Vitoria (1483-1546), one of several founders of pre-modern international law and a philosopher of the conquerors' political thinking.

major re-forms, the Catholic Church in America has displayed a clear division between the high clergy and low clergy which remains until today: the first one linked to the power of the Pope, and the second one identified with the local needs and beliefs. When the politically organized low clergy launched Liberation Theology in the 20th century, they were fiercely attacked by those governments that fought Communism, as well as by the Vatican. Since his arrival in the Vatican, Pope Jean Paul II launched a successful strategy of containment, dispersion, and dissuasion of the low clergy linked to Latin American social demands. Historically, the Catholic Church has had an important role in Latin American politics, sustaining coups d'état, negotiating, mediating, and financing political forces. Latin America is the region in the world with the largest Catholic population. There was a short period of questioning about the Spanish right to dominate and conquer America, about the justice of the war, the real nature of the Indians as human beings, and the legitimacy of the domination of Christianity by the elimination of the Indians and their culture.¹⁰ Nevertheless, once the colonial regime was clearly hegemonic, these questions were no longer asked. In the meantime, second generation Spaniards began to mix with the Indians in the largest cultural fusion of history.¹¹ However, philosophical debates, political, religious, and economic structures emerged, based on Spanish thinking and interests, excluding the participation of local peoples and their cosmogonies, culture or religion, and possibly leaving behind the best opportunity to lay the basis for a Latin American philosophy.

During the conquest and colonization, philosophy, religion, power, and security became one and the same unity: a Hobbesian view oriented to benefit colonial interests, and only marginally to contribute to the well-being of local peoples.

During the 18th century, new influences from Europe, namely from France, arrived in the Americas: the French Revolution, the British Industrial Revolution and the independence of the US from the UK provoked criticism of the pre-modern philosophy.¹² The search for an American and national identity turned these changes into a cultural revolution, which

sowed the seed of the Latin American independence movements from Spain in the early 19th century (Salar Bondy 2001: 13). All over the continent, new ideas of freedom emerged with brilliant leaders as Bolívar (in the Andean area), San Martín (in Southern America), and the priests Miguel Hidalgo and Morelos (in Mexico); they all revolted against Spanish tyranny, hunger, and social polarization.¹³

In philosophical terms, "inside the independence movements fight two opposite trends: one, of European origin, liberal and utopian, which conceive Spanish America as a unit, an assembly of free nations; other, traditional, which breaks linkages with the Crown only to accelerate the process of dispersion of the (Spanish) Empire" (Paz 1994: 131). Nevertheless, contrary to the birth of the United States, which gave place to a new modern nation, in Latin America independence movements resulted in the transfer of the same old power structures, but this time under the hands of the elites of these new countries. "The novelty of these new Hispano-American societies is tricking; in fact they are societies in decline or under forced immobility, survival or fragments of a destroyed unit" (Paz 1994: 132). Latin America was born on the foundations of the declining medieval world.

New European philosophies had an important influence: positivism was adopted all over the continent, the need to be 'scientific' became a fashion, Auguste Comte and Spencer were the thinking guides; refusal of religion in political power, laicism of the state and education systems were stated by important legal reforms such as the Mexican one carried by Benito Juárez; positivism and liberalism in Argentina, Brazil, Cuba (by Sarmiento, Rosas, Martí) coexisted with currents defending Catholicism. Debates between conservatives and liberals tended to prefigure the 20th century political and military structures. Nonetheless, in spite of political debates and modern ideas, the cultural seed of Scholastics and monarchical power structures were at the basis of many of the Latin America and the Caribbean authoritarian regimes of the 19th and 20th centuries.

10 Scholastics, conquest, and colonization have been profusely documented by Todorov (2003).

11 One major symbol of this mixture of population, values, rules and beliefs is the Virgin of Guadalupe in Mexico that combines the Catholic Virgin María and Tonantzín, the Indian goddess of fertility and soil.

12 The Renaissance and the illustration had an important impact on intellectuals represented by the ideas of Newton, Galileo, Descartes, Locke, Rousseau, Montesquieu, Benjamin Constant, Adam Smith and Alexis de Tocqueville. Nonetheless, these debates could hardly reach the common citizen.

13 "In 1800, Mexico has turned to be one of the richest countries of the world, a country of extreme wealth and maximum poverty" (González 1974: 75).

Security in the 19th century was then centred on the defence of the nation-state (not any longer in religious or theocratic political structures) and consolidation of the new local elites through power in politics and economy, avoiding foreign military interventions from Europe.

The emergence of new countries was the result of the disintegration process of the Spanish Empire in the continent and the emergence of new oligarchies, charismatic leaders, and nationalistic ideologies to legitimize their power. Even if the new countries presented new liberal and democratic constitutions, actually they hid the pervasion of feudal political systems and the failed construction of a Latin American political identity. Whereas on the one hand national constitutions were liberal and democratic, on the other political and social practices were frequently authoritarian, corrupt, and guided by private interests.

In spite of a regional positivist movement in order to limit the political power of the clergy, the Catholic Church continued to favour undemocratic governments, dictatorships and political parties, even if formally things should have happened differently. By the end of the 19th century, local fights for power, the consolidation of the United States as an emerging power, and the birth of new intellectuals and academic sectors resulted in criticism of positivism.¹⁴ During the 20th century, Bergson, Croce, Boutroux and Marx became guiding lights of the Hispano-American philosophers of the first half of the 20th century. The second half has been influenced by Camus, Merleau-Ponty, Sartre, Heidegger, Bachelard, Breton, Wittgenstein, Russell and G.E. Moore, among many others.

By adopting, adapting, and associating these philosophies with their own countries, Latin American philosophers were searching in two senses: is there a Latin American philosophy? Is there a Latin American identity? As Salazar Bondy (2001) has argued, there can be no Latin American philosophy, as well as there is no German, French or Spanish philosophy. Philosophy is about universal questions of humankind, not a nationalistic statement – with the exception of Nazism, that attempted to be universal. It is after-

wards, once the discussions attain a deep and complex level of thinking, that these become identified with a national philosophy. Also, the history of ideas in Latin America presented interesting debates on the Latin American identity; however, in spite of these debates, most of Latin American thinking has been imported from elsewhere, namely Europe.

Some of the reasons for this development have been the difficulties associated with the development of abstract thinking, the lack of cultural interests in philosophy, which is substituted by pragmatism, and short-term thinking. In any case, there has been an imitation or adaptation of European philosophy rather than an original production, and there is no authenticity. “Because it is certain that Hispano-Americans are clearly the case of this inauthentic existence: we live around a pretended being, we pretend to be something else than what we are or what we could be or may be, we live alienated in respect to our own reality, which is presented as a defective instance, with multiple shortages, without integration and thus, without spiritual energy” (Salazar Bondy 2001: 82). Latin American philosophers share the same need to build a philosophy based on the search for their own identity, and this should certainly rescue pre-Hispanic philosophy and or from the cultural syncretism of the last 500 years. But in the early 21st century, Latin America is still searching for its own philosophy.

20.6 Security Thinking in Post-Colonial Latin America

Whereas there has been philosophical criticism concerning political and military practices in Latin America, philosophy did not have a direct cause-effect relation with Latin American security. On the contrary, nationalism has been by far the strongest ideology in Latin America which has had an impact on security. Nationalism was born in order to legitimize the local regimes and the division of countries after independence from Europe. The main threat was considered to be European invasion, so nationalism established sovereign powers, geographical definitions, and self-determination of the nation-state, building an ideology against foreign intervention. The ‘reason of national state’ provoked wars against Europe and among Latin American countries.

Latin America integration in new independent states was characterized by suspicious, indifference, and unwillingness: “Americanism was unable to overcome the physical obstacles, internal differences, and

14 The movement “The Founders” – of the nation – like Alejandro Korn (1860–1936), Carlos Vaz Ferreira (1872–1958), Enrique Molina (1910–1997), José Vasconcelos (1882–1959), Alejandro O. Deustua (1849–1945), Enrique Rodó (1871–1917), Alfonso Reyes (1889–1959), Pedro Henríquez Ureña (1884–1946) had and important influence in the fields of education, art, literature, politics, and philosophy.

nationalism” (Atkins 1980: 307). Moreover, nationalism has been the keystone for legitimizing civil and military authoritarian regimes which could not be justified by democracy, and in consequence cultivated differences among peoples in order to create fear, uncertainty, and obedience to undemocratic leaders and governments. In the 20th century the region was already independent but political leaders continued to nourish nationalistic feelings among countries and social groups.¹⁵ Most of the region had nationalistic fearful dictators¹⁶ and military dictatorships, where the national security state in the Southern Cone has been the most fearful and repressive.¹⁷ Also, nationalism has been a platform for internal repression against internal political opposition and civil society by the police and the army. The weakness of political institutions, including the rule of law, allowed for power excesses during the 20th century. Sometimes the rule of law was authoritarian, so the security forces acted against society within the legitimacy of the law. Also, nationalism has been at the origin of the policy of non-intervention and defence of the sovereignty, needed in order to give international legitimacy to these regimes.

Nationalism and security in Latin America have been closely linked since the end of the 19th century to the policies of the United States. The Monroe Doctrine, an influence on Latin America’s security fate since 1823, stated that the US “would consider any attempt from your part (Europe) to extend your system anywhere in the hemisphere, dangerous for our peace and security”. This doctrine has been fundamental for Latin America as it gave enough security for recent independent states to consolidate in the face of interventions from European countries. The U.S. was founding its quest for continental hegemony which derived from cooperation agreements until the 20th century. The influence of the Second World War resulted in regional institutional building that originated in the Rio Treaty (or TIAR 1948); this collective security system gave legal, whereas not legitimate, chart to US military intervention in Latin America and the Caribbean. Another institution that structured the US

influence and control over the region was the OAS, which gave political coverage and legitimacy to US foreign intervention. In face of the increasing American intervention, Mexico organized the Chapultepec Conference in 1945 in order to propose the non-intervention legal principle, which was adopted by the UN Charter.¹⁸

Whereas there have been many ideologies which have had an influence in Latin America, not all had a regional scope. Regional unity through the ideology of Americanism – an integration process – at the independence era quickly declined because it was founded on fear of Europe and not in regional common interests; subsequent initiatives to create full regional integration have failed, while sub-regionalism has been more successful.

Socialism had a real regional influence in the emergence of opposition movements against capitalism, which was at the source of increased conflict (wars for territory and natural resources) and social and economic polarization. Socialism, as an alternative to capitalism, was extremely attractive against political repression practised by authoritarian regimes, populations working within inhuman conditions, and extreme poverty as well as the spread of corruption. The Cuban Revolution became emblematic for social and political movements in their capabilities to change history and to challenge the US: guerrilla wars penetrated most of the continent from the 60’s to the 80’s, and confrontation between governments and guerrillas (namely in Central America) caused a significant loss of human lives. Socialism was also violently fought by the US, by means of foreign intervention (the Dominican Republic, Cuba, Guatemala, Grenada) or by the support of coups d’état (Chile, Guatemala) and of dictatorships (all over the region). Socialism also had a regional force as long as it frequently recovered the old Bolivarian dream: Latinoamericanismo, the union in a fraternal region, of the social revolutionary movements with the support of Cuba and the Soviet Union. But this dream remained a utopia.¹⁹

Civil and military authoritarian regimes in Latin America experienced a setback during the 1980’s, the

15 For instance, in Mexico nationalism drove a revolution against the dictator Porfirio Díaz, only to arrive at a much more complex authoritarian system by which one party governed for more than 70 years under a nationalistic discourse.

16 In Mexico, Central America, the Dominican Republic, Cuba, Haiti, Venezuela, Bolivia, Panama, and Paraguay.

17 In Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, Brazil, Bolivia, and Paraguay.

18 See Article 2,7 UN Charter.

19 The only country that sustained revolutionary policies was Cuba with the support of the USSR. The missile crisis in 1962 has been a major international crisis but the negotiations between the USSR and the US established the rules of the game to avoid a war. While Castro has stayed in power, creating a permanent tension among Latin American countries, the cold war did not result in a nuclear conflict.

“exception regimes” dictatorships of the Southern Cone arrived to fight communism,²⁰ proved to be inefficient concerning the modernization of the economy,²¹ the state and the governance. Both the lack of internal legitimacy and the emergence of new generations that called for democratic regimes as well as changes in US political priorities had fatal consequences for dictators. In the Southern Cone, differences in the ways and means to prevent dictatorships regaining legitimacy resulted in a negotiation of rules for political transition (Jouineau 1993: 157). On the other hand, the lack of success of revolutionary movements resulted in peace agreement negotiations between revolutionaries and governments. In the 1990’s a new wave of democratization evolved in Latin America sowing the seed of new hopes against social exclusion, economic disparity, and lack of participation.

Paradoxically, this region that is still searching for its own philosophy, ended the 20th century building an important feature of its identity by finding its own ways and means to live together in democracy. However, how far and how deep can democracy advance if new cosmo-visions are still lacking, if humankind is not in harmony with nature and society?

20.7 The Global Turn of 1989 and New Security Challenges after 9/11: Impact on Security Conceptualization

Towards the end of the 20th century globalization in Latin America was already an international confirmed trend. Latin America saw in this new wave a way to combine security and certainty for development and sustainable democracies. Free markets and investment promised a new era of growth, sub-regionalism boosted. NAFTA (Mexico, US and Canada), Mercosur (Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay), CARICOM (Caribbean) and SICA (Central America) adopted dynamic free trade, benefiting countries, which were ready to compete globally. Others less equipped with an economy able to export more than

primary goods, stayed behind. Pressures towards globalization, coming from the ruling governments and also from the international community, launched Latin American countries into the world of competition, but under asymmetrical terms. Apparent democratic principles like free markets turned then to be at the origin of social, political, and economic conflict. In the early 21st century, the chance to close the asymmetries – like the European Union has integrated Spain, Greece, and Portugal by asymmetrical agreements allowing their development – between the US and Latin America, seems almost impossible.

Latin American threats to security were deepened by growing organized crime, drug trafficking, money laundering, corruption, devastation of natural resources, and increased insecurity of local populations, threatening the stability of democratically elected governments and opening a complex paradox. Taking away the power from military and security forces took many years and lives, but now Latin America was lacking new philosophical, institutional, military, organizational, and bureaucratic frameworks to fight insecurity. Only the Southern Cone has a wide cooperation framework, Mercosur, which includes trade, but also military, social, and political cooperation adapted to fight new threats. Transforming civil-military relations has been at the core of military reform in South America, a reform still pending in many other countries.

However, the end of the cold war led to a hegemony of the US security vision around the world, and Latin America was no exception. The new agenda, namely after 9/11, implied a new world conflict era where terrorism was the main threat to fight against.

In Latin America the new agenda provokes conflict. Firstly, the democratization wave which has been developing since the late 80’s has tried to change the role of the armed forces by cultivating their submission to civilian and democratic processes, and therefore, lowering their role in internal politics. Under the influence of the post 9/11 agenda, the temptation could emerge for security forces to fight terrorism ‘inside’ by launching, once again, repressive policies against social and political opposition movements.

Secondly, this agenda is the security agenda of the US, rather than a Latin American one: whereas regional governments are establishing cooperation agreements in order to fight terrorism, in fact terrorism is important in international terms, but it is not the main threat to the region (see Rojas Aravena in this volume). Latin America is not at the source of local terrorist groups which pose a real national or international threat. Drug trafficking, organized crime,

20 Prior to the height of anticommunism in Latin America, between 1930 and 1945, there were 47 coups d’état. Brazil had 21 years of military presidencies before elected governments re-emerged.

21 Even if in some cases the opening of the economy had begun (Chile). International enterprises exerted considerable pressure towards the opening of the economies and increased certainty for investments.

social unrest, inequity, fragile elected governments, corruption, natural disasters, internal security, low and slow development, weak democratic culture, asymmetrical and distinct regional needs, capabilities and resources, interests and strategies, together reveal more significant challenges than the fight against terrorism and weapons of mass destruction (in a region free of WMD). With the exception of Colombia and Bolivia, Latin America is in relative peace.

Thirdly, Latin America is forced to subscribe to an extra-regional vision of international security and its threats: this is already causing internal discomfort and growing governmental difficulty to manage and conciliate both agendas in terms of resources, strategies, and needs in face of populations opposed to the imposition of the US agenda. Old forms of nationalism are resurging with haste against this imposition. The spread of social anti-Americanism risks therefore to turn into a spread of anti-Latin American elected government. Moreover, the Latin American experience shows that adopting extra-regional threats can increase intra-regional conflict and internal insecurity.²²

Latin American history shows that adopting extra-regional security and power schemes has resulted in political inadequacies between politics and society, increasing confusion and opposition, lack of social cohesion, and increased insecurity of local populations.

Latin American security proposals have pointed into two directions. The first by regional governments states that democracy and free markets should guarantee better social justice, but they are subject to economic and political international pressure which render difficult major social reforms. Thus, the new social-centrist political wave of new governments points at a society increasingly disappointed with neoliberalism. The successful annual summit in Porto Alegre (Brazil) against economic exclusion and disparity is an example of this growing discomfort.

The second is the human security agenda. The world has experienced major transformations since the end of the cold war. Nevertheless, security structures did not adapt at the same pace; new actors, new threats, trends, and problems appear to challenge the security and well-being of states and societies. These growing and diversifying international insecurities present increased vulnerabilities and risks, as new

threats by non-static actors, increased poverty, environmental devastation, asymmetrical societies, and globalization of the new insecurities keep growing. Whereas proposals of this agenda are numerous and therefore difficult to adopt by Latin American governments lacking economic development and growth, human security points at really strategic long-term issues which will define the quality of life, security, and feasibility of Latin American societies under human conditions. One major challenge is an increasing environmental insecurity, as long as Latin America loses yearly an area equivalent to Germany due to deforestation. Another challenge is a persistent social justice: the region still has the highest social disparity in the world. Around 50% of the region lives in poverty, and issues like food security, health, and asymmetrical development became major preoccupations of societies and governments. Moreover, drug trafficking and organized crime have transcended political and economic structures while political institutions have remained unable to compete with the resources of delinquencies. Building human security to take care of the well-being, sustainability, and peace of individuals and societies is a challenging task; however, the human security agenda appears to be fundamental for Latin America if increased conflict and devastation are to be avoided.²³

20.8 Conclusion

Apparently, each time that the 'security of the state' was invoked to fight conflict in Latin America, new conflicts arose. There are several determinant features associated with the sources of conflict in the region.

- In the past, institutional security frameworks and practices have been more an expression of power interests and will, than a contribution to the solution of real regional or local threats. One explanation for this situation is associated with the extended confusion between morality and ethics. Equally for the Aztecs, Catholicism, authoritarianism or dictatorships, Latin American history has been a history of the power in place, and the imposition of particular world-views, values, principles, and moral attitudes over the others, even if the 'others' have been in the majority. In the name of justice, religion, independence or equality, in security discourses, from Sepúlveda in 1550²⁴ to the

22 The Rio Treaty is still in force. It has been applied almost 20 times to fight "threats to the hemisphere", but "in all the cases involved inter-American conflicts and no one from extra-regional powers" (Atkins, 1980: 359-360)

23 For a key analysis on human security in Latin America, see Rojas Aravena and Goucha (2002).

post 9/11 policies, security has been justified to free the people. Thus, particular moral principles of the powers in place have been hegemonic, despite and independently of the universal ethics of the public service, the social well-being or the national republican state.²⁵

- Two major difficulties in knitting together social internal cohesion inside the states and among them have been the lack of confidence between power and society and the lack of economic, political, and social integration of heterogeneous societies. From the Incas to the policies after 9/11, security has been understood and exerted more against the local social demands than against extra-regional real threats. Nationalism became, in this sense, a way not to develop the nation but to deepen the internal and external divisions among countries.²⁶ Whereas many features unite Latin Americans, it is also true that multiculturalism has been a regional common denominator. Historically, refusal to recognize differences led to authoritarian regimes, which imposed homogenizing ideologies, morals, and doctrines.
- Paradoxically, these countries, profoundly nationalistic, tended to adopt throughout their history, philosophical, political, social, economic, and security models that were not theirs.²⁷ Whereas more than half of the Latin American peoples live in poverty, the more conflicting problem in the 21st century is widespread and extreme economic disparity that provokes security problems, such as internal violence and weak governance.
- The thinking on security has been focused on the nation-state, but many Latin American states have been authoritarian. This poses two major challenges for Latin America: building solid republican states inclusive of the whole society and new secu-

rity policies – not necessarily military ones – which are oriented towards sustainable social cohesion, development, democracy, and peace. In order to do so, Latin America also requires new institutions and the reform of old ones.

- In spite of a long debate, Latin American philosophy has achieved modest results in re-orienting security thinking, but the ethics debate seems to be more promising. “Contrary to the ideologies, which are motivated by the will of power, ethics is motivated by the values... ideology serves to the domination of a group, ethics, to the realization of the common well being” (Villoro 1997: 192).

After a long period of Hobbesian authoritarian regimes, weak democracies, internal division and conflict, armed movements and military intervention to fight opposition, social change is driving Latin America towards democracy and cooperation. Seen in the short term, democracies still present a high degree of uncertainty and some small steps backwards have been taken to move forwards. Seen in the long term, Latin American democracies have made significant advances over the last 20 years: the use of the armed forces for internal repression is rather a history of the past, elected democracies gain their legitimacy, the resort to violence – from authoritarian governments or social movements – is on the decline, and nationalism as an ideology is increasingly questioned in order to build new nations founded in republican states.

However, the lack of coincidence between Latin American and US security challenges does not mean that Latin America must be unprepared to fight insecurity, but threats have a different nature and therefore, require different strategies, resources, and approaches to security. One of the most significant problems deals with the security of society and the human being: to guarantee the population’s human rights, environmental, food, health and shelter security, social economic justice and social cohesion, among others. But ‘militarization’ of these sensible topics would be rather risky as long as armed forces played an important role in internal repression. Other issues, like people’s physical security in the face of violence derived from the drug trafficking, organized crime, kidnapping, and robbery requires the intervention of internal public security forces, but this has to be done in the framework of solid democracies. Hence, one of the priorities is to assist states, governments, and societies to build sustainable democratic practices.

This is where new trends in Latin American ethics are evolving. More and more, social movements are

24 “It is legitimate to dominate by the force of the arms to beings which natural condition is such that they must obey the others” (quoted by Todorov 2003: 165)

25 There has been a defence of the Latin American state in two key moments: against the intervention of Europe and the US and to favour military ruled states, but the republican state is in many states still weak.

26 For the political, economic, and philosophical foundations of the social division in Latin America, see the excellent analysis of Todorov 2003.

27 One of the most recent ones was the Washington Consensus. Whereas countries that adopted this doctrine without criticism have been formally globalized but face huge development challenges (Mexico), others that put forward their local needs, possibilities and rhythms for global integration, have been more successful (Chile).

demanding strong republican states that are able to include the common well-being and a long-term vision of social, not governments' power, and interests.²⁸ This means also that philosophy is advancing towards new security concepts and practices by way of a pragmatic search for a Latin American identity which refuses violence and demands social participation, inclusion, and acceptance of the differences of culturally heterogeneous populations.²⁹ Another issue is the growing interest in the defence of the Latin America strategic future, opening the way to the defence of long-term interests, such as more equal societies (Chile could diminish poverty by more than half in only 15 years); defence of the environmental sustainability and sovereignty (such as the Brazilian defence of the Amazonian in spite of the interventionist voices which attempt to weaken Brazilian sovereignty under the argument of 'global public interest') and the search of new ways of creating new social and ethical values in order to create sustainable civilizations.³⁰

Relations with the US are also underway towards more cooperation and less intervention.³¹ On the side of institutions, during the special OAS Conference on Security new concepts arose, such as multidimensional security (see Rojas Aravena in this volume). Each state faces different risks to its security and even

if many threats are transnational, solutions are national or sub-regional, as security policy is still formulated at state level.³² This aimed to clear the new rules of the game for a real advance in the creation of a Latin American security community. "Clearly, in the concept of Hemispheric Security that is presently under construction there are links between security, development, democracy, human rights, free trade and defence" (Benítez-Manaut 2004: 27) turning security into a complex, elastic but also precise concept which puts aside the militarization and securitization of these subjects,³³ a new security architecture founded on ethical principles, namely on democracy.

In Latin America a change in the conceptualization of security is underway, but more important, Latin America seems to be on the path towards the search for and reconciliation with its true original true identity: the universal belonging in harmony, world integration from a Latin American standpoint, the relation and dialogue between the individual and collective needs and values and the pragmatic search of a sustainable peace, democracy, development and civilization. Latin America is recovering its "face and heart", a conscious being of the world, in harmony with humankind, nature, and social cohesion based on values and peaceful civilized rules to live together, such as the Tlamatinime's proposed to do, some 600 years ago.

28 Foreign intervention has negatively marked the Latin American region and is the "other side of the coin" of closed nationalism. Building solid nations under processes of internal and external peaceful integration means the acceptance of multilateral action and a deep restructuring of the OAS and the Rio Treaty. When regional social and political interests were put forward, peace and democracy could advance; such is the case for the peace agreements in Central America, the non-proliferation measures in Mercosur, the money laundering agreements in the Caribbean, and the 2003 OAS Special Conference on Security.

29 One of the major advances in this sense has been the submission of the military to the civil power and the consolidation of peace trends by means of inter-institutional and cultural change among the armed forces in order to cooperate for peace, such as the agreements in the Southern Cone.

30 With regard to the societies, there are new political and social actors participating in the new ethical debates and research based on an education for democracy, civilization and citizenship (Cullen 1996; Dallera 1997), linking politics and ethics (Nieto Montesinos 1999), conflict resolution in Indian societies and minorities (Oswald 2004), science and ethics (Bunge 1996), ethics and power (Villoro 1997), ethics and political culture (Sánchez 2001), ethics and institutions (Prats I Catalá 2005) or ethics and empowerment (Garzón 1997).

31 "Nations of the region have matured and are attempting to position themselves as interlocutors with the superpower, not only as rule-takers but also as rule-makers. We take this as the beginning of a process, not the end...so long as the US insists on imposing its own security agenda on the hemisphere, there will be crisis points defined by the US that undermine the concept of community. Furthermore, looking to the future, because US unilateralism weakens the hemisphere potential of the OAS, it is by no means clear that the OAS, and not some other regional institution, will be the key element in the architecture of hemispheric security" (Tulchin 2004: 2).

32 "In a major step forward, the OAS agreed that every existing state resource (military, intelligence, judiciary, diplomacy) should be used to confront threats, but that those responses should not necessarily be military." (Benítez-Manaut 2004, 27).

33 The military foreign intervention has been replaced by new concepts of Latin American cooperation, such as humanitarian intervention (Haiti). The logic of intervention and security are restructuring, for example, conflicts that are decreasingly linked to the defence instruments and increasingly based on a solution of social, political or environmental sources of the problem.

21 The Brazilian View on the Conceptualization of Security: Philosophical, Ethical and Cultural Contexts and Issues

Domício Proença Júnior and Eugenio Diniz

21.1 Introduction¹

The chapter focuses on a critical assessment of the latest declaratory policy of the Brazilian government as expressed in the 2005 *Brazilian Defence Policy Document*. This does not correspond to a white paper or to a national security policy but, as it results from an extensive process of political bargaining, it does express contemporary Brazilian conceptualizations of security authoritatively. We speak of ‘conceptualizations’, in the plural form, since it does not express a single, or even a dominant, conception. Its appreciation sets the stage for the historical consideration of the trajectory that can explain its nature, introducing the presentation of the philosophical, ethical, and cultural contexts and issues of the Brazilian conceptualization of security.

To the extent that it simply juxtaposes such conceptualizations, never resolving them, the first impression from the contents of the 2005 Document would be that of simple incoherence. This should not disguise the fact that it faithfully includes the contending perspectives of Brazilian security-related agencies and, through them, to a substantial extent, the indirect impact of national, scientific, academic discourse on security (on these, Brigagão/Proença Jr. 2004; Pinto/Rocha/Silva 2004). It appends several new conceptualizations of security to a core, arguably a potentially dominant core for nothing else if not for inertia, of traditional military and diplomatic concerns. While one might speak of ‘reconceptualization’ on the evidence of those additions, the fact of the matter is that

this Document never resolves the divergent aspects of such conceptions: it simply juxtaposes them (21.2). The chapter then addresses the historical roots (21.3), the participation in multilateral *forums* (21.4), and the National Security Doctrine (21.5) as the principal intellectual trajectories that lead to this diversity of perspectives on security. Such a reconstruction does not dwell extensively on the various intellectual strands in terms of explicit philosophical, ethical or cultural aspects. Rather, it addresses those issues through the outcome of their influence and change in terms of the major security concerns of each period and the way they were dealt with.

In conclusion, it discusses how the use of force itself has little, if any role in Brazilian official security conceptualizations, exemplifying this reluctance to deal with enforcement or coercion by a summary review of the Brazilian participation in the ongoing UN Mission to Haiti (MINUSTAH). Rather than presenting an unsolvable puzzle, this appreciation of Brazil’s historical trajectory of security concerns and conceptualizations serves to illuminate the main sources of Brazilian officially-adopted security concepts. It allows the appreciation of how some strands came into existence, and how they endure, with little if any substantive exchange among them. On the contrary, it argues that further juxtaposition is not only to be expected, but is coherent with this trajectory. It also supports an explanatory hypothesis for both the Brazilian tolerance with divergent conceptions of security and the lack of explicit consideration of the use of force in its highest-level statement for Defence. Brazil is in such a position that it can afford to act as a free rider in security affairs, juxtaposing previously existing discourse with the various other considerations borne out of its own democratization (1988), the end of the Cold War (1990), the creation of a civilian Minister of Defence (1998) or the Attacks of 9.11.2001 (21.6).

1 This chapter benefits from research projects being developed under the sponsorship of the Brazilian National Research Council (CNPq) and the Minas Gerais Research Foundation (FAPEMIG). The authors are grateful for the comments and suggestions of the anonymous reviewers to previous drafts of the text. The final responsibility for any errors or omissions remains ours.

21.2 The Brazilian 2005 Defence Policy Document

The Brazilian 2005 Defence Policy Document (Brazil 2005), like the one that preceded it in 1996, defies easy categorization. It is neither a defence white paper nor a national security policy. It is a broad statement of understanding that declines to be, despite its name, a policy. Rather, it expresses a compromise of the agencies involved in its formulation, a letter of authority outlining what belongs to Brazilian Defence concerns. It brings together those items that one or more agencies would like to have in such a high level statement, and that are not vetoed by another agency. The whole of the document and each of its passages is written cooperatively, in such a way that it is agreeable to all agencies involved. As might be expected, it offers no prioritization or trade-offs among them. Instead, it offers statements of principle, topics of concern, and lists of definitions, guidelines, and directives that are general enough to allow each agency to find its own interpretation. (Proença Jr/Diniz 1998).

However, precisely because it is the result of the collective bargain of Brazilian agencies, it contains a representative panorama of Brazilian security concepts. Its substantive text has two parts: a *political* part, which “contemplates the concepts, the international and national environments and the defence objectives”, which is of primary interest to this chapter; and a *strategy* part, which “comprehends guidelines and directives”, the analysis of which belongs elsewhere (Brasil 2005: Preamble).

There are five items in the political part. The first two juxtapose general considerations and offer definitions on the nature of the state and of security. Tashkent’s 1990 definition of security (UN 1990 apud Brasil 2005), quoted in full in the text, leads to a definition of security as “the condition that allows a country to preserve its sovereignty and territorial integrity [and] the pursuit of its national interests, free from threats or pressures of any nature [whatsoever], and the guarantee to its citizens of their constitutional rights and duties”, and of (national) defence, “the set of measures and actions of the state, with an emphasis on the military expression [see below, item 5], for the defence of the territory, the sovereignty and national interests against preponderantly external threats, potential or actual” (Brasil 2005: Part I).

Summary presentations of a few strands of contemporary international relations theory follow, each circumscribing one or more policy objects. The text draws from Realism to tackle unipolarity and asym-

metries of power; from Complex Interdependence to acknowledge non-state actors; from Institutionalism to address multilateralism and International Law; from Democratic Peace Theory to address the increasing regional confidence and negotiated settlement of disputes; and from Constructivism to describe an expanded conceptualization of security that comes to include environmental issues. That force might be used against or by Brazil in the pursuit of any of these objects is left unmentioned.

The third item declares that South America and the West Coast of Africa are the areas of Brazil’s strategic interest. The fourth refers to the Amazon and the South Atlantic as the primary concerns of Brazilian defence planning; expresses Brazil’s commitment to an international order based on democracy, multilateralism, cooperation, the prohibition of chemical, biological and nuclear weapons, and the quest for peace among nations; affirms the need of constant improvement of the armed forces and the development of a national defence industrial base.

The fifth item of the political part lists Brazil’s six defence objectives:

1. the guarantee of sovereignty, national properties and territorial integrity;
2. the defence of Brazilian interests, property, resources and persons abroad;
3. the enhancement and preservation of national unity and cohesion;
4. the advancement of regional stability;
5. the advancement to the maintenance of international peace and security;
6. the furtherance of Brazil’s role in the concert of nations and its increased participation in international decision-making processes.

This complex and unresolved mix of different levels, approaches, directions, and alternatives juxtaposes incompatible if not contradictory elements. It does mirror the influence of Brazilian writers, intellectuals, and scholars in the security field, but it does so indirectly, by the inclusion of one or more strands that have been brought into light by one or another work by individual writers and adopted by an agency or its representative in the writing process. This limitation on external influence and the tolerance with divergent, incompatible propositions confirms what some have described as Brazil’s peculiar security perspective (Bittencourt 2003; Cruz 2005; Bustamante 1993). For all of that, the *2005 Defence Policy Document* cannot be taken by itself and adjudicated as simply misconstrued. It can be understood by an appreciation of

the contextual components and issues that shape Brazil's security thinking and strategic culture (Booth 1979; Gray 1984; Johnston 1995).

21.3 Historical Roots

Geography explains the ease with which Portugal violated the terms of the Treaty of Tordesillas (1494), which established a division of the New World between Spain and Portugal. Spain and Portugal occupied the coastlines of the Pacific and the Atlantic respectively. The Andes and the discovery of exploitable sources of wealth kept Spain near the coast, while Portugal moved inland in the wake of cattle raising, agriculture, and the quest for minerals and slaves all along the coast from the Amazon to the River Plate. The wealth of the South had most of Portugal's attention. The few who ventured into the Amazon built forts and outposts, the missionaries who worked with the native populations and those who sought mythical riches (Chevalier 1977; Burns 1993). While this move inland was almost irrelevant during the Union of Portugal and Spain (1580–1640), this became a problem for Portuguese-Spanish relations afterwards.

In the Amazon, Portugal found little of economic interest. The region was indefensible without some measure of support from the native populations. This led Portugal to argue for the native ownership of the land which, in turn, led to a huge expansion of the area under nominal Portuguese control well past the Tordesillas line. In the River Plate, Portugal established many colonies, which also infringed on Spanish territory (Prado Jr 1983; Teixeira Soares 1973). The head of the Portuguese Overseas Council, Alexandre de Gusmão, negotiated the Treaty of Madrid in 1750 and settled Portuguese ownership in South America on the principle of *uti possidetis*, that is to say, whoever occupies the land *de facto* is also *de jure* its legitimate owner (Cortêsão 1953; see also Lopez 2007).

The Treaty of Madrid (1750) defined the broad contours of Brazil's territory and put a premium on expansion that would translate into possession. The Portuguese staunchly defended the Sacramento colony south of the River Plate, bargaining its surrender in exchange for what became the southern parts of Brazil and later Uruguay. By skilful negotiation, which included outright distortion of information, Portugal was awarded ownership of its expanded territory beyond the original Tordesillas partition (Cortêsão 1953).

The Treaty of Madrid could not settle the issue of control over the River Plate or anticipate the tensions

of minorities across the border. These required urgent adjustments after independence. For most of their history, Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay, and Paraguay would have these issues as their main foreign policy problems, with lingering fears that occupation of the border by one or the other might lead to claims of trans-border rights. In 1825–1828, Brazil and Argentina fought over the control of the north bank, that became, as a result, Uruguay (Fausto 1999). The War of the Triple Alliance of Uruguay, Argentina, and Brazil against Paraguay (1865–1870) settled the border over the river midpoint in its current, and admitted an informal flow between territories that would become a hallmark of the region (Graham 1989). For all the concerns, fears, and designs of one over the other for the ensuing century, there the matter proved to rest. A general settlement that would remove the prospect of a potential war came late, in the last two decades of the 20th century. Settling the River Plate issue in the 1990's led to the cooperative use of all of its resources and removed the single most important defence problem of Brazil, and arguably the most pressing for Argentina. In retrospect, the matter stood where it had been left a century before. But it was only when the principals in Buenos Aires and Brasília set seal to a formal settlement which addressed the concerns of all parties that the matter ceased to be the primary focus of their military contingency plans. That settlement brought about a fast-pace, positive *rapprochement* that would eventually give birth to *Mercosur*.

The Treaty of Madrid could not solve the fundamental problem of the defence of the Amazon either: the weak demographic and political foundations of Portuguese control. Even considering the very special relationship between the Church and the Portuguese Crown, there were neither enough populations nor political bonds to bind the Amazon to Portugal. Although the Crown chose bishops under the *Padroado* system, the Jesuits, who formed most of the missionaries in the Amazon, were not subject to the Crown at all. The defence of the Amazon had to rely on isolated settlements and forts (many of which doubled as prisons) to stake its claim and presume to control its vast rivers and territories (Burns 1993). Even a major outburst in economic activity and corresponding migration proved incapable of changing the basics of the situation. In 1839, the discovery of vulcanization led to an intense and growing demand for rubber, which was then an Amazonian monopoly. This led to a massive and continued inflow of people to the Amazonian region, particularly from the Brazilian Northeast. However, the Amazon remained vulnerable. The eco-

nomics of rubber exploitation did not lead to the settlement of large areas, but was confined to a handful of cities (Santos 1976).

This frailty of actual control is at the root of the Brazilian susceptibility to cyclical waves of fear of 'international greed' for the Amazon. Each cycle finds its own motives, attuned to the issues of the day, and often brings to the fore Brazilian readings of the European or World political literature and concerns. The first such scare in 1850 had to do with the navigation in the Amazon basin. Brazilian restrictions on the sailing of foreign ships were seen to lead to claims towards the internationalization of the whole basin, with grave consequences for Brazilian control, a mirror image of the various European concerns with international rivers, notably the Danube, and the way the free navigation of the Mississippi-Missouri had undermined French control of the American Louisiana long before Bonaparte chose to sell it in 1803. Authorizing innocent passage by Brazil did away with that fear on that particular occasion without ill effect. Later cycles argued the motivation of foreign needs of land, of energy, of a hidden agenda by research institutions, each expressing then current concerns elsewhere, realized in the Amazon. Foreign needs of particular mineral resources of the time, the untold potential of the biotechnological riches of the Amazonian biota or the scarcity of drinkable water, international environmental and human rights concerns related to the Amazon rain forest and its Indian peoples are often read as camouflage for (renewed) attempts against Brazilian sovereignty (Reis 1967; Durham/Goldemberg 1990; Martins Filho/Zacker 2000; Lopez 2007). The lack of substantial economic development in the present suggests the hopeful view that, once fully developed, the Amazon would guarantee Brazil's future as a major power.

The rubber boom did push Brazilian borders over the lines of the Treaty of Madrid, leading to armed conflict, and potential war. By the end of the 19th century, Brazilian rubber tappers following the rivers reached Bolivian territory. Bolivian authorities then granted to a private Anglo-American company, *the Bolivian Syndicate*, broad authority – including police powers – in that area. There was uproar in Brazil and clashes between the company's men and private Brazilian citizens in 1902. The matter came to be settled by negotiations carried out by the Brazilian Minister of Foreign Relations, the legendary Baron of Rio Branco, and that territory became part of Brazil with Bolivia accepting payment and benefits for its loss (Santos 1976; Teixeira Soares 1973).

For extra-continental security issues Brazil, like Portugal, relied almost completely on Britain. This made Brazil secure against any European power. This also gave Britain some leverage in furthering its demands on Brazil (Bethel 1989). As British power declined, Brazil began to reconsider how to deal with a European power on its own (Skidmore 1999) for, like the 1823 Monroe Doctrine, Brazil's security against European powers had depended on the Royal Navy's control of the Atlantic.

In order to be able to count on the support of at least one European power against the advances of another, Brazil had to reposition itself in the international arena. As US power increased, Brazil also had to consider how close it could be with any European power without risking US displeasure. For a little while, in the early years of the 20th century, British absence was already expected, and US preponderance not yet certain. Chile, Argentina, and Brazil found themselves in a naval arms race, with one after the other acquiring modern *Dreadnought*-type battleships capable either against a European power or against one another. The perception of functional US naval supremacy after the First World War restored the previous situation and led to the collapse of those efforts.

The Baron of Rio Branco's tenure in the Foreign Relations Ministry (1902–1912) came to solidify the Brazilian diplomatic approach to security issues. Rio Branco, with a keen eye on comparable European developments on the last decades of the 19th century, took up the task of settling every outstanding border issue once and for all. Further, he chose to do so following in the footsteps of Gusmão by arguing on legal grounds for *uti possidetis de facto* and by choosing to settle all issues by arbitration. The reliance on arbitration and the legal criteria of *uti possidetis* aimed at a stable solution. Arbitration also allowed Brazil to deepen relations with prospective, and particularly with chosen, arbitrators. It allowed Brazilian issues of security to become live topics in Brazilian relations with major powers, further involving some of them as guarantors of the terms of the settlement they accepted to arbitrate. Rio Branco accepted arbitration even when it went against his expectations of a reasonable outcome, with the sole proviso of impartially addressing the matter anew should one of the other parties ever challenge it (Teixeira Soares 1973). None of these settlements has so far been challenged.

Brazil settled all of its borders (invariably sharing the control of bordering rivers) and outstanding issues where economic development had pushed Brazilians into neighbouring territory. That so much could

be achieved diplomatically, with recourse to international law, serving to involve major powers as prospective or actual arbitrators to guarantee settlements at little political cost, stood out starkly against the conflicts and disputes in Spanish South America. Rio Branco's figure towers over the Brazilian understanding of what diplomacy should be, of how to deal with the most delicate issues of security: sovereignty over territory, relations with neighbours and the involvement of major powers. Brazilian foreign and security policy lies in the shadow of his achievement (Barros 1986).

21.4 Brazil and Multilateral Forums

In 1822, when Brazil seceded from the United Kingdom of Portugal, Brazil, and Algarves, it faced several issues. First and foremost, it had to decide whether it would include the Portuguese African and Asian colonies. This was the consequence of the Portuguese Crown's flight to Brazil in 1807, which had moved the capital to Rio de Janeiro in 1808 and brought along the whole apparatus of the Portuguese Empire – all files, libraries, presses, functionaries. Portuguese ambassadors in Europe reported to Rio, and foreign ambassadors to Portugal lived in Rio. This meant the Brazilian independence included the imperial capital in its territory and thus the whole foreign policy apparatus and actual administrative control of all Portuguese territory outside of Europe (Bethel 1989).

The bargaining process among Brazil, Portugal, and Britain through which the King left Rio de Janeiro to Lisbon and granted Brazil's independence still waits for a definitive study. The three parties agreed to an amicable independence, which paid Portugal compensation for the loss of Brazil and ensured Portugal that Brazil would not then or in the future challenge Lisbon's control of all non-American colonies. Brazil agreed in turn to incorporate all of Portugal's territory in South America, overcame rogue Portuguese efforts to hold on to some parts of it with the support of British Admiral Cochrane, and carried on diplomatic relations with foreign powers as the Empire of Brazil.

The diplomatic issues of recognition, credit, and trade were easy in stark contrast to the difficulties of other independent South American countries. As a result, Brazil began its history by having to consider its position in the concert of nations. The issues that occupied Brazilian relations were primarily commercial, accompanied by political and cultural exchanges. France, through various Bonapartist expatriates, came to play a capital role in Brazilian cultural develop-

ment, the most visible influence being the modelling of the new flag of the Empire of Brazil on Bonaparte's regimental colours. But cultural adherence to France also served to please Brazilian inclinations for a Latin foil against the overbearing presence of Britain. French was commonly spoken by the Brazilian upper classes of the Empire, and French books, newspapers, and *causes celebres* faithfully mirrored a Brazilian inclination towards Paris as the centre of civilization. English, in turn, was the language of a few, and important English works, most famously Adam Smith's and those of the American Founding Fathers, kept in the hands of very few as private assets. The first steps of closer cultural ties to Germany, particularly in the Army and in some Ministries, were curtailed by World War I (Bethel 1989; Barman 1988; Skidmore 1999).

The waning of British power in the early years of the 20th century demanded an enlargement of Brazil's international room for manoeuvre. Brazil expanded its relations with and presence among all major powers, but avoided alliances or bilateral pacts, subscribing to international law instead. Brazil began its perfect attendance record at international conferences championing the ideals of the equality of nations, the right of self-determination, the peaceful settlement of international disputes, disarmament, and a more equitable and progressive international agenda (Skidmore 1999). After US hemispheric pre-eminence became incontrovertible, this enhanced position served as a foil against US dominance, but not so much to provoke US suspicion.

After the First World War, in which Brazil joined the allies, Brazilian diplomats used the opportunity of belonging to the League of Nations. It offered them a space in which to keep in constant contact with all powers with a security agenda. This corresponded to its own cultural preference of producing security through international law and negotiation. In 1919, Brazil requested an observer status in the League, but in 1926, it was the first country to leave it. This departure can illuminate both the nature and the limitations of Brazil's most cherished approach to security, that of diplomacy. Brazil felt that having belonged to the League from its inception and endured the status of an observer, it should be granted a permanent seat. During the 1920's, Brazil had invited French military and American naval missions to modernize its army and navy, which had vast consequences in terms of bringing in their considerable military traditions. Brazil also expanded and formalized its diplomatic corps, making itself present in many capitals and larger cities. For all that, Brazil would not accept that Germany

be invited for a permanent seat whilst Brazil be required to remain an observer. That behaviour, according to Brazil's departure statement, doomed the League of Nations. It betrayed its purpose, making it another tool of the strong, forswearing its role as defender of the law (Garcia 2000).

Brazil joined the combatant United Nations in 1942. It provided raw materials, bases, naval and air forces for the antisubmarine war. Unique among Latin American nations, it sent an expeditionary force to fight in Europe. It is no surprise that Brazil was among the most vocal supporters of the establishment of the United Nations Organization in the 1945 San Francisco Conference, or that it was considered for a permanent seat in the Security Council, which did not come to pass.

For the reasons explained above Brazil has been firmly committed to the idea, even the ideal, of the United Nations. That does not prevent it from recognizing that the organization may not always act in accordance with its purpose. Brazil's participation in the Security Council can be taken as an index of the Brazilian assessment of the UN's loyalty to its goals, if one contrasts the frequent acceptance of a temporary seat in 1946–1968 and 1989–2005 (on average, every 34 months) with the long absence of 228 months from 1968–1989, when it was deemed that the UN was working towards the 'freezing' of world power, which suited well with the "Big Power Brazil" ambitions of the Military Regime (Araújo Castro 1982).

Brazil was among the first countries to make its forces available to the UN Emergency Force of Suez of 1956 (UNEF I), and supported a battalion in Sinai until 1967. Brazil has always been one of the top 10 troop-contributing countries to UN peacekeeping missions, except for the period 1968–1989, when it boycotted UN security initiatives (Fontoura 1999). With the benefit of the elements presented above, it can be readily seen how peacekeeping accords with Brazilian conceptions of the way security affairs should be framed by international law and how it provides opportunities for relations among all countries on equal terms.

However, it is important to distinguish between peacekeeping with the consent of the affected parties 'under Chapter VI' of the UN Charter; and peacekeeping imposed on the affected parties by the Security Council 'under Chapter VII'. For Brazil Chapter VII operations represent an interference into internal affairs (Art. 2,7 UN Charter). Brazil's participation in the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti

(MINUSTAH) was only possible after the mission itself was not based on Chapter VII (Diniz 2005).

21.5 Security and Development

At the beginning of the 20th century, Brazil was divided over the priority of conscription or a *Dreadnought*-type navy. In 1909 there existed many civic organizations that argued for the need for the incorporation of the Brazilian masses into a modern army, both for defence and for the opportunity it would afford for the education of conscripts. This called for large quantities of *materiel* and a robust economy that would either purchase foreign arms or manufacture them. Others held that a navy was more urgent. However, the expense of a *Dreadnought*-type battle fleet and modern naval yard to support and repair it would seem to preclude raising a modern mass army. By the 1920's, as the lessons of the French Military Mission of 1922 and the US Naval Mission of 1924 took root, it became clear that Brazil lacked fundamental infrastructure in industrial and human resources to pursue either course of action.

An all-inclusive notion of national security became the common ground for what had been up to that time a divided debate for army or navy priority. The French and US missions of the early 1920's led to an appreciation of the needs of industry for materiel and education for officers. The 1937 Constitution established a National Security Council to survey all matters of defence: raw materials, personnel, weapons procurement and production, military deployment, training and employment, hand in hand with Brazilian commercial and political diplomatic priorities (Martins 1976).

The vastness of civil-military links required by the logistics of World War II left a deep impression on those who had had the opportunity of extensive training or work in the US. Only a comprehensive logistical approach could hope to sustain modern armed forces in peace or war. For a country like Brazil, this went beyond mobilization. It called for a broader appreciation that acknowledged it would be necessary to start from scratch in many fields. This required balancing security and development needs, clarifying the trade-offs between them, setting up priorities that would cut across ministerial lines and different administrations. This required a space that would gather far more than just the military, but that should involve all that could contribute to the effort of securing the nation. The *Escola Superior de Guerra* (ESG) – usually

translated as the Brazilian National War College – was the result (Miyamoto 1988).

ESG quickly came into operation, its first class graduating in 1950. This class, made up of politicians, scholars, senior civil servants, diplomats and military officers, took advantage of one of the few spaces for graduate studies then available in Brazil to formulate a common language for Brazilian thinking in national security. In its tolerant juxtaposition of the readings of each of its members one can already see the seed of what would become the particular Brazilian brand of tolerance of divergent concepts. But the ensuing classes were never allowed to move on, or even to question the results of the first class. The ESG experience became the repetition of the first class' achievements, making their results the basis of a dogmatic indoctrination, paralysing at its very first step the very process it created. What had been but a first attempt at a common language became the irredeemable "National Security Doctrine" (Proença Jr 2000).

The centre of the doctrine can be found in the binomial (as in Newton's mathematical binomials) of security and development. Proper harmonization of priorities and the balance of their mutual influences is the recipe of national power, providing both development and security. Development is defined as the increase of national power. Security, as the ability to make use of national power without facing hindrance. National power is defined as the panoply of all means available to mobilization by the national will in order to achieve internal or external objectives, a deliberately open, all-inclusive definition. Power would be composed of five (originally four) co-equal, autonomous and interdependent *expressions*: the political, economic, military, psychosocial and, later, the scientific-technological.

Activities in each of the expressions serve the pursuit of 'current national objectives', themselves the circumstantial steps to achieve 'permanent national objectives'. According to the doctrine, there would be perfect identity between the goals of society and state, both subsumed as the nation. Permanent objectives emanate from the nation itself, and result from the acceptance of two supreme values: the pursuit of the 'common good' and the 'national interest'. The development of these values is, to that extent, closed to inquiry: the 'permanent national objectives' of independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, national cohesion, democracy, among others. As objectives derive unequivocally from the fundamental values of seeking the 'common good' and pursuing 'national in-

terests', so do the means, approaches, and programmes needed to achieve them.

Since goals and means, approaches and programmes are derived logically and uncontroversially from fundamental values as expressed by national objectives, then opposition to them is tantamount to betrayal of the Homeland. Though democracy is one of the doctrine's 'permanent national objectives', the doctrine as such abhors dissent. This idea of democracy can only be apprehended if one realizes that it stands for 'the form of government that is not communism', which makes anticommunism its unstated defining characteristic. As a result, the doctrine is particularly concerned with the 'internal enemy': that is, those who oppose the 'permanent national objectives', or the 'current national objectives', or the plans, programmes, and initiatives that seek to achieve them. For, in the terms of the 'national security doctrine', they cannot do so out of honest disagreement or as an expression of legitimate dissent, but only as allies or tools of foreign powers (Proença Jr/Diniz 1998; Proença Jr 2000).

In part because of its association with the military regime of 1964–1988; in part because of its constant drive towards a de facto doctrinal monopoly over Brazilian thinking on security; in part because of its relentless bureaucratic militancy against alternative approaches, the doctrine, deprived of its anticommunist drive after 1991, ended as the sole conceptual framework that can claim longevity or breadth comparable to that of Brazilian diplomatic traditions. Some of its terms and concepts recur throughout Brazil's legislation, official documents, and statements on security issues by political parties, academics, and journalists from the whole political spectrum. The seeming pervasiveness of the *National Security Doctrine* can be misleading: as it claims and seeks to hold the authoritative definition of all the vocabulary of government, power, security, and defence, any mention of any term can be perceived as echoing the doctrine. ESG definitions can be occasionally be found on discourses and official documents. But this rarely expresses a commitment to ESG's doctrine or conceptualization. Rather, it shows how they are taken uncritically, as ordinary language. Conversely, ESG doctrine can, and does, absorb the bon mot of the day without batting an eyelid: much of the new conceptualization of security of the 1990's has been added to the ESG's all-inclusive definitions.

21.6 Conclusions

Because the 2005 Defence Policy Document expresses a particular compromise among agencies, it contains the many strands of Brazil's security understandings set side by side with no other criteria than its acceptability by all agencies. It offers a window of the sweeping mixture of philosophical and theoretical concepts that are juxtaposed to legitimize the formulations of agencies as official Brazilian security terminology, and thus capture ethical and cultural biases as well. The origin and nature of these strands results from history, conforming cultural and ethical contexts and issues: the problems and solutions of the differing security needs of the River Plate and Amazon regions (as well as fears of 'international greed'), and the way international law became a defining characteristic of security to Brazilian diplomacy.

It was insecurity concerning actions of major powers in the context of the transition from British to US supremacy in the Atlantic that led to a change in Brazil's international position, and when taken with its predilection for international law, explained Brazil's presence and action in multilateral *forums*, as well as its reluctance to form a permanent alliance with any major power. This suited well with the cultural underpinnings of its diplomats. The same passage had ulterior consequences for the linkage between security and development, establishing a connection that found its most enduring expression in the *National Security Doctrine*.

And to those, one can add the more contemporary conceptualizations or reconceptualizations of security. That some of those can fit without problem with previous Brazilian conceptions is good evidence of how inclusive and tolerant their original terms were. The environment or education could become a new 'expression' in ESG's National Security Doctrine by a simple act of will any day. There is no real conceptual barrier to prevent such an addition, and the tradition of conceptual tolerance, if not indifference, ensures that it would simply be set side by side with the others, as science and technology were a decade ago. This is not a matter of paying lip service to such conceptions, neither a case of paying lip service to previous additions to the mixture of concepts present in Brazilian discourse. Their addition is simply a juxtaposition, that does not disguise or excuse some ulterior conception, and that does not resolve their eventual divergences or contradictions.

There is one element left out: the actual consideration of the use of force, which is nowhere to be

found in the *2005 Defence Policy Document*. Brazil's different traditions and approaches to security are so disconnected and divergent from each other that whenever the issue of the use of force arises it falls between the cracks – except in self-defence and extraordinary situations like the two World Wars. Diplomatic tradition would rather not use force at all, or rather use it with the consent of those affected by it, that is to say, to use force as a symbol of agreement and resolve among quiescent states, as in peacekeeping based on chapter VI. The *National Security Doctrine* claims to establish terms, concepts, planning systems, and the recipe to make Brazil a major power. But it has very, very little to say about actual use of force for defence or war, as a tool of coercion or enforcement. To that extent, this omission can explain the inclination by diplomats and the ESG-associated military for an all-encompassing concept of security that allows one to speak of security without mentioning or considering the use of force. Should this be the case, then it would be a logical and natural development that expanded concepts of security incorporated in Brazil's *2005 Defence Policy Document*. One would expect that the broader the scope of security, the more welcome and suited to Brazilian agencies' conceptions it would be. So long as one remembers that such additions are in the nature of juxtapositions, and not of substantive contributions, then it is simple to see that their incorporation is a matter of opportunity.

Expanded concepts have little, if any room for actual fighting. This might pose some issues for a *National Security Doctrine*, regardless of how inclusive it might be. If force is not at stake at all, what then would security be? However, there would seem to be a measure of behind-the-scenes automatism in the binomial foundation of the doctrine: further development means enhanced security, which in turn brings about increased development, and so on. The explicit consideration of the material aspects of the use of force as a means for securing this or that against a given opponent can be, and in fact was, removed from this scheme. Besides self-defence, only a small role needs to be found for force, once again in the abstract, in deterrence. On the other hand, Brazilian authorities do not as yet endorse concepts such as 'human security'. They are not alone in perceiving such a notion as "part of the same interventionist framework of the right of inference and of the responsibility to protect", and inconsistent with the chapters on peace and security of the UN Charter (Amorim 2004: 142; 152).

When actual use of force becomes unavoidable, then Brazil is placed in a conceptual quandary. Find-

ing legitimacy for such an action invariably becomes a major effort, and requires considerable accommodation. The MINUSTAH Mission to Haiti offers a recent and compelling example. A regional peacekeeping exercise to the benefit of a troubled neighbour under the auspices of the UN fulfilled all the political and legal requisites Brazil could wish to have in order to act. The distinction of being asked to lead it had meaning both in the recognition of Brazil's eminence and as part of the long-standing ambition, and current foreign policy priority, of getting Brazil a permanent seat on the Security Council. Brazil, with its reputation of fair dealing and its aspiration to leadership, was expected to rouse itself to the task. This would unmistakably benefit its priorities in South America, reinforcing its commitment to multilateral security solutions. But to accept MINUSTAH as originally proposed would have compromised the Brazilian commitment to the cherished principle of non-intervention. For all the legality of a UN Security Council resolution, Brazil's participation was contingent on the reference to Chapter VII being confined to chosen paragraphs, and not the legal basis for the mission as a whole (Diniz 2005). The present authors concede that this is a matter of form, but argue that it expresses an underlying essence that brings about the concluding considerations of this chapter.

Brazil's security concepts remain hostage to the particular traditions of the agencies involved, which in turn express long standing intellectual and bureaucratic trajectories. They are the accumulation of previous conceptualizations, to which successive layers have been added. Sometimes they have a clear source, as was the case of impacts of diplomatic or military activities in the early 20th century. Sometimes they reflect the internalization of conceptions developed elsewhere, as was the case of Rio Branco's commitment to international mediation, and might be the case of contemporary notions of expanded security concepts. There is no real substantive, authoritative conception that could be taken to express a Brazilian perspective on security. There are as many conceptions as one might wish to find. To that extent, reconceptualization is, in the Brazilian case, a misnomer. One can recognize a number of the elements of the contemporary discourse on expanded security concept as additional layers, but as no more than this. This situation is faithfully expressed in the contents of the *2005 Brazilian Defence Policy Document*.

How is it possible for Brazil to actually lack a guiding security concept? This is the topic that remains to be addressed, and its clarification serves further to ex-

plain the reasons for such a situation. Security assumptions and benefits are taken for granted, without the necessary political, and hence philosophical and contextual appreciation of their significance. This is the result of an open conception of security which fails to ensure that the various perspectives do address all that should be addressed. Each agency is free to interpret its own mandate supported by high-level statements because such statements are indeed open to interpretation, and are written so as to allow different interpretations by different agencies. Interagency bargaining rewards a shared concept of security that remains an infinitely (re)definable, expandable abstraction, that incorporates but does not necessarily exercise ethical or cultural preferences. This, in turn, makes the materiality of the use of force unwelcome, precisely because it admits no compromise. This explains its near elimination from discourse and its absence from the *Brazilian 2005 Defence Policy Document*.

To return to the beginning with renewed eyes: the *2005 Defence Policy Document* does incorporate and thus legitimize all admissible alternatives. It gives evidence of the tolerant conviviality between the divergent conceptions of the various interested Brazilian agencies. It does serve a purpose: for each agency, that which is not in the document is not admissible in principle. That some agency might pursue an alternative agenda, in practice, does make it vulnerable in inter-agency infighting. With that proviso, any one version of the Document faithfully expresses the diversity of Brazil's security conceptions. This tolerance and diversity can only be understood as a result of Brazil's security context, with the benefit of the historical perspective just presented.

Brazil has little to fear from its neighbours and benefits from the shade of the US umbrella in its region. For one that benefits so much from the overall security status quo, and who has benefited from the status quo for almost two centuries, it is perhaps no more than natural to adhere so intensely to something as conservative as international law. Given Brazilian conditions and assets, it is understandable that security and defence should not be at the centre of Brazilian political debates, nor figure prominently in, say, presidential elections. Defence and security issues are treated complacently, parochially, and even arrogantly by agencies, scholars, and news people whose jobs would require a more balanced appreciation of the matter. Even taken one by one, the various strands of security conceptualization rarely lead to coherent conceptually-based appreciation by bureaucracies or the media. Conceptually-based efforts are almost exclu-

sively the province of a small number of scholarly endeavours which risk misinterpretation and discrimination precisely because they confront the expectation of loose conceptualization.

As a result, Brazilian analysis of international affairs can be very parochial, taking Brazilian policy choices as a universal standard, and on occasion as a universal prescription. It is as if any country in any situation could always choose to act in accordance with every single disposition of current international law; or could always wait for a consensus in the UN; or could afford to fail to act should that consensus never come. It could be said that it is very easy for a country with secure borders, strategic depth, and wealth of resources which benefits so much from US predominance in the Western Hemisphere to lecture others on the strict adherence to international law and on the value of waiting for SUN decision, come when it may. This is indeed so and there is the rub.

As an example, it is self-evident that Brazil benefits tremendously from US supremacy at sea and the guarantees that this supremacy offers to maritime trade and navigation, in fact as it benefited from British supremacy in the 19th century. During the Cold War, the Brazilian navy had a role in supporting this supremacy and enforcing security and safety in the South Atlantic. In the post-Cold War world, it is as if this enormously beneficial situation has somehow become a fact of nature, an environmental parameter. All the various agencies that are called to consider the use of the safe seas that Brazil enjoys take the security of the seas for granted, and give it no place in their considerations.

Therefore, it is simply natural that both the Brazilian President and the Minister of Foreign Relations, in their inaugural speeches, stress the need to “stimulate” or “reinforce” the “elements of multipolarity of contemporary international life”, without even considering that real multipolarity might bring about an actual increase in risks and costs to maritime trade and navigation. Although both contend that Brazilian diplomatic activity is supposed to be, first and foremost, “a tool of national development”, the possibility that true multipolarity might hinder Brazilian trade and development is never factored in their calculus (Silva/Amorim/Guimarães 2003: 42, 57).

For starters, multipolarity would require Brazil to consider the safety of its maritime trade routes. “Protecting the maritime lines of communication of vital importance to the country” is one of the 26 directives of the 2005 *Brazilian Defence Policy Document*. Once US supremacy becomes contested, it would have to redistribute its resources to meet challengers.

Brazil would have to find means to protect its maritime routes on its own. This would rob resources from investment and impair “national development”. Further, multipolarity means increase security expenses everywhere, cutting into imports and damaging Brazilian exports. In all probability, multipolarity would mean *more expenses, less resources* for Brazil. What is striking is that such issues are not perceived to be connected. Brazilian authorities wish for, and actively strive for, an outcome that might contradict one of their major objectives. As this is not a topic in political debates, it stands as yet uncontested.

What does it matter what Brazilian authorities wish for? The international system is what it is. Brazilian wishes change nothing except Brazilian actions. For the time being, while the system does not become multipolar, Brazilian trade and development benefit from the protection afforded by the US navy. Brazil is in such a position that it can afford to act as a free-rider in security affairs.

This might be the key to understanding both its conceptual tolerance and its declaratory irreflectiveness. As Brazil can afford to act as a security free rider, it can juxtapose conceptions resulting from its own democratization, the end of the Cold War or of the attacks of 9.11.2001 to previously existing concepts. Again, this is not a matter of paying lip service to such conceptions: their adherence is, to that extent, sincere. They do increase the inclusiveness of Brazilian discourses, even if they do not bring substantive change. As Brazil can afford to act as a security free-rider, it can allow itself the luxury of discourses without the mature reflection of its consequences. This is hardly a unique characteristic of Brazil, but in what concerns security it is distinctive. As long as its security is not tested, Brazil can choose to live with such an open-ended conceptualization, postponing the resolution of the problems of the mix of concepts it claims to adopt. It can afford to propose political security goals that might, if realized, hurt its own interests.

The point then becomes that it is precisely because Brazil benefits so much from the current situation that the connection of its secure status with US hegemony in the Western Hemisphere goes unquestioned and, thus, underappreciated. Even anticipating potential troubles that could be brought about by policy or systemic change is difficult. But this hegemony is the strategic and political foundation of Brazil’s security free-riding, the ground in which its tolerance to a diversity of security concepts is ultimately rooted.

Part IV Spatial Context and Referents of Security Concepts

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22 Securitization of Space and Referent Objects

Hans Günter Brauch

22.1 Introduction¹

In the contextualization of security *temporal* (e.g. change in global international orders, chap. 1 and 3 by Brauch) and *spatial* features (this chapter) play a significant role besides *language* considerations (linkages with concepts of peace, development and environment, see chap. 3 to 9 in part II), expressed by ‘speech acts’, verbal utterances (chap. 2 by Mesjasz), or historical documents by the ‘securitizing actor’. According to Wæver (chap. 44)

securitization is the discursive and political process through which an intersubjective understanding is constructed within a political community to treat something as an existential threat to a valued referent object, and to enable a call for urgent and exceptional measures to deal with the threat.

However, this scientific definition is not shared by policy-makers, national and international institutions that have used extended concepts of security to legitimate urgent policy programmes and to obtain funding for their implementation. Thus, in the political discourse, the securitization of dangers and concerns to security and survival often reflects a ‘politicization’.

The widening and deepening of the security concept (Buzan/Wæver/de Wilde 1998) – both in policy practice and scientific discourse – had spatial implications since 1990. The shift from a *narrow* national (space, territory) military security concept guaranteed by the nation state (or military alliance) for its people against manifold ‘existential’ dangers posed by other states (countries, nations, alliances) to a *widened* and *extended security concept* implies a vertical widening of referent objects of both actors and their spatial contexts: from an individual human being to human-

kind or from ‘local’ to ‘global’ or ‘glocal’ communities.

The vertical *deepening* of security (table 1.1) implies further that security threats, challenges, vulnerabilities, and risks are not any longer posed exclusively by other nations but from within (sub-state actors, e.g. ethnic, political or religious groups, organized crime, criminal gangs) or across nations (transnational actors, e.g. corporations, hedge funds but also by criminals and terrorists) but increasingly by us, the ‘human beings’ as causes of a new ‘existential’ threat due to our cumulative energy and other consumption patterns, but also as ‘victims’ of our own or of the action of other individuals in other parts of the world with different coping capacities for adaptation and mitigation.

These new emerging dangers to survival that require ‘exceptional measures’ have only partly been triggered by the change in the international order since 1990, but to a large extent by the impacts of the industrial revolution since 1750, and especially since 1945 due to technological innovations and the intensive use of relatively cheap ‘fossil’ energy resources. This emerging shift in earth history from the ‘holocene’ to an ‘anthropocene’ (Crutzen/Stoermer 2000; Clark/Crutzen/Schellnhuber 2005) also implies a fundamental shift in the objective security dangers and subjective concerns as well as significant changes in policy areas and tools to achieve security for the people (human security) and to assist them to cope with the ‘survival dilemma’ (chap. 40 by Brauch) confronting the most vulnerable and poor people in the South.

For them ‘security’ is not the security of their state but often their individual security and survival in sometimes weak, failing or corrupt states that are unable to provide their human security. One cannot fight these dangers posed by global environmental change (GEC) and climate change and the perceived security concerns with military means (armies, weapons), but only by proactive and reactive changes in consumptive behaviour and by scientific innovation (e.g. in energy technology and policy, IPCC 2007, 2007a, 2007b).

1 The author is very grateful for detailed comments and inspiring suggestions by Úrsula Oswald Spring (Mexico), John Grin (The Netherlands), and Czesław Mesjasz (Poland) that are reflected in this chapter.

This chapter reviews the spatial contextualization and implications of the reconceptualization of security for its manifold referent objects or the spatial component of the questions of the security ‘by whom?’ (spatialized or deterritorialized security provider), ‘for whom?’ (recipient of these security services) and ‘against what?’ (dangers posed by other nations or sub-state or transnational actors that challenge the ‘social security’ of workers in industrialized countries but also ‘us’ (humankind) who have created the ‘anthropocene’ by our unsustainable production and consumption patterns. These qualitatively new existential security dangers and concerns posed by global environmental and climate change in the 21st century that require ‘urgent and exceptional measures’ to avoid the consequences of business as usual scenarios. This requires fundamental changes in the mind-sets of political and military strategic thinkers, policy-makers, and policy advisers with regard to strategies, goals, and means.

This chapter addresses the question of the spatial implications of a widening of the security agenda since 1990 and the spatial referent objects? The chapter is structured in four parts. After a brief discussion of the spatial dimension of security (22.2); political science approaches on security and space (22.3) are reviewed and the spatial referent objects of security are assessed (22.4) before a few general conclusions will be drawn (22.5) that will be discussed below (in chap. 75 by Oswald/Brauch) and in the subsequent volumes with regard to the more dramatic and evolving turning point compared with the change in international order of 1990 from ‘holocene’ to ‘anthropocene’ (Oswald/Brauch/Dalby 2008).

22.2 Security and Space: Spatial Dimension of Security

22.2.1 Concepts of Space, Territory, and Borders

Since the Westphalian system sovereign states may be defined – in state and international law – in terms of a) territory, b) people, and c) government (system of rule).² Thus, the territorial category of ‘space’ (*espace*, *espacio*, *Gebiet* or *Raum*) has been a constituent of modern international politics.³ Space has many meanings and refers to the

2 See the definitions of the state in international law dictionaries and analyses, e.g.: Bleckmann, 1975: 125–136; Ipsen 1990: 56–57; Zippelius 1991: 81–88.

three-dimensional extent of the physical Universe. ... The Universe is associated with the fourth dimension of time, making up a four-dimensional space – time. Space also refers to any region of the Universe that is empty of matter, such as interplanetary space, interstellar space or intergalactic space (Oxford Reference 1998: 1260).

Sack (1996: 830) introduces ‘space’ as a key concept of human geography:

Space is everywhere. ... The effects of space stem from its role in causality, which assumes that spatial contact must be made between and among interacting objects. ... The effect of space depends on how the spatial arrangement of these objects influences their interactions. Isolating this effect for social systems is extremely difficult. ...

The effects “resulting from humanly created boundaries ... are associated with each and every territorial unit in the world, from the nation-state to rights of property. ... The ... boundaries to a nation are opened or closed to constrain and enable specific spatial interactions” (Sack 1996: 830). How a society organizes territories and develops mechanisms for interaction are all examples of the *social construction of space* (Harvey 1985).

‘Spatiality’ is the term used to describe the dynamic and interdependent relationship between society’s construction of space on society (Soja 1985). [This] concept applies not only to the social level, but also to the individual, for it draws attention to the fact that this relationship takes place through individual human actions, and also constrains and enables these actions (Giddens 1984a).

According to R.J. Johnston (1991, 1991a, 1996: 831–832, 1996a) ‘spatial analysis’ is an approach within

3 The *New Collins Concise English Dictionary* (McLeod 1985: 1109) defined ‘space’: “1. the unlimited three-dimensional expanse in which all material objectives are located, related adj. spatial; 2. an interval of distance or time between two points, objects or events; 3. a blank portion or area; 4. an unoccupied area or room; 5. a region beyond the earth’s atmosphere containing other planets, stars, galaxies, etc. universe; 6. a seat or place, as on a train, aircraft etc. ...”. However, neither dictionary defines space in terms of territory of states. The *New Collins Dictionary* (McLeod 1985: 1209) defined ‘territory’ as: “1. any tract of land, district; 2. the geographical domain under the jurisdiction of a political unit, esp. of a sovereign state; 3. the district for which an agent etc. is responsible; ... 5. an area of knowledge; ... 7. a region of a country, esp. of a federal state, that enjoys less autonomy and a lower status than most constituent parts of the state; 8. a protectorate or other dependency of a country.”

geography “which uses statistical methods to generalize about spatial patterns.” During the 1960’s and 1970’s, spatial science was widely used in geography and it attracted practitioners interested in ‘spatial order’ and in related policies (Schmidt 1995: 798–799). In international relations (IR) the concept of ‘*territoriality*’ is often used as:

A strategy which uses bounded spaces in the exercise of power and influence. ... Most social scientists ... focus on the efficiency of territoriality as a strategy, in a large variety of circumstances, involving the exercise of power, influence and domination. ... Within its territory, the state apparatus assumes sovereign power: all residents are required to ‘obey the laws of the land’ in order for the state to undertake its central roles within society; boundaries are policed to control people and things entering and leaving (Johnston 1996: 871, 1991; Mann 1984).

The notion of the ‘*territoriality*’ of the state was challenged by IR specialists. Since 1950 the sovereignty of the nation state over its territory has gradually eroded, due to the increasing *vulnerability* of the national space (Herz 1959) to new weapons systems (ABC weapons of mass destruction; missiles with short, medium, and intercontinental range; aircraft and submarines). During the Cold War the two superpowers and alliances deterred each other against the first use of the new weapons of the nuclear age, as no effective missile defence system could be deployed after 60 years of technology development (Brauch 2003b).

In the era of globalization (Knox/Agnew ³1998, 2002; Held/McGrew 2000, 2003; Robertson 2003; Bhagwati 2003) national borders have increasingly been penetrated by financial flows, services and goods (Gilpin 2002; Armijo 1999; Schirm 2002), by the new electronic media (Sassen 1998: 177–194; Castells 2000, 2003), and the increasing exchange of people and ideas through modern systems of communication (Thompson 2003; Herman/McChesney 2003) and transportation (Rodrigue/Slack 2006).⁴ Also

4 In a personal comment to the author, Czeslaw Mesjasz argued that among the reasons for “the decreasing role of the state as the basic unit of political organization is economics and agriculture. ... In the past territory was important as a source of food and minerals. Now, due to increased efficiency of agriculture and international trade this fundamental cause of territoriality is losing importance. ... Territoriality is associated also with economics – food and natural resources. ... Legal demands, for example the protection of property rights and contract enforcement, as the key issues of the market have remained in the hands of the state.”

‘governance without government’ (Rosenau/Czempiel 1992) through trans- and international regimes (Krasner 1982) and networks has grown since the 1970’s, and especially after the global turn.

In the 1970’s, some globalists (Cooper 1968; Keohane/Nye 1970, 1977) pointed to the growing interdependence and transnational cooperation, and since the 1990’s some analysts of *globalization* proclaimed a weakening or the end of the nation state (Ohmae 1990, 1995; Strange ²1994, 1996, 2003: 148–155). A progressing deborderization and deterritorialization have become key issues of analysis (Albert 1999; Lyons/Mastanduno 1995) from two opposite and competing perspectives of *globalization* and *géopolitique*, but also from critical geopolitics. For the deborderized territories a new form of *raison d’état* may be needed.

With the change of the global economic, political and cultural context, the spatial dimension for security dangers and concerns has been changing (Allison 2000; Amineh/Grin 2003; Mesjasz 2003). Against the manifold new security relevant dangers of globalization⁵ (e.g. terrorism, organized crime, human trafficking, drug trade by sub-state and transnational actors and networks) no comprehensive and effective military defence seems to be possible, nor may an absolute internal security be achieved in a democratic society.

22.2.2 Spatial Dimension of Politics: Pre-modern, Modern, Post-modern

In some parts of the world, as for example in the ‘Mediterranean space’ (Brauch 2001, 2003), three notions of *territory* and national *sovereignty* have coexisted (Menzel 1998: 58–59):

- The belated *formation of nation states* along ethnic, religious or historical boundaries in the Balkans and in the Black Sea regions partly based on *pre-modern* thinking;
- the forceful *defence of national sovereignty* against outside intrusion (e.g. criticisms of human rights violations and requests for democratization), penetration, and intervention in most

5 The CIA (2000: 15) in: *Global Trends 2015* noted that globalization “has emerged as a more powerful driver” by 2015 than portrayed in GT 2010 and in: *Mapping the Global Future*, the CIA (2004: 27–46) pointed to the “Contradictions of Globalization” arguing that “by 2020 globalization is likely to take much more of a ‘non-Western’ face.”

Arab states (Selim 2003), but also in Israel (Kam 2003) and Turkey (Aydin 2003); and

- the progressing *erosion of the territorial principle of sovereignty* and the emergence of inter- and transnational political, economic, societal, and electronic spaces beyond the control of nation states and of elected bodies that has provoked scientific debates and requests for democratization and democratic governance in *de-territorialized* spaces often based on *late modern* and in some cases *post-modern* thinking.

In *pre-modern* periods, as during the Middle Ages, the system of rule relied on a stratified feudal system with spatially differentiated rights and obligations governing tasks for guaranteeing the internal security of the land (*Landfrieden*) by local knights, counts, dukes, etc. who had to provide troops and food to the king or emperor in wars against external enemies. In modern weak, failing or failed states (or in regions and local communities) where a central state (effective urban government) has ceased to exist to guarantee internal and external security for its people, new security providers have emerged: security firms, mercenaries, warlords, drug cartels or bosses, criminal gangs or organized crime. In large urban centres in the North and South, local security services are increasingly privatized (Holmqvist 2005).

The *modern* Westphalian state that gradually emerged after the end of the Thirty Years War in Central Europe, the state functions, tasks, and revenues from taxation gradually expanded. With the emergence of standing armies in the aftermath of the Napoleonic wars in Europe, the power of the state and of its government grew. Providing security both internally (by the police, judiciary) and externally (by diplomacy and the military) became essential state functions. This model of a potential powerful state that has a monopoly over the use of force (Max Weber) could not be applied in many parts of the world (see chap. 65 by Behera), not only in failed states.

In the *late modern* (Wallerstein 1974; Giddens 1990, 1999), a *new modern* (Beck 1992) or *post-modern* (Best/Kellner 1991) period or in the 'postnational constellation' (Habermas 1998a) a dual change can be observed: a progressing deborderization or deterritorialization, e.g. among the 27 EU countries, but simultaneously also a tightening of the external borders of OECD countries against illegal migrants and asylum seekers (within the EU by the Schengen regime, Frontex etc., and within NAFTA by the triple fence between the US and Mexico). These theoretical approaches are reflected in the spatial debate on security.

22.2.3 Transition of Security from the National to the Postnational Constellation

For Hobbes (1984: 96) the major task of the state was to overcome the 'war of all against all' (*bellum omnium contra omnes*), thus coping with internal anarchy, while for Max Weber (1972: 29) the state controlled "the monopoly of legitimate physical power". Comprehensive security is foundational for the internal and foreign policy conception of the state ('national security'). In its modern meaning security policy as a fundamental policy area of any state is defined as "the totality of political goals, strategies and instruments that serve external security, the sovereignty and self-determination of the state" (Hauser 2004: 15; Buchbender/Bühl/Kujat 1992: 134). This 'national constellation' of security has been challenged in the early 21st century.

Zürn (1998: 97ff.) used a narrow concept of security with regard to the continued physical existence and intactness of a social actor whose security is big if the continuation and intactness of this social actor is certain. A major security goal of governing is to reduce dangers and risks. Both the state and the individual are not only confronted with insecurity, both can also be a cause of the impairment of security. The goal of providing security refers to four tasks: a) defence of the state against attack by other states; b) legal protection of the individual against threats by the state; c) protection of the state against terrorist or revolutionary threats; and d) protection of the individual against the risk of damage by other societal actors (figure 22.1)

Zürn (1998: 99) argued that within the OECD world the nation state can achieve its *defence* and *legal task* better in an era of societal denationalization while the implementation of its *governing* and *protective task* may decline. He also noted a decline in state-induced threats while society-induced threats and risks have increased. Zangl and Zürn (2003: 176) summarized their observations on the shifting security tasks during the transformation from the 'national' to the 'post-national constellation' in two hypotheses on transboundary security threats: a) a decline in the relative importance of inter-state wars; and b) an increase of threats where the boundaries between civil wars, terrorism, state terror, and crime erode.

They conclude that the transnational security problems have been increasing and thus pose new tasks for supranational governance on security issues. However, the resources for dealing with these new threats are still controlled by the nation states and not

Figure 22.1: Security tasks and threats for the state and society. **Source:** Developed further based on Zürn (1998: 99).

Threats, challenges, vulnerabilities and risks are posed	State is object	Society is object
by the nation state	War among nation states (<i>external defence task</i>)	State terror, violation of human rights (<i>legal task</i>)
by society (sub-state and transnational actors)	Terrorism, organized crime, human and drug trafficking (<i>internal governing task</i>)	Violent crime, environmental deterioration (<i>protective task</i>)

by supranational institutions, which implies that the UN relies in its security tasks on a few powerful and rich states. In the emerging post-national constellation, Zangl and Zürn (2003: 272) argue that (i) the central security problems exist on the transnational level, (ii) security policy occurs in international security institutions increasingly on the supranational level; (iii) the resources that are decisive for security policy remain on the national level; and (iv) the legitimating processes for security decisions have increasingly shifted to the transnational level.

During the 19th century the state and nation merged to the national constellation (Leibfried/Zürn 2006: 22). During the 20th century the four dimensions of the modern intervention state evolved: a) control over *resources* (financial, military), b) *legality* (law and judiciary), c) *legitimacy* (public, democracy) and d) *welfare* (including health) were all concentrated on the national level. A precondition of the modern state is “the complete control of material resources within a territory” (taxation and use of force). The congruence of the territory, population, and the system of rule of the national constellation gradually eroded due to manifold impacts of globalization from global markets and corporations beyond the control of the nation state which resulted in a gradual despatialization of increasing policy fields in an emerging post-national constellation (Habermas 1998a). Leibfried and Zürn (2005: 39) observed a dual territorial and functional transformation of the state in the 21st century (figure 22.2).

The classic resource dimension (security policy) of the modern territorial state has remained its *domaine réservé* in the OECD world – among the 27 EU countries with limited interventions by the Commission but with increasing intergovernmental coordination by the Council where a strong and efficient state exists (see chap. 50–53 by Moschini, Hintermeier, Maurer/Parkes, Ekengren). However, in weak and failing states that are unable to provide internal security, the security task has been usurped by sub-state actors (warlords, private guards).

Jachtenfuchs (2005) discussed to which extent the transformation of the modern state has affected its security function (monopoly of force) of the military and the police. While for the key states of the OECD world, *internationalization* has become a major challenge, outside, especially in weak states in the South the *sub-nationalization* of security has become a key challenge that is reflected in the ‘new wars’ (Kaldor/Vashee 1997; Kaldor 1999; Münkler 2002, 2005) where non-state actors have played an increasing role controlling the monopoly over the use of force in sub-regions by private armies, mercenaries, and guerrilla groups. Another new feature has been the increasing transnationalization of organized crime, such as drug cartels, human trafficking etc. (Edwards/Gills 2003); and terrorism (see chap. 31 by Hoogensen).

These changes have increasingly resulted in changes in state practice within the Security Council (chap. 35 by Bothe) pertaining to both the principle of non-use of force (Art. 2,4 UN Charter) non-intervention (Art. 2,7) resulting in new concepts of ‘humanitarian intervention’. With regard to state functions, the process of intergovernmental cooperation has intensified in the context of Interpol, and within the European Union (EU) of Europol and Frontex.

Features of the emerging post-national constellation are the transformations of the understanding and practice of the United Nations, of the OSCE, OAS, AU, and the Arab League as regional arrangements and agencies, as well as of NATO and the European Union that have changed their tasks and increased their involvements as security providers both within but also increasingly outside their territory (e.g. NATO’s ‘out of area’ ISAF operations in Afghanistan) where the states have collectively implemented their monopoly of physical force.

Jachtenfuchs (2005: 89–90) concluded that for the OECD world there is no institutional alternative to the state as the holder of the monopoly to use force that has not been delegated to international institutions, but rather the states have coordinated the implementation of this monopoly more closely and the criteria for the use of force (by the military or police)

Figure 22.2: Changes of the democratic, judicial, and intervention state during the transformation from a national to a post-national constellation, and its relevance for security. **Source:** Adapted and modified based on Leibfried/Zürn 2005: 39.

		Territorial change and impacts on security		
		Subnationalization (weak, failed or failing states)	Status quo ante	Institutionalization (OECD world, especially EU, NAFTA)
Functional change: impacts on security	Privatization	Localization (<i>security firms, warlords</i>)	Liberalization (Deregulation)	Transnationalization (<i>multinational corporations</i>)
	Status quo ante	Regionalization - intact Northern states (<i>federalism</i> in some EU members vs. centralism) - weak Southern states (e.g. <i>warlords, drug cartels</i>)	<p>▲ ◀ Status quo ante: modern state with a monopoly of use of physical force ▶ ▼</p>	Internationalization - UN: <i>peacekeeping</i> - NATO: <i>intervention</i> (Afghanistan) - EU: <i>protectorate</i> Kosovo, Bosnia - Coalition: <i>intervention</i> (Iraq)
	Expansion of the state	Fragmentation	Socialization, nationalization (<i>military rule after a coups d'état</i>)	Supranationalization - EU intergovernmental cooperation (<i>Schengen, Frontex</i>)

has been progressively regulated by international law or intergovernmental agreements. Among the EU member states this monopoly is partly jointly managed.

Zangl (2005: 159–187) argued that since 9 November 1989 a significant change in international security policy has occurred and that since 11 September 2001 a fundamental change in global security structures has taken place. He claims that the modern Westphalian system has been replaced by a postmodern or post Westphalian system where the national constellation is being overcome by a postnational constellation. He pointed to four trends leading to this change in security policy: a) a transnationalization of security problems; b) a supranationalization of governance in the security area; c) a continued national control over national resources for the implementation of security policies; and d) a transnationalization of legitimizing processes.

Behind this reasoning on the emerging shift to a post-national constellation by Zürn (1998), Zangl and Zürn (2003), Leibfried and Zürn (2005), Jachtenfuchs (2005) and Zangl (2005) remains a narrow understanding of the concept of security (by whom?) where the state is still the major referent object. While among OECD countries the monopoly over the use

of force is increasingly implemented collectively, among weak, failing or failing states this monopoly has eroded and proliferated to sub-national actors or referent objects. These authors observed a widening of the security dangers (against what?) from nation states to transnational sub-state actors and (for whom?) from the state to the national and transnational society.

But they ignored the discussion on the horizontal widening, vertical deepening, and sectorialization of security, and did not distinguish between objective, subjective, and intersubjective security concepts. The discussion is limited to deliberate security threats and excludes the manifold environmental and societal security challenges, vulnerabilities, and risks. Nevertheless, these deliberations refer to basic changes in the spatialization of security concepts and policies from the nation state to sub-, supra- and transnational actors and policy issues.

The gradual transformation from a national to a post-national constellation has implications for the territoriality of the nation state and its sovereignty. Developments in military technologies (missiles, submarines, and aircraft) during the nuclear age increased the military vulnerability and made an absolute defence against these threats unachievable. The

process of economic and cultural globalization through financial and economic transactions and global communication (radio, TV, internet) that have been promoted by transnational corporations and networks have permeated state boundaries, contributing to a progressing deborderization and deterritorialization of international economic policies. This process has also been exploited by organized crime, drug cartels, and by terrorist networks.

After the Cold War invisible non-state actors (terrorist networks) have exploited the opportunities created by globalization processes and intensified the societal and economic vulnerability of open societies and highly developed democracies. The freedom of financial flows, trade, and services was accompanied by a significant increase in migration from 2.1 per cent of the world population in 1975 or 86.8 million to 3.0 per cent or 190 million people in 2005. The percentage of refugees of international migrants grew from 2.9 per cent (or 2,163,992 persons) in 1960 to 11.90 per cent (or 18,497,223 persons) in 1990 and has since then fallen to 7.1 per cent (to 13,471,181 persons) in 2005 (UN, Population Division, at: <<http://esa.un.org/migration/>>; Brauch 2003, 2006). The freedom of movement of citizens and most residents within EU member states and among most OECD countries has been accompanied by a tightening of the external borders, between EU and non-EU countries, as well as between the US and Mexico (Oswald 2006, 2007), but also between India and Bangladesh where walls or fences have been constructed to impede illegal migration trends (Ahmed 2008).

As part of the transformation towards a post-national constellation, both related processes of deborderization and tightening of external borders to cope with migration have created manifold new national, societal, and human security issues. Security dangers and concerns posed by global environmental (desertification, drought, water scarcity) and climate change (temperature and sea level rise, extreme weather events, such as storms, floods, heat and cold waves) have contributed to the push factors of forced migration.

How have the two competing spatial approaches to international politics and relations: 'geopolitics' and 'globalization' conceptualized the new security dangers and concerns, and to which extent do they reflect the widening, deepening of security concepts and the gradual transformation from a national to a postnational constellation, but also from a dominant 'national security' to a supplementary 'human security' concept?

22.3 Political Science Approaches to Security and Space

During the 1990's, a narrow and wider concept of political, economic, and environmental space experienced two fundamentally different processes (Clark 1997; Menzel 1998):

- A process of intensified *globalization* in the economic world of finance, production, and trade, and in the societal world of information (cyberspace), media (Fox/Turner, Rupert Murdoch, CNN) but also of political and economic *integration* in the framework of the European Union with a progressing *deborderization* of exchanges for people, capital, and goods among its member states and a *deterritorialization* of international relations that has permeated the boundaries of the modern 'Westphalian' state system.
- A process of partly violent *territorial disintegration* and *fragmentation* of multi-ethnic states (former Yugoslavia and Soviet Union) due to a belated formation of nation states combined with a *reborderization* of space along ethnic, religious and poverty lines and a persistent competition on territorial control of disputed spaces.

Within the scientific discourses in geography, political science, and international relations two schools of thought have coexisted: a) the debate on *globalization* (22.3.1), b) the debate on the new regionalism and on regional security complexes (22.3.2); c) the debate on *geopolitique* and *new* or *critical geopolitics* (22.3.3); and on the spatialization of the security aspects of GEC and climate change (22.3.4).

22.3.1 Globalization vs. Global Environmental Change

The term 'globalization' has been used by journalists since the 1960's and in the academic literature since the 1990's (Robertson 2003; Osterhammel/Petersson 2003; Steger 2004). Robins (1996: 345-346) pointed to four aspects of globalization: a) the process of production by transnational corporations, b) the establishment of global information and communication networks (Harvey 1989; McLuhan 1964); c) the emergence of truly 'world cities' (Friedmann 1986) or 'global cities' (Sassen 1991) as the command centres in the global economy, and d) the development of elements of a global commercial culture (film, TV, music, fashion) that is associated with increased flows of tourists, migrants, and refugees. However, tendencies towards

a cultural homogenization have been contrasted with a revitalization of particularist cultures and identities (e.g. Basque Country, Corsica). For Robins,

globalization occurs as a contradictory and uneven process, involving new kinds of polarization (economic, social, and cultural) at a range of geographical scales. The encounter and possible confrontation of social and cultural values is an inevitable consequence. We have a global economy and global culture: we do not, however, have global political institutions that could mediate this encounter and confrontation.

Malcolm Waters (1995: 3) defined 'globalization' as: "A social process in which the constraints of geography on social and cultural arrangements recede and in which people become increasingly aware that they are receding." For Walters (1995: 3)

globalization is the direct consequence of the expansion of European culture across the planet via settlement, colonization, and cultural mimesis. It is also bound up intrinsically with the pattern of capitalist development as it has ramified through political and cultural arenas. However, it does not imply that every corner of the planet must become Westernized and capitalist but rather that every set of social arrangements must establish its position in relation to the capitalist West.

In Walter's (1995: 4) definition "globalization is also highly Europeanized in another sense. The deterritorialization of social and especially of political arrangements has proceeded most rapidly ... borders are becoming deemphasized and varieties of supra- and infranationalism are proliferating. This means that the model of globalization is itself a European model." But this model does not apply to NAFTA, especially to the border between the US and Mexico.

Anthony Giddens (1990, 1997: 87-101) distinguished between two groups of literature dealing with globalization: a) from the perspective of international relations theory (Rosenau 1980) with the states as key actors; and b) from the perspective of the world system (Wallerstein 1974, 1979). Giddens relied on four dimensions of globalization: a) of the system of nation states; b) of the capitalist world economy, c) of the international division of labour, and d) of the world military order.

For Ulrich Beck (1998c: 29-33) eight reasons made the process of globalization irreversible: 1) the increasing interaction density of international trade and the global financial networks that have increased the power of transnational corporations; 2) the permanent revolution in information and communication technologies; 3) the universally proclaimed request for implementing human rights and democracy; 4) the visual products of the global cultural industries; 5) the

post-international, polycentric world politics with a growing influence of transnational economic and societal actors (NGOs); 6) questions of global poverty; 7) global environmental degradation, and 8) local trans-cultural conflicts. For Beck (1998, 2007), globalization implies the emergence of a contradictory world society without a world state and without a world government.

Beck (1998c: 42-114) distinguished among different competing logics of the driving forces of globalization (unicausal vs. multi-causal explanations) and several dimensions due to information technology, ecology, economy, labour organization, culture, and civil society that contribute to a pluralist sociology of globalization:

- a. the capitalist world system (Wallerstein 1983); b. the post-international politics (Rosenau 1990; Gilpin 1987; Held 1995; Perraton/Goldblatt/Held/McGrew 1998: 134-168); c. the emergence of a world risk society (Beck 1986, 1988, 1996); d. contradictions of a cultural globalization (Robins 1991); e. the linkage between globalization and localization: glocalization (Robertson 1992, 1995); f. relative autonomy of 'glocal' cultures (Appadurai 1998); g. global wealth vs. local poverty (Bauman 1997); h. capitalism without work (Kapstein 1998).

Beck (1998c: 218-258) suggests several responses to deal with these developments: international cooperation, the establishment of transnational states, a new orientation in education policies, new networks for work of citizens, new cultural, political and economic goals, new forms of labour, and a societal contract against exclusion. As a consequence of this process to which no national response exists, Beck discusses a new role of Europe, e.g. a *European world citizenry* and new forms of transnational governance.

In the early theoretical literature on globalization, Waters (1995: 4) pointed to three different possibilities: a) globalization as a permanent process of world history that has been recently accelerated; b) as a recent version of modernization in the development of capitalism, and c) as a new phenomenon that is associated with social processes of post-industrialization, post-modernization or the disorganization of capitalism. In many theoretical analyses globalization processes have been discussed for a) the *economy* (production, exchange, distribution, consumption), b) the *polity* (concentration of power, coercion, and surveillance), and c) for *culture* (production, exchange, and expression of symbols). For these arenas according to Waters (1995: 8) different types of exchanges apply:

- *material exchanges* including trade, tenancy, wage-labour, fee-for-service, and capital accumulation;
- *political exchanges* of support, security, coercion, authority, force, surveillance, legitimacy, and obedience;
- *symbolic exchanges* by means of oral communications, publication, performance, teaching, oratory, ritual, display, entertainment, propaganda, advertisement, public demonstration, data accumulation and transfer, exhibition and spectacle.

Waters (1996: 9-10) argues that each type of exchange has its special relationship with space: while *material exchanges* are rooted in local markets, *political exchanges* “culminate in the establishment of territorial boundaries that are coterminous with nation-state societies” and thus “tend to confirm their territorial sovereignty”, and *symbolic exchanges* are free “from spatial referents” and can often “claim universal significance”.

Among the precursor theories Waters (1996: 11-37) pointed to a) modernization and convergence (Parsons 1977; Bell 1976); b) world capitalism (Amin 1980; Wallerstein 1974, 1979, 1980, 1990); c) transnational connections (Burton 1972, Bull 1977, Rosenau 1980, 1990); and d) the global village (McLuhan 1964; McLuhan/Fiore 1968). Among the recent theories Waters (38-64) refers to those: a) analysing the world as ‘one place’ (Robertson 1992, 1995); b) reflexivity and time-space distancing (Giddens 1985, 1991); c) post-modernity and time-space compression (Harvey 1989); and d) risk and ecological appropriation (Beck 1992). From these Waters (1995: 62-64) points to six features of a “new sociology of globalization”:

- Globalization is at least contemporary with modernization and has therefore been proceeding since the sixteenth century. ...
- Globalization involves the systematic interrelationship of all the individual societal ties that are established on the planet.
- Globalization involves a phenomenology of contraction. ... Globalization implies the phenomenological elimination of space and the generalization of time.
- The phenomenology of globalization is reflexive.
- Globalization involves a collapse of universalism and particularism.
- Globalization involves a Janus-faced mix of risk and trust.

Waters (1995: 65-159) reviewed the theoretical debate on economic, political and cultural globalization, and the path of globalization from the 16th to the 21st cen-

tury. However, this debate did hardly reflect the debate on a reconceptualization of security and its three features.

22.3.2 Regionalism, Regionalization, and Security Complexes

Between the nation state and processes of globalization, manifold efforts and strategies of regional cooperation and integration as well as processes of regionalism and regionalization have occurred since the end of World War II. According to the Chapter VIII (Art. 52-54) of the UN Charter “regional arrangements or agencies” play a special role in “the maintenance of international peace and security” (Art. 52,1) and they have been given the task to “make every effort to achieve pacific settlement of local disputes through such regional arrangements or by such regional agencies before referring them to the Security Council” (Art. 52,2).

During the Cold War, the *Arab League*, the *Organization of American States* (OAS), and *Organization of African Unity* (OAU) were considered as such agencies. In 1992, the *Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe* (CSCE), since 1994 the *Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe* (OSCE) was treated as the fourth regional body even though it did not become a regional organization, and in 1999, the *African Unity* (AU) replaced the OAU. Since 1990, other regional organizations have taken up security tasks that are no Chapter VIII institutions.

However, during the Cold War, organizations of collective self-defence (military alliances) under Art. 51 of the UN Charter, e.g. in Europe the *West European Union* (WEU: 1948-2000), the *North Atlantic Treaty Organization* (NATO: 1949-present), the *Warsaw Treaty Organization* (WTO or WP: 1955-1991); in Asia the *Central Treaty Organization* (CENTO) or *Baghdad Pact* (1955-1979), *Southeast Asia Treaty Organization* (SEATO: 1954-1977) and in the Pacific: the *Australian, New Zealand and US* (ANZUS) pact (1952-present) were major security organizations after the regional arrangements under Chap. VIII were paralyzed.

With the end of the Cold War efforts of regional cooperation and integration have intensified in some areas of the globe that have been divided by the Cold War, especially in Europe with the enlargement of the *European Union* (EU) from the EU of 12 member countries to the EU-15 (Austria, Sweden, Finland joined on 1 January 1995), to the EU-25 (Poland, Czech Republic, Slovak Republic, Slovenia, Hungary,

Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Cyprus, and Malta joined on 1 May 2004) and to the EU-27 (Bulgaria and Romania became members on 1 January 2007) and in South-East Asia with the enlargement of the *Association of South East Asian Nations* (ASEAN) from six to 10 members after Vietnam (1995), Laos, Myanmar (1997), and Cambodia (1999) joined.

The *North American Free Trade Association* (NAFTA) consisting of Canada, the USA, and Mexico entered into force on 1 June 1994. In South America, the *Mercosur* (Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, Uruguay) increased to five members in July 2006 when Venezuela joined and left the *Andean Community of Nations* (*Comunidad Andina de Naciones*, CAN). Its four remaining members (Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia) and Chile became associate members of Mercosur in 2006. The creation of a *Free Trade Area of the Americas* (FTAA) has been opposed by Cuba, Venezuela, Bolivia, Ecuador, and Nicaragua that formed the *Bolivarian Alternative for the Americas* as well as by most social movements. In the security realm, the OAS (see chap. 69 by Rojas) remained the major regional security arrangement in the Western Hemisphere.

In Africa, the *Economic Community of West African States* (ECOWAS, see chap. 62 by Ogwu) and the *Southern African Development Community* (SADC, see chap. 64 Ngomo/le Roux) acquired some security functions while the *Intergovernmental Authority on Development* (IGAD, see chap. 63 by Nhema/Rupiya) and the *Arab Maghreb Union* (AMU, chap. 61 by Chourou) lacked an effective implementation of security declarations. In Asia, the ASEAN benefited from the end of the Cold War while in South Asia the eight member countries of *South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation* (SAARC) representing 1.5 billion people have failed to implement its goals and to become a regional security organization. In the Asia-Pacific, the *Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation* (APEC) started in 1989 as an informal Ministerial-level dialogue group of 12 countries; in 2007 its 21 member economies created about 70 per cent of the global economic growth.

From an academic perspective, Amineh and Grin (2003: 272) pointed to major shortcomings of traditional approaches to regionalization and regional cooperation:

they generally hardly take into account globalization; and, second, they mainly depart from a much narrower, economic perspective. The old regionalism is very much influenced by the 'orthodox theory of regional economic integration' and by the (neo-)functionalist para-

digms of regional integration based on the experiences with integration in the European Community (EC).

They preferred the *New Regionalism Approach* (NRA) developed as part of the UNU-WIDER project⁶ by Hettne and Söderbaum (1998; see chap. 28 by Hettne) that recognizes

the link between regionalization/regional cooperation and globalization and can therefore not be understood merely from the point of view of the single region. Rather it should be defined as a world order concept, since any particular process of regionalization in any part of the world has systemic repercussions on other regions, thus shaping the way in which the new world order is being organized. The new global power structure will thus be defined by world regions – regions of different types that, moreover, may overlap. Thus in an NRA approach, ... regionalism should be seen as an additional process that offers an alternative for tendencies towards a more fragmented type of regionalization of world society, such as the 'hegemonic stability theory' of the neo-realist and neo-liberal schools of international relations and international political economy.

According to Amineh and Grin (2003: 272) the new regionalism goes beyond the Westphalian paradigm,

fundamentally taking into account non-state actors, transnational processes and new fora in addition to the traditional actors, processes and fora of the state system. New regionalism deals with the region as a viable economic, cultural, and ecological unit; regionalization is a pluralist and multifaceted process that is explainable through comparative, historical and multilevel perspectives (Hettne 1997). ... *New regionalism* is not a matter of region formation as not merely an economic, trade promotion strategy. Rather it is a *political* strategy that is as much exclusive as it is inclusive.

6 This concept was developed in a series of five books by UNU/Wider co-edited by: Hettne/Inotai/Sunkel (1999, 2000, 2000a, 2000b, 2001). The UNU/Wider approach defined the new regionalism "as a comprehensive, multidimensional, political phenomenon including economics, security, environment and other issues which challenge the nation state today" (Cornia 1999: xiii). According to Hettne (1999: xxvii) "the issues of security, development, and ecological sustainability form an integrated complex, at the same time as they constitute as many imperatives for deepening regional cooperation, if not regional integration." Where the balance between regionalization and globalization will be struck will depend on the political will and action. In 48 chapters, these five volumes provided a comprehensive review of the global thinking on regionalization. The Mexican academic journal: *Regiones y Desarrollo Sustentable* offers a good overview of the debate on regions and regionalization in Latin America; see: de Mattos (2003: 39–80)

Amineh and Grin (2003: 273) interpreted the new regionalism “as a process of shaping a multitude of interrelated structural transformations of the global system such that a geographical region is transformed into an active subject, contributing to integration and mitigating disintegrating tendencies.” With Hettne and Söderbaum (1998: 10) they see regions as “social construct[s] constantly created and recreated in the process of global transformation.” They developed their theoretical argument in a new regionalist conceptualization of regionalization (linking the global level, interregional relations with regions) and of security they discussed for the Mediterranean.

Hettne (1999a, 2001: 13–14) used the term ‘security regionalism’ by which he meant:

attempts of states and other actors in a particular geographical area – a region in the making – to transform a security complex with conflict-generating inter-state and intra-state relations towards a security community with cooperative external relations and domestic peace.

So far the Nordic Countries and the EU have come closest to a ‘security community’ (Deutsch 1957) where the ‘security dilemma’ (Herz 1950, chap. 40 by Brauch) among its member states has been escaped. In many peripheral regions a positive cooperation has been lacking “that could lay the foundation for a regional security community”. Rather, in most cases “a tense security complex, prone to both inter-state and intra-state conflicts” (Hettne 2001: 14) prevailed. He argued for an increased ‘regionness’ where the region is being transformed from object to subject and becomes an “actor in its own right”, and he suggested as an important criterion of ‘regionness’ the “institutionalized capacity for autonomous conflict management and conflict resolution at the regional level.” Hettne (2001: 14) suggested five key elements of such a regional security approach:

1. development of regionalism and the prevention, or rather ‘provention’ of conflict;
2. the nature and dynamics of the conflict;
3. modes of external intervention;
4. patterns of peace settlement and conflict resolution, and
5. post-conflict reconstruction.

In the fifth UNU-WIDER volume, Hettne discussed these five criteria in a comparative overview for Europe, for the Post-Soviet space, for the Americas in the grip of North Americanization, for Asia’s growth amidst poverty, for the Middle East, and Africa that seems to oscillate between regionalization and recolonization. Hettne (2001: 48) claimed that during the

1990’s international conflict “has become regionalized in the more negative sense of conflict-widening” and that this regionalization of security will continue for conflict resolution (Kanet 1998). Since the global turn regionalism has been an emergent phenomenon whose ultimate role in the formation of a new world order has remained unclear. Hettne’s (2001: 50–51) concluding remark still applies, that regionalism “can only be studied in the context of global structural change, and as the combined outcome of different types of actors transcending national spaces.” Schulz, Söderbaum and Öjendal (2001: 270–272) suggested a detailed post-WIDER research agenda that included moving beyond the top-down regionalism of intergovernmental regional organizations by assessing the role, strategies, and impacts of external actors, “such as donors, TNCs and IFIs, in their ongoing attempts to ‘push’ regionalization in various directions.” They also suggested more research on “the consolidation of security complexes/communities” with a specific focus on “trust, learning, norms, identity and socio-cultural institutions for increasing regional security.”

While the UNU-WIDER avoided a discussion of the specific security concept for the new regionalism, Buzan and Wæver (2003) have developed the idea further that regional patterns of security have become prominent in international politics for the post-cold War period in case studies for Africa, the Balkans, the CIS-Europe, East Asia, the EU, the Middle East, North and South America, and on South Asia avoiding both “the extreme oversimplifications of the unipolar view, and the extreme deterritorializations of many global visions of a new world disorder.” With their *regional security complex theory* (RSCT) Buzan and Wæver (2003: 40–89) argued for a middle level of analysis of practical security analysis between the studies focusing on ‘national’ and ‘global’ security. In a previous book, Buzan, Wæver, and de Wilde (1998: 201) redefined Buzan’s (1983: 106) initial definition of a ‘security complex’ reflecting both the widening and deepening of their debate on the security concept as: “a set of units whose major processes of securitization, desecuritization, or both are so interlinked that their security problems cannot reasonably be analysed or resolved from one another.”

Thus, Buzan’s initial state-centric approach has shifted in the joint study with Wæver (2003: 45) to a “multi-sectoral, multi-actor securitization perspective.” With their RSCT they offered a matrix for area studies that combined four levels: a) their domestic vulnerabilities, b) their state-to-state relations, c) the region’s interactions, and d) the role of global powers within

the region. They use four variables: 1) boundary, 2) anarchic structure, 3) polarity, and 4) social construction. They point to three possible evolutions for an RSC: a) the maintenance of the status quo, b) an internal transformation, and c) an external transformation. The RSCT claims to predict “when RSCs are expected to emerge and when not;” it develops specific hypotheses to different situations; and it “enables construction of a restricted set of scenarios and thus narrows down the zone of predictions” (Buzan/Wæver 2003: 84). *r*

In their case studies, RSCs are analysed with regard to: 1. the historical legacy of its units; 2. the principal security actors, issues, and referent objects; 3. the essential structure; 4. the interregional dynamics; 5. the global dynamics; 6. the relative weight of domestic, regional, interregional, and global levels; 7. and the most likely future scenarios.

The legal normative approach to regional collective security regimes and the theoretically guided debate on the new regionalism (UNU-WIDER) did not reflect the reconceptualization of security, while the RSCT (Buzan/Wæver 2003) incorporates the authors' previous work on securitization and on the widening and deepening of the security complex.

22.3.3 Revival of the Geopolitical Approaches and Discourses

While globalization theories have focused on a *despatialization*, a *deterritorialization* and a *deborderization* of international relations, both the old and the new approaches of geopolitics and the related issue areas of geostrategy, geo-economics, and geo-culture have addressed issues of international politics from a perspective of political geography where spatial categories are essential. After the end of the Cold War, geopolitical considerations experienced a renaissance with the publication of many books⁷ and several new journals⁸.

Two phases of geopolitical thinking can be distinguished: the old primarily German and Swedish school of *Geopolitik*⁹ and the British and American

approaches to *geopolitics* and *geostrategy*¹⁰, and the revival of geopolitics in the UK and the US¹¹, of *géopolitique* in France¹² and its impact on the renewed thinking on *Geopolitica* in Italy¹³, Spain, and in Latin America¹⁴ in the 1990's, of *Geopolitik* in Germany¹⁵, and in Israel¹⁶ the post-modern approaches to *critical geopolitics*¹⁷ in the tradition of the deconstructivist schools and other *new* approaches on *political geography* and *geopolitics* partly provoked as a geopolitical response to the globalization challenge on territorial and spatial categories.

The debate on global environmental change (GEC) and climate change (Issar/Zohar 2004, 2007, 2008) triggered new proposals for a spatialization of environmental issues with concepts such as: *ecological geopolitics* (Dalby 2000, 2002, 2002a) and a *political geocology* (Brauch 2003, 2003a, 2005) that require further development.

22.3.3.1 Classic Geopolitics: European and American Roots

After World War II, in many German and English language political dictionaries and international relations textbooks, *geopolitics* did not exist.¹⁸ The term ‘*Geopolitik*’ (1899) was originally coined by the Swede Rudolf Kjellén (1864–1922) while the related concepts of a political geography were fully developed in Ger-

7 See the reviews by Agnew 2000: 91–100; Mamadouh 2000: 118–138.

8 See in France: *Hérodote, Géopolitique, LiMes. Revue française de géopolitique* (1996-); in Italy: *LiMes. Rivista italiana di geopolitica* (1993-); and in the UK/US: *Geopolitics*.

9 See: Ratzel ¹1897, ²1903, ³1923, 1882, ³1909, 1898, 1969; Haushofer 1928, 1932; Kjellén 1915, 1916, 1917, 1924.

10 See the old debate in the UK: Mackinder (1890, 1895, 1904, 1905, 1907, 1918); in the US: Mahan (1897, 1900).

11 See the new debate in the UK: Dodds/Atkinson 2000; Gray 1977, 1985, 1986, 1988, 1999; Parker 1985, 1988, 1988a) and in the US: Agnew (1993, 1993a, 1998, 2000); Agnew/Corbridge 1989; Cohen 1963, 1982, 1991, 1991a, 1993.

12 See in France: Claval 1996; Chauprade 1999; Defarges 1994; Dussouy 1998, 2000; Gallois 1990; Lacoste 1976, 1980, 1984, 1987, 1993, 1996, 1997; Laïdi 1998.

13 See in Italy: Claval 1996; Defarges 1996, Ferro 1993; Jean 1995; Lorot 1997; Petersen 2000.

14 See in Spain: Vincens Vives ³1981; Nogue Font/Fufí 2001; and in Latin America: Ballester 1993; Alldanegra 1996; Slater 1996.

15 See in Germany: Brill 1993, 1994, 1998; Buck 1996; Diekmann/Krüger/Schoeps 2000; Ebeling 1994; Faßler 1996; Grabowsky 1960; Laak 2000; Maull 1959; Palaschewski 1989, 1992; Schöller 1961; Schultz 1989, 2000; Sprengel 1996, 2000.

16 See on the debate in Israel: Bernstein 2000; Biger 1990; Kimmerling 1983; Kliot/Newman 2000; Newman 1999.

17 See: Dalby 1991, 1999; Ó Tuathail 1989, 1996, 2000; Ó Tuathail/Agnew 1992; Ó Tuathail/Dalby/Routledge 1998.

18 Exceptions are Brockhaus Enzyklopädie: 1989: 326; Schmidt 1995: 350; Nohlen 1998: 213.

many by Friedrich Ratzel (1844–1904) and Karl Haushofer (1869–1945).

Geopolitik refers to a scientific approach between geography, law, history and the social sciences that analyses interdependencies between political factors and space focusing on the impact of geographical or spatial factors on political phenomena. Prior to World War II, this school of thought had some impact on Japan, Italy, Spain but also on the US, Brazil, Chile and Argentina.¹⁹

Ratzel's laws on the 'spatial growth of states' were highly deterministic while Haushofer's concept of 'Lebensraum' (living space and movable borders) was adopted by the Nazis to justify German expansionism. After 1945, these concepts were outlawed or fell in disuse among professional geographers "because of its association with Nazi policies and ideas of environmental determinism from which geographers were in retreat" (Agnew 1993: 349).

In Great Britain in the early 20th century, *geopolitics* was popularized by Halford Mackinder (1861–1947)²⁰ who focused on the *heartland* as the seat of power and the *inner* (running across the Mediterranean region) and *outer crescent*. In the United States Alfred Mahan (1840–1914)²¹ in his writings on naval power became an early proponent of geopolitical and geostrategic thinking while Nicholas Spykman (1893–1943) was influenced by both.²² According to Agnew (1993: 349) Mackinder used the term:

As part of his effort to promote the field of geography as an aid to British statecraft. It was intended to signify the impact of geographical factors such as the spatial disposition of the continents and oceans and the distribution of natural and human resources upon international politics at a time when the whole world was finally available for state territorial and economic expansion. During the 1920's and 1930's Mackinder's formal model of a Eurasian 'heartland' rising to global dominance if not checked by the cohesive reaction from the encircling 'outer or insular crescent' was adopted by certain Nazi apologists to justify German expansionism.

19 For a critical review see: Ó Tuathail 1996: 43–50, 111–140, Diner 1993; Sandner 1994: 8–20; Schultz 2000: 39–84; Fahlbusch 2000: 103–146; Sprengel 2000: 147–168; for a recent Argentine analysis: Ballester 1993.

20 Mackinder 1890, 1895, 1904, 1905, 1907, 1918; for a critical review and an extensive review of literature see: Ó Tuathail 1996: 75–110.

21 Mahan 1890, 1897, 1907; for a critical review see: Ó Tuathail 1996: 38–45; van Laak 2000: 257–282.

22 Spykman 1938, 1942, 1944; for a full discussion see: Wilkinson 1985: 77–130 and for a brief critical review see: Ó Tuathail 1996: 50–53, 268.

These old conceptual and political debates in Germany, in the UK and in the US influenced the political and strategic debates in the US since World War II when realist notions gradually replaced the idealist and Wilsonian worldview that was influential after World War I.

22.3.3.2 From Geopolitics to US Geostrategy

In the postwar period Mackinder's heartland model fell into disrepute, and geopolitics, without an explicit continuity, acquired two new meanings²³:

1) as a synonym for geostrategy in the pursuit of particular diplomatic and military goals and 2) as the equivalent of political geography, in the sense of a real variation in political phenomena at all scales, including the global. The more classical usage returned to prominence in US debates over international politics in the late 1970's and early 1980's. Interest groups such as the Committee on the Present Danger and ideological elements in the first Reagan administration ... used explicit geopolitical language about the 'domino effect' of revolutions in Central America, Soviet desire for warm-water ports and oil deposits in the Middle East, and the key role of the US Navy in denying the world's sea-lanes to the Soviet Union. From this perspective the United States and the Soviet Union were seen as successor states to, respectively, Britain's nineteenth century maritime empire and French and German attempts to assemble an overwhelming 'continental bloc' (Agnew 1993: 349).

Since the late 1970's, and especially during the 1980's, there was a renaissance of geo-strategic and geopolitical thinking among US and UK civilian and military strategists (Gray 1977, 1986, 1988) that were influenced by Mahan, and in 1990's, there was a revival of political geography with a focus on nuclear geopolitics and on geo-economics. Influenced by Mackinder and Spykman, Cohen (1963, 1991, 1991a, 1993) applied geopolitical categories for the analysis of world politics and zones of influence, and the basic differences between conservative *continental* and liberal trade oriented *maritime* powers. After the Cold War he introduced the term of 'gateway regions' that link up the economic and political transfer between neighbouring geopolitical and geo-strategic regions. Cohen (1991: 552) argued:

Geographers today have an unparalleled opportunity to dispel geopolitical illiteracy by focusing on the 'geo' of geopolitics. ... while the 'geo' accounts for the spatial dimension, the 'politics' in geopolitics is the exercise of

23 See Agnew/Corbridge 1989: 266–288; Dalby 1990: 171–188.

power that derives from and seeks to control economic, social and cultural forces. ... The 'geo' in geopolitical analysis starts with spatial structure. ... The structure is hierarchical.

From a different perspective, O'Loughlin and Heske (1991: 37) argued: "It is time to reclaim the geopolitical theme from the hijackers in the strategic community" and - influenced by the new French school - suggested to convert "a discipline for war to a discipline for peace."²⁴ However, the renewed attractiveness of geo-political thinking in Europe and North America after the end of the Cold War has only partly been influenced by the old German and Anglo-Saxon roots, it was rather stimulated by a completely distinct school of political thinking on *geopolitique* in France influenced by Yves Lacoste, his centre for geopolitical research and analysis (CRAG) at Paris University VIII, and the journal *Hérodote*.²⁵

22.3.3.3 From Traditional to Critical Geopolitics

The work of Lacoste was a result of analysing problems of the violent process of decolonization. For him geography is a social discourse "a mode representing the world", and a strategic form of knowledge that by "the structuring of knowledge relating to space, is a strategic knowledge, a power" that is needed both for warfare but also for territorial administration and government (Ó Tuathail 1996: 162-163). For Lacoste (1984: 214) the theses of Mackinder and Mahan "rest more on historical evocations than on rigorous strategic thinking, based as they are on grandiose geographical metaphors of Land and the Sea" lacking scientific value. He called for a repolitization of the geographic discipline and he stressed the necessity

to exhaustively document the complex spatial relationships that are to be found in international relations. Geographers must think of space as something that is 'textured, extremely varied and very complex'. Only ... a 'sensitive analysis of the articulation between them will make geographical reasoning worthwhile and enable geographers to arm themselves better against the influence of ideological assumptions' (Ó Tuathail 1996: 166).

Nevertheless, Ó Tuathail (1996: 167-168) - from the perspective of critical geopolitics - argued that Lacoste's work falls "back into the very ideological system of epistemology he wished to challenge" and that

it is "a polemical argument against its (ab)use by the military", that he leaves "the epistemological infrastructure of geography/geopolitics intact", and that it "ultimately fails to specify a detailed way how geographical knowledge functions strategically as a form of power/knowledge". For Lacoste (1997), the state and nation remain the key actors and concepts of politics and international relations.

In a review of the new attractiveness of *géopolitique* in France, Dsouy (2000: 507-519) distinguished between: a) the geopolitics of the state, and b) of the international system.

Lacoste (1996: 3-8) has applied a wide concept of *géopolitique* that covers everything "what refers to rivalries between different types of power on territories that may be of different dimensions", thus focusing not only on inter-state but also on intra-state conflicts. For Dussouy (2000: 515-519, 1998) the geopolitical space "is a system of material and immaterial or symbolic spaces in which each space has its own organizational logic, its own structure" (515-6). He argues that the analysis of different spaces and that the structuring of each space often reflects a dialectics of homogenization and fragmentation with respect to heterogeneities. For example, the geo-economic space and the diplomatic international space produces both a global homogenization and (market, production, consumption patterns) and a dual polarization between North and South and an internal polarization within multinational enterprises. He defines the international system as a configuration of spaces and actors that act in the pursuit of their interests under the influence of the socially imaginary. For Dussouy, *géopolitique* rests on three sources:

- a *topographic* source (geographical situation of the actors);
- a *topological* source (the position of the actor in different issue areas);
- a *praxiological* source (configuration by strategic actions).

He sees the main problem in a semantic synthesis of the different spaces and he points to three alternative solutions for a geopolitical analysis:

- an *assimilated* homogenization;
- a *heterogeneity* of the antagonisms; and
- an *adaptive* homogenization.

Dussouy distinguishes among three geopolitical movements with these focal points:

24 O'Loughlin 1994; Nester 1995; Wiarda 1996; Simon/Dodds 1998; Dodds/Atkinson 2000.

25 Hérodote 1976ff.; Gallois 1990; Lacoste 1990, 1993, 1997; Raffestin 1995; Chauprade 1999; Claval 1996; Vigarie 1995; Defarges 1994; Laidi 1998.

- a *world integration after a global homogenization* (market democracy, communication) and a reduction of heterogeneities (smaller role of the states) with the goal of a world society in which the geopolitical space has become transparent;
- *disorder, conflicts resulting* in a global civil war;
- a configuration of big spaces of zones of influence by the major powers, confederations of states or of societal groups within macro systems.

In conclusion, Dussouy argues that interdependencies of territories and networks in a regional framework may be best suited to permit a coexistence of the unsolvable problems of geography and history with the forces of a homogenization within macro systems.

Many French studies have analysed in detail the German and Anglo-Saxon roots of geopolitics (Defarges 1994; Claval 1996; Raffestin 1995; Chauprade 1999) by contrasting the geopolitics of maritime and continental powers, discussing the relations between geopolitics and war and geo-economy and the specific *géopolitique* of France (Defarges 1994), the evolution of geopolitical thought in history, especially during fascism in Germany, Italy, and Spain (Raffestin 1995), focusing on the methods, and on permanent and changing geopolitical factors (Chauprade 1999) or dealing with the relationship between geopolitics and (nuclear) geo-strategy (Claval 1996).

In Italy, in the 1990's the renaissance of *geopolitica*²⁶ (Petersen 2000: 481–505, 1993) was very much influenced by the French debate, especially by Lacoste (1993), Defarges (1996), Claval (1996a), and Lorot (1997) whose books were translated into Italian. Since 1993, the journal *Limes*, and Carlo Jean (1995)²⁷, a retired general, played a leading role in spreading geopolitical concepts in Italy.²⁸

26 The first debate in the late 1930's was nearly exclusively influenced by the German debate by Haushofer, Ratzel, Maull et al., see Petersen (2000: 486–487). From 1939–42 the journal *Geopolitica* was published in Milan by G. Roletto. From the mid 1940's until the 1980's, geopolitics had virtually disappeared.

27 Based on French and Anglo-Saxon publications, Carlo Jean analysed world politics from geopolitical, geostrategic and geo-economic perspectives. See also the conference volume edited by Ferro (1993).

28 Among the challenges are: disintegration of Italy, the emergence of a Franco-German community, a stop to European unity and a Balkanization of Europe while among the opportunities are: the dynamics and vitality of the Italian economic system, the cultural heritage, the role of the Catholic Church and the role of Italian emigration around the globe.

Until the 1990's, in Germany geopolitical approaches were ignored after efforts in the 1950's to reintroduce the pre-Nazi geopolitical thought failed.²⁹ In the early 1990's, a few experts called for new geopolitical considerations (Palaschewski 1989, 1992; Brill 1993, 1994) while others focused on Haushofer (Ebeling 1994). In 1994, a conference in Hannover reviewed theoretical designs on the political space and the Potsdam journal *WeltTrends* devoted an issue on *Geopolitik* with contributions by Lacoste and Taylor.³⁰ In autumn 1997 and 1998, two conferences in Potsdam reviewed the old thinking on *Geopolitik* from 1890–1945 and new approaches since 1945.³¹

In this context, von Bredow in analysing 'international politics as a 'spatial order', briefly addresses the impact of globalization on the loss of the spatial dimension and argues that it is not the spatial aspect of international relations that is being challenged but the territorial principle and national sovereignty due to the removal of the boundaries between the domestic and foreign space. Only few authors (Clark 1997; Menzel 1998) have addressed the opposite tendencies of globalization and fragmentation in the post-Cold War world. Since the global turn, the theoretical approaches in the social sciences and in IR had an impact on critical geopolitics.

22.3.3.4 New Approaches to Critical Geopolitics

In the Anglo-Saxon world, some geographers questioned whether a geopolitical ordering of the world into 'strategic regions', 'spheres of influence', 'buffer zones', and 'strategic locations' existed (Agnew 1993: 349).

29 See: Grabowsky 1960; Schöller 1961; Matern 1978; Kost 1988; Schultz 1989; Sandner 1994: 12–14; Buck 1996; Sprengel 1996; Faßler 1996; Brill 1998.

30 See: *WeltTrends* No. 4 (1994); on the Hannover conference: 177–181; and the articles by Lacoste (1994: 21–24); by Taylor (1994: 25–38); on *Hérodote* (1994: 150–152).

31 See Diekmann/Krüger/Schoeps 2000, 2 volumes with a review of the debates on political geography in Germany and since 1990 also in France and Italy. Only two specialists of international relations are represented: von Bredow (2000: 433–452) and Fröhlich (2000: 559–590). The volumes ignore the new debate on *critical geopolitics* while the US geo-strategic debate is covered. Among the 26 contributions one focuses on imperial, cultural and political borders, on frontiers and on anthropogenic research on political borders, border conflicts and border regions in the context of globalization and regionalization (Heller 2000: 325–350).

Rather, geopolitics could be viewed as any discourse about geographically defined interests including particular models privileging fixed geographical 'facts' about the world. From this point of view geopolitics did not disappear after World War II or when moral rhetoric replaced *Realpolitik* in the pronouncements of politicians. It is implicit in the practice of foreign policy. In line with this dynamic conception of geopolitics, as the world political economy changes the criteria used for ordering the world geographically change.

Beyond the geo-strategic and geopolitical reasoning in the realist tradition of power politics, a new school of '*critical geopolitics*' evolved in the framework of late modern or post-modern and deconstructivist approaches to international relations (Ashley 1984, 1988, Derrida 1981; Der Derian 1992) influenced by Hartshorne (1950), Foucault (1980), and Lacoste (1976) that focused on geopolitics as a discourse and as a form of power and knowledge interpreting hegemonial power as rule writers. Critical geopolitics focused on geopolitics of capitalism, environmentalism, race, and urban zoning politics (Ó Tuathail 1989, 1996; Ó Tuathail/Agnew 1992; Ó Tuathail/Dalby/Routledge 1998; Dalby 1991). On Ó Tuathail's version of *critical geopolitics* (1996), Agnew (2000: 96–98) noted:

From the outset, the terms of geopolitics are situated in a set of discourses about statehood, state sovereignty, and the geographical divisions of the world upon which the practices of international relations depend for their meaning and significance. ... Ó Tuathail sees the mapping of the world by academic theorists and political practitioners as involving a 'geo-graphing' in which meaning is never completely mapped, even as this is the claim all make. The goal of the book is to analyse the ways in which conventional geopolitical writing can be called into question or 'displaced' from its intellectual and political pedestal. Three main approaches ... are taken to task. The first is to open up traditional terminology of geopolitics by exposing it as anything other than self-evident and innocent. ... a second approach is to define geopolitics as a type of 'governmentability'. ... The third and most important approach explores the techniques of 'seeing' that make global political mapping possible. ... Overall, the three-pronged attack displaces the logic of geopolitics by pointing how it is discursively produced. Geopolitics does not simply 'happen'.

Other authors have focused on issues of economics, identity, and nationalism in global cities (Scott 1998; Agnew 1998; Herb/Kaplan 1999). David Newman (1999: 1) described the return of political geography as "a tortuous experience." For him these factors contributed to its renaissance (1–2):

The collapse of the Soviet Union and the territorial re-ordering of Central and Eastern Europe, together with

the impact of globalization and supra-national processes on what is traditionally seen as the Westphalian compartmentalization of the world into sovereign states, has raised a host of new questions concerning the nature of the world political map. The study of these topics has assisted in the re-legitimization of Geopolitics as an academic sub-discipline.

On the international scene, a reassessment of geopolitical writings of Ratzel occurred at a meeting held in Trieste in December 1997 on 'Europe between Political Geography and Geopolitics' and a subsequent meeting in Israel in January 1998 focused on 'Geopolitics and Globalization in a Postmodern World' when the journal '*Geopolitics*' was launched.³² Newman (1999: 3–5) identified as key themes of the contemporary study of geopolitics:

- Globalization and the changing function of state sovereignty. ...
- The deterritorialization of the state and the associated changing roles and functions of international boundaries. ...
- The study of geographical texts, narratives and traditions. ...
- The geopolitical imagination. The relative location of a state in the global system. ...
- The 'reterritorialization' of the state and the emergence of new ethnic national and territorial identities. As globalization and boundary permeability affect the state at one end of the spectrum, so too do the emergence of new states and the associated creation of new boundaries affect the lower end of the system. Globalization itself is partly responsible for a parallel increase in ethnic identities at local and regional levels, with the demand for autonomy, self-government, secession and independence becoming stronger, rather than weaker. ... Territorial ideologies remain strong at both the concrete and symbolic levels. ... Geopolitics should focus on the geographic differentiation of these processes, along a continuum from deterritorialization to reterritorialization and the way in which globalization affects different state activities unevenly.

The fifth point in Newman's agenda is of particular relevance for the Mediterranean where processes of globalization and fragmentation of deterritorialization (establishment of a Common Market in EU countries in 1992) and reterritorialization, of a shift from na-

32 Newman 1998; Kimmerling 1983; Biger 1990; Sucharow 1999; Bernstein 2000; Shilhav 1985.

tional to communal sovereignty and of a vigorous defence of national sovereignty, have coexisted and have produced many of the obstacles that have impeded progress in the Euro-Mediterranean space of the Barcelona process since 1995 (Brauch 2000, 2000a, 2001, 2003).

Geopolitics or 'politics within a space' and globalization 'politics beyond space and borders' point to two extremes that are of relevance for the analysis of the referent objects of security. Through both theoretical perspectives of 'géopolitique' and 'globalization' different features of the present political reality may be perceived and evaluated.

22.3.4 Ecological Geopolitics vs. Political Geocology

The effects of climate change do not distinguish national borders but the specific impacts differ due to the socio-economic status of the affected countries and the degree of social vulnerability of its affected people (IPCC 1990, 1990a, 1996, 1996a, 1998, 2001, 2001a, 2007, 2007a). The securitization of climate change started in the early 21st century (see WBGU 2007; 2007b; 2008, chap. 40 by Brauch).

Climate change has been discussed as an issue of environmental security (Brauch 2002), of US national security (Schwartz/Randall 2003/2004; CNA 2007), of international security (WBGU 2007; 2007b; 2008), and of human security (GECHS 2005; Barnett/Adger 2005; Bothe/O' Brien 2007; Wisner/Fordham/Kelman/Johnston/Simon/Lavel/Brauch/Oswald/Wilches-Chaux/ Moench/Weiner 2007)³³ concerns. On 17 April 2007, the UN Security Council considered for the first time climate change as a new security issue. During its presidency of the Human Security Network, Greece will address this topic in 2007 and 2008.³⁴

The German Advisory Council on Global Change (WBGU 2007; 2007b; 2008) in a report on *World in Transition: Climate Change as a Security Risk* discussed "Climate change as a threat to international security" due to four climate-induced conflict constella-

tions (typical causal linkages between environment and society): a) degradation of freshwater resources; b) decline in food production, c) increase in storm and flood disasters, and d) environmentally-induced migration that may lead to social destabilization and violence. The WBGU (2007: 19–24) used an extended security concept that included the securitization of environmental dangers including the risks associated with climate change, however, with regard to the referent object of security the WBGU rejected the human security concept and confined its analysis to the nation state as the major referent object of securitization.

In the framework of a NATO scientific conference on desertification in Valencia in 2003, desertification has been securitized as a national, international as well as human, water, food, and health security concern (Brauch 2003c, 2006; Kepner/Rubio/Mouat/Pedrazzini 2006). During the International Year to Combat Desertification in 2006 several events have addressed the security implications of desertification (e.g. the Spanish Symposium in October 2006 that addressed the impact of desertification on migration that has become a new security issue).³⁵

The three major spatial approaches to international relations – reviewed above – of globalization, new regionalism, and geopolitics have ignored both the environmental dimension and the securitization of climate change and desertification. According to Alker and Haas (1993) thinking on global environmental change and politics could develop in *geopolitics* or *ecopolitics*. For Dalby (2000: 90) the analysis of the global environment requires thinking beyond "the state and the conceptual tools of contemporary neoliberal scholarship (Keohane/Levy 1996)", but also beyond the spatializations of political processes (globalization, regionalism, geopolitics) with the state or non-state economic actors as major points of reference. To understand "politics and ecology as processes in motion, rather than as stable entities", requires according to Dalby (2000: 98), "a more sophisticated political ecology that understands environmental change as a series of complex social processes in specific geographical contexts". Dalby (2000: 99) concludes that the post-Cold War context permits a discussion of environmental security issues beyond geopolitical rivalry. In his view environmental

33 See the GECHS workshop on climate change and human security at: <http://www.cicero.uio.no/humsec/list_participants.html>; Barnett/Adger 2005, at: <<http://www.cicero.uio.no/humsec/papers/Barnett&Adger.pdf>>

34 See the announcements by the Foreign Ministry of Greece at: <<http://www.humansecuritynetwork.org/docs/2007-ministerial-meeting-04-greek%20paper.doc>>; and at: <http://www.mfa.gr/www.mfa.gr/Articles/en-US/140607_KL1427.htm>.

35 See on this symposium at: <http://www.sidym2006.org/eng/eng_ponencias_conclusiones.asp>, and the English conclusions at: <http://www.sidym2006.org/imagenes/pdf/eng_conclusiones.pdf>; Diallo 2008.

change should be incorporated into models of conflicts, geopolitical assumptions must be debated, and “ecopolitical considerations require that ecology and environmental history be taken seriously” (Dalby 1998b). While Dalby (2000: 84–100) approached *ecogeopolitics* from critical geopolitics (1998), Brauch (2003) suggests a *political geoeology* that combines the geoeological approach in the geosciences with socio-economic effects of global environmental change.

Geoeology was introduced as an interdisciplinary natural science by Huggett (1995) and Blumenstein, Schachtzabel, Barsch, Bork, and Küppers (2000). They raised long-term questions from a retrospective and prognostic perspective: Which economic, social, and cultural developments determined (or: will determine) in a specific space at a certain time which specific environmental situation? Huggett (1995) has defined geoeology as the study of the structure and function of geosystems in different scales. For Blumenstein, Schachtzabel, and Bork (2000: 9) geoeology is “an environmentally-oriented, interdisciplinary natural science that defines structures, functions and modes of action within geosystems or between them and their environment.” Geoeology draws both on the spatial sciences (geography, cartography, landscape and regional planning) and on the natural sciences, but it excludes the effects of environmental degradation on environmental stress and their outcomes. Since the 1990’s, institutes and courses on geoeology have been set up using different definitions.³⁶

Brauch (2003a) argued that a political geoeology is needed that combines the regional implications of global change and its potential outcomes: disasters, environmentally-induced migration, crises, and conflicts from a human security perspective for the environmental security dimension. Such a political geoeology must combine the complex causes and interactions of key factors of regional environmental

change with environmental stress, natural disasters, distress migration, crises, and conflicts. Relying on the results of the natural sciences, *political geoeology* uses the methods of international relations. This new approach requires an interdisciplinary discourse on global change and its regional impacts for environmental security and conflict avoidance.

All four approaches of globalization, new regionalism, geopolitics, and ecological geopolitics or political geoeology have nearly exclusively been delinked from the discourse on a reconceptualization of security. However, these discussions offer the spatial links to the vertical deepening of the security concepts as reflected in the referent objects and levels of analysis in the discourse on security concepts.

22.4 Spatial Referent Objects of Security

22.4.1 Spatial Referents in Securitizing Theory

Buzan, Wæver, and de Wilde (1998: 5–7, 9–10) used three different spatial references on analysing security: a) levels of analysis, and b) regions, and c) referent objects. As levels of analysis they defined “a range of spatial scales” where “outcomes and sources of explanation” can be located, or as “ontological referents for where things happen rather than the sources of explanation themselves.” They distinguished among five spatial levels of analyses: 1. international systems (planet); 2. international subsystems or macro regions (OSCE, OAS, AU), 3. units (states, nations, transnational firms); 4. subunits (organized groups of individuals, bureaucracies); and 5. individuals. A major focus of their interest has been macro regions or regional inter-state organizations like ASEAN, NAFTA, etc. In their speech-act approach they distinguish further between three types of units in security analysis:

1. *Referent objects*: things that are seen to be existentially threatened and that have a legitimate claim to survival;
2. *Securitizing actors*: actors who securitize issues by declaring something – a referent object – existentially threatened.
3. *Functional actors*: actors who affect the dynamics of a sector. ... This is an actor who significantly influences decisions in the field of security (Buzan/Wæver/de Wilde 1998: 36).

The *referent object* for security has traditionally been the ‘state’ that has the monopoly over the use of phys-

36 For an Australian course, “geoeology embraces soil science, geomorphology and land management”; a seminar at the University of Georgia announced to “touch all aspects of global change, both scientific and human”, with an “integrative approach, looking at disciplines which normally do not interact regularly;” while a seminar at Heidelberg University suggested: “Geoeology is understood as a comprehensive approach to the study of environments with a strong focus on environmental problems caused by humans,” that “includes fundamentals of ecology, a concise history of landscape ecology and ... an analysis of selected case studies.” But no definition referred to international relations.

Figure 22.3: Expanded concepts of security. **Sources:** Møller (2003); Oswald Spring (2001, 2007).

Label	Reference object	Value at risk	Source(s) of threat
	Security for and by whom?	Security against what?	Security from what?
National security	The State	Territorial integrity	State, substate actors
Societal security	Societal groups	National identity	Nations, migrants
Human security	Individual, mankind	Survival	Nature, state, global.
Environmental security	Ecosystem	Sustainability	Humankind
Gender security (Oswald Spring 2001, 2007, 2008)	Gender relations, indige- nous people, minorities socially vulnerable	Equality, identity, solidarity	Patriarchy, totalitarian in-sti- tutions (governments, churches, elites) intolerance

ical force both within the state (police, judiciary) and beyond its territory (diplomacy, military). This state-centred focus has been expressed in concepts of national, but also regional and international security where states – cooperating in alliances, regional or global organizations – have remained the major actors.

With the deepening and widening of the security concept this *referent object* has shifted to societal groups (societal security), individuals and humankind (human security), the environment (environmental security) or gender relations and socially vulnerable groups (gender security). Some of the *values at risk* have direct spatial connotations (territorial integrity, national identity) while others have not (sustainability, equality, identity, solidarity). The sources of threat may be states and nations with spatial characteristics or substate actors, migrants, humankind, patriarchy without (figure 22.3).

With the globalization concepts complex global processes of change that pose new threats have been conceptualized that have direct spatial impacts on states and international organizations that are often beyond the control and coping capacity of states.

In the ‘anthropocene’, global environmental change poses manifold new dangers whose extreme impacts (e.g. via extreme weather events) do not respect national boundaries nor do they discriminate between poor and rich countries. Nevertheless, due to the different levels of social vulnerability and coping capacity the number of victims and affected people have significantly differed. These new security dangers existentially threaten the survival of people and countries, especially the small island states and low lying coastal regions whose territory may disappear due to sea level rise (IPCC 2007a; Kinnas 2008).

Those who have caused the anthropogenic climate change (e.g. the people in countries that have contributed most to global warming since 1750) and those who will be affected most (e.g. people in coastal re-

gions, small island states, and those affected most by drought, storms, floods, heat waves, famine, etc.) are not identical and cannot be easily identified nor do they live simultaneously (Beck 2007). These new security dangers and concerns are beyond the classic ‘security dilemma’ posed by states and affecting primarily other states (chap. 40 by Brauch).

Rather, these new objective security dangers and subjective security concerns pose a new ‘survival dilemma’ that affects both human individuals and humankind. They also create new global equity problems that can only be solved by global and regional cooperation and not by military force. Interregional ‘survival pacts’, e.g. between the countries of Europe and North Africa where both regions exploit their comparative advantages as energy and food providers, could offer longer-term cooperative answers (Brauch 2002; 2002a; see chap. 40 by Brauch).

22.4.2 Contributions on the Spatialization and Referent Objects

The following chapters in part IV address the linkage between space and security from different perspectives. The first four chapters offer approaches of geopolitics, of global environmental change, and globalization (22.4.2.1), followed by two chapters on world regions as referents and on identity-based security threats (22.4.2.2), and by one chapter that discusses the role of the nation state as a referent object of national security (22.4.2.3), while three chapters deal with sub-national actors (society, ethnic, religious groups) and referent objects (terrorists and criminal narco-traffic groups) of security analysis (22.4.2.4).

22.4.2.1 Global Referent Objects: GEC and Globalization

Vilho Harle and *Sami Moio* provide a geopolitical view on the structural setting for global environmen-

tal politics in a hierarchic international system (chap. 23). They claim that the US role in the hierarchizing the international system has put the traditional military security above all other elements of security through the utilization of the security political mindset that emerged after the 9/11 terrorist attacks. Based on an elaboration of the critical research of geopolitics they develop a theory of the hierarchical international system that evaluates the military basis of American political power and outlines the transformation of the international system from anarchic to hierarchic. They apply this theory on global environmental politics as a case of 'hard' and 'soft' US power before they return to security as a political issue and an element of US soft power.

Jon Barnett, Richard A. Matthew and Karen O'Brien (chap. 24) trace the thinking on the relationship between people, the environment, and security. They describe the shifting concerns from environmental to human security and discuss how global environmental change challenges human security and why this relationship has neither been prioritized neither in global environmental change nor in human security research and policy agendas. They offer the *Global Environmental Change and Human Security* (GECHS) project's definition of human security, and show how this research can contribute to the *Millennium Development Goals* (MDG). Then two authors from Mexico analyse the linkages between globalization and security.

John Saxe-Fernández (chap. 25) approaches globalization and security from a theoretical and historical perspective, focusing on the centrifugal processes in the development and on the impact of US capitalism in the international scene and in Mexico. The chapter addresses how the centrifugal and centripetal forces relate to each other in the 'imperial presidency' and its modus operandi in the international scene as well as in Mexico where the export of weapons and military training to Mexico are illustrated. It focuses on the impacts of US imperial power on international security (occupation of Iraq), and its power projections in Mexico.

In "globalization from below" *Úrsula Oswald Spring* (chap. 26) focuses on "social movements and altermundism" and on the impact of these developments on reconceptualizing security from a Latin American perspective. She reviews the rise of social movements in response to an exclusive or regressive globalization offering bottom-up alternatives and raising collective consciousness. Latin America has developed self-organizing experiences, trying to reduce so-

cial inequality and poverty within their countries with limited success. This is illustrated in a case study on the uprising of the Zapatista movement in Mexico in 1994 when NAFTA entered into force. Social movements, alternative thinkers and actors exchanged their experiences during the *World Social Fora* (WSF), and established a world agenda for common activities opposing the Davos paradigm (WEF). She discusses how social movements have reconceptualized security in a wider sense, taking human, gender, and environmental concerns for a plural, peaceful, sustainable, and diverse world model into account.

22.4.2.2 Regionalism as Referent Objects and Identity-based Threats

Below the planetary or global level of analysis, the next two chapters offer two snapshots on the concept of regionalism and on identity based security threats in relation to Islam. *Björn Hettne* (chap. 27) reviews the "security regionalism in theory and practice," clarifying the meaning of 'security regionalism' or the regional dimensions of security. The 'new regionalism' focuses on emerging formations rather than seeing regions as subsystems of international order. *Regionalism* is a tendency and a political commitment to organize the world in terms of regions. *Regionalization* refers to the more complex process of forming regions. The concept of *regional organization* is unclear, as some are recognized by the UN; while others developed more spontaneously. Since the late 1980's a new 'regionalism' focused on conditions related to globalization. This chapter offers in four parts (i) a presentation of the dimensions of security regionalism, (ii) an overview of the global pattern of regional conflict, (iii) a framework for the analysis of particularly regional conflict resolution, and (iv) a discussion of future prospects for regional versus global security management.

Mustafa Aydın and Sinem Açikmese (chap. 28) analyse "identity-based security threats in a globalized world" with a focus on Islam. They interpret the connection claimed by some authors between the use of terror and Islam by "focusing solely on the deeds of extremists and generalizing them to the whole Islamic world" as misguided. They "look critically at the connection between Islam as a religion and Islam as a threat in the globalized world where peoples' resort to deeper religious and ethnic identities came to the fore." After a *tour d'horizon* on the concept and formation of identities; ethnic, religious, and civilizational versions of identity-based security threats, they argue that ethnic-based threats are more applicable to

current regional and global security dynamics. They analyse how Islam appears as a threat in the Western world and why Islam as a civilization cannot be a genuine source for identity-based threats. While Huntington's version of a civilizational identity is rejected as a myth, they acknowledge that some extremist groups, imagining identities based on Islam as a religion, might pose threats to the security of wider international society and they discuss under what conditions Islamic identities could be associated with threats to a wider world.

22.4.2.3 The Nation State as the Referent: Security and Sovereignty

Bharat Karnad (chap. 29) reviewed the linkage between "security and sovereignty" arguing that presently "the sovereignty of weak states ... is most in peril." As states in an anarchic international system have to rely on themselves for protection, a minimum criterion of sovereignty is defined as the ability of a state to take care of its own security, thus defining the *de jure* status of a nation-state, not its *de facto* condition. He analyses from a realist perspective the three principal interlinked threats to sovereignty, namely, intervention, globalization, and insurgent sub-nationalism. He argues "that the ability of a nation state fully to protect itself by its own means has to do with whether, to what extent, and how well a state prevents encroachment of its national security space by powerful foreign countries and external forces, like globalization, and preserves its internal authority in the face of violent activities by armed secessionist groups catalyzing around distinct ethnic, religious, and regional identities." *Differential* sovereignty is a consequence that poor and less developed countries are being denied the freedom (from outside interference) to use whatever means, including violence, to forge a nation out of masses of disparate and often resisting peoples, a freedom the post-industrial societies and states of the First World enjoyed during their often bloody nation-building stage. He concludes that 'sovereignty' is meaningfully exercised only by strong states.

22.4.2.4 Sub-state Actors as Referents

Varun Sahni (chap. 30) discussed the role of the "sub-ordinate, subsumed and subversive" for sub-national actors as referents of security. He focuses on how the state deals with the threat of difference *within* itself, and how sub-national actors position themselves *vis-à-vis* the threat posed by the state. After a brief analysis

of the complex interrelationship between the state, society, and security he argues that "sovereign territoriality continues to remain intact in much of the world," what implies "that identity politics ... is the assertion of difference *vis-à-vis* the state and its hegemonic definition of 'national' identity." He explores the notion of subordination (to the state), and explains why sub-national actors are seen by the state as perpetually presenting themselves with the threat of insubordination. The trans-border character of sub-national actors is often seen by the state as a threat. Sub-national actors can be actively subversive of the state, resorting either to covert subversion 'from below' or overt subversion 'from above'. Sahni investigates "how the threat perception of the state *vis-à-vis* sub-national actors can be mitigated or eliminated through a broad and inclusive process of political engagement" and he suggests inclusive answers for politics.

Gunhild Hoogensen (chap. 31) addresses a specific group of sub-state and transnational actors by reviewing the literature on "non-state based terrorism and security" that was dominated "by state and international security perspectives." Despite the revival of a state-based political and military security approach after 9/11, she adheres to a broadened security agenda and suggests including for the analysis of terrorism other security referents beyond the state by examining "the relations between individual, and societal (identity-based) security dynamics, or non-state referent perspectives." In examining some possible roots of terrorism, with a focus on human and societal security we might be able to say something about terrorist networks and more importantly about how people may be attracted to or recruited into terrorist networks. Identities are multiple and changing over time, they are not solely ethnic in nature, but also rooted in gender, class, race. As subjects of politicization and securitization, however, at a given moment in history an identity or set of given identities may be manipulated and ahistoricized for political purposes, and in a few cases, employ the act of terrorism.

Arlene B. Tickner and Ann C. Mason (chap. 32) analyse the role of transregional crime as "agents of insecurity in the Andes," arguing that many new socio-spatial developments are "incompatible with the territorial principle of sovereignty," due to "the deterritorialization of security in the post-Cold War era." They argue that "security domains are not only located above, below, and alongside the territorial state, but they also are intertwined with and superimposed upon other such spaces, presenting a global security matrix at odds with state-centric epistemologies." The

Andean security dynamics illustrates this global security paradigm: “Security interdependence, regional overlay, transnational flows, and the prevalence of non-state actors are the defining characteristics of the security landscape in the Andes”, why security cannot exclusively be analysed at the national level.” This involves “transregional dynamics and region-wide networks of actors.” Likewise, the most acute threats are “transborder in nature, as epitomized by the movement of drugs and arms that crisscross the region irrespective of political boundaries, and in many cases spill out of the region.” In the Andes both “transnational criminal organizations and armed groups operate beyond the control of national governments and manage these illicit trafficking activities.”

These three chapters illustrate well that a narrow state-centred analysis cannot any longer answer the key questions of security by whom, for whom, against what and with which means, nor can it cope with the complexity of the security paradox in the post-Cold War era. This mapping of the rethinking of the spatial dimension of security in the emerging ‘anthropocene’ requires complex and diversified conceptual approaches to socially reconstruct the complex security mosaic in the 21st century.

The answer to the question of the security for whom has gradually shifted from the ‘nation state’ to the ‘people’, as referred to in the preamble of the UN Charter: “We the peoples of the United Nations determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war” which referred to a much wider policy agenda by referring to “fundamental human rights”, “justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties” and promoting “social progress.” Since the 1990’s (UNDP 1994), the ‘state-centred’ approach to security has been complemented with a ‘people-centred’ approach addressing dangers and concerns for human security (see vol. IV in the Hexagon series by Brauch et al. 2008).

22.5 Conclusions and Outlook

The ‘spatial dimension of security’, the levels of analyses and the spatial referent objects of widened, deepened, and sectorialized security concepts has been mapped in this chapter with regards to the spatial dimension of politics and the competing spatial approaches in political science, geography, and international relations. Global environmental and climate change have evolved since the 1980’s and 1990’s as new scientific areas of analysis whose linkages to the

security debate are just emerging and require a multi-disciplinary conceptual approach.

The reviewed literature on the securitization of space refers to several deficits. The discourse on the shift from a national to a postnational constellation (22.2.3) is still based on a narrow security concept that does only partially reflect the global discourse on a reconceptualization of security (Buzan/Wæver/de Wilde 1998). It refers to a limited deepening by addressing society as an object of security dangers as well as sub-state and transnational actors (figures 22.1, 22.2). However, it does not discuss the horizontal widening to new security dimensions nor does it discuss the human security concept and the dual role of human beings and humankind in posing new environmental security dangers but also as victims of the impacts of GEC and climate change. This approach overstressed the processes of deterritorialization and deborderization that does not even apply to all OECD countries (US fence, visa requirements).

Most debates on globalization (22.3.1), on traditional and on new regionalism (22.3.2) as well as on geopolitics (22.3.3), have so far ignored the implications of the discourse on reconceptualization of security. Only the revised regional security complex theory (RSCT) by Buzan and Wæver (2003) integrates both the widening and deepening of security without taking note of the sectorialization of security concepts. In the discourses on geopolitics (22.3.3.4) the environmental dimension has been either totally lacking or has so far hardly been developed.

In two chapters Dalby, Brauch and Oswald (2008) and Oswald, Brauch and Dalby (2008) – from the perspectives of human geography, social anthropology and international relations – develop a comprehensive research agenda for environmental and human security in the ‘anthropocene’ (Crutzen/Stoermer 2000; Clark/Crutzen/Schellnhuber 2005) that addresses the new security dangers and concerns of a human-centred ‘survival dilemma’ (Brauch, chap. 40) that require new ‘survival strategies’ that link top-down global strategies of international organizations with ‘bottom-up’ local initiatives of social movements to protect and empower the victims of GEC and to enhance their resilience (chap. 26 by Oswald).

23 Structural Setting for Global Environmental Politics in a Hierarchic International System: A Geopolitical View

Vilho Harle and Sami Moisio

23.1 Introduction

According to the state-centric image of world politics, foreign and security policy is a field of action on which states practice diplomacy and wage wars, struggle for relative power, and maximize their power resources by appropriating territories of great strategic importance and natural richness. In this image, foreign and security policy is based on state sovereignty coupled with sharply demarcated territorial containers that exist in the space of anarchy (Schmitt 2003¹). The beginning of the Cold War gave the final blow to this anarchical international system of Westphalian states, where states had been free to form alliances against *any* aggressor or in order to check and balance the power of any state pursuing hegemonic supremacy over the others. The Cold War established instead two hierarchical blocs: the Western and the Eastern.

The end of the Cold War did not re-establish the Westphalian anarchy of states; just to the contrary, the process towards a more general hierarchization of the international system became a practical reality. While some observers took this as a temporary change towards unipolarity, with predictions of the return of a new multipolar international (anarchical) system (Waltz 2000), unipolarity won the stage, becoming hierarchy after September 2001.

This chapter seeks to schematize the new geographical order of world politics by taking into consideration the suggested hierarchization of the inter-

national system. We focus on U.S. military power as one of its most important constituents. While giving a key role to military power, our basic thesis is that in order to understand the current state of world affairs both “soft power” (Nye 1990, 2004) and “hard power” of the U.S. should be taken into consideration. However, we do not maintain that soft power de-hierarchises the international system or raises the others equal partners to the U.S. Just to the contrary, we maintain that the U.S. is the leading state of the hierarchized international system both militarily and in other ways.

This is nowhere as obvious as in the issue and (re)conceptualization of security: we claim that the U.S. role in the hierarchizing international system gives the traditional military security a new birth by raising it above all other elements of security through utilization of the security political mindset that emerged after the 9/11 terrorist attacks. In order to understand this return of the military security, we will analyse the basis and nature of the structural change of international system. The point is to document how the suggested re-emergence of traditional military security is a key element in the soft power the U.S. applies in order to achieve the leading role in the changing international system. In other words, we suggest that conceptualization and reconceptualization of security are not academic exercises, but represent the essence of current world politics by both the U.S. and its opponents.

In order to justify our argument, the chapter formulates a theory of the hierarchical international system in four sections. The introduction is followed by an elaboration of the critical research of geopolitics as connected to the basic idea of the hierarchical international system (23.2). The distribution of capabilities, and the ordering principle together with the division of labour (functions) are discussed in the next sections (23.3 and 23.4) respectively. Section 23.2 evaluates the military basis of American political power

1 This spatial and state-centric image of world politics was best articulated by Carl Schmitt, who introduced the concept of *nomos* as the immediate form in which the political and social order of a people becomes spatially visible. *Nomos* is the measure by which the land in a particular order is divided and situated; it is also the form of social and political order determined by this process.

focusing on different spatial strategies of security. Section 23.4 outlines the transformation of the international system from anarchic to hierarchic. By calling attention to geopolitical elements and spatial structures we seek to enrich the political-economic perspective which clearly has a hegemonic position in explaining the changing geographies of the international system. We claim that this theory can be applied to the analysis of any specific issues in world politics. In order to illustrate this, we apply the suggested theory to a discussion of global environmental politics as a case of both “hard” and “soft” U.S. power (23.5). While the issues of security is discussed or at least implicated in the four sections (23.2 through 23.5), we will return explicitly back to security as a political issue and an element of U.S. soft power in the final section (23.6).

23.2 Critical Geopolitics of the Hierarchic International System

Critical geopolitics has focused on global governance and “earth writing” attached to it. Geopolitics has been linked to the knowledge generated by the “counsellors of princes” – in effect, the production of a conservative form of spatial knowledge designed to perpetuate existing power structures (Ó Tuathail 1996). In doing so, critical geopolitical analysis has both widened the state-centred approach in geopolitics and added new research themes. Post-colonialism (Power 2000), popular culture (Dodds 2003), gender issues (Dalby 1994), environment (Dalby 2002a), and identity formation (Paasi 1996; Sharp 2000), are now considered geopolitical phenomena. Critical geopoliticians concern the study of geopolitics “as a series of cultures developed within and shared across an inter-state society” (Ó Tuathail 2004: 76).

Critical geopolitics argues that up to the end of the Cold War, the geopolitical approach was often centred on the superpowers and was associated with a very special, masculine way of visualizing a world of nations, together with aspects of colonialism, imperialism and, at least indirectly, racism, through the medium of maps, speeches and written works. Representations of a geopolitical nature were employed to describe strategically, economically, and culturally significant places, locations, boundaries, and regional distinctions (Sidaway 2001: 225–226). Thus classical geopolitics and realist reasoning is now seen as a special form of space ordering. The object of criticism in critical geopolitics is not realism as such, but the status

of the absolute truth acquired by realism and knowledge production supported by it in the explanation of the international spatial system and the establishment of cultural divisions (Moisio 2005). The core of the criticism is that geopolitical realism is in itself a manifestation of identity politics, and, thus of culture.

Despite the fact that critical geopolitics has shed new light on the connection of geographical knowledge and world politics, it has said virtually nothing on the geographical patterns of international system, even though the systems of hierarchy or anarchy are inherently spatial in nature. This clearly indicates that the examination of geographical forms and patterns of world politics has been treated as neo-realist reasoning which tends to reconstruct the basis of world politics rather than deconstruct or understand its basic features. In fact, as John Agnew (2001a) has argued, the result is that the conception of the political in critical geopolitics is paradoxically both “international” – focused on the inter-state scale – yet usually associated with sites of knowledge in one particular country, almost invariably the U.S., without explaining either the international bias or why the U.S. is so important in the contemporary world system.

While critical geopolitics tends to emphasise the discursive basis of world politics, some other geopolitical perspectives pay attention to the geopolitical orders, that is, for example, “the conditioning effects of informational and military technologies upon spatial interaction” (Agnew/Corbridge 1995: 15). The geographical study of global political orders is not, however, of recent origin. In fact, the materialist world system political geography (Taylor 1982, 1996), along with studies on geopolitical economy (Agnew/Corbridge 1989, 1995; Agnew 2005), has contributed to the geographical study of world politics for over two decades. The geographical study of global politics has paid a lot of attention to the change in global power structures as they follow the cyclical nature of the world economy. There are several similarities in these structural approaches as they share an idea of economic cycles and hegemonies. However, the key difference between the structuralists is the meaning and current form of hegemony. The “world system” scholars take the idea of hegemony from Wallerstein, while geopolitical economists share the Gramscian theory of hegemony. The question of hegemony has been in a central place in analyses of geopolitical economy (Agnew 2005), while questions of anarchy and hierarchy have remained rather untouched in geographic studies.

Even though we leave the economic basis of the U.S. power untouched, we in no way underestimate its importance in the context of hierarchic international system. In fact, we agree with Hardt and Negri (2000) in that the new economic empire is a decentred and decentralized apparatus of rule. It is a world of networks that has no centre and no edges, but is orchestrated by the U.S. together with any number of “willing states” and other international actors such as economic and financial managers and neo-liberal bureaucrats (Agnew/Corbridge 1995). As Agnew (2001b: 150–151) reminds us, the economic empire is not organized territorially as were the old European empires. The new economic empire has a hegemonic political leader, the U.S.

Thus, we tend to see the American structural power – the combination of soft and hard power – and transnational liberal economic order, as major constituents of American leading position in a hierarchic international system. The U.S. is a hegemonic political leader in the globalized transnational economic order precisely because it has the capability to set the “rules of the game” (Agnew 2003: 874–880) by using both soft (tempting allies) and hard power (using coercive force). The hierarchic international system not only requires a truly international global economy, a structure of power that may be labelled as an “empire” because of its scope and pervasiveness, but also a leading power which dominates this empire politically whether it is called a hegemony or an empire.

After the U.S. pre-emptive military invasion of Iraq in 2003, an increasing number of international relations (IR) scholars and geographers have debated the international position of the U.S. Many scholars disagree on how to name the American power – superpower, empire, hegemony, hyperpower, or what? Most scholars apply the reductionist approach suggested by Waltz (1979). But the nature and potential change of the international system has remained practically ignored in the debate.

The realist school of international relations, especially structural realists (Waltz 1979), perceives the international system as anarchical. They have had no reason to speculate about the hierarchical international system: both the world state and the world government have been rather unlikely options. The current hegemony of the U.S. in the international system, however, justifies asking *whether the international system is changing from an anarchical system towards a hierarchical one*. Wendt (2003) has suggested a teleological model according to which the

world state is inevitable, while Dunne (2003) maintains that hierarchy already exists alongside the anarchical international society.

Waltz (1979: 81–82; cf. Kaplan 1957 and Rosenau 1990) defined the structure and nature of systems by recognizing “first ... the *principle* by which it is ordered; second ... specification of the *functions* of formally differentiated units; and third ... the distribution of *capabilities* across those units” (italics added).² Therefore, anarchical and hierarchical systems can be analytically distinguished by illustrating that the three defining elements in the two cases are diametrically opposed to each other (Waltz 1979: 97).

Waltz introduces the anarchy-hierarchy distinction not to compare different international systems, but to distinguish between the international (anarchical) and the domestic (hierarchical). Waltz’s distinction is definitional; he only says what the international system is *not*. For Waltz, domestic politics is hierarchically ordered (Waltz 1979: 81), but the international system represents “anarchy, or the absence of government.” (Waltz 1979: 88, 102.) Because of this, Waltz does not invite us to investigate whether some *international* systems differ from each other in respect to the ordering principle, functional differentiation, and distribution of capabilities across the units of the systems.

Many other scholars do not agree with Waltz upon his claim on the eternity of the anarchical international system (e.g. Holsti et al. 1980), neither do we. Indeed, unlike Waltz, we treat the international system as a changing one, and we wish to compare *international* systems along the three criteria suggested in Waltz’s definition of the system, that is, without extending our discussion too much to such issues like polarities. Ours is best to start with capabilities. Only if the distribution of capabilities reveals that a hierarchical structure of the international system is either existent or emerging, can we consider

2 Our theory is based on Waltz’s definition of the social (and international) system presented in this sentence. We do emphasize the analytical and theoretical role of not only capabilities, but especially ‘ordering principle’ and ‘functions’ in this definition. We do that – understanding ‘system’ and its definition in the sense suggested by Waltz – for analytical purposes only, not in order to share the neorealist doctrine as such. Furthermore, this short paper is not written in order to discuss various concepts and theories of international system (see, for comparison, e.g. Kaplan 1957; Rosenau 1990; Wendt 1995; Dunne 2003; and Buzan 2004. See also the geopolitical discussion above).

the more demanding element of the functional differentiation of the actors, and, finally, discuss the ordering principle of the new international system.

23.3 Capabilities in the Hierarchical International System: Territorial Spaces of U.S. Military Power

As far as the U.S. position in the contemporary world is concerned, scholars seem to disagree on one minor point only (Hollander/Rector 2003): how to categorize the U.S. (Cox 2003: 5, 14; Dunne 2003). Otherwise they share the view that the U.S. is now at the top of the international power hierarchy (Dunne 2003: 304, 307; Anderson 2003: 52) based on its overwhelming military power. According to Posen (2003: 7–9, 19, 22–24), the U.S. enjoys command of the so called commons: the sea, space, and air.

The hegemonic position of the U.S. in military affairs, its influence in world economic decision-making, and many correlates of American coercive power have raised the U.S. to an international position never before achieved by any state (Cox 2003: 4). Compared to preceding empires or “world states” like Rome, the U.S. has become a unique *global world state* (figure 23.1). Furthermore, the U.S. operates currently on the basis of the only purely global geopolitical doctrine that has a credible military potential behind it. Furthermore, this hegemony is not based on military capacity alone, but also on the “strategic doctrine that is prepared to use it” (Dunne 2003: 309). Due to this overwhelming military power and strong will to win any wars, the U.S. fundamentally differs from other powers (the EU, Russia, and China) whose official geopolitical codes may be global in scope but the lack of military capabilities seriously undermines the credibility of their geostrategic intentions. In practical terms, the relative lack of conventional military capability together with the U.S. dominance makes it impossible for the “regional powers” to practice interventionist foreign policy globally. As Posen (2003: 9) puts it, command of the commons provides the U.S. with more useful military potential for a hegemonic foreign policy than any other offshore power has ever had.

The contemporary geopolitical code of the U.S. is presented in the *National Security Strategy* of September 2002 (U.S. White House 2002). It contains the principles and strategies of how the U.S. prevents itself from the dangers of the 21st century. The docu-

ment carefully explains how the U.S. is leading its “war against terror”. Even though the document emphasizes the use of soft power – via expanding the circle of development by opening societies, destroying tyrannies, liberating people, offering economic assets, *providing military security*, securing human rights, developing agendas for cooperative action, and igniting a new era of global economic growth through free markets and free trade – the importance of the use of conventional military power nevertheless dominates the pages of the NSS report.

In terms of coercive power, two highly interlinked military practices exist, both unfolding the logic of commanding not only the commons but also foreign state territories. The first, *expansion*, characterizes the proliferation of American military power, while the second, *hedging*, tries to isolate the U.S. from the rest of the inter-state system. In 2003, the maintenance of these two military practices required some 400 billion US\$ – nearly 50% of the global military expenditures (SIPRI 2004).

There has been a massive restructuring of the geography of American military bases since 1990. Currently the U.S. relies more on a flexible network of “lily pad” bases located closer to potential trouble areas than was the case during the Cold War. This change in military geography of the U.S. reflects the changing function of military power in the international system, stressing the importance of speed, flexibility, and effectiveness of *conventional military power* (DOD 2004). In 2004, the U.S. owned or rented 700 bases in over 146 countries, 473,881 troops and civilians were overseas both afloat and ashore, and Americans operated in every time zone and climate, except in Antarctica (Figure 23.1). Indeed, the American military forces are able to operate from more than 6,000 locations and consist of five commands, which together cover the globe.

According to the 2004 *Base Structure Report* (DOD 2004), hundreds of *active* American military bases are located in 40 countries outside the U.S. territory. Even though the report does not mention some wellknown garrisons (Kosovo, Qatar, Uzbekistan, Kuwait, Iraq, Israel, Pakistan etc.), it is striking to note that in terms of classical geopolitical terminology the spatial distribution of bases underpins the very fact that the U.S. is both a sea and a land power. This dual nature is due to a combination of geographical locations of the bases and technological innovations in the field of military industry.

The vast network of American bases not only provides a rapid capability to strike militarily, but also

Figure 23.1: States hosting U.S. military bases. Drawn by Sami Moio

creates a new geopolitical setting in the global empire of transnational liberalism. One might argue that the proliferation of American military power offers a setting for a foreign policy practice similar to the “gun boat diplomacy” of Great Britain in the nineteenth century. The American techno-territorial military complex is more profound in nature than the military systems of its predecessors. The system is not only based on long range B-2 bombers supported by thirteen naval task forces built around aircraft carriers, but also a flexible system of gathering, representing, and distributing of knowledge. The satellite systems provide a missing link between global military governance and geographical scale. These satellites form the backbone of the proliferation of American military power, for the reason that they operate as global eyes (global panopticon) connected to the conventional warfare, intelligence gathering, and ballistic WMD.

The proliferation of American conventional military power is now treated as an everyday practice in the international system. This vast network of American military bases and forces together with an active use of power was called “banal geopolitics” by Sidaway (2003: 645–647). This is to a large extent created by means of the growing media network closely interlinked to the banalization of the use of American military force, the principles of “just war”, new enemies, and, so, the new *nomos* of the earth (Schmitt 2003).

But this overwhelming proliferation of American conventional military power alone cannot make the U.S. a completely new class in the international system. A truly interventionist foreign policy also requires a real possibility of geographic isolationism. The “Bush Doctrine” clearly demonstrates this need. Pre-emptive strikes and securing the homeland are attached to the need for a missile defence system to deter attacks on America and its allies. Indeed, it is unclear whether this missile defence system is intended to support the use of American conventional military force throughout the world.

Even though there is a strong political opposition in the U.S. the political logic the missile defence system in itself both underpins and reflects is highly popular in the U.S. The American political elite seem to know extremely well that no country is able to create a class of its own within the international system of states without a capability of avoiding the use of political sanctions by other states. In the long term this is first and foremost the political *raison d'être* of the missile defence system.

The techno-territorial military formations of the U.S. are both fundamentally material and discursive for they are inextricably linked to portraying danger, threat, and potential enemies. The development of security technologies which aims at providing “national security” is impregnated by identity political rhetoric of “us” and “them” as is seen in the Bush

Doctrine. The threats portrayed in the 2002 NSS report – terrorists, failed states and rogue states – are clearly externalized and connected to American identity. Referring to both national identity and national exceptionalism legitimises the missile defence system. It is to provide shelter against attacks from “rogue nations”. The security of U.S. identity is therefore closely linked to military security to gain legitimacy for the interventionist foreign policy, the aim of which is to secure the lifestyle of Americans. Non-territorial threats are spatialized by using geographical concepts such as networks, havens, cells and governments harbouring terrorists.

23.4 The Ordering Principle and Functions of Units in the Hierarchical International System

The overwhelming military capacity of the U.S. is not a sufficient condition to make the system hierarchical. Waltz (2000: 27, 29) recognized the unipolarity of the post-Cold War world, but yet called this unipolar system anarchical, not hierarchical. We speak of the hierarchical system only if we can recognize a functional division of labour, i.e. to specify the functions of formally differentiated units based on a principle on which those units stand in relation to each other (Waltz 1979: 82). What is required is an actor’s ability to “lay down the law to others” (Vattel quoted in: Dunne 2003: 314-315, see also p. 308).

In the hierarchical system, other actors follow the will of the leading power actively or passively. They either support the policy of the lead state taking their own advantages from it to the extent they can, or they refrain from challenging this state with military force. The power of the leading state is based on advantages the other states derive from the hierarchical system (Waltz 2000: 26). Cox (2003: 19, 22) emphasizes that “the more successful [empires] have lasted not just because they were feared, but because they performed a series of broader political and economic functions which no other state ...was willing or able to undertake”.

The term “law” should be understood in a rather flexible sense. To a minor extent, it refers to international law, to which the U.S. has a special relationship. The U.S. respects and demands others to respect international law only to the extent that it serves its hegemonic interests by controlling the behaviour of its potential rivals and minor members of the hierarchical international system. It would be a

gross exaggeration to say that the American greater space (Schmitt: “*Grossraum*”) is or will soon be extending all over the globe through a U.S. international law.³ The new international “law” must still be understood in the political, not judicial, sense. U.S. leadership in the emerging hegemonic system is and will be based on the U.S. position in the “war on terror”.

The U.S. was able to use the 9/11 terrorist attacks as a major justification for its position as lead state. No one can speak of the emergence of a hierarchical system without considering the impact of the terrorist attacks (Cox 2003; Dunne 2003; Leffler 2003: 1047). As Dunne (2003: 308) puts it, “the months after 9/11 crystallized the image of U.S. capability to enforce its will, with or without the help of allies”. And as Anderson (2003: 35) adds, “11 September was a defining moment for American hegemony.” On September 11, 2001, the U.S. became a state in permanent war (Leffler 2003: 1048-49, 1063; Dunne 2003: 311.) that established a state of emergency, or better, provided an undisputed basis for, in Schmittian terms, the “state of exception” (Schmitt 1985). In this permanent state of (international) exception the U.S. became sovereign in absolute terms. Demonstrating U.S. sovereignty, the president of the U.S. took his responsibility as the sovereign of his nation declaring that a state of exception now existed.

This permanent state of exception tends to make a single state sovereign and the others less sovereign in the sense suggested by Carl Schmitt (1976) in his conception of “the political” (Schmitt 1976: 28; Harle 2000: 137; Sartori 1989). This Schmittian conception of the political and the decision of the friend/enemy dichotomy can be understood as a definition of sovereignty. Taking the assumption of the state’s willingness to defend itself against the attacking power –

3 Carl Schmitt (2003) maintained that classical international law (still existing today) represented European public law, a law established by the European great powers for the control of their mutual interaction and the domination of the non-European lands. This “European” international law was first challenged by the U.S. in the formulation of the Monroe Doctrine in 1823. While denying the right of European states to intervention in the Western Hemisphere, the U.S. otherwise found the “European” international law useful up to the end of WWII. Since then, and especially after September 2001, the U.S. has been inclined to challenge the validity of the “European” international law and to introduce the “American” (that is U.S.) international law to replace it.

and to build up military capacity in order to do so – as given, the Schmittian definition of the political (and sovereignty) implies the state's willingness to define who the enemy is. The state can do so if and only if it has the sufficient military capability to act in the name of the definition, that is, to defend itself against the state it has defined as the enemy. If the state is not willing to define its enemy, or if it lacks the military capability required for the implementation of the decision, another state makes the definition on behalf of the weak state and provides protection for that state. The protected state, then, is no longer sovereign – or has not yet achieved its sovereignty. The protecting state does not just provide protection but also wields power over the protected state. This power may include any aspects of power, but it is the power to define the enemy for the protected state (Harle 2000: 154–57).

The exclusivity of U.S. sovereignty is based on the U.S. role in defining terrorism what is a highly contested issue. The definition is always political: it is to legally prohibit actions of those who are declared terrorists, while keeping all options open for “our” actions (Petman 2002). The “international community” (e.g. UN), failed to reach an agreement on the definition, and no shared definitions exist in dictionaries. The U.S. does not consult UN resolutions in order to find what terrorism is and who is a terrorist. In justifying its political decision on the basis of the tragic experience of 9/11, the U.S. defines terrorism as anything that terrorists do. All others who are *not* declared terrorists, particularly the U.S., act in defence against terrorism and are thus justified to use any type of violence to overcome terrorists. Who is a terrorist is the exclusive and sovereign right of the U.S. This terrorist is the enemy of the U.S. This enemy has become an *evil enemy*, and war against this enemy, the “war on terror”, has become a *just war*. Therefore, this enemy is not the enemy of the U.S. alone but has become the enemy of humanity, that is, the evil in the struggle between good and evil. In this war, god fights the final battle against the devil (Harle 2000; Petman 2002).

Due to this power in the world of words, married with its overwhelming military and other power resources, the U.S. has achieved a role where the international system is not just unipolar but truly hierarchical. The sovereignty of other nations in the definition of the enemy disappears, and only one sovereign remains in the system. The international system, and politics, is transformed but not in the idealistic sense strongly criticized by Waltz (2000). What is tak-

ing place can be best recognized in Schmitt's (1976: 67; see also Schmitt 1987) famous warning:

Where a state fights its enemy in the name of humanity, it is not a war for the sake of humanity, but a war wherein a particular state seeks to usurp a universal concept against its military opponent. At the expense of its opponent, it tries to identify itself with humanity in the same way as one can misuse peace, justice, progress, and civilization in order to claim these as one's own and to deny the same to the enemy.

In the hierarchical system the transformation of the enemy is not the only aspect of the transformation of politics. Even in the strictest hierarchical system war recurs, but mainly as the pre-determined war on terrorism – not as attacks and defence between any states (as was the case in the anarchical Westphalian system). Wars typical to the anarchical system are gradually disappearing. In the hierarchical system, unlike in the anarchical one, there is no war by all against all: there is one single war going on, not as a potential option, but as the actual and present war on terrorism. Thus, if you wish to make war, you must first find terrorists to attack; that is, you must declare your enemy a terrorist. And for this, you will need at least indirect support from the U.S. Otherwise you must challenge the U.S., and therefore locate yourself on “the axis of evil.” If your interests and those of America clash, yours must be removed from the stage.

Thus, even if the hierarchical system is emerging, military capabilities are not becoming obsolete. However, military force is not required so much for defence against *any* (all) potential enemies. In the new system, the other states – outside “the axis of evil” – are no longer potential enemies. *Military force is required for the war on terrorism*. Indeed, instead of disarmament, more and more efforts are required to build up common defence against terrorists and the states supporting terrorism (Leffler 2003: 1050).

23.5 Global Environmental Politics in a Hierarchic International System

The environmental politics of the U.S. perfectly unfolds the structural position the state has in the hierarchic international system. The U.S. is using its hard power to secure the interests of its energy sector by intervening militarily in parts of the world with large supplies of petroleum. In this respect, the U.S. is returning to the basic conceptions of classical geopolitics; it aspires to control regions of great strategic im-

portance and vast natural resources. But, the U.S. is not only occupying regions or financially controlling the producers (like Russia⁴) in order to champion its natural resources; it is also practicing elements of soft power to further strengthen its geopolitical power in classical terms.

Indeed, the techno-territorial military formations together with a notable capability to use “soft power” – as we have seen in the humanitarian aid needed on the shores of Asia after the deadly tsunami of 26 December 2004 – enable the U.S. to practice both interventionist and isolationist foreign policies. This structural setting increases the “game space” of the U.S. and makes it possible to use flexible political strategies from one issue arena to the other. By using isolationist policies the U.S. distances itself from the institutional structures of the inter-state system, while at the same time securing its own strategic and economic interests by using interventionist strategies.

In the context of this dual capability of the U.S., it is important to notice that there is a crucial constituent that should be taken into account: the international law and, more precisely, the meaning and function of sanctions which hold any international “law” together and make it a useful body in the field of international affairs. Any international agreement or regime is an example of “soft law”, which is not only based on mutual agreement of states as far as the agenda is concerned, but also a system of sanctions that aims at securing the operationalization of the regime. Our basic argument is that the recent political practices of the U.S. indicate that there are no real possibilities to create political or economic sanctions against the U.S. if it decides to act unilaterally against the “will” of the international community – upon which certain regimes are reflecting. This is exactly because the U.S. has the potential to use both soft and hard power.

The U.S. accounts for about 25% of the world’s greenhouse gas emissions. From the perspective of the success of regimes connected to global climate change, the U.S. is a crucial player. For this reason, a widespread confusion on how to make the Kyoto Protocol work has surfaced, especially in Europe (Metz/Gupta 2001). In global environmental politics the U.S. refusal of the Kyoto Protocol is explained with practical needs of its businesses that have had the capability and connections to pressure the politi-

cal elite. Therefore, it is common to stress that “industry had been more influential in the U.S.A. than internationally” (Litfin 2003: 479). This may be true in practical terms, but business is a powerful pressure group elsewhere. It is also questionable whether President Bush has been crucial for U.S. participation in Kyoto Protocol (Bomberg 2001).

The U.S. refusal of the Kyoto Protocol is a perfect example of the hierarchization of the international system. A striking feature is that the other states seem to capitulate and accept the fact that the U.S. Senate will not ratify the Kyoto Protocol. The refusal to participate is not weakening the positions of the U.S. but rather strengthening it as the Protocol forces other economies to follow its regulations. The U.S. benefits from the self-restrictive actions of others. In this context the U.S. is not acting against the protection of the global environment; it rather sets its own rules of the game – as in the Bush Doctrine. The U.S. is using various means of soft power in order to become a leader of re-organizing international institutions, including environmental regimes.

Environmental regimes are always based on scientific knowledge produced by various national and international institutions. These epistemic communities that often play a crucial role in the formation and maintenance of international regimes may well become highly disputed arenas in the context of global environmental condition. The U.S. stance in global environmental politics does not result solely from its dominance over others in terms of coercive power. At least in some cases the position of the U.S. results from scientific ideas contradicting the reasons for extraordinary environment-oriented actions, e.g. criticism against global warming as an exaggerated idea. The exploitation of scientific knowledge by the U.S. may well be regarded as a specific use of soft power.

There is now a new international system which questions and undermines the institutional structures created during the Cold War. Given the fact that most of the global political regimes concerning the environment are based on the UN led multilateral institutions and practices, the “old” international environmental politics should be separated from the “new” as far as the context and structural setting beyond these political institutions are concerned. This structural setting has received little attention in international environmental politics (Young 2003).

The hierarchic international system is also a new setting for the production and maintenance of global environmental regimes. Given the importance of scientific knowledge in the process of creating these in-

4 In the case of Russia the U.S. does not use military power but its strong financial position to make its entry into Russian oil sources.

stitutions, the competition in the field of environmental sciences may further intensify between the U.S. and others. Indeed, production of scientific knowledge on global issues may well become a new field of political action where new spatial referents of security are formed. Whether environmental threats will be considered in the future as fundamental as military threats, is not yet clear. The U.S. emphasis is on spatial referents of security which reflect the condition of globalization, but which are nevertheless based on classical geopolitical reasoning to secure the homeland on one hand and to dominate the areas of great natural richness on the other. There is a growing danger that global environmental change is left outside high political agenda in the U.S. in the era of the war on terrorism.

23.6 Implications for the Reconceptualization of Security

We have maintained that in the post-Cold War hierarchical international system the leading state (the U.S.) is standing alone above all others. The other states have lost or are losing their sovereignty, defined in the ability and willingness to form alliances against any other nation. In other words, no state is able to define its enemy independently of the definition given to all others by the U.S. This re-emergence of military security with pre-emptive strikes has not made the world safer, but rather a chaotically insecure place. Excluding potential attacks by 'rogue' states or more likely against 'rogue' states, war between states has become less likely than they were in the anarchical international system. But war and violence are still there: not the states but other actors are willing to challenge the U.S. and the group of 'non-rogue' states it now leads. In James N. Rosenau's (1990) terms this challenge to the state-centric world comes from the "multi-centric world."

One type of challenge is mainly non-violent (or violent in a controllable form). This comes from various new social movements often called the anti-globalization movement or the global civil society (see Oswald, chap. 26; Hoogensen, chap. 31). The second type is much more important in the present world politics: terrorists are, unfortunately, the major representatives of the "multi-centric world." The two actors represent totally different "ideologies," but share at least some anti-statist views. Surely, the anti-globalization movements have become, since 9/11, a less visible arena of theoretical debates instead of previous

street demonstrations not only in the U.S. and elsewhere. Consequently, the present line of contention goes between the states and "terrorists." This line is actually the basic ordering principle of the present international system: it leads to both hierarchization of and cooperation between the states. Hierarchization, the rise of the U.S. above the others, is based on cooperation between the states - anarchical wars between the states, therefore, are becoming an exception, not the rule: the states, in order to maintain their role in world politics, form an "alliance" around the U.S. in the "war on terror".

This gives the major role to traditional military security; indeed, we should now speak of re-emergence of that traditional security concept in international politics instead of reconceptualization of security in other senses. However, this does not imply any uncritical justification for the U.S. hard line foreign policy. On the contrary, our approach is based on critical and not traditional geopolitics: we have attempted to reveal what is taking place, not to justify it.

In other words, we claim that one must pay attention now to the re-emergence of traditional military security because such a re-emergence has been taking place in the structural changes. But, we have added, this re-emergence is not limited to military power alone. In addition to the (military) capabilities of the U.S., the re-emergence of military security covers the other key elements of the international system defined by Kenneth Waltz: the ordering principle and the functions of the units of the system. In that sense narrow military security is generalized by the U.S. to the area of soft power such as the power to define terrorism and terrorists, as well as issues like environmental politics; in brief, the soft power of the right to conceptualize 'security' in the light of the U.S. power political and domestic needs.

In other words, we have described politics where securitization concerns anything that can be connected to the war on terrorism. This securitization (and de-securitization) is not an academic but a political process, where anything can be securitized/militarized and therefore politicized or de-securitized, de-politicized or de-militarized through reconceptualization of security. In the present structural change it is the U.S., not its rivals ('rogue states' and terrorists' or the like) *or* scholars, who use the major power in this field.

24 Global Environmental Change and Human Security

Jon Barnett, Richard A. Matthew and Karen O'Brien

24.1 Introduction

Throughout most of human history the constraints imposed by local environmental conditions and their natural variability were powerful determinants of the security of individuals and societies: animals, droughts, floods, frosts, pathogens, storms, and other environmental perturbations were significant causes of mortality, morbidity and social disruption. In today's most modern societies, technology, trade, industrialization, the use of fossil fuels, occupational specialization, and higher levels of social organization have all weakened many of the constraints that the local environment places on people's needs, rights, and values (human security). Since the Industrial Revolution and the consolidation of the modern trading nation state, there have been thousand-fold increases in the production of goods and the use of energy, and hundred-fold increases in international trade in goods and services. Over the same period, the global population has increased from 1 billion to over 6 billion people, and most people now live longer, consume more, and are better educated than in previous generations.

Yet the risks that environmental changes pose to human security have not been eliminated. The scale of consumption and pollution in modern, high-energy societies has caused large decreases in primary forest cover, biodiversity losses, depletion of fish stocks, land degradation, water pollution and scarcity, coastal and marine degradation, the contamination of people, plants and animals by chemicals and radioactive substances, and climate change and sea-level rise. These environmental changes are 'global' because they are ubiquitous and because some pollutants such as greenhouse gases and radioactive wastes have global consequences. They are also 'global' in as much as their origins lie in the consumption of resources in markets that are often very distant from the sites of resource extraction. For example, the wealthiest 20 per cent of the world's population consumes 84 per cent of all paper, 45 per cent of all meat and fish, and

owns 87 per cent of the world's vehicles (UNDP 1998); and the United States and the European Union countries emitted 52.4 per cent of all CO₂ between 1900-1999 (Baumert/Kete 2001). 'Global' in this sense does not mean that responsibility for environmental change is shared equally among all people, or that the impacts of these changes are uniformly distributed amongst all places. Instead, 'global' refers to the interlinkages between environmental changes and social consequences across distant places and groups.

Across the world, the prospects for human security are deeply affected by local and global processes of environmental change.¹ The complex links between processes of environmental change and their outcomes across both space and time add a new dimension to the concept of human security - a dimension that raises important questions about both equity and sustainability. In particular, global environmental change challenges human security in ways that transcend the North-South binary and the 'rich-poor' dichotomy. Environmental change reveals the connections - as well as the frictions - between the security of individuals and communities and the security and sustainability of ecosystems and species, including humanity.

In this chapter we trace the evolution of recent thinking about the relationship between people, the environment, and security. In particular, we describe the transition from concerns about environmental security to concerns about human security. We then discuss some of the many ways that global environmental change challenges human security, and consider why this relationship has not been prioritized in global environmental change research, or in human security research and policy agendas. Finally, we present the *Global Environmental Change and Human Security*

1 Environmental change refers to short and long-term changes in the biological, physical and chemical components and systems that sustain human life, which result from both human activities and natural processes.

ity (GECHS) project's definition of human security, and discuss how this type of research can contribute to initiatives such as the *Millennium Development Goals* (MDG).

24.2 Environmental Security

There is a long tradition of concern over the relationship between humans, the environment, and the potential for conflict. Over 200 years ago Thomas Malthus (1798) wrote *An Essay on the Principle of Population*, in which he argued "that the power of population is indefinitely greater than the power of the earth to produce subsistence for man". The imbalance between human needs and food availability, Malthus predicted, would lead to famine, disease and war. Writing 150 years later, Fairfield Osborn reiterated this concern: "When will it be openly recognized that one of the principal causes of the aggressive attitudes of individual nations and of much of the present discord among groups of nations is traceable to diminishing productive lands and to increasing population pressures?" (Osborn 1948: 200-201). As the scale of global change has increased since Malthus' time, the link between environment change and conflict gained more attention.

The relationship between environmental change and conflict became a major theme of security studies only after 1989, when at least ten articles on the subject were published. The year 1989 was significant in both international security and global environmental politics. It was the year when the Berlin Wall fell, creating a 'vertigo' in international security studies and policy in which conventional understandings of security were no longer so obviously politically relevant (Ó Tuathail 1996). It was also two years after the publication of the influential World Commission on Environment and Development's report *Our Common Future*, when planning for the landmark 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) in Rio was well under way. This led to a flood of information about climate change, biodiversity loss, deforestation, and land degradation, with much of it channelled into preparatory studies and reports. These initiatives resulted in considerable political and societal attention to issues of environmental change in the early 1990's. This confluence of moments in global security and environmental politics perhaps explains the sudden swell in writing about environmental security and in particular about environmental causes of violent conflicts (Dalby 1992: 503-

522). The Malthusian perspective, enriched by the Canadian scholar Thomas Homer-Dixon (1999) and others, became a significant part of this rethinking exercise and quickly attracted government and foundation interest. Flush with new resources, the sub-field of environmental conflicts expanded rapidly.

Determining the relative contribution of environmental factors in generating violent conflicts is difficult. Clearly, the insecurities to which environmental stress contributes often have long social and political histories. In places such as Cambodia, Indonesia, Nepal, Pakistan, Liberia and Rwanda, for example, conflict is grounded in patterns of insecurity based on long-standing political and economic practices of exclusion and exploitation which reshaped the natural environment. The new and more virulent forms of environmental degradation characteristic of the twentieth century have arguably aggravated practices of violence and insecurity that have long histories.

Throughout human history social factors have interacted with population growth and environmental change to generate conflict. A sufficient body of data is now available to clarify the conditions under which conflict is likely to occur. The work of Paul Collier (2000), Wenche Hauge and Tanja Ellingsen (1998), and the *State Failure Task Force Report: Phase II Findings* (1999), suggests a typical scenario that is highly conflict prone: it includes an economy dependent on a lucrative natural resource (gold or oil rather than water or biodiversity) to which access can be controlled; a fractious ethnic cleavage that the dominant group has been unable to resolve; low education and high infant mortality rates; inadequate dispute resolution mechanisms and corrupt governance institutions; a history of violent conflict; and a diaspora community of angry emigrants and refugees forced to leave and willing to back one side in a civil war. The work of Thomas Homer-Dixon makes a very similar argument but focuses instead on the adverse social effects of scarcity of water, cropland, and pasture. The general point for all researchers linking the environment and conflict is that, under certain conditions, individuals may be motivated by greed or scarcity to take up - or continue to use - arms. Conflict may be most likely where a range of motivations converge to persuade sufficiently large numbers of people that a resort to violence is justified, profitable, inevitable or transformational. Environmental stress of one kind or another will figure in some, but not all, of these motivations, and hence it will be an elusive but at times significant element of the causal network that generates conflict.

Of course, as extensive research on conflict makes clear, the outcome of any cluster of variables is never assured. Why this is the case is explained, at least partially, by those environmental security researchers who study the capacity of communities at all scales to adjust and adapt to many forms of stress, including those related to environmental change. Both the simplified, Malthusian-inspired, scarcity-conflict story and the resource curse story tend to down-play and, in some cases, explicitly deny this capacity (Homer-Dixon 1999). But recent human history identifies few Easter Islands – states confronted with severe environmental stress that have collapsed into violence and subsequently disappeared – and many Rwandas – states confronted with severe environmental stress that have experienced great violence and then begun to recover. In fact, many of the cases used to demonstrate the validity of the scarcity-conflict thesis are not nearly as straightforward as has been suggested. More recent research has pointed to the environment as a source of cooperation and peace, more than a source of conflict and war. For example, Wolf and Delli Priscoli (2006) point out that international cooperation around water has a long and successful history, with water serving as a greater pathway to peace than to conflict in international river basins.

There has also emerged an alternative approach to studying environmental conflicts that is firmly grounded in long-standing environment-society studies conducted by geographers, anthropologists, and sociologists that is now sometimes called ‘political ecology’. This work offers detailed, contextualized and more nuanced insights into environmental problems and violence. The importance of unequal outcomes of social and environmental changes is highlighted in a number of these case studies. For example, inadequate distribution of the returns from resource extraction activities has been a factor in violence in West Kalimantan (Peluso/Harwel 2001: 83–116) and the Niger Delta (Mochizuki 2004: 207–228). In his analysis of land invasions in a district of Chiapas, Bobrow-Swain (2001: 155–188) shows that declining agricultural production due to economic and political forces (rather than environmental scarcity), and the unequal distribution of returns from production, was an important factor in land conflicts. Timura also shows that unequal access to economic and political resources was an important factor in the Zapatista rebellion, the ‘Guinea Fowl’ war in Ghana, and conflict in Pará, Brazil (Timura 2001: 104–113). Suliman compares the different responses of people in the Fur and Boran regions to drought and shows that land rights

was an important variable in determining whether drought results in violent or peaceful outcomes, as well as the role of leaders, and institutions for resource sharing (Suliman 1999: 286–290).

There is a discernable message in these studies that individual and group’s perceptions of the distribution of material and social power is important in the generation of violence. For example, groups may respond to a perception that other groups are faring better or may be threatening, and act to get their share, or to defend themselves in ways that make violent outcomes more likely. The role of leaders in generating or mitigating these cycles of antipathy is critical (David 1997: 552–576). This emphasis on perceptions contrasts with the somewhat more functionalist accounts of the earlier studies that suggest that material changes translate directly into observable social actions.

These studies are contributing to a more nuanced understanding of the connections between environment and violence. In none of them is ‘environmental scarcity’ or ‘resource abundance’ seen to be a simple causal factor in conflict. Instead, a range of economic, political, and cultural processes that structure both material and institutional forms of power are seen to be more important than scarcity or abundance *per se*. Their insights do not give rise to a generalized model in the manner of Homer-Dixon’s results (1999), but may instead be seen as a reflection of the plurality of responses to environmental change and the plurality of ways in which violent conflict arises. One theme that does, however, emerge repeatedly from these studies is that equity, as well as perceptions of equity, do matter when it comes to environmental security.

24.3 Human Security

At the same time as environmental security studies were elaborating on the links between environment and conflict, a parallel development on human security was emerging within international relations and development theory and practice. The concept of human security, and the larger discourse that is associated with it, unites a number of disparate strands of thought that have become increasingly influential in the international policy community. From the international relations side, the end of the cold war, advances in communication technologies, increasing economic interdependence, and environmental change, among other factors, has meant that the meaning and practice of ‘security’ has becoming increasingly elusive

(Walker 1987: 171–190). These changes give rise to the question: Whose security? This question alone undermines the hegemonic discourse of security as 'national security' by opening space to consider alternative meanings and referents of security, as well as alternative strategies for achieving security. Decentralizing security away from states in this way, and focusing on the myriad local, national, global, and 'glocal' (Rosenau 1990) interactions that create security and insecurity, invites consideration of the way some people's security occurs at the expense of others (Booth 1991a: 313–326). It also invites consideration of the myriad processes that can undermine security, including poverty, energy shortages, trade imbalances, environmental changes, and changes in access to food. Security has become more pluralized in this way, moving away from states and an emphasis on military force and war, and towards people and the multitudinous risks they must manage. As such, human security has increasingly become a general concept of social science (Shaw 1993: 159–175).

As well as contesting and recasting international relations theory and practice, human security synthesizes concerns in development theory and practice for basic needs, human development, and human rights (Gasper 2005: 221–245). The concept of human security came to prominence through the 1994 *Human Development Report*, which defined human security as a "concern with human life and dignity" and which adopted a comprehensive approach by identifying economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community, and political components to human security (UNDP 1994). The orientation is therefore firmly on human beings, and, in this early formulation, on basic needs ('human life') as well as psychosocial elements of being ('dignity'). Through the use of the word 'security', this and later formulations of human security also point to the need for the things that are important to human life and dignity to be maintained despite sudden and incremental changes in the social and environmental milieu that determine (and so may undermine) their provision.

There has been a wide range of definitions of human security since the 1994 *Human Development Report*. Notable among these is the international Commission on Human Security's definition of human security as "to protect the vital core of all human lives in ways that enhance human freedoms and human fulfilment" (CHS 2003: 4). This definition continues the focus on human dignity ('fulfilment'), and builds on Amartya Sen's (2000) ground-breaking work on the importance of freedoms to human development. Sen

argues that development is not so much something that can be done to others, but is instead something that people do *for themselves* given sufficient "economic opportunities, political liberties, social powers, and the enabling conditions of good health, basic education, and the encouragement and cultivation of initiatives" (Sen 2000a: 4). These opportunities are, in Sen's words, 'freedoms', and it is freedom, he argues, that should be both the means (how to attain) as well as the ends (the goal) of development. The idea of a 'vital core' in the Commission's definition recognizes that there are many different kinds of valued lives within a population, and seeks to avoid the problem of value homogenization that arises when prescribing a universal policy goal such as 'increasing income'.

24.4 Global Environmental Change

The expansion of research on environmental security, along with the rise of human security as both a concept and a discourse, has created a wide opening for interrogation of the links between global environmental change and human security. Surprisingly, there has been very little direct attention to this area of research. While there has been some discussion on the relationship between climate change and conflict (Barnet 2001; Brauch 2002), and on the relationship between biodiversity conservation and violence (Matthew/Halle/Switzer 2002), there has been little emphasis on the broader implications of global environmental change for human security, including how increased human security can potentially mitigate environmental change. Perhaps more surprising is the absence of global environmental change on international human security agendas (Brauch 2005, 2005a). Priority topics for human security research and policy amount to a long list that includes human rights; HIV/AIDS and health; gender and security; terrorism; armed conflict; armies, paramilitaries and non-state armed groups; humanitarian intervention; conflict resolution and peacemaking; small arms, light weapons and landmines; and poverty and people-centred development. Despite growing international concern about climate change, biodiversity loss, and other environmental changes, these issues have not been identified as priority areas for human security research.

There are several explanations as to why the relationship between global environmental change and human security has been overlooked or underestimated, and we focus here on two. The first is that global environmental change has been largely framed as

an issue of science, with a focus on understanding the processes of the earth system, and not as an issue of human security (O'Brien 2006: 1-3). The identification of global scale environmental changes has long been the domain of earth systems scientists who focuses on the interactions between large scale geosphere-biosphere systems, and the natural and human-induced changes in them. This research has been invaluable in identifying global and regional scale environmental changes such as ozone depletion, climate change, and biodiversity loss, and increasingly it is identifying the cascading effects of these macro changes on smaller biophysical systems and phenomena such as the coastal zone, water resources, agriculture, and species distribution. The sequence of assessment is along an assumed and often linear chain of causality: from the bench sciences through to the biological and earth sciences, ending with the social sciences (and at that largely with economics); and correspondingly from global, to regional and finally to more local scales of assessment (Proctor 1998: 227-248; Redclift 1998: 177-182; Taylor/Buttel 1992: 405-416). The emphasis remains on the higher-order and larger scales of this assessment sequence. There remains very little effort - as may be measured in terms of funding, personnel, or publications - to examine what these changes in turn mean for local social systems, and for individuals and communities who will be differentially affected by them (Demeritt 2001: 307-337; Shackley/Young/Parkinson/Wynne 1998: 159-205). Instead, much effort is directed towards resolving the uncertainties in the science of environmental change, arguably at the expense of focusing on the social drivers that are known to generate both environmental change and vulnerability to environmental change.

The second explanation is that there has been a tendency to downplay issues of development, equity, ethics, power relations, and social justice in global change research, prioritizing instead a general, aggregated notion of human security. Although social drivers of change are well recognized in global environmental change research, analyses have historically tended to focus on the absolute numbers of people, and talks of amorphous and aggregated social categories such as 'humanity', 'society', 'Africa', 'small islands' and so on. Consequently, the potential contributions of social sciences to global change research have been undervalued, despite the fact that global environmental change is a social problem, as much as it is a natural system phenomenon. Almost all environmental change problems are the by-products of mod-

ern development practices and the social disparities they produce. For example, climate change is caused by the emissions of gases from fossil fuel use and land use changes; forests are cleared to meet the demand for paper, timber, and new land for agriculture and grazing; biodiversity is lost through land clearing for agriculture and infrastructure; rivers are dammed and diverted to control flooding, for hydropower and to secure the supply of water to irrigators; coasts and reefs are modified to support human settlements and are then polluted or destroyed by those settlements; fisheries are depleted by more intense applications of more efficient fishing techniques; and land is degraded by unsustainable farming practices.

Global environmental change is thus an inherently social problem, and one that has the potential to undermine human security - i.e. the needs, rights, and values of people and communities. Human insecurity from environmental change is a function of many social processes that cause some people to be more sensitive and less able to prepare for and respond to sudden and incremental environmental changes. People who are most dependent on natural resources and ecosystem services for their livelihoods are often the most sensitive to environmental change (Adger 1999: 249-269; Blaikie/Cannon/Davies/Wisner 1994; Bohle/Downing/Watts 1994: 37-48). For example, in terms of needs, a change in soil moisture can undermine nutrition in subsistence farming households, a decline in fish abundance can undermine nutrition and income for fishers, and a decline in surface or groundwater quality can undermine maternal and child health in communities without reticulated water supply. Just as important as sensitivity is people's capacity to anticipate, plan for, and adapt to environmental changes. These response strategies are functions of various social factors, including institutions, information, health, education, and access to food and nutrition, money and resources, and social support networks. Underlying many of these determinants of adaptive capacity is the effectiveness of the state. States that consciously or unconsciously, actively (through violence) or passively (through denial of entitlements), discriminate against social groups on the basis of political opposition, class, ethnicity, and/or location, create vulnerable groups.

These factors of sensitivity and adaptive capacity mean that human security from environmental change is by no means equally distributed. There are differences in the human security of people within every scale of analysis: between regions, countries, cities, villages, and households. In many cases the differences

can be explained by the dependence on natural resources and ecosystem services, coupled with the degree of social power in relation to economic, political, and cultural processes. However, global environmental changes also introduce new threats that potentially influence the security of much wider and diverse groups of people. Sea level rise, a higher frequency or magnitude of storms and extreme weather, the melting of glaciers, the spread of invasive species, and changes in water quality and availability are likely to threaten the human security in new and unexpected ways. The impacts of the Chicago and Paris heat waves on elderly citizens in 1995 and 2003, for example, revealed some of the new challenges posed by global environmental change.

24.5 Global Environmental Change and Human Security

The Global Environmental Change and Human Security (GECHS) project began as a core project of the International Human Dimensions Programme on Global Environmental Change (IHDP) in 1999. The GECHS project defines human security as something that is achieved when and where individuals and communities have the options necessary to end, mitigate or adapt to threats to their human, environmental and social rights; have the capacity and freedom to exercise these options; and actively participate in pursuing these options (GECHS Science Plan 1999). In other words, human security is a variable condition where people and communities have the capacity to manage stresses to their needs, rights, and values.

This definition gives attention to values, and recognizes that human security concerns both needs and human rights. The characterization of human security as 'variable' highlights the ways in which it varies over space and across time: not all people are equally secure, and people are not equally secure throughout the course of their lifetimes. This points to the need for analysis of the asymmetries and interdependencies in human security strategies such that the security of some can come at the expense of others, and to the possibility that in both ethical and practical terms strategies for human security may ultimately only be successful if they do not generate insecurity elsewhere or for later generations. Further, 'variable' identifies that human security is not about static lives, but about flourishing lives where people pursue their legitimate aspirations for a good life, pointing to the nature of

human security as a *process* towards self-articulated goals.

The GECHS definition of human security also explicitly includes communities, and not just individuals. This is of course implied in other definitions, but explicit mention of communities is nevertheless important, as in many cultures the collective social group is of more value than the individual, and decisions and strategies are determined by the group, in the interests of the group, rather than by individuals. It is somewhat ethnocentric to assume, as Western social science often does, that the individual is the most important element of a society.

A focus on 'the capacity to manage stresses' builds on the capabilities and freedoms approaches of Sen, in that it considers people and communities not as passive victims, but as agents of their own human security, whose actions to manage stresses to their needs, rights, and values are most effective given certain freedoms and opportunities. Sen (2000) lists five important freedoms: economic opportunities, political freedoms, social opportunities, transparency guarantees, and protective security. One can add to this list freedom from direct violence, and the equitable allocation of freedoms within and between generations as important additional freedoms that enhance people and communities' capacities to make and maintain their lives in the face of social and environmental changes (Barnett 2008).

The GECHS definition also offers a slightly different articulation of what the UNDP referred to as 'human life and dignity' and what the Commission on Human Security referred to as the 'vital core'. The GECHS definition considers 'needs, rights and values' as a means to highlight the need for some stability in the provision of the basic needs required to function as an equal member of a society, the fundamental rights to which people are entitled, and the unique things that people and communities value for themselves. In doing so, the definition (like Sen and the Commission on Human Security) seeks to avoid prescribing in much detail what is good for people and communities. However, it does acknowledge that there are basic needs such as access to nutritious food and clean drinking water, and basic rights such as the freedom from personal injury and forced migration, that are essential to every life.

The GECHS definition of human security is consistent with a larger discourse on human security that includes: prioritizing the well-being of people and communities ahead of States, analytical integration of multiple drivers of human security, an insistence on

basic human needs, rights and responsibilities, and a concern for justice (Gaspar 2005). Also, like others, it considers human security to be a 'boundary object' that facilitates interfaces between diverse and often otherwise disconnected intellectual and policy communities (St. Clair 2004). As Gaspar argues, human security has forged a confluence of various groups within the field of development studies and policy, who now also interface with some sections of the security research and policy communities (Gaspar 2005). It therefore helps to bridge a number of the interests of the UN system.

However, despite the inclusion of environment as one of the UNDP's (1994) seven components of human security, there has thus far been little interface between this expanded human security community and the global environmental change research and policy community - including those within the UN system. The United Nations has been pushing for more interaction between the global environmental

change and human security communities. Although both human security and environmental considerations are central to the Millennium Development Goals (MDG), there is no explicit recognition of the implications of global environmental change for these goals. For example, efforts and initiatives to eradicate extreme poverty and hunger are likely to be negatively affected by climate change, as many of the people that are most vulnerable to climate variability and change are also poor and hungry right now. Likewise, efforts to reduce child mortality, combat HIV/AIDS, malaria, and other diseases, and promote gender equality are likely to be affected - and potentially offset - by global environmental change. The one MDG that addresses the environment (Goal 7: ensure environmental sustainability) does not consider the challenges posed by environmental change. Consequently, there is substantial potential for global environmental change and human security research to contribute to a wide range of other human security concerns.



GECHS
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25 Globalization and Security: The US 'Imperial Presidency': Global Impacts in Iraq and Mexico

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25.1 Introduction¹

This chapter approaches globalization and security from a theoretical and a historical perspective, making reference to the centrifugal processes observed in the development and impact of US capitalism in the international strategic scene as well as in Mexico. It also focuses on the centripetal forces involved in this process; forces derived from a historically observed centralization of police-military and intelligence power in the US executive branch over the last two centuries. This is a power used to deal with the propensity of capital, in its search for opportunities and profits, to tear and destabilize the social milieu within which it acts. As described below, this presidential power is projected domestically and internationally. The impact of expansionism and Manifest Destiny in the US political and constitutional system has been enormous. In fact, in the view of some analysts, it has led the 'Imperial Presidency' to usurp legislative and judicial functions, eroding democracy in the process.²

From the *Louisiana Purchase* (1803) to the present, many US presidents have simply ignored Congress when it opposed the interests which they directly represent. Through their control over foreign policy, and usually through covert actions, they have tended to draw power out of both the judicial and legislative branches and into the executive. War (and the Civil War) – as well as secret diplomacy and what today is known as black operations – to manipulate the

US Congress and the public have been used frequently. As for example, by President Polk (1845–1849) in the process that led to the war against Mexico; by Abraham Lincoln (1861–1865) who, as commander in chief of the military during the Civil War “raised and committed an army to oppose secession without even consulting Congress”³ (and more significantly, authorized the head of the military to suspend the writ of habeas corpus when necessary (LaFeber 1989; Agamben 2004); by Franklin Roosevelt, in his use of various executive-legislative agreements to circumvent constitutional restrictions in the formalization of treaties; by Lyndon Johnson, in his secret operations to obtain the war powers via the Bay of Tonkin Resolution of August 1964 (LaFeber 1989).

Since World War II, it has been the US that has generated a worldwide corporate and military-industrial structure: its repercussions and interrelationships with the economic sphere require greater elucidation but because of its very nature, the phenomenon represents one of the most daunting challenges to conceptualization and, especially, to explanation (Saxe-Fernández 1994: 283). This is especially the case since following – and as a result of – World War II, military ‘globalization’ came to mean that a ‘superpower’ in the Western Hemisphere located in an area historically ‘conquered’ by European colonial and imperial powers, has been ‘occupying’ militarily the most highly developed economic poles of Eurasia, and is now projecting its “national military might” as an occupying power at the sites of the main oil reserves of the world located in the Middle East (Klare 2004; Saxe-Fernández 2006), generating an unprece-

1 The first draft of this paper was presented to the Canadian Social Science Congress, in Toronto, Canada, 29 May–1 June 2002, and published as: Saxe-Fernández (2002). The author wishes to express his gratitude to Dr. Gian Carlo Delgado Ramos for his technical help and his substantive observations on this work.

2 For a description of the use by the Executive of secret operations to manipulate and undermine Congressional prerogative in foreign relations see Schlesinger (1973), Zinn (1990) and LaFeber (1987).

3 Walter LaFeber (1995: 6): Lincoln did that on 15 April 1861, in contradiction to Article I of the Constitution, and during the next 10 weeks after 4 July “acted as a de facto absolute dictator”. Giorgio Agamben (2004: 54) citing Carl Schmitt (1965) refers to Lincoln’s dictates as a classical example of ‘*dictadura comisarial*’.

dented local and regional resistance and destabilizing the whole strategic equation.

The chapter addresses how these two forces – the centrifugal and the centripetal (that is, the economic and police-military) – relate to each other in what Arthur Schlesinger conceptualized as the ‘imperial presidency’ and its *modus operandi* in the international scene as well as in Mexico. Passing reference is made to the Porfiriato – for the Mexican case –, but the focus is mainly on a description of some of the traumatic and disruptive consequences of the World Bank’s *Structural Adjustment Programmes* (SAP) on the Mexican peasantry and their socio-political impacts as reflected since the Chiapas rebellion (1994).

The impacts of such an ‘imperial presidency’ in the US domestic milieu, particularly in the constitutional arena, are addressed in the context of the war on terrorism at home, through a *régime d’exception* formalized in the *Patriot Act*, *The Military Commissions Act* which carries with it the abrogation of “habeas corpus” and a new Martial Law, *The John Warner Defense Authorization Act of 2007*, signed on 17 October 2006, which allows the president to involve the military in domestic law enforcement (Morales 2006).⁴ The ‘American Gulag’, as experienced in Abu Ghraib, in Guantánamo, and in a global prison camp infrastructure holding – at this point in time –, 14 thousand persons, is interpreted as a testing ground for a “new legal system” (Saxe-Fernández 2006a, 2006b; Delgado 2007). George W. Bush’s has used ‘anti-terrorist’ war powers granted after 11 September 2001 to undermine civil liberties, establish secret military tribunals, and destabilize civil-military relations as exemplified by his request to US Congress to modify the *1878 Posse Comitatus Act* and the *Insurrection Act*, which does not permit the military to act within the United States. Since earlier 2007, the power granted to the Executive by the John Warner Defense Authorization Act, according to Senator Patrick Leahy, encourages the President to declare federal martial law as it allows the ‘commander-in-chief’ to declare a ‘public emergency’ and station

4 The 1878 *Posse Comitatus Act* indicated that “Whoever, except in cases and under circumstances expressly authorized by the Constitution or Act of Congress, willfully uses any part of the Army or Air Force as a posse comitatus or otherwise to execute the laws shall be fined under this title or imprisoned not more than two years, or both”. This is the only US criminal statute that outlaws military operations directed against the American people under the cover of “law enforcement” (Morales 2006: 2).

troops anywhere in the United States and take control of state-based National Guard units without the consent of the governor or local authorities, in order to “suppress public disorder”.⁵

Some crucial impacts of the US national security regime in Mexico such as the export of weapons and military training to Mexico are illustrated. The paper concludes with a general assessment of the relationship between the ‘contradictions’ of capital, in its monopolistic stage, and the etiology and prospects for a general war.

The chapter focuses on the impacts of the imperial power of the United States on international security (the occupation of oil-rich Iraq), and its power projections in Mexico. A historical analysis will show that there is a clear imperialist pattern that emerges in a review of developments from the early 19th century to the most recent turn of US imperialism in the wake of 11 September 2001. At issue in these developments is the need for, and efforts of, the US Executive branch (the ‘imperial presidency’) to reconcile conflicting imperatives of economic power, projected by US-based multinational corporations, and the political imperative to foster stability and order. Some of the implications of the efforts of the US imperial presidency to ‘resolve’ this problem *manu militari* are analysed.

25.2 The US Imperial Presidency and Monopoly Capital: Then and Now

Advanced initially by LaFeber (1995), the main thesis centres on the notion that:

Americans, often viewed as ardently anti-revolutionary, acted as catalysts for revolution as they searched for economic and missionary opportunities around the world; then as they willingly sacrificed order for the sake of opportunity, they supported a new presidency that emerged with this imperialism. Indeed, the President’s chief function in foreign affairs became his use of constitutional commander-in-chief powers to use force, when necessary, to restore enough order so opportunities could again be pursued. (LaFeber 1995: xiii)

The ways through which US imperialism has tried to solve what appears an irreconcilable contradiction be-

5 See for details at: <Leahy.senate.senate.gov/press/200609/092906/html>; <http://leahy.senate.gov/press/200609/092906abgovs>; Jeniffer K. Elsea, Legislative Attorney (2006). A synthesis and analysis is offered by Frank Morales (2006).

tween the destabilizing thrust of its economic agents (the big monopolies and oligopolistic sectors)⁶ and the advocacy of its foreign policy to foster stability and order, centre on the recourse to police military interventions to face repeated socio-political explosions. This pattern increased in frequency with the spectacular growth of US capital after the Civil War when, in many industries, monopoly – and managerial – capitalism had already replaced family enterprises. Large monopolies grew and dominated major sectors of the US economy. As Alfred Chandler points out, these growing monopolies altered the basic structure of these sectors and of the economy as a whole taking over:

From the market the coordination and integration of the flow of goods and services, from the production of the raw materials through the several processes of production to the sale to the ultimate consumer. Where they did so, production and distribution came to be concentrated in the hands of a few large enterprises (Chandler 1995: 11).

Thus, the visible hand of monopoly power, through its ownership and management structures, denied any credibility to the notion of the invisible hand of the market forces, the very notion upon which US corporate expansionism, following the British imperial rhetoric of free trade, was launched. As Prince Bismarck, the Iron Chancellor, pointed out in reference to England: “Free trade is the favourite doctrine of the dominant power, afraid others might follow its example.”

Its most basic imperialistic expression is to be found in an increased symbiosis of state power and corporate interests. By the end of the 19th century, the coordination of American foreign policy and national private interests became more intense and extensive. The US overseas expansion was entirely focused on markets and moved along many routes to all corners of the world and under the impulses stemming from the relationship of its foreign policy and the dynamics and needs of monopoly capitalism.

From a general theoretical and global perspective, Paul Sweezy (1997), Baran and Sweezy (1968), Harry Magdoff (1992), and István Mészáros (1995), have identified capitalism's contradictory tendencies to greatly overreach itself with regard to one of its most important dimensions that directly affects the relationship between its economic and political command structures. According to Mészáros:

The contradiction between the rival national states of the capital system and the problematical drive of its most powerful economic units – the giant corporations – towards transnational monopolism is the clear manifestation of this overreaching (Mészáros 1995: 170).

This theoretical proposition is crucial, taking into account that at the beginning of the 1960's and of the war in Vietnam, Herbert Marcuse, Baran and Sweezy insisted on the centrality of the 'warfare state' in the dynamics of US monopoly capital and its 'Pax Americana'⁷. By the 'warfare state' Marcuse (1964) meant, a social construct distilled from US capitalist experience, based on a massive mobilization of human and material resources, for the eventuality of war, internal or external, against an enemy, internal or external, real or imaginary. Baran and Sweezy (1968) described and analysed the political economy and the basic power mechanisms utilized in favour of powerful corporate interests by dealing with the deep-seated and indeed 'systematic' modus operandi of what US political science calls 'the iron triangle'.⁸ In its dynamics the role of the 'imperial presidency' is crucial: the 'iron triangle' concept is used to portray a politically interdependent relationship between the Executive branch – the imperial presidency⁹ – and its Federal bu-

6 By *multinational corporation*, I refer to national (in this case, US-based) enterprises that operate internationally.

7 Marcuse did so in a seminar devoted to 'The Warfare State' at Brandeis University (1964) as well as Baran/Sweezy (1968). See also: Sweezy (1978); on the 'political sociology' see C. Wright Mills (1957). For a critique of Mills' work see Sweezy (1968) and Aptheker (1968). In his *Power Elite* Mills (1957) de-emphasizes the notion of a 'ruling class', remaining firmly influenced by the Machiavellian and Weberian mold – with great reliance on notions of bureaucratic elites – but the Marxian influence is undeniably there in his strong rejection of those works that do not take into account the fundamental importance of class and property and the control of and possession of property and stock. See Mills/Gerth (1942, 1965). For further theoretical integration, development and analysis see Milliband (1978).

8 On the 'iron triangle' see: Adams (1977); Salomon/Siegried (1977). For a good study on the 'iron triangle' in the military-industrial sector, see Adams (1982), and for the same regarding oil and gas industry; see Engler's classic (1966). The author's description of the oil lobby's operations and symbiotic relations with US Congress and the White House is one of the best and most systematic studies of the iron triangle's 'pork and barrel' and 'revolving door' dynamics in the oil sector. For a well researched and politically vital study of the operations of the iron triangle in the aerospace industry see Nimroody (1988). An important recent study is offered by Briody (2003).

9 On the imperial presidency in addition to Schlesinger (1973) and LaFeber (1995), see: Saxe-Fernández (2005).

reaucracy (Departments of Defense, Energy, Homeland Security, NASA, etc.), the private interests of giant corporations, particularly in the defence, aerospace and the oil and gas sectors, including labs, research institutes, trade associations and trade unions in the industry itself, and the key committees and members of US Congress, the House and Senate Committees on Energy and Natural Resources, the Armed Services Committees and Defense Appropriations Subcommittee, as well as Congressional members from defence-related districts and states. As special interests, the Federal bureaucracy and Congress develop business relations and interpenetrate each other, so does their effort to defend their interests not only from outsiders but also from ‘insiders’ (‘whistle blowers’) and alternative perspectives (and after 9-11 through drastic restriction of public access to governmental documents and other ‘State of exception’ police and ‘intelligence’ regulations, as indicated, now formalized as part of the ‘anti-terrorist’ clauses of the Patriot Act and other laws).

To shed light on the dynamics of the Iron Triangle’s machinery¹⁰, which is centred in the generation of profits – through the use and manipulation of information and influence – there are two related concepts. The first, ‘pork-barrel politics’ describes the use of this interdependency to boost and protect the private interests.¹¹ At its very core US economy is centred on military Keynesianism involving a sort of ‘military-industrial’ populism (pork and barrel) used by politicians, presidential candidates, senators and congressmen in their efforts to obtain public support through obtaining ‘contracts’ that favour employment and business in their districts and states, irrespective of any economic or military efficiency (Engler 1966; Adams 1982; Briody 2003) All these three components (hence the expression iron ‘triangle’), usually carried out their transactions under the umbrella of the ‘national security’ rhetoric.

The second notion is the ‘revolving door’ practice that is the on-going traffic of personnel (and with it, of information, contacts and influence), from the private to the public sector, and vice versa. This is crucial in the area of governmental contracts:

¹⁰ Geared at the appropriation of surplus value.

¹¹ And this includes a sort of “military-industrial” populism used by politicians, presidential candidates, senators and congressmen in their efforts to obtain public support through obtaining “contracts” that favor employment and business in their districts and states.

A contractor seeks information from Congress and the Executive in answer to many questions: What programs are forthcoming and where and how are they being defined; What are Federal procurement plans and regulations going to look like; Where do bureaucrats and members of Congress stand on particular systems; When will legislation be considered and what form will it take? The company reworks this information, which flows in vast quantities, to focus on company needs and possibilities ... it becomes intelligence (Adams 1982: 23).

This conceptual framework briefly sketched, shades light on current trends towards the formation of economic, monetary and geopolitical blocs, as well as the increased reliance by Washington, not on multilateralism or ‘market-friendly policies’ to obtain access to key raw materials, but on political-military unilateralism and economic nationalism. Within the US ‘power elite’ there is a deep-embedded mistrust of the ‘invisible hand’ to deal with key geo-strategic issues such as access to oil and other key resources. Instead they rely on the Pentagon’s iron fist as it can be observed in Iraq or the constant intelligence community’s black operations practices.

As in Middle East, Mexico and other Caribbean and Latin American nations, what it is involved is the material base and thus the survival of our civilization since it carries with it the big decisions on war or peace. Needless to say, an understanding of the *modus operandi* of the imperial presidency under monopoly capital is crucial in any attempt to elicit a ‘non-terminal’ resolution of the current deep crisis of ‘Pax Americana’, a central feature in the era of intercontinental ballistic missiles and thermonuclear weapons. As Richard Barnet foresaw these issues in the late 1970’s:

A global struggle over resource distribution is already underway. A key political question is whether the holders of power over the present resource system will control the next. War has been a favourite way for great nations to meet their resource needs. If there is another world war, the conflict will most likely be over what the industrial states have come to regard as the elements of survival. Oil, of course, but also iron, copper, uranium, cobalt, wheat, and water (Barnet 1980: 19).

25.3 The Imperial Presidency in Iraq and Mexico

25.3.1 The Case of Iraq

While the ‘iron triangle’ is a social construct at the core of the relationship between ‘state violence’ in Iraq and corporate behaviour and profits, both the

'pork and barrel' and the 'revolving door' practices are at the centre of any attempt to analyse current US involvement not only in that oil-rich country but also in Mexico's political and economic life and most directly in *Petróleos Mexicanos* (Pemex); the country's most important corporation, public or private. A good example is provided by the activities and political-economic forces – and actors – surrounding Halliburton's participation in Iraq and in Mexico's Pemex.

In the case of Iraq, the main Federal contracts of Halliburton, the giant oil services company based in Houston Texas, and its subsidiary, Brown and Root, now *Kellogg, Brown and Root* (KBR) are implemented through the Department of Defense's (DoD) Army Corps of Engineers (ACE), through a modality known as the *Logistics Civilian Augmentation Program* (LOGCAP). I

Initiated by the Pentagon in 1985, during the Reagan administration, the LOGCAP intended to use hundreds of private contractors to supply the DoD and the troops stationed abroad, with support services ranging from food services to latrine cleaning, trucks to cots and tents, gymnasiums and showers, to generators and air conditioners, transportation, housing, construction of jails, distribution of gasoline, cleaning and maintenance of installations and barracks, etc. By this 'outsourcing' of many of its non-war-fighting functions, it was argued that thousands of troops would be freed to serve in battle.

The LOGCAP did not get momentum until 1992, when Dick Cheney, as Defense Secretary of President George Bush, gave it a push through a multi-million dollar classified investigation his office granted to KBR, to assess the costs and benefits of an extended LOGCAP, that is, to all logistics including not only basic services but also 'security' functions such as 'interrogation of prisoners', use of death squads and other paramilitary and illegal operations. The main conclusion of the study stresses the advantages to the Federal Government from an 'expanded LOGCAP', since private contractors could carry on questionable clandestine and security operations that would not fall under the military code or the US international commitments on human rights violations such as genocide and torture.¹²

In August 1992 Cheney awarded KBR, Halliburton's subsidiary, the first extended LOGCAP. Soon afterwards, in 1995, he was appointed CEO of Halliburton. The Cheney-Halliburton 'pork and barrel' and 'revolving door' practices are part and parcel of the

'modus operandi' of monopoly capital. In 1997 the US Governmental Accountings Office (GAO) detected significant irregularities and Halliburton was substituted by DynCorp, another service contractor founded and staffed by former CIA directors and corporate personnel. Nonetheless Halliburton was awarded a non-bid 5 year contract for the reconstruction of Iraq's oil fields destroyed during the first Gulf War. Halliburton's role as the main contractor in Iraq illustrates the way substantial profits can be made through the destruction of entire countries. Lancet, the British medical journal, had estimated Iraq's civilian toll by 2006 in the hundreds of thousands (Roberts 2007). By 2007, more than 3,000 US soldiers have been killed and the seriously wounded and mutilated young men run in the 22,000 figure. But thanks to the 'modus operandi' of monopoly capital in the US, as the human tragedy and costs of the war in Iraq escalate, so do the profits to the corporations (Saxe-Fernández 2003, 2005, 2005a).

Since KBR received more money from the US involvement in Iraq than any other contractor, naturally many analysts think Halliburton's high level connections may have given it undue influence in winning sole-source business. Halliburton's shares in the stock market have soared as the price tag of Iraq's military occupation increases (Witte 2005). At the beginning of the aggression in March 2003, the White House estimated the war would cost 60 billion dollars. Information provided by the New York Times (2005) indicates that since then 137.5 billion dollars have been used just on military operations, out of a total of 250 billion.¹³ The cost of the war in Iraq for the period from 2006 to 2010 has been estimated at over 1.3 trillion dollars.

The wide use of hundreds of contractors that operate under 'cost-plus' contracts is at the root of this price escalation and mounting abuses. During the late 1950's and mid-1960's, government contracts for the military and space agencies were assigned to companies on a 'cost-plus basis', a 'device' engineered under the American oligarchy's exorbitant ambition for higher profits that gave the contracting firms a strong incentive to run up costs. Thus, as Melman pointed out, cost overruns were actually encouraged by the Pentagon's managers and the Federal government's

13 According to the US based National Priorities Project, on 20 February 2007, US War costs in Iraq were about: 368 billion US\$; for topical data see at: <http://national-priorities.org/index.php?option=com_wrapper&Itemid=182>.

12 Such as in the Plan Colombia.

economics, on the grounds of “bolstering the economy” and “getting America moving again”. Thus, “cost maximizing” became an institutionalized practice among the Pentagon’s 37,000 industrial firms and over 100,000 subcontractors – including the “military divisions” of US 500 most important corporations (Melman 1987). According to the trade journal *Defense Week*, by the 1980’s, the prices of the military-serving goods produced by this network of firms were rising 20 per cent annually (Melman 1987: 4).

In 1991, prior to the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001, and with Cheney as vice-president, KBR got a 10-year LOGCAP. As a result Halliburton is the largest contractor of the Pentagon in Iraq, in charge of 90 per cent of the LOGCAP. In June 2003 KBR got 320 million dollars in contracts. By September of that year the company was awarded 2 billion. According to Associated Press’ Lolita Baldor from 2003 to 2004 KBR contracts in Iraq were estimated at 10.7 billion, but Halliburton’s Iraq-related contracts in the Middle East could reach the 18 billion mark, not including operations in many countries – such as the construction of jails in Guantánamo and Afghanistan.¹⁴ The Army has ordered nearly 5 billion in work from Halliburton to provide logistic support to the US troops in Iraq over the next year, 1 billion above what the Army paid for similar services the previous year. This was happening while Halliburton is being audited for irregular practices (Witte 2005).¹

It occurs within the context of what Murray Weidenbaum (cited in: Adams 1982: 26) perceives as a convergence between the Executive – such as the DoD’s ACE, or its Air Force, and its major suppliers, which blurs and reduces much of the distinction between public and private activities in key branches of the US economy, such as aircraft and aerospace, defence, and oil and gas (Adams 1982: 26). Weidenbaum’s assessment is corroborated almost daily.

The involvement of Halliburton and KBR, and the Vice-president, in the decision-making process that led to this ‘petro-war’ is clarified by the events surrounding these ‘irregularities’. For example, in late 2002, KBR was deployed to Kuwait to support the 150,000 or so Army troops pouring into the country in preparation for the March 2003 invasion of Iraq.

According to information gathered by <www.corpwatch.org>, KBR took up residence in villas paying 200 dollars per person with a total hotel tab soon reaching 1.5 million per month. The work was part of the above-mentioned weeping ten-year LOGCAP, and the decision to attack Iraq, strenuously fostered by Cheney, Rumsfeld, Rice and Wolfowitz at Bush’s National Security Council, meant billions of dollars in contracts and profits.

The demotion of key military officers and civilian employees of the Federal Government reporting accounting irregularities is part of a vast – and indeed extreme – ‘damage control’ effort by the Bush/Cheney administration (and its related private sector and Congressional allies and partners), which is reaching dictatorial proportions for its ‘state of exception’ mechanisms in the crucial area of accountability and official auditing practices. This case illustrates the fact that, as Adams points out, once moulded, the triangle sets with the rigidity of iron. Its key participants exert strenuous efforts to keep it isolated and protected from outside scrutiny (Adams 1982: 25).

Halliburton’s ‘pork and barrel’ scandals and ‘revolving door’ features are far from being the exception, as virtually all major corporations (like Boeing, Bechtel, Lockheed Martin, Northrop Grumman, General Dynamics, Raytheon, United Technologies, General Electric, Science Applications International Corporations and CSC/Dyn Corp, to name but a few), and tens of thousands of subcontractors spread all over the US are involved in the ‘iron triangle’ dynamics¹⁵. For the past three years, for instance, and due to the Pentagon’s need for fuel for its global involvement, which includes prominently the war in Iraq, the Air Force sponsored a 30 billion dollar proposal to convert passenger planes into military refuelling tankers and lease them from Boeing, “as an efficient way to obtain aircraft the military urgently needs” (Smith 2005: A01).

But according to Ronald Garant, an official at the Pentagon comptroller’s office, the scheme “is a bailout for Boeing” and information gathered by Jeffrey Smith of the Washington Post indicate that the prevailing opinion at the Pentagon is that the proposed

14 Since Cheney was appointed Vice-president of the US, Halliburton worldwide operations have multiplied. For example, just in Mexico, from January 2001 to may 2005 Pemex, the Mexican state oil enterprise, now under a World Bank “divestiture” scheme, awarded 1.22 billion to Halliburton in non-bid contracts.

15 Professional up-dated profiles on these corporations are provided by www.corpwatch.org Design by Tumis.com 1611 Telegraphn Ave, N. 702, Oakland, Ca, 94612, USA. Current developments in the military industrial complex are provided on line, among others, by the NYT, Washington Post, San Francisco Chronicle, St. Louis Post Dispatch, Christian Science Monitor, and the Los Angeles Times.

lease of Boeing's 767 would cost too much for a plane with serious shortcomings. To senators John McCain, John Warner and Carl Levin of the Armed Services Committee, this is "one of the most significant military contracting abuses in several decades" (quoted in Smith, 2005). The incident provides an extraordinary glimpse of how the 'Iron triangle' and the 'imperial presidency' operate.¹⁶ It shows the US Air Force working hand-in-glove with one of its chief contractors, the financially ailing Boeing, to help it try to obtain the most costly government lease ever.

By February 2007, the three top auditors overseeing work in Iraq told a US House of Representatives Committee their review of 57 billion dollars in Iraq contracts found that Defense and State Department officials condoned or allowed repeated work delays, and bloated expenses and payments for shoddy work or work never done:

About 10 billion has been squandered by the US government on Iraq reconstruction aid because of contractor overcharges and unsupported expenses, and federal investigators warned ... that significantly more taxpayer money is at risk (Yen 2007: AP 1)

The warning is important since after the November 2006 elections, 'resistance' to the war for oil in Iraq is also widespread in the US Congress and, so far, the Bush administration has spent more than 350 billion dollars on the Iraq 'reconstruction and stabilization' effort.¹

The 'iron' dimension of the 'triangle' is fully illustrated by a new inspector general's report detailing the US Air Force's vigorous efforts on Boeing's behalf and also showing how Air Force leaders and Boeing officials jointly manipulated legislation to authorize the deal, and later sought to suppress dissenting opinion throughout the Pentagon (Blustein 2005: PED 1).

There is an ongoing persecution and punishment of federal workers including military and intelligence officers who object to the doctoring of facts that clash with policy and business: an Army general sidelined for questioning the administration's projections about needed troop strength in Iraq; a former intelligence officer and journalist whose credibility is being questioned because he has written about the Pentagon's efforts to expand covert capabilities within the US, and provides documental evidence that former Defense Secretary Rumsfeld was building up 'an elite secret army'; a Medicare expert muted when he tried to inform Congress about the true cost of the new

prescription subsidies and a White House Specialist on climate change, who was punished after complaining that global warming statistics were being manipulated by White House political tacticians.

In addition to the hounding and bullying of 'whistle blowers' (NYT 2007), the White House, at the close of the second Bush presidency and in the face of a democratic victory in the 2008 presidential elections, behaves like an embassy in foreign territory getting ready for war, - or as a band of crooks facing an imminent inspection by the Internal Revenue Service: it is 'burning evidence' on a colossal scale. It is removing all embarrassing documents and data from public scrutiny. According to the New York Times this is being implemented at the unprecedented rate of '125 documents a minute':

The move toward greater secrecy has nearly doubled the number of documents annually hidden from public view - to well more than 15 million last year, nearly twice the number classified in 2001 - as bureaucrats have invented more amorphous categories like 'sensitive security information'. At the same time, the declassification of documents required under the Freedom of Information Act has been choked down to a fraction of what it was a decade ago, leaving the government working behind an ever darker, ever denser screen (NYT 2005).

25.3.2 The Case of Mexico

Since the *North American Free Trade Agreement* (NAFTA) came into operation, the imperial presidency's centrifugal-centripetal dynamics is increasing in Mexico. While the 'free market' economic scheme boosts social and political frustrations, police-military initiatives led by the White House become more pronounced. It is worth taking into account that this country's massive concessions in deregulating foreign trade - without reciprocity - and direct investment, formalized in the NAFTA were the basis for setting up an area of 'hemispheric commercial, monetary, investment and military annexationism' through the *Free Trade Area of the Americas* (FTAA) and related programmes such as *Plan Puebla Panama* (PPP) and *Plan Colombia* (PC) now euphemistically called *Plan Patriota*, The FTAA, PPP and PC are backed by an elaborate public relations structure that barely conceals their real intention, namely, to justify the absorption of cheap labour, markets and strategic raw materials such as oil, natural gas, minerals, water and the control of huge biodiverse areas from Latin America (Delgado 2004; 2005), as part of an arsenal of instruments (including those of military and 'security projection')

16 For details on how the iron triangle currently impacts transatlantic relations see Blustein (2005).

used by the US government to face an increasingly fragmented and competitive world economy.

Over the last 140 years, in the Americas the enforcement of the Monroe Doctrine (1823) has been geared to providing state protection to US investment and trade. The needs of the fast-developing US industrial and agricultural system – based on protectionism and plagued by overproduction – were and are at the root of the US promotion of free trade agreements. This key structural feature was central in the 19th century and in the late 20th century: NAFTA and FTAA, as well as hemispheric and indeed US global economic and military diplomacy.

Former US Secretary of State, James G. Blaine (1889–1892)¹⁷, spelled out the US economic policy toward Latin America as follows:

I wish to declare the opinion that the United States has reached a point where one of its highest duties is to enlarge the area of its foreign trade. Under the beneficent policy of (tariff) protection we have developed a volume of manufactures which, in many departments, overruns the demands of the home market. In the field of agriculture, with the immense propulsion given in it by agricultural implements, we can do far more than produce breadstuffs and provisions for our own people. ... Our great demand is expansion. I mean expansion of trade with countries where we can find profitable exchanges. We are not seeking annexation of territory. At the same time I think we should be unwisely content if we did not seek to engage in what the younger Pitt so well termed annexation of trade (cited in LaFeber 1995: 165).

Blaine's interest in Latin America, and his idea to persuade US hemispheric neighbours to accept a kind of 'older sister' relationship, was influenced by economic motives. Blaine was a Republican representing big business interests. Naturally, he was aggrieved by the US's adverse balance of trade with Latin America, a region which at that time was shipping huge quantities of raw materials to the US and which bought the bulk of its manufactured goods from Europe (Bailey 1980: 399). Like today, inter-capitalist rivalry was at the core of hemispheric free trade agreements. "Blaine's aim," writes Thomas Bailey:

was to elbow aside foreign competitors by forming closer commercial ties south of the border. And since economic relationships could not flourish amid whistling bullets, Washington would use its good offices to terminate wars in Latin America (Bailey 1980: 399).

This is of particular relevance when analysing the ways in which the centrifugal forces of US capitalism relate to the centripetal powers vested in the 'imperial presidency' and how they have related to each other in the past and at present – for example, through granting the President 'fast track' power to negotiate 'trade agreements'.

In the 1870's, for example, Mexican dictator Porfirio Díaz opened the country to free trade and foreign investment, making Mexico a dependent of the US. In the years 1903–1910, investments skyrocketed to three times those of 1876–1900.¹⁸ By 1910, 43 per cent of Mexico's prosperity is owned by US investors, 33 per cent by 15 million Mexicans, and 24 per cent by other foreign capitalists (LaFeber 1995). The investment was put into oil concessions, silver and other mining operations and huge plantations for export agriculture. In 1905 James Speyer, a prominent US banker, told the German ambassador to Mexico that "In the US there [was] a pervasive feeling that Mexico [was] no longer anything but a dependency of the American economy" (cited in LaFeber 1995: 221).

As massive foreign investments transformed Mexico and haciendas shifted to export crops, landless peasants proliferated and the production of staple food dropped. In 1910 Mexico was more modernized than in 1876, but had less corn and beans for domestic consumption than in 1876. Under the government of Porfirio Díaz the centrifugal forces of US capitalism had torn the social fabric. Americans built railroads to carry the goods to the ports, but also penetrated and threatened communal life. There had been discontented peasants here and there in the country, but by 1910 they swelled over the country, as never before in Mexican history. In 1910, the country exploded into cycles of civil wars, lasting seven years and costing 1.2 million lives, out of a population of 15 million. By 1916 there had been frequent US military incursions into Mexico. President Wilson even ordered the naval bombardment of Veracruz. The centripetal forces of the imperial presidency played different instruments of military, intelligence and diplomatic nature.

The social and political consequences of the Porfirian laissez-faire policies were traumatic. Trade, investment and banking deregulations, similar to today's economic agenda, collapsed under both internal and external forces. At that time – as is increasingly the case today, as demonstrated by the financial collapse

17 Blaine had also served as Secretary of State in 1881 during the brief presidency of James A. Garfield,

18 The data on the Porfiriato is provided by LaFeber (1995).

of December 1994 - Mexican dependence on the liquidity of the international system created serious vulnerabilities:

The US panic of 1907 demonstrated the price of dependence on the giant northern neighbour. As New York capital dried up, Mexican exports dropped, investment disappeared, thousands of Mexican immigrants to the United States suddenly began to return home and unrest spread (LaFeber 1995: 222).

The historical experience of the Porfiriato with US corporate greed and its destabilizing thrust is an important precedent when dealing with current trends, impacted by Mexico's 'neo-oligarchs' (Saxe-Fernández, Eduardo 1999) and foreign interests articulated under the umbrella of the Bretton Woods arrangements. Under Washington's initiative the Bretton Woods conference celebrated in mid-1944 aimed at providing the US with a "new world economic order" that "could keep the nation's economy pumping away so that the war shocked world could be rebuilt and the US system saved from a possibly fatal shock of another 1930's like depression" (LaFeber 1989: 410, Kolko/Kolko 1972: 16; Hudson 2004: 179-216) To solve these problems the meeting established two new organizations: the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) or the World Bank (WB).

Since the US at that time controlled two-thirds of the world's gold, the Roosevelt administration insisted that the post-war economic system rest on gold and the US dollar. Thus, both institutions were designed, as Gabriel and Joyce Kolko agreed, not merely to implement disinterested principles, "but to reflect the US' control of the world's monetary gold and its ability to provide a large part of its future capital. The WB was tailored to give a governmental framework for future private investment, much of which would be American" (Kolko/Kolko 1972: 16).

The US dominated the WB and the IMF, and these institutions, and the powerful dollar, were used by Roosevelt, first of all, "to force the British Empire to open up to the American goods and investment" (LaFeber 1989: 411), and soon after, as a powerful tools to do the same to the rest of the world, and most particularly to the Latin American and Caribbean region (Saxe-Fernández/Delgado 2004).

According to Dean Acheson (1969) who was 'present at the creation' of this new international economic architecture, the aim was to create not just an American dominated international marketplace, but one that did not need excessive state interference or high tariffs. The GATT arrangement later on the

World Trade Organization, was central to these goals (Kolko/Kolko 1972). As both the IMF and the WB were designed to prevent or solve key international problems of the US - and later on of its associates (and competitors) in Europe and Japan -, in this chapter they are treated as state instruments of US national private interests and not as 'international financial institutions' or as 'multilateral instruments', as Roosevelt, not without sarcasm, liked, and seriously demanded, to label them.

Like the dollar, they have been vital tools of '*Pax Americana*' and bringing about agricultural and industrial productivity in the capitalist periphery were not - and have never been - part of its agenda. Nor is it bringing about a social restructuring of any kind. The aim has never been to set into motion a cumulative process of development south of the Río Bravo, of the type which has characterized the performance of 'advanced' economies such as the US, British, Japanese or European economies. The East Asian 'new industrial economies' have developed by not following WB-IMF recipes. South Korea, Taiwan and Japan, during the crucial period of 1950 to 1973 used a wide array of interventionist instruments including

import controls; control over foreign exchange allocations; provision of subsidized credit, -often at negative real interest rates- to favour firms and industries; control over multinational investment and foreign equity ownership; heavy subsidization and coercion of exports, particularly in South Korea; a highly active state technology policy; restrictions on domestic competition and government encouragement of a variety of cartel arrangements in the products markets; promotion of conglomerate enterprises through mergers and other government measures; and wide use of 'administrative guidance' indicating non-transparency of government interventions (Singh 1998: 70).

As Singh points out, the economic history in South-East Asia "is unequivocally an argument for adopting an industrial strategy, for guiding the market, and not following the hands-off 'market friendly' approach recommended by the World Bank" (Singh 1998: 71).

The World Bank was specifically designed to promote primarily US national private interests and exports, not foreign development and resources. As a matter of fact, the WB operations are biased to aid the US, and in the case of WB's agricultural modernization loans in Mexico, US agricultural exports. It is true that during the 1946 to 1952 period it helped US industrial exports and the position of its oil companies in the Middle East by financing the reconstruction of Europe and not primarily to aid the US. But from 1952 onward its lending activities concentrated

in developing mechanism for the extraction of surplus from so-called 'developing' economies. It financed nearly 10 billion dollars of exports from the industrial nations to these 'imperialized' economies, about one-third were US exports (Hudson 2004: 196-197).

The aggregate return to this country, on its total net investment position in the Bank, had exceeded 100 per cent from the Bank's inception of through 1969. ...On balance-of-payments accounts, US receipts from Bank operations approximated 2.1 times its investments in the institution. The Bank thus was not exactly an instrument of altruistic American generosity (Hudson 2004: 197).

When it comes to the 'modernizing of Mexican agriculture the 'laissez faire' policies in Mexico ended up protecting US industrial and agricultural exports and investors against Mexican commercial, agricultural, and industrial nationalism.

In both, the Porfirian and in the 'NAFTA periods' what we have is a classic form of free trade imperialism, and in both cases the economic strategy pushed social and political stability to the limits (and beyond!). While the US government lavished enormous subsidies on its domestic agriculture, aerospace, and other industries in order to assure a strong position in world markets, in Mexico the WB's *Agricultural Sector Loans* and NAFTA's free trade impositions in the agricultural sector have stimulated an unprecedented collapse of public expenditure and investment in the rural and industrial sector, generating an equally unprecedented exodus of untrained migrants into the cities and into the US. The social, political and military consequences of SAPs, and privatization and deregulation packages sponsored in Mexico by the IMF and the WB have been, and are being, implemented with the acquiescence of the Mexican government, dominated as it is by a powerful oligarchy.¹⁹ Under this policy, the so-called '*neoporfirato*',²⁰ the government of Mexico, is being treated almost as if it were a part of the US.

Neoporfirato's basic features centre on the unilateral opening of Mexico's domestic market, the privatization of some of the most important sectors of the Mexican economy - through a process designed to socialize costs and privatize benefits - all sorts of constitutional modifications designed to suit foreign in-

terests, the transformation of Mexico into an exclusive paradise for US and Canadian investors by means of NAFTA, and the application of SAPs in the countryside. After listening to a major presentation on the privatization programme and the new Law of Foreign Privatization and Foreign Investment, sponsored by the World Bank during the government of President Salinas (1988-1994), a US entrepreneur expressed his satisfaction by calling the Salinas regime "the best thing that has happened to us since López de Santana delivered more than half of the Mexican territory to the United States" (Esteves 1994: 44).

The SAPs sponsored by the IMF and the WB are at the centre of *neoporfirato* policies that were the major immediate cause of the insurrection in Chiapas. There is a virtual consensus among Mexican and many foreign analysts that the SAPs were a major precipitant of internal war, not in Chiapas but also in the case of other rural and urban sociopolitical explosions in the other states of Mexico, as well as elsewhere (for example, in Caracas, Santiago del Estero in Northern Argentina, and again [in 2002] in Buenos Aires and Montevideo). Social upheaval in Chiapas has deep roots in a colonial history of violence, dispossession, and indignities suffered by the native Indians, and such grievances were not addressed or even affected in any vital way by the Mexican Revolution. As is well known, the revolutionary government's economic and political policies favoured landowners, cattle-ranchers, and those whose interests depend on the exploitation of the forests.

A crude coalition of these groups based on the political exploitation and inequities of caciquismo, the power structure of local bosses, was and still is the order of dominance in Chiapas. The agrarian and social structures derived from capitalist modernization benefited a small group and proletarianized a vast numbers of peasants in Chiapas and throughout Mexico (Calva 1993). According to research carried out by the *Centro de Investigaciones Ecológicas del Sureste* in where, by 1989, 64.7 per cent of the Chiapas peasants were *jornaleros* (day workers), 28.4 per cent were ab-

19 The World Bank and the IMF are treated in this paper as state and class instruments of US national private interests and not as international financial institutions or as financial multilateral instruments, and thus, as vital tools of *Pax Americana*. For a precise historical analysis, see Kolko and Kolko (1972).

20 *Neoporfirato* is a concept that defines more clearly current features of economic and political policies in contrast to the more popular label of neo-liberal. The Mexican XIX liberal tradition fostered important positive trends in vital areas such as state-church relations and in promoting the secularization of education. Thus the concept of neo-liberal is not as historically adequate as the neoporfirato. This text is based on a previous research paper (Saxe-Fernández 1994, 2002, 2005, 2006).

jectly poor, and a mere 6.9 per cent were relatively well off. It was during the 1960's and 1970's that *jornalizacion* mainly occurred, but during that period peasants rejected the use of armed conflict to solve their grievances (Saxe-Fernández 1994).

The general conditions for social frustration have been present for a long time, but the events that actually triggered the Chiapas rebellion must be traced to the SAPs of the WB and IMF, particularly their 'modernization' schemes for the agricultural sector in Mexico. The adjustment package of reductions in public spending, channelling government and private resources toward the payment of foreign debts, and the control of wages to reduce inflation and increase the international competitiveness of Mexican products had devastating effects on the Mexican people.

The IMF and WB policies initiated a steep decline in real incomes. WB sources corroborate that real wages fell substantially in Mexico throughout the 1980's and 1990's and that the decline was greatest in the agricultural sector. By 1989 it was estimated that 60 to 80 per cent of the population suffered a situation approaching the despair of sub-Saharan Africa or Bangladesh. Declining real incomes have afflicted both low-income and middle classes. The 'proletarianization' of the Mexican middle class has become even more acute, evoking ominous reminders of Crane Brinton's findings in his famous *Anatomy of Revolution* that a serious deterioration of the position of the middle class seems to be a recurring theme in the English (Cromwellian), American, French and Russian revolutions. This development is clearly not restricted to Mexico as it has already pushed the middle classes of Argentina and Uruguay to join the peasants and workers in their struggle against this economic model.

In the case of Chiapas (Saxe-Fernández 1994, 2002), the decline in real wages was even more devastating due to the high proportion of *jornaleros* (salaried peasant). When the minimum salary was dramatically reduced, it represented an unacceptable decrease in the standard of living of 64.7 per cent for the Chiapas peasants. In relation to the living standards of 1979, the IMF-WB's SAPs reduced real wages by 60 per cent. According to an analysis by Calva (1993), the highly recessive policies implemented from 1983 onward, the collapse of coffee prices in the international market, and the unilateral opening of the domestic market reduced employment and greatly increased underemployment (Calva 1993: 30). As a result of these trends, a large portion (38.8 per cent) of the agricultural population of Chiapas saw its income reduced to

50 per cent of the minimum wage, or less than US \$1.74 a day; another 36.6 per cent of those employed in the *agropecuario* (agrarian sector) earned between US \$1.74 and TJS \$3.48 a day (Calva 1993: 30).

In contrast to the highly subsidized agriculture in the US, the WB's agricultural sector loans, through conditioned programmes implemented by the Mexican government, opened the way to US grain exports and agribusiness by eliminating subsidies to peasants and small farmers, as well as price control mechanisms and price guarantees for the crops, creating the biggest crisis in Mexican agriculture since the 1910 revolution. Small-scale producers throughout Mexico now face competition from cheap US imports of massively subsidized staples like maize, while domestic public investment has been cut drastically. In 1982, public investment in agriculture (in the form of credit subsidies, fiscal transfers, and other public investments) was 2.5 per cent of the GDP. By 1991, under heavy World Bank pressure and loans, it had fallen to 0.7 per cent (Calva 1993).

Chiapas is a symptom of a generalized condition that now affects the very fabric of Mexican society, because the main factors that led to the Zapatista Rebellion are now present everywhere in the country. Carlos Montemayor (1998), a noted analyst of guerrilla movements in Mexico and the author of *La Guerra del Paraíso*, which analyses some of the most important anthropological features of the Chiapas social structure, pointed out that the *Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional* (EZLN) was only the tip of the iceberg of popular unrest and rebellion. He is right, for this type of social movement does not appear spontaneously. Montemayor argues that there is a long period of incubation that makes such movements resistant to violent repression. They are also strongly resistant to actions imposed from outside the community of struggle, and, of course, are not themselves products of 'foreign' or 'external' forces, as official explanations have tried to characterize the Zapatistas.

The preconditions for internal war are not restricted to Chiapas - because the frustration of social, economic, and political aspirations is a general feature of the current Mexican landscape, and the so-called 'economic modernization' being implemented under the impact of all sorts of loans from the WB and the Inter-American Development Bank, have served as major precipitants of social conflict throughout the country. The concept of relative deprivation is an essential tool for any diagnosis of the national, and cer-

tainly the bilateral, origins of the Zapatista insurrection. That is, it is not absolute poverty that is the main precipitant of internal war but social perceptions regarding the discrepancy between the community's value expectations and its value capabilities. As expressed by Gurr:

Value expectations are the goods and conditions of life to which people believe they are rightfully entitled. Value capabilities are the goods and conditions they think they are capable of getting, and keeping (Gurr 1970: 24).

It is in this sense that the situation in Chiapas indicates a much deeper problem: relative deprivation might even be greater in states such as Chihuahua or Coahuila, which have higher standards of living and therefore face even greater relative inequities. There are growing indications that this is the case. There is a widespread perception that regressive distribution of income is an essential feature of current economic policies. The programme to combat 'extreme poverty', basically designed by the WB, has led to results that contradict what was expected to accomplish. This is mainly a consequence of the fact that it was unable to counteract the widespread effects of its wage control policy. The contraction of wages has been brutal. In the 1970-1982 period, wages were 37.1 per cent of the GDP, whereas in the 1990's they were under 25 per cent. It is estimated that between 1983 and 1993, Mexican wage earners lost US\$ 46.9 billion. From 1989 to 1993 the loss was estimated at US\$ 160.9 billion.

Analysts often classify developmental policies as belonging to one of two types. Fragmenting development tends to concentrate wealth. Integral development tends to promote economic equity. *Neoporfiriano* economic policy has been decidedly of the former type. That it has served to concentrate wealth in the midst of increased absolute poverty is a major recipe for social violence, as it was during Don Porfirio's tenure. The actual concentration of wealth has reached levels that are difficult to imagine: 0.2 per cent of the population - the very top of the Mexican plutocracy - holds 51.1 per cent of the country's assets.²¹

Social expenditures have been cut drastically. In 1980 such expenditures amounted to US\$ 3.2 billion, and in 1981, the last year of the López Portillo administration, they increased to US\$ 3.5 billion. From 1989 to 1993, under IMF-World Bank economic 'guidance', social spending was reduced to US\$ 1.96 billion while the regional anti-poverty programmes in Chiapas amounted to US\$ 527.5 million, and the losses of

wage earners in the state, according to Calva's (1993: 4) calculations, were over US\$ 3 billion.²²

It is no accident that the Chiapas insurrection coincided with the official inauguration of NAFTA on 1 January 1994. The linkage between both events is associated with several other factors. In addition to the problems caused by the wage-control policy of IMF and World Bank, Calva underscores the importance of the crisis of the coffee market, which affected about 60,000 small producers across the state. The crisis resulted from the Salinas government's rejection - in compliance with US presidential trade policies - of the International Coffee Agreement (Calva 1993: app. 702.3), thus meeting the requirements of NAFTA, that Mexico would not act in coalition with other producers to restrict exports and thereby affect international prices:

But the coffee clause, was not the only reason why the Indians rejected NAFTA, for peasants had already been suffering the effects of trade liberalization on the prices of other items such as the collapse in the prices of meat, soybeans, sorghum, bananas, and cocoa, which further reduced the peasants' income and threw the whole agricultural sector of the country into disarray (Calva 1993).

Global public investment in Mexico from 1981 to 1992 declined by 60.4 per cent. Public investment in *agropecuario* was especially hard hit by the WB's economic policies, showing a decline of 79.04 per cent during the period.²³ The IMF-WB's SAP has caused a

21 In 1984 the income of the lowest 10 per cent of Mexican families accounted for 1.72 per cent of the GDP. By 1989 this figure had declined to 1.58 per cent, and by 1992, to a mere 1.55 per cent. By contrast, the incomes of the richest 10 per cent of the population increased as a proportion of GDP from 32.77 per cent in 1984 to 37.93 per cent in 1989, and to 38.16 per cent in 1992 based on data from INEGI and the Banco Nacional de México. See: Elvia Gutiérrez, "Retrosos en la distribución de la riqueza durante la actual administración", in: *El Financiero*, 11 February 1994: 3. Data on the concentration of wealth by the Mexican plutocracy are from Banco de México and Bolsa Mexicana de Valores, See: *La Jornada*, 14 February 1994: 1.

22 This type of inequity is also observed in the way the State of Chiapas, Mexico's richest state in terms of water and forest resources as well as in the generation of electricity, is physically discriminated against by the Federal Government.

23 These estimates were kindly provided by Calva as of 1 March 1994. The figures are based on official data from the Federal budgets of 1980-1992, and all estimates are made in 1980 pesos.

major social trauma for Mexican rural and urban society. It has precipitated the biggest crisis in Mexican agriculture since the 1910 revolution. Only the historical record can fully explain the enormous social, political, and military implications of current *neoporfirian* regression fostered by the Mexican oligarchs and the presidency through the IMF-World Bank agricultural SAP.

In a synthesis of the historical record on this vital experience, the editors of the *New Internationalist* recall that Emiliano Zapata's main concern during the Mexican Revolution was the restoration of lands seized from the peasantry under Porfirio Díaz. After the resignation of Díaz in 1911, Zapata refused to demobilize his army until this demand had been met. In November he promulgated the *Plan de Ayala* which spelled out the demand for agrarian reform.

The lands, woods and water that have been usurped ... will be immediately restored to the villages or citizens who have title to them. ... Because the great majority of Mexicans own nothing more than the land they walk on. ... A third of these properties will be expropriated, with prior indemnification, so that the villages and citizens of Mexico may obtain *ejidos*, sites for town and fields. During the next chaotic and violent years Zapata remained in opposition to every head of state that emerged. In March 1919 he directed an open letter to President Venustiano Carranza denouncing his policies which turned the revolutionary struggle to your own advantage and to serve the interests of those who helped you rise, then shared the spoils. ... The old land holdings have been taken over by new landlords. ... and the people mocked in their hopes (1994: 21).

Carranza devised an elaborate scheme to get rid of Zapata. A Federal Colonel, Jesus Guajardo, feigned a mutiny and offered to join Zapata with 500 men, their arms and ammunition. As proof of good faith several Zapatista defectors were tried by court-martial and executed, and the town of Jonacatepec was 'captured' in Zapata's name. A conference was set for 10 April 1919 at the Hacienda de Chinameca in Zapata's home territory. Zapata rode into the hacienda with just ten men: the ceremonial guard turned their guns on him and he died in a hail of bullets (*New Internationalist*, January 1994: 21).

25.4 The US 'Imperial Presidency' and the World Bank's Rural Modernization

Since NAFTA, small-scale producers all over Mexico have faced competition from cheap US imports of sta-

ples like maize, while government support for corn prices has been cut drastically. In other words, with other parameters used for comparison, public investment in agriculture (in the form of credit subsidies, fiscal transfers and other public investments), which was 2.5 per cent of the GDP in 1982, fell down to 0.7 per cent by 1991.

What happened in Mexico in the last two decades was properly labelled by a widely read US weekly magazine as 'Don Porfirio's Revenge' not only because of the World Bank's massive privatization programme but also because of what appears to be a full-fledged agrarian counter-reform. Salinas' modification of Article 27 of the Mexican Constitution, considered by the World Bank as one of its most important successes, formally ended agrarian reform and the process of land redistribution by eliminating the concept of 'social property', and it left the *ejidatarios* and small farmers at the mercy of 'market forces'. As a consequence of new legal loopholes, a substantial increase in latifundia and in the holding of transnational - mostly US based - agribusiness has taken place.

The elimination of the *ejido* system of Mexican agriculture and the large-scale substitution of capital-intensive, export-oriented commercial farming in Mexico for the near-subsistence agriculture still practised in the countryside is clear evidence of the destabilizing forces unleashed by US capitalist centrifugation. The rapid displacement of the rural population has swelled the urban labour market, further depressing wage levels. Millions of peasants are crowding the cities or moving north, increasing immigration pressures. These socially disruptive policies place enormous strain on public sector services, while undermining the traditional social patterns. The social explosiveness created conditions for rural insurgencies, like those in Chiapas. This led the WB, through the Salinas, Zedillo and Fox governments, to implement *Procampo* (now combined with a similar scheme called *Connigo*) an emergency programme designed in part to address the plight of beleaguered peasants, but operated more to neutralize the electoral costs of these regressive policies to the PRI and now to the PAN.²⁴

According to a confidential document prepared by economic analysts working for the US embassy in

24 PRI (*Partido Revolucionario Institucional*) is the official party that dominated Mexican politics. PAN (*Partido Acción Nacional*) is the opposition right-wing party that won the 2000 and the controversial elections in 2006.

Mexico and leaked to the local press, “Procampo was designed to alleviate the pain of the peasantry in its transition to an open market. ... the privatization of the rural sector has had abrupt and catastrophic consequences for the Mexican rural population,” which, according to the Ambassador’s analysts, “has little chance to modernize in a way that would enable them to compete within the framework of NAFTA” (Domville 1994: 20). The dynamics of the imperial presidency are evident in this case, for while the document recognizes that the WB’s rural policies carried out by Salinas “have contributed to social instability and thus fostered the Zapatista guerrilla movement,” it notes that,

in an electoral year the government has an obligation to at least temporarily alleviate rural problems in order to keep the electoral advantage it traditionally enjoys in the rural areas (Saxe-Fernández/Delgado 2005).

Speaking to an assistant to Representative Richard Gephardt, who visited Chiapas in late 1994, an Indian woman summarized the prevailing sense of despair among the Mexican rural population: “They never gave us anything, but now, with the Constitutional changes, they left us without hope.” This claim echoes those recorded during the regime of Porfirio Díaz. But the foreign policy of the US imperial presidency, carried out through the *neoporfiriato*, centres on short-run corporate and regional interests. For example, US embassy analysts point out that US grain exporters will greatly benefit from the WB’s agricultural programmes since the inability of these schemes to promote local production tends to favour “more imports of US corn and beans in the short run.” And since the limitations of the WB’s agricultural programmes will not enable Mexico to meet future demands for wheat, sorghum, soybeans, rice and cotton, it is estimated that “In medium and long-run terms the increased demand for such items will be greater than the national capacity to produce them, and thus imports [from the United States] will increase correspondingly” (confidential text cited in Domville 1994: 20).

The national security implications of a policy that tends to push millions of Mexican peasants into cities north and south of the US border are now being addressed by an unprecedented – in Mexican history – increase in military and police budgets, and an equally unprecedented US projection of military assistance, training and technology, appropriate for the control of the rural and the urban population. In terms of this technology, I refer, for instance, to the Textron water cannon vehicle weighing 25 thousand pounds and

shooting 400 gallons of water at sufficient pressure to knock down crowds of people, and to the Cobra crowd control vehicle manufactured by Customs Armouring of Pittsfield, as well as to thousands of machine guns, helicopters, and other weapons and training used in both the war against drugs and the war against people – indisputably a class war. With the SAPs of IMF and WB an unprecedented purchase of military goods and services from the US under all categories of assistance (Foreign Military Sales/FMS, Commercial Sales, Excess Defense Sales and International Military Education and Training programme (IMET) are under way (Willson 1997). A report from the Federation of American Scientists indicates that between 1984 and 1993 Mexico obtained 10 times more US arms than it accumulated between 1950 and 1983.

Since NAFTA was formalized in 1994 there have been new demands for an increased US participation in Mexico’s military dynamics. During the Zedillo and Fox administrations and now with Calderón, the emphasis has been to echo the Department of Defense call for a ‘secure, stable, and friendly’ ‘vecino’ who would look increasingly to the US for directions and dependency relating to military and international policies. In 1996 the Mexican press cited from a US Department of Defense report describing the intention of US military programmes to Mexico as “expanding US influence in the Mexican military” (Willson 1997: 6). Thus, while the IMF-WB and *neoporfiriato* economic schemes further destabilize Mexican society (the centrifugal forces), an increased US role in the militarization and repression in Mexico can be observed, the centripetal side of the coin. Here we have the imperial presidency and the *neoporfiriato* in full operation.

25.5 Concluding remarks

In an interview published in the Mexican press in May 1994, General James R. Harding anticipated many of the scenarios regarding the ‘home land’ strategies of the ‘imperial presidency’ after the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001 when he stated that “illegal Mexican migration to the US now ranks with drug trafficking and international terrorism as a major threat to national security.”²⁵

Using the war against terrorism as an excuse, the US Justice Department, then under John Ashcroft, asked the US Immigration and Naturalization Service to dust off and enforce a 50-year-old law that requires

non-citizens to report any change of address within 10 days of moving. Failure to do so could result in penalties ranging from fines to deportation. This policy applies to all non-citizens, whether they are in the US legally or illegally, implying that foreigners are more predisposed to commit terrorism than natives are (Navarette 2002: 13). According to Navarette, the deporting of people who fail to report a change of address is a blatant overkill, and by singling out non-citizens, the policy only reinforces prejudices and pushes immigrants to the margins of society. The Bush administration insists that the new policy will 'enhance border security', but nobody knows how this will be accomplished by harassing people who have already crossed the border.

In the post-September 11 environment, the destabilizing of IMF and World Bank programmes combined to the pursuit of US vested interests in corporate and national security have profound negative implications for civil liberties and civic-military relations in both Mexico and the US. As pointed out above, President Bush's request to Congress to abrogate the 1878 Posse Comitatus Act is an invitation of the imperial presidency to military authoritarianism and to an erosion of democratic, human, and constitutional rights. According to the White House team headed by President George W. Bush, "the threat of catastrophic terrorism requires a thorough review of the laws permitting the military to act within the United States" (cited in Navarette 2002).

The laws now give the 'imperial presidency' unprecedented powers for the establishment of unconstitutional and police-state-like 'anti-terrorist' structures in the US now being fostered in Canada and Mexico through the *Partnership for Prosperity and Security* (but in Mexico also through the refunctionalization of troops by converting them into police bodies). This policy is having profound repercussions in Mexico and Canada, since the US new anti-terrorist strategy claims that homeland security can only be achieved by locating US security and intelligence units in Mexican and Canadian ports, seaports, railways, and highways.

The economic and political well-being of American society is intertwined with the economic and national security trap that is generated by Washington's

covert financial and military endorsement of Mexico's *neoporfirismo*. US economic policies and miscalculations are causing turmoil not in faraway lands such as Vietnam, Chile or Argentina, but next door to the US itself.

Streets in the US are the other end of a transmission belt that is eroding the structure of work and income, as well as the very foundations of democracy and constitutional rights in the context of the authoritarian excesses being promoted by the 'imperial presidency', under the excuse that the US is a nation 'currently' at war against 'world terrorism'. It is a war in which anybody can be a terrorist at any time, a difficult scenario to all legitimate social and political opposition. US imperial authoritarianism and militarism occurs in a context in which there is a deepening of the structural capitalist crisis while both the World Bank and IMF insist in irresponsibly advocating the recessive deindustrialization policies that were applied in Latin America in the 1980's with devastating consequences for productivity, and the well-being of the population. These grave miscalculations 'globalize' the problem, by aggravating the risks of worldwide recession and in the case of Mexico turning into a time bomb that, unless immediately defused, will have devastating consequences (Saxe-Fernández 1997), a situation that is 'already' generating unbearable social and economic costs. In this context, strength of social movements against the capitalist system should increase, as they place severe limits to the capacity of the US 'imperial presidency' to contain social change on a global scale.

The dangers to international security are further aggravated by the increased 'politization' and 'militarization' of international economic exchanges, particularly in the vital energy and other strategic natural resources sector. It should be noted that, in contrast to most Cold War operations, now the 'imperial presidency' sponsors not only political-military espionage against its enemies, but also 'economic' espionage. This trend is especially disturbing for those nations which, in the view of the US national security establishment, are perceived as "commercially, industrially or financially" hostile to the aims, purposes, and needs of US civilian and military enterprises (Saxe-Fernández 1994: 241). The extension of the US 'national security' structure to Mexico and Canada and subsequently throughout the hemisphere, using clandestine plans and personnel, hardly foreshadows a world of stability and international security.

The use of a 'preventive war' strategy to obtain control of oil and gas deposits creates unprecedented

25 In an interview with Mexican reporter Dolia Estévez, General Hardin pointed to the need "to prepare the Armed Forces in Latin America to deal with any threats to [national and regional, that is, US] security", in: *El Financiero*, 20 May 1994: 44.

risks of general war. In Iraq, Bush's military advisors have failed to anticipate the consequences of the unprecedented resistance to military occupation. They estimated that by 2006 'only' 5 to 6 thousand troops would remain and Iraq was supposed to be run by a popular, democratic government capable of keeping order, while US oil monopolies profited from Iraq's vast hydrocarbon resources. Now the White House is contemplating an escalation of the war into Iran, in scenarios that involve the use of tactical nuclear weapons, sowing the seeds of more wars, and consequently, transforming the United States in a principal threat to international law and security. Military analysts such as Edward Luttwak considered the 'first' Gulf War, with its devastating human, financial, environmental and political consequences as a 'battle' in World War Three. By 2007 the 'battle', pursued by George W. Bush, involves a human holocaust costing around one million civilian casualties in Iraq (Roberts 2007). This 'battle' is already, as pointed out by Zbigniew Brzezinski on 1 February 2007 before the US Senate Foreign Relations Committee, "a historical, strategic and moral calamity" (Grey 2007). But most significant was Brzezinski's suggestion that the Bush administration might 'manufacture' a pretext to justify a military attack on Iran by "some provocation in Iraq or a terrorist act in the US blamed on Iran, culminating in 'defensive' US military action against Iran..." (emphasis added as the allusion to the attacks of 11 September against the WTC and the Pentagon is more than 'significant', coming from a former national security advisor) (Grey 2007; Saxe-Fernández 2006a, 2007; Delgado 2007).

The temptation to resurrect the old US and German geopolitical concepts of 'large areas' is already apparent in 'North America' and in the use of the 'blitzkrieg' worldwide. The war in Iraq and the destabilization of the Middle East, in the midst of massive corporate corruption, and the WB and IMF scenarios of domination for the Americas by economic and coercive means, once again illustrate the tendency of monopoly capital (basically the military-industrial and oil and gas sectors) in the US to manipulate external economic, diplomatic and military factors, as well as domestic politics in order to offset their economic and geo-strategic difficulties (access to cheap oil). The centrifugal-centripetal dynamics of the 'imperial presidency' is already exacerbating an already critical situation in the Middle East of unprecedented proportions (Saxe-Fernández 1980, 1979, 2007; Chossudovsky 2006a; 2006b; Delgado 2007). According to Richard

Falk, this is, indeed, a core region for a World War Three scenario:

... general wars in the past have always occurred when a great power tries to compensate for economic and political decline by recourse to decisive military means. At the present time, I believe that the American leadership is increasingly trying to offset a reality created and expressed by the weakness of the dollar in economic terms and by the loss of control over the Third World in resource terms. The United States is ... trying to offset that weakness by relying on military superiority, and it is in that contest of offsetting political and economic disadvantage with the pursuit of military advantage that the most horrible wars ... have occurred (Falk 1979: 21).

26 Globalization from Below: Social Movements and Altermundism – Reconceptualizing Security from a Latin American Perspective

Úrsula Oswald Spring

26.1 Introduction

This chapter analyses the rise of social movements with a special emphasis on Latin America, in response to the ongoing process of exclusive (Stiglitz 2002; Salazar 2003), named also regressive globalization (Kaldor/Anheier/Glasius 2003) or globalization of organized violence (Held/Mc Grew 2007). As a result, more than three billion persons, mostly in Third World countries, are living in poverty, lacking basic services, with poor health conditions and few opportunities for dignified jobs and a reduced future. With a greater integration into the world market the gap within and among the countries is growing, above all in Africa and Latin America.

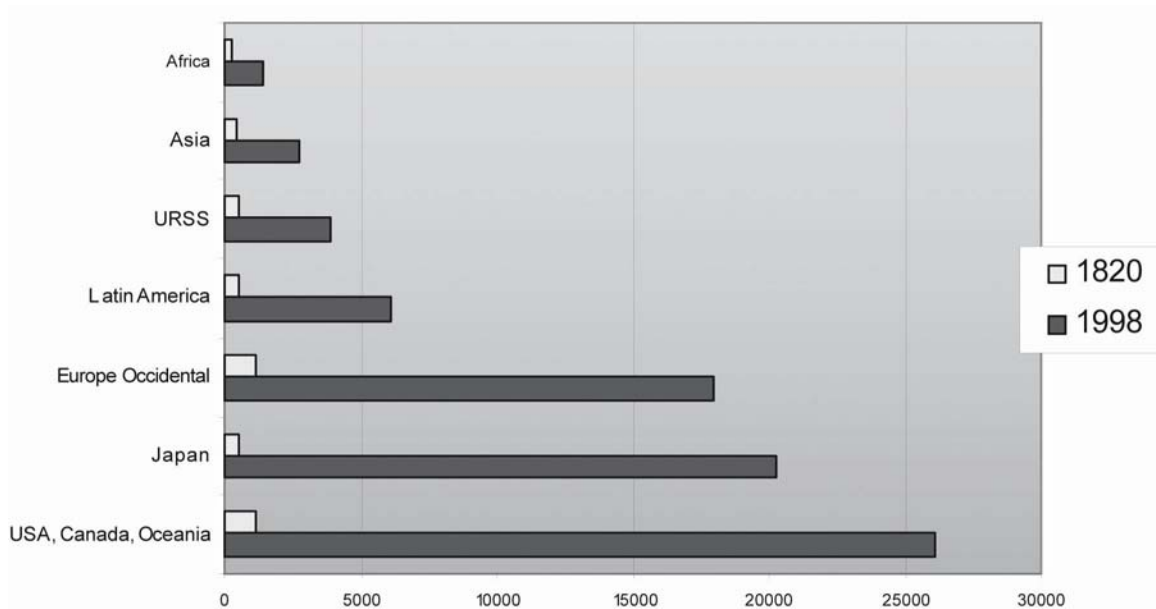
To counter this process, social movements have constructed bottom-up alternatives, not to disturb the social peace, but to raise collective consciousness and livelihood (26.2). Latin America is reviewed as one of the most dynamic regions struggling first against imposed colonialism and later against neoliberalism (26.3). The region has developed self-organizing experiences (MST, the Landless Peasant Movement in Brazil, indigenous organizations in Bolivia, Ecuador, Peru, Central America, and Mexico; Dos Santos 2004, 2005). Recently, leftist Presidents were elected in Venezuela, Brazil, Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, Bolivia, Nicaragua and Ecuador (Boron 2005; Barrera 2005), trying to reduce social inequality and poverty within their countries. However, their success is limited due to complex economic structures of regressive globalization (26.4).

This is illustrated in a case study on the uprising of the Zapatista movement in Mexico after the *North American Free Trade Agreement of America* (NAFTA) was signed by the United States of America, Canada, and Mexico. They have transformed their armed struggle into a Neo-Zapatista civilian experience, where they are building in autonomous territories an alternative model of socio-political organiza-

tion (so-called ‘Caracoles’, Juntas de Buen Gobierno; Diverse Authors 2007), promoting economic justice, cultural dignity, social and political participation, sustainable development, and global solidarity. They have used the internet to communicate and to protect their experience, threatened by opposed landlords, paramilitary, military and governmental forces. The Zapatista movement has also been using the traditional mobilization in the streets combined with public discussion to promote their political model (Juntas de Buen Gobierno), and to reinforce national and international solidarity (26.5).

As globalization is a worldwide process, social movements have been struggling collectively against the imposed exclusive world model, represented by the World Economic Forum in Davos and the G-8. Simultaneously, alternative thinkers and actors have been interchanging theoretical reflections and bottom-up experiences during the *World Social Fora* (WSF) in Porto Alegre (2001, 2002, and 2004), Mumbai (2003), and Nairobi (2007) and in different sub-regions (26.6). During the first WSF, popular movements organized themselves in the *Assembly of Social Movements* (ASM), and were able to establish a world agenda for common activities. During an intensive interchange of experiences, they also were exploring alternatives for dignified livelihoods in societies, characterized by enormous social gaps. Their vision of solidarity and justice has opposed the Davos’ paradigm of the world economic elite and its model of exploitation and consumerism that has often been insensitive to social and environmental destruction. Finally, the question will be discussed how social movements have reconceptualized security in a wider sense, taking into account human, gender, and environmental concerns for a plural, peaceful, sustainable and diverse world model (26.7) before the results will be summarized in the concluding section (26.8).

Figure 26.1: Well-being by Regions (Growth of regional GDP from 1820 to 1998). **Source:** Elaborated from data by OECD 2005; at: <www.oecd.org/dataoecd/34/6/34711139.pdf>.



26.2 Globalization, Civil Society, Social Movements, and Altermundism

The history of the economy during the last two centuries offered different opportunities for development (see figure 26.1) among regions and social groups. During this time period, the U.S., Canada, and Oceania increased their GDP more than 25 times, while Europe, due to two world wars and regional conflicts, could not achieve the same results. As the second largest national economy, Japan took off from a lower original accumulation, but through a process of industrialization, education, and high technology was able to increase its initial GDP 40 times. This country has demonstrated the most intensive development process.

Latin America (LA), the Soviet Union, and the rest of Asia started from a lower economic potential. The former Soviet Union had a poor performance, increasing its wealth only six times. Recently, Russia has improved its economic situation, thanks to the extensive hydrocarbon reserves and its well trained population. Due to liberation struggles, neo-colonialism and neoliberalism, LA had a limited development. Using its good years during both world wars, Latin America could multiply its development ten times. During the past three decades of lost development it got stuck and lost part of its previous consolidation, partly due

to prevailing neoliberal policies that have been imposed on their governments by IMF, WB, multinational corporations, and globally operating business elites. Only Asia has achieved high economic growth rates that have been supported by high increases in productivity and exports, as well as major investments in education, and have thus opened bright perspectives for this region. Africa is situated in the worst outlook, not only due to its present situation of armed struggles, but also due to longstanding colonial rule, late independence (in most cases after 1960), and neo-colonial control over its natural resources. Today, internal conflicts in multiple countries, desertification processes, famine, and HIV-AIDS are affecting the population in the most productive age, mortgaging the future of Sub-Saharan Africa (Oswald 2005).

These unequal development processes are results of complex factors related to colonial and neocolonial mechanisms that have been expressed by unequal terms of trade, monopolies and oligopolies, which pursued the extraction of surplus from less developed countries. Independence brought for many Third World countries new threats: their governments and economic elites were often closely allied with multinational business (see *dependencia* theory: Marini 1973; Dos Santos 1978). In many cases, they passed laws favouring these economic interests, often against those of the majority of their population.

After World War II, globalization accelerated the process of concentration of wealth. For International Labour Organization (ILO 1999: 6) “Globalization has economic, political and cultural dimensions, all of which can have a social impact. The Task Force restricted its analysis largely to the effects of economic globalization. Economic globalization can be simply defined as a process of rapid economic integration between countries. It has been driven by the increasing liberalization of international trade and foreign direct investment, and by freer capital flows. The process manifests itself mainly through an intensification of activities in the following areas: international trade in goods and services; capital flows (FDI and short-term speculation); the role of multinational enterprises (MNE); the reorganization of production networks on an international scale; the adoption of new technology, including information technology.”

Globalization has to be understood as a historic process that has been consolidated by the procedures of deregulation in the 1970’s (Kaplan 2003). It generated a process of increasing interdependence among national economies during the 1980’s that are linked to urbanization (Klein/Fontan/Tremblay 2003). It was also called *mundialization* (Aguirre 1995: 62), and with the emergence of a global market in the 1990’s (Martínez Peinado 2001: 4), it was named *globalization*. “The culmination of the internationalization as a universal historic tendency is constituted by the convergent, interweaving and mutual effort and accumulation of forces and processes, which includes most parts of the planet and operates worldwide” (Kaplan 2003: 42–43). This globalization is used in a double sense: referring to the global system of trade where liberation and governmental trade policies are at the centre of the focus; and considering a micro-economic process, inducing strategies and behaviours in corporations and consumers but also affecting the environment (López/Díaz 2003).

The world is structured as one unit, permanently being rebuilt and adapted by several main factors, such as the displacement of local and national corporations in favour of TNE. The market economy was integrated into a sole economic system that has removed many trade barriers and national restrictions through processes of deregulation and intensified global competition. The liberalization of commercial flows aims at the maximization of profit through trade of commodities, finances, and services using a global system of marketing and publicity, thus fostering global patterns of consumption. Since the 1990’s, unlimited financial flows and capital movements be-

came globalized. Technological innovation in information and communication has transformed the economic, social, cultural, and political life. The world is now covered by nodes and networks.

26.2.1 Regressive Globalization

To support and accelerate economic globalization,¹ several multilateral economic and financial bodies were set up in 1944 in Bretton Woods: the International Monetary Fund (IMF), International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD, see World Bank), and later General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). In the 1990’s the World Trade Organization (WTO) replaced GATT. Based on Western interests and legal frameworks, the WTO has reinforced the global trade system favouring the interests of international economic elites. With their market power, industrialized countries have organized trade blocks. The resulting policies have increased the economic gap through unequal terms of trade, subsidies, trade restrictions, and dumping of excessive production to the world market. As a result domestic prices dropped and ruined the livelihoods of many poor and forced them to migrate to the North (Bellen 2006; Arroyo/Villamar 2002). WTO resolves conflicts among nations, entities, and transnational enterprises (TNEs) through arbitration. The protection of patents is regulated by the so-called TRIPs (trade-related aspects of intellectual property rights).

The *World Bank* (WB) and the *International Monetary Fund* (IMF) were established to maintain the smooth functioning of the post-war world econ-

1 Globalization is used in a double sense: referring to the global system of trade where liberation and governmental trade policies are at the centre of focus; and considering a microeconomic process, inducing strategies and behaviors in corporation ... “it is conducted by micro-economic forces which try de facto to promote the regional integration and de jure regional agreements among governments” (Sánchez Daza 2001: 154). Globalization resulted in a “growth of economic activity with political limits, which are defined regional and nationally, and expressed by an increase of movements of commodities and services crossing borders through trade and investments, and frequently by people through migration.” This process has been “conducted by actions of economic individuals – enterprises, banks, persons – usually in the persecution of profits and frequently stimulated by the pressure of competition.” This process “could be characterized as a centrifuge process, as a process of economic *outreach* and microeconomic phenomena” (Omán 1994: 33).

omy. The WB offers less developed countries credits for developing its infrastructure. These modernization processes are oriented to favour the trade and service sector in industrialized countries. Therefore, many mega-development projects have failed. In some cases administrative inefficiency and corruption have created expensive and inefficient public works. When these credits had to be repaid, this often led to economic crises (Calva, 2003, 2007; CEPAL 1992–2006; Cordera 2003; Dos Santos 2005; Campos 1995; Kaplan 2002, 2003).

For those poor countries that were unable to repay the debt services, IMF has imposed draconic *Structural Adjustment Programmes* (SAP)². This is a prerequisite for restructuring their debts with the international financial sector. These SAPs have resulted in a reduction of poverty alleviation, subsidies, salaries, technical support, and infrastructural investments. For IMF a priority has been the punctual repayment of debt services, often at the cost of hunger and marginalization of the most affected poor population (Strahm/Oswald 1990; Stiglitz 2002; Held/McGrew 2007; Estay/Girón/Martínez 2001).

Both institutions promote the privatization of public services (water, health, education, roads, telephone, etc) with negative effects on the well-being of the vulnerable. Nation states lose their possibilities to compensate harmful effects of exclusive globalization, while consumerism is homogenizing a transnational culture of consumption. The new labour force must be flexible, highly technically trained and able to deal without governmental support with the requirements of global capitalism. Corruption and legal impunity are other mechanisms to transfer wealth from the society to small elites. This has often been aggravated by the banks and failed business rescues, generating periodic economic crises. As a global logic: debts get socialized and profits privatized. These mechanisms have increased the internal social gap.

As the national economy depends increasingly on the world economy, trade is regulated by agreements among economic blocs within WTO. Regional integration (EU, NAFTA, ASEAN) permitted economies of scale and greater market protection, which has ben-

efited TNEs. In the global economy, TNEs, with headquarters in few countries, have become the motors of growth. They are competing for the control of the world economy, using the global financial market, trade agreements, instantaneous communication, propaganda, mass media and political power of their countries. TNEs are regionally integrated (EU, ASEAN, APEC, NAFTA, FTAA, Mercosur) in larger economic units that guarantee internal protection and trade restrictions for foreign competitors. Capital intensive investments due to technological innovation, high efficiency and productivity, have often destroyed jobs and resulted in unemployment, precarious labour conditions, social insecurity, as well as a technological and financial dependence of the South.

Transnational oligopolies and a concentration of wealth in the hand of small elites have created a process of *regressive globalization* (Kaldor/Anheier/Glasius 2003). It is characterized by a strategy of monopolies and governments favouring a globalization process to serve their interests. They are competing with small- and medium-sized industries and services absorbing them through processes of temporal dumping, propaganda, fashion, merging, and organized campaigns which has often destroyed local productive processes (Strahm/Oswald 1990: 182–183). Investments by TNEs have promoted a division of labour, creating unemployment in the North and exploiting the cheap manpower in the South. This has also affected food sovereignty of poor countries due to agricultural subsidies, barriers, restrictions, and dumping of cheap products from industrialized countries, which has changed international commodity prices.

The macroeconomic effects of this globalization process differed for Asia, Africa, and LA. China and India with their socialist capitalism and, as a complementary economy, Japan³ are commercially interlinking. Michael Elliott speaks of the 'Chinese Century' and asks whether this commercial giant will be the next great power and if this will lead to a confrontation with the U.S.⁴ Increasing social and regional gaps between rural and urban areas are a constant in all affected countries (Ruiz 2003) due to this regressive globalization (Ramírez 1991). Productive structures are transformed and globalization has created metropolitan areas that are linked globally with world networks (Villareal 2003).

2 During 2006, Argentina and Brazil liquidated their debts with IMF in advance, thus avoiding an imposition of structural reforms and achieving sovereignty of their monetary policy. In February 2007, Argentina rejected offers from IMF for new credits with binding conditions, in order to be able to restructure its debts with other private and multilateral bodies.

3 See in: *The Economist*, 26 March 2005.

4 Michael Elliott: "The Chinese Century", in: *Time*, 15 January 2007: 34–36.

Table 26.1: Oil reserves, production and consumption in the world (data for 2004). **Source:** Z Magazine <http://www.scaruffi.com/politics/oil.html>, downloaded 4 June 2007

Reserves million barrels		Production million barrels/day		Consumption million barrels/day	
Saudi Arabia	261,750	Saudi Arabia	8.528	USA	19.993
Canada (2003)	180,000	USA	8.091	Japan	5.423
Iraq	112,500	Russia	7.014	China	4.854
UAE	97,800	Iran	3.775	Germany	2.814
Kuwait	96,500	Mexico	3.560	Russia	2.531
Iran	89,700	Norway	3.408	S. Korea	2.126
Venezuela	77,685	China	3.297	Brazil	2.123
Russia	48,573	Venezuela	3.137	Canada	2.048
Libya	29,500	Canada	2.749	France	2.040
Mexico	26,941	UAE	2.550	India	2.011
Nigeria	24,000	UK	2.540	Mexico	1.932
China	24,000	Iraq	2.377	Italy	1.881
USA	22,045	Nigeria	2.223	UK	1.699
Qatar	15,207	Kuwait	1.838	Spain	1.465
Norway	9,947	Brazil	1.589	S. Arabia	1.415
Algeria	9,200	Algeria	1.486	Iran	1.109
Brazil	8,465	Libya	1.427	Indonesia	1.063
Oman	5,506	Indonesia	1.384	Netherlands	0.881
Kazakhstan	5,417	Oman	0.964	Australia	0.879
Algeria	5,412	Argentina	0.825	Taiwan	0.846
Indonesia	5,000	World	75.226	World	75.988
World	1,032,132	World Annual	28,180	World Annual	28,460

It is well known that the Middle East has acquired an increasing geopolitical importance due to its reserves of high quality oil and gas, which has made the region extremely vulnerable for wars and insecurity. The Latin American oil and gas-producing countries (Venezuela, Mexico⁵, Ecuador, Colombia, and Bolivia) represent the second largest source of oil reserves for the U.S. Their reserves are insufficient to meet the needs of the major consumer of fossil hydrocarbon and the U.S. is maintaining the second place in the refinery of gasoline (table 26.1). Therefore, the U.S. closely mon-

itors and controls with all kind of means its oil and other hegemonic interests within the region, trying to avoid alliances, cooperation, and a common policy of Venezuela, Bolivia, and Ecuador.

The control over cheap oil reserves (see Saxe Fernández in this vol.) to consolidate the productive processes in industrialized countries was a major driver for the war against Iraq (2003-). The administration of George W. Bush and its allies have implemented strategies of pre-emption putting their national interests over other needs (Sanahuja 2004). These unilateral policies have been reinforced by the unethical behaviour of some TNEs (see Halliburton, Enron, Worldcom).

On the cultural side⁶, the creation of a global ideology of consumption guided by stereotypes of occidental social representation (Serrano 2004; Oswald 2006) has created shared emotions (e.g. the soccer euphoria). Mass media and instant communication glo-

5 From 2000 to 2007, Mexico has reduced its strategic oil reserves from 20 to only 9 years, and it has been exporting basically crude oil to the USA and importing refined gasoline. The government depends for its administration basically on oil, missing long-term investments in the exploration and maintenance of the oil industry, but also investing in alternative energy sources once the fossil reserves are exhausted.

balize fashion and promote a world consumer society which uses the same trademarks. Types of compulsive consumption patterns are transmitted to southern countries: sport, fashion, tourism, internet, artists and cinema, but also sexual behaviour, drugs, consumption, along with HIV/AIDS became globalized. Culture is getting uniform by a global consciousness of modernity and progress that is reinforced by international, multilateral, and transnational organizations and institutions in economy, finance, science, environment, society, policy, ideology, culture, and the military. Politically, the UN system tries to mitigate the increasing polarization rising from this exclusive way of economic progress. The Security Council has adopted sanctions against countries that challenged these globally adopted norms, however it failed to prevent the Iraq War of 2003 by two of its permanent members.

The negative effects of this exclusive globalization can be summarized with four burdens: 1. a greater physical, social, and cultural violence; 2. an increasing poverty and marginalization not only in the poor but also in industrialized countries; 3. an environmental destruction and resource depletion generating global and climate change; 4. gender discrimination and interfamilial violence linked to family disintegration (Oswald 2003a). Confronted with these realities different social movements organized globally, and are trying together with civil society to limit through collective actions and pressures the abuses that have been committed in the name of regressive globalization, free-market and occidental democracy.

6 Ideologically, there is an argument of the inevitable and exhaustive process of globalization which can only be undertaken through competence and improvements of productivity, which requires a united model of world behaviour. Models such as 'the end of ideology'; 'the end of history' (Fukuyama 1992); 'postmodernism' (Giddens 1991) and the acceptance of capitalism as the sole existing 'common patrimony of humanity' sustain the progress of the model. The policies of neoliberalism that have been promoted by multilateral organizations and the centre of power reinforce the model of expansion of globalization through the indiscriminate access to national markets, and elimination of frontiers for goods (but not for people) together with privatization processes. For the southern countries this new model of development has forced them to reduce protectionism against international markets, while they are confronted with increasing pressures for protection in industrialized countries.

26.2.2 Civil Society, Social Movements, and Altermundism

The process of exclusion due to regressive globalization has opened the way for new movements focusing on human rights as well as citizens' movements working on international laws against transnational crime, and on global norms and taxes with transparent financial flows. They are inducing new capabilities-building, global governance, and international solidarity that are able to mitigate the negative effects and to create a different process of globalization.

After centuries of unequal development (figure 26.1) and five decades of failed development in poor countries, the United Nations (UN) has adopted the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) to reduce poverty and to foster sustainable development. As part of an ongoing reform process, the UN has called for a plural and culturally diverse democratic world that should be able to reinforce social justice, environmental protection, citizen participation, full employment, and the reduction of social gaps within and among countries. As they do not touch the existing structures and oligopolies, these activities are constrained by a bureaucracy that has been unable to respond efficiently to new threats and challenges. Thus, many citizens do not believe in the impartiality of the UN and of the adopted international rules. The *International Court of Justice* (ICJ) and the *International Criminal Court* (ICC) in The Hague may slowly improve the confidence, but at present some countries do not accept the validity of these institutions.

Organizations of global civil society have responded to the growing distrust in multilateral organizations. According to a working definition they are defined

as a sphere of ideas, values, organizations, networks, and individuals located primarily outside the institutional complexes of the family, market, and state, and beyond the confines of national societies, politics, and economies. ... Global society is about people, organizations, and the values and ideas they represent, but with the major difference that these are, at least in part, located in some transnational arena and not bound or limited by nation-states or local societies (Kaldor/Anheier/Glasius 2003: 4).

These social movements have gone beyond conventional political parties and fostered a broader mobilization. Worldwide, the demonstrations against the Iraq War mobilized more than 15 million people. They want to realize globally selected basic rights. This civil society has operated globally and outside the national context to achieve their goal (Stolowics 2005). They

promote cross-national agreements. Many different social movements have allied themselves temporarily for common issues, e.g. in a campaign ‘against WTO’, for ‘debt relief for poor countries’ and for achieving values such as equality, democracy, equity, peace, women’s rights, indigenous autonomy, environmental sustainability, justice, and political participation.

More than one third of the world’s major economic actors are transnational enterprises (TNEs) or corporations (TNCs). A similar trend exists for some large non-governmental organizations (NGOs), to become international NGOs (INGOs). They use their non-profit services to professionally mitigate effects of exclusive and regressive globalization. The emerging civil society represents transnational, social, and ideological plural and ethnic diverse groups, which share common values or goals for a broader mobilization worldwide. They do not link up with political parties. They want to increase basic human rights by limiting oligarchic behaviour of TNEs. These civil society groups (Via Campesina; March of Women 2005; Jubilee 2000; ATTAC) have opposed national policies consolidating globalization, and they promote international agreements to contain major abuses with non-violent opposition (Ameglio 2002, 2004).

Further, in the socio-political arena besides TNEs, multilateral bodies and civil society, a fourth major player exists, the organized social movements. They focus on specific economic, social or political issues with the goal to achieve social changes. They define their identity through collective struggles. They represent a complex social mosaic including peasants, workers, women, indigenous, ethnic minority and gay right groups, environmental as well as civic and political movements. Their main resource is collective social mobilization for achieving specific political goals, which are partly based on a common ideology.

Their scheme of struggle has been widening and includes economic, social, cultural identity, as well as political and environmental elements. Their growing number and visibility in the media and their organized pressure has influenced the policies of a few governments within international organizations and negotiation processes, e.g. within WTO the original mandate for the Doha round on agriculture and services has been refined during the negotiations at Cancún in 2003, Geneva in 2004, and Hong Kong in 2005. They have established temporary alliances with other social movements, civil society, NGOs or sectors with solidarity groups, as in the case against the negotiations conducted by the WTO. Their tools have included active nonviolence, challenge in elections, struggles

against hegemonic behaviour, achievement of concrete public demands, change of political power relations, resistance, and sometimes also violent opposition. Often a dynamic balance exists between spontaneity and a flexible strategy, which distinguishes these activities from other mass protests and riots.

During the recent historic process of globalization, different phases of social and civil movements can be distinguished:

- 1970: cosmopolitan values are associated with new social movements to overcome poverty by developing a *social agenda*;
- 1980: resource scarcity and pollution, urbanization and deforestation have launched a consciousness for nature and its material and immaterial value for humans, e.g. the Earth Summit (1992) and the Agenda XXI have created an *environmental agenda*;
- 1990: political openness is related to the abolition of military regimes and the rise of democratic forms of government in Asia, Africa, and Latin America which has favoured the institutional expansion of global civil society and contributed to a *political agenda*;
- 2000: values have been changing due to the consolidation of civil society; promotion of a global code of conduct for TNEs, transparency for governments, preference for diversity, human rights, tolerance, and traditional knowledge are summarized in an *ethical agenda*.

These new social movements are promoting complex sets of values and a policy agenda in the transnational space, where tolerance, equality (also for children) and democratization – especially in the South – are linked to issues of development, nonviolence, racial and gender equity; peace and environment in Africa; the fight against corruption and transparency of governments. Violation of human rights infliction and torture are denounced globally. The call for environmental protection combined with sustainable development and mitigation processes for Third World countries are based on community actions, green agriculture, fair trade, solidarity campaigns, and disaster risk reduction (Wisner/Walker 2005; Beck 1998) as well as non-discriminative relief support activities (IFRC-RCS 2007).

These campaigns opposed Thatcher’s TINA (There Is No Alternative; Mies 1998) and promoted instead TAMA (There Are Many Alternatives; Oswald 2006). They often represent an intermediary step between activities of international NGOs (INGOs) and

internet anonymity. Initially the World Social Forum (WSF) combined anti-globalization and anti-capitalistic movements. Later, new agendas were added, e.g. that of *Via Campesina* struggling for food sovereignty; of indigenous movements against trade agreements (against TRIPs, GATS, NAFTA, FTAA, CAFTA, etc.); organized women against privatization of water, health, and education; *ATTAC* for restructuring financial networks, abolishment of tax havens, and taxation of speculative money; and *Jubilee 2000* for debt relief in the poorest countries.

These new social movements can be divided into those who propose alternatives (TAMA; Porto Alegre 2001) and traditional rejectionists (anarchists). A main player has been *Via Campesina*, which has created a global alliance of small farmers in the North and South, calling for food sovereignty, democratic land reforms, for seeds as a 'community patrimony of humanity' (against genetically modified seeds) and for sustainable agriculture. Locally grown food production reinforces cultural and social links and avoids carbon dioxide (CO₂) in the air due to a reduction in transportation. Their slogan is 'agriculture out of WTO'; 'life is not for sale (no TRIPs)'. *Via Campesina* has created new networks and as a political actor it is organized internationally with new knowledge, solidarity, and tools for global struggle. Their main concern has been equity, livelihood, and creative participation. The feminization of agriculture (Bennholdt/Faraclas/Werlhof) due to the loss of survival opportunities is reflected in the composition of its Coordinating Council where half of its members are women, and one third represents the youth.

During the long history of social movements, their political strategy has changed since the civil rights movements and campaign for female vote to the new threats, created by regressive globalization and social exclusion. Traditional solidarity processes such as the commune, the kibbutzim, the interchange of equivalents, have been reinvented. These activities have been supported by sections of the Catholic Church in the South and other religious groups, by public universities, and a middle class which is loosing in the South its protagonist role and getting rapidly impoverished. These new alliances resulted in a stronger articulation of the interests of the productive, commercial, and consumption sectors, including mechanisms of micro-finance and popular banks.

In Latin America most of these efforts may be summarized as 'economy of solidarity' (Cadena 2003), 'solidarity support economy' (Collin 2005), or as the 'other money', the 'other stock market' (Lo-

pezllera 2003). This process to link up with other micro-business (Oswald 2000) represents productive niches in each community, where TNEs are unable to compete. Ideologically, they are based on values of solidarity and mutual social care. The vertical and horizontal integration of mini-enterprises, micro-credits and cooperatives is reducing cost, permits recycling, green agriculture, orchards, small livestock. Above all it is promoting dignity through labour opportunities for young people. The social collaboration has reduced productive costs, permitted collective selling and control of the goods, and strengthened green agriculture and non-toxic transformations of these products (MST 2005a). The production is primarily destined for local markets and through 'fair trade' and green products also for the national and international market. Today, the former organization of landless peasants in Brazil (MST), with more than a million affiliated micro-enterprises (Santos de Morais 2002) supplies three of the five basic food products in Brazil. Besides analytical interests in innovation, their efforts can also be observed in the macro-economy of LA. During the 1990's their contribution to the GDP increased from 5.2 to 33.6 per cent. Verano (1997) estimates a growth of 60,000 enterprises to 60 million micro-businesses, which integrates nearly half of the population in LA. The lack of employment and income has obliged increasing groups to get organized within this economy. Most new jobs created in the Third World are linked to this economy of solidarity (Cadena 2005; Parrilli/Bianchi/Sugden 2005), and more than one third of the economy in poor countries depends on it. This has created one of the most important movements worldwide, which offers real alternatives in the present globalized world.

So far, for socially discriminated and marginalized groups, the response to extreme poverty, environmental destruction, and social anomie has created a bottom-up approach for realizing social alternatives or another world, named *Altermundism*. Globally, new social movements were created and existing ones were reinforced. They have evolved and are now collectively mobilizing against the neoliberal imposition. They come from the traditional movements for peace, gender equality, indigenous and Afro-American dignity, religious movements, transnational peasant organizations, unemployed, impoverished middle classes, and critical intellectuals. The new set of values in this global space is equity, justice, sustainability, equality, dignity, cultural diversity, and solidarity with the most vulnerable (normally girls from poor countries) promoting poverty alleviation and job creation.

Due to global and climate change, these groups have reinforced environmental security (see chap. by Dalby in this vol. and Dalby/Brauch/Oswald 2008) through mitigation processes against disasters, sustainable development for environmental protection, environmental services (Urquidi 1999), food sovereignty, nature conservation, re-use and recycling of waste. They have promoted human rights and struggled to abolish torture, discriminatory labour, and to improve social conditions. They requested governmental transparency in public affairs, elections, an improved state of law, and legal equality for everybody. Their process of democratization includes citizen's participation through popular budgets, and civil supervision of public work and planning. Tolerance and social consensus are trained and basic collective interests are negotiated. In the economic sphere, the consolidation of local and regional markets, free trade combined with fair trade, is complemented with solidarity campaigns to sustain the most affected of neoliberalism, and to mitigate the effects of disasters and extreme poverty (Sader 2005).

A characteristic of social movements is their independence from traditional parties and governmental organizations, which gives them greater freedom for struggle. Although no worldwide "anti-globalization or anti-capitalist movement" (Wood/Kees 2001) exists yet, their demands and struggles are clearly oriented in this direction. There is another important aspect. These diverse movements are not organized against something, but in favour of another world. For this reason, besides the organized struggle, there are manifold and culturally diverse activities to maintain and recreate a dignified livelihood for everybody. These goals endanger the status quo created by the world economic elites who have launched activities far beyond Davos. They are supported by the transnational mass media. But the understanding of the increasing manipulation in the mass media has reinforced the struggle of the social movements, giving them an opportunity to understand the lack of ethics and the underlying interests (León/Bruch/Tamayo 2005). Further, confronted with greater nonconformity and conflicts, the social movements are also occupying a place in the negotiation process between the market and the state. Finally, they are also serving as a shield for progressive governments to limit the interventions of elites and to permit structural changes in favour of the people and not only of capital (see MST in Brazil pressuring for a democratic land reform and against landlords and the destruction of the Amazon).

In some poor countries with limited public education facilities, fanatic religious leaders train nationalistic and religious fundamentalist groups which spawned a new geopolitical terrorism (Kaldor/Anheier/Glasius 2004). These new social movements are global and depend on modern infrastructure such as internet, global funding, a worldwide financial system, religious solidarity and high technology for arms construction, terrorist artefacts and attacks (Thieux 2004; Beck 2000; Held/McGrew/Goldblatt/Perraton 1999; see chap. by Saxe Fernández in this vol.). Their number has increased as a response to the 'war on terror', which should apparently protect citizens from threats. However, it brought wider insecurity not only for the countries affected by pre-emptive wars (Afghanistan, Iraq), but also through new terrorist attacks against civilians, by reducing the rights of citizens by anti-terrorist legislation (U.S. Patriot Act). This has created a legal dilemma where laws that are aimed to protect citizens from terrorism are weakening the rights of these citizens.

The rise of terrorist groups has created contradictions within the solidarity of social movements, where on one side bottom-up self-reliant processes are reinforced by world solidarity and non-violent actions. On the other side, paramilitary, undercover agents and white guards are protecting violently TNE installations, mega-development projects, and forcing displacement of the indigenous and peasants from their land, etc. killing with impunity the innocent poor who are unable to experience justice in the existing legal framework. The interests the elite are promoting through the 'war on terror' have created new insecurities, which are reinforced by the narrow military security and a reduction of national security items (Gaitán 2004; Oswald 2004). In some regions social movements have turned to organized armed struggle, as liberation armies and guerrillas.

However, peaceful conflict resolution and nonviolent opposition have dominated among the social movements, who struggle through bottom-up organization to challenge the regressive globalization. These activities may increase human, gender, and environmental security (HUGE; see Oswald 2008), and offer opportunities for dignified livelihoods for the poorest.

26.3 Latin America: Indigenous Roots, Repression, and Social Movements

Latin America has a long history in social organization and movements in response to conquest, wars, conflicts, confrontations and U.S. policies. They are deeply rooted in the indigenous cosmo-vision that goes back to the giant Mesoamerican empires, like the Mexica⁷ and Maya, and the South America Inca culture, which were destroyed by the Spanish Conquest (see chap. 20 by Sánchez; Caso 1953). They are still feeding present social struggles in Bolivia, Ecuador, and Mexico. The huge biodiversity of the subcontinent (Halffter 1994) is increasingly being threatened by resource depletion and pollution of water, land, forests, and air (Oswald 1999). In addition, climate change affects the coasts, ecosystems, productive processes, and livelihoods. Population growth, urbanization, and the need of more food are pressuring the scarce and often contaminated resources, provoking new social inconformity and demands from bottom-up.

During its painful history Latin America had to overcome two main problems. The identity process as an indigenous society was abruptly altered by European conquest and the import of African slaves. Since 1492 the integration into a foreign colonial and later capitalist productive system changed their social relations and loyalties. A globalization process and neoliberal policies have continued to extract commodities (Saxe-Fernández 1999). Military and ideological conquest by Spain and Portugal, as well as the influence of the Roman Catholic Church, led to the imposition of a colonial order, the subordination to foreign requirements, and contributed to economic underdevelopment. A plethora of natural resources – foodstuffs, gold, silver, minerals, medicinal and therapeutic plants – were systematically looted. Forced labour under the *encomienda* system⁸ and high taxes, as well as new illnesses, decimated the native population within a few decades, obliging the Spanish conquerors to replace the indigenous work force in mines and agriculture with African slaves (León Portilla 1959, 1961, 1967, 1974).

The twentieth century started with the Mexican Revolution, the first indigenous and peasant move-

ment (led by Emiliano Zapata and Francisco Villa) that resisted the early transnational capital in the hands of sugar-cane industry owners and extensive livestock areas, but above all against the neo-colonial land concentration. It was increasingly led by an emerging middle class, generals and commercial farmers, most of them originating from the northern and central states (Fundación CEDHIM 1999). The Mexican Revolution (1910–1919) created a socialist utopia seeking to redistribute political and economic power to workers and peasants. But the process was blocked internally by a power struggle between the old bourgeoisie and new capitalist forces, and externally by an increasing integration into the North American economic model.

Latin America, like many parts of Asia and Africa, enjoyed some independence and genuine development during war times. After World War II, the Cold War divided the world into capitalist and communist blocs for forty-four years, and the South often became a battleground for conflicts by proxy and a space for representative wars. Both blocs struggled to expand their influence promoting alliances and economic support, as well as imposing embargoes, and exacerbating internal and ethnic conflicts. The U.S. used the *Organization of American States* (OAS) – parallel to NATO in Europe and the *South East Asian Treaty Organization* (SEATO) in Asia – as barriers to the spread of communism. Under the pretext of stopping a communist ‘domino effect’ after the Cuban Revolution that would allegedly lead Latin American and later the world to communism, the U.S. justified internal repression through agencies, like the School of the Americas. It was involved in military coups in Chile in 1973 (Díaz Muller 2002), genocide in Colombia, El Salvador, Brazil, and Mexico (Gaitán 2002, 2004, Dos Santos 2005), and ethnic repression in Guatemala (Cabrera 2002) in its so-called backyard.⁹ Furthermore, alliances between the armed forces and the rising bourgeoisie soon imposed autocratic and repressive regimes throughout the subcontinent. The U.S. participated in selling arms, advising and supporting rightist governments to facilitate a rapid expansion of U.S.-controlled TNEs.

7 Instead of using the colonial term of Aztecs, in this chapter the Mexican term Mexica is utilized.

8 The *encomienda* system was the land tenure introduced by the Spanish conquerors.

9 When Aguilar Zinser referred to the U.S. backyard in a conference at Autonomous Technological Institute of Mexico (ITAM) in 2005 he was forced to resign as the Mexican ambassador to the UN and as the Mexican representative in the United Nations Security Council (UNSC).

Since the 1970's, repeated economic crises, the growing debt burdens, but also corruption and political elites working for personal and foreign interests, prevented the Latin American governments from improving the infrastructure and living conditions within their countries. The policies of SAP imposed by the IMF (1980-2006), and global capital have defined economic priorities (debt repayments and privatization of public basic services, such as electricity, telephone, education, water, sewage, health and pensions, Strahm/Oswald 1990; Calva 2007). These policies have worsened the living conditions for the majority of the population, especially for peasants in remote rural areas and the marginalized urban poor (figure 26.2).

Figure 26.2: Most important problems in LA. What do you consider to be the country's most important problem? Percentage of respondents in 2004. **Source:** Latinobarómetro (2004).

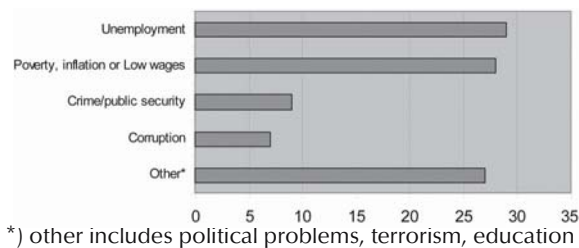
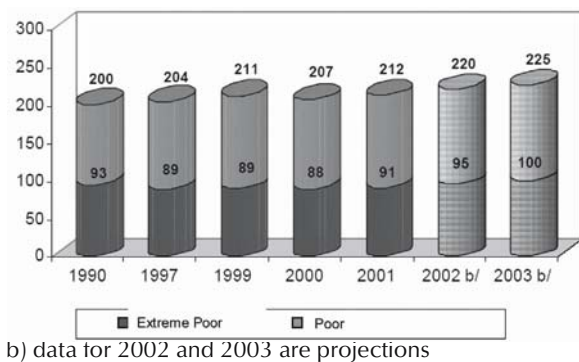


Figure 26.3: Evolution of Poverty in Latin America (million of persons). **Source:** CEPAL (2004).



Other effects are rapidly growing cities with increasing urban chaos (Scheingart 2006; Oswald 2007; Celcia 1998; Girardet 1996), and a highly segmented space (sophisticated developed areas next to dreadful slums, see: Cantú 2003). In rural areas, abandoned fields and empty communities have led to migrant flows partly caused by trans-national agribusiness. Migration to urban areas has become the sole alternative for many peasants facing the loss of food sover-

eignty and livelihood (Rosiques 2003). Soil erosion, water pollution, governmental abandonment and scarcity together with unequal competition due to the indiscriminate agricultural subsidies for basic foodstuffs in industrialized countries, have increased inequality between social groups, and thus hindered further development (CEPAL 2004)

The most important policy problems in Latin America in the early third millennium are unemployment, poverty (figure 26.3), low wages, inflation, organized crime, urban violence, loss of public security and weak implementation of the laws, with corruption and environmental destruction, affecting vulnerable groups such as women, children, and elders.

The 1980's and 1990's became two lost decades for development in Latin America (CEPAL 1992). This poverty has concrete faces and affects special social classes and ethnic groups (Strahm/Oswald 1990; Boltvinik/Hernández Laos 1999; Campos 1995). Extreme poverty, better defined as perverse poverty (Oswald 1989), relates above all to rural and indigenous infants, depriving them before being born from a dignified opportunity of life due to brain damages resulting from chronic maternal-infant undernourishment (Álvarez/Oswald 1993; Chávez/Ávila/Shamah 2007). Figure 26.4 indicates that still 55 million of the Latin American and Caribbean population suffer from hunger,¹⁰ above all infants under five years. The differences between countries in LA are abysmal, where Haiti is threatened by civil war, corrupt government,

10 Malnutrition and hunger are both parts of a complex and interrelated system of social, agricultural, economic, political, and ecological realities (WHO/FAO 2003). In the poor countries, developments is limited due to the current policies of high indebtedness with its debt service; the substitution of local food cultivation with export commodities, such as vegetables, tropical fruits and flowers, in order to get foreign currency for debt services; the exploitation of livestock instead of subsistence crops; the submission of local and regional markets to the interests of international monopolies; the forced bankruptcy of small farmers and peasants facing high interest rates, constant increases in agrochemical and other products; the falling prices of their agricultural products due to international artificial cheap prices (dumping) and to subsidies in industrialized countries, of the green revolution and genetically modified organism imposed by national and transnational agricultural policies. In addition, natural disasters and global warming, and sometimes food aid to countries south of the Sahara has prolonged the situation of dependency and often even expelled peasants from their lands.

Figure 26.4: Undernourished Population in LA and the Caribbean: 1998-2000. **Source:** CEPAL (2004), estimation by CEPAL based on FAO data.

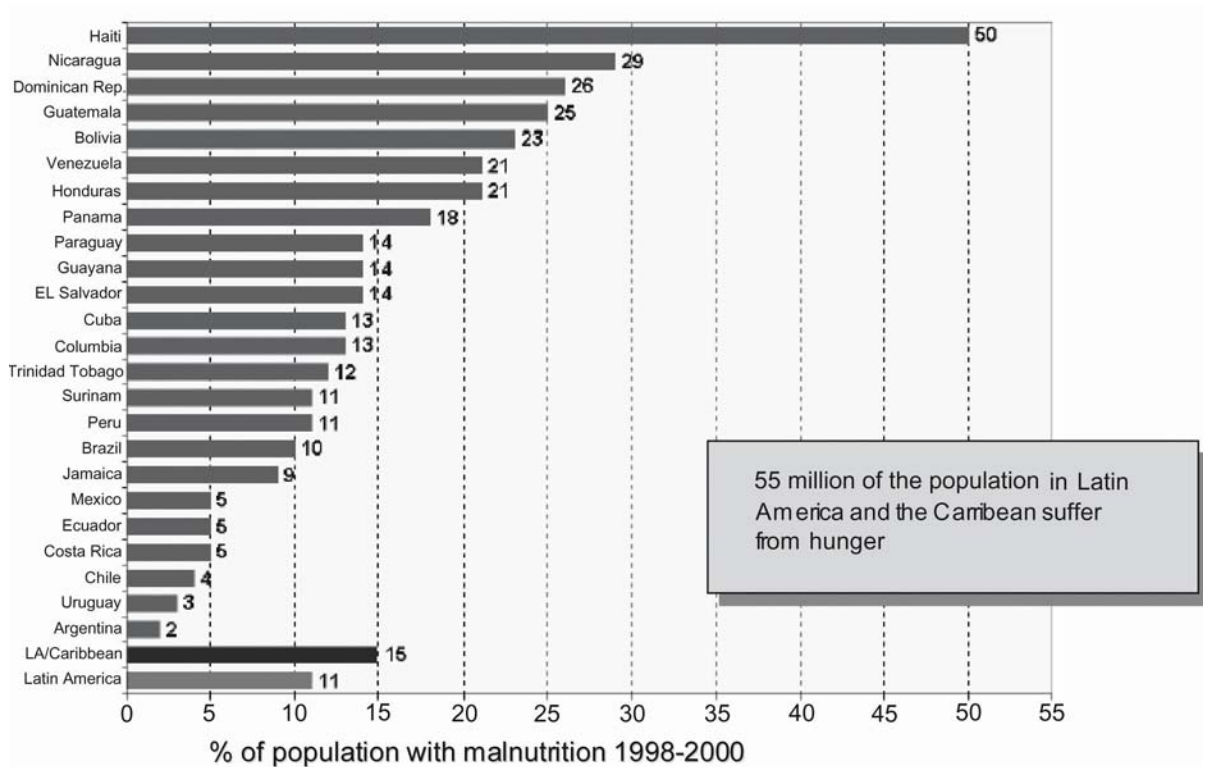
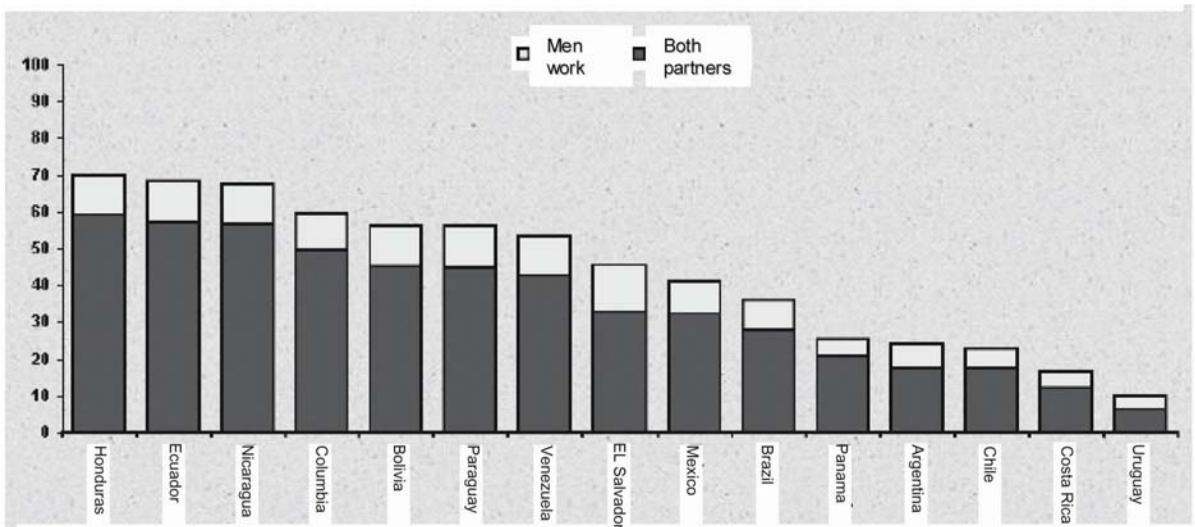


Figure 26.5: Poverty and support of women. Poverty at the household level with men and women working (in per cent). **Source:** CEPAL (2004), Unity or Women and Development.

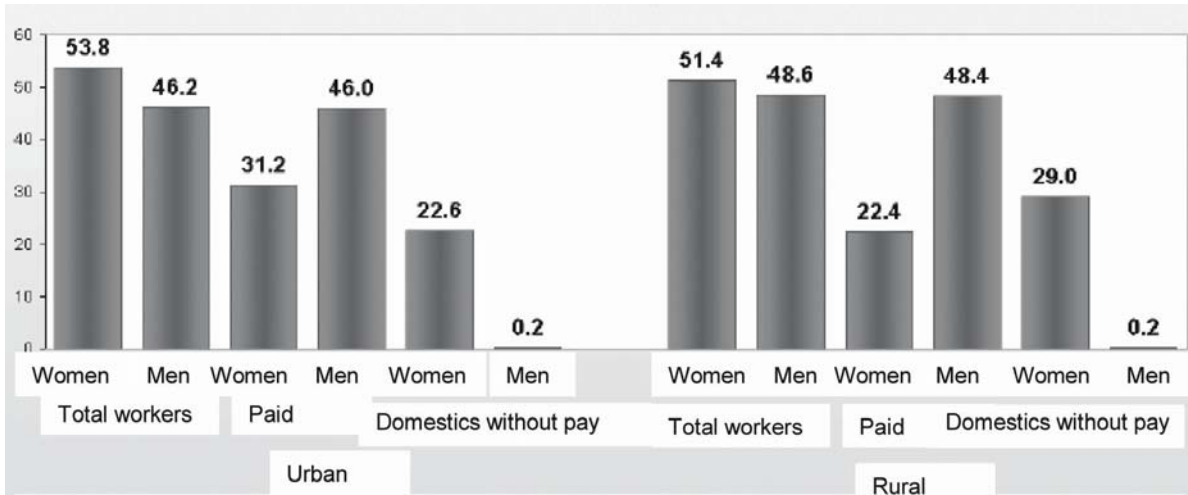


and an environmentally destroyed island. It offers few possibilities to overcome the internal conflicts by starting a genuine process of development. On the other extreme are Chile, Uruguay, and Argentina with low levels of undernourishment. In general terms, the

Latin American society with a higher indigenous population has also higher levels of malnourishment (figure 26.4).

However, there is no doubt that the extreme poverty is in rural and indigenous areas (Chávez/Álvarez/

Figure 26.6: Total work, paid and unpaid labour by gender and urban-rural differences. **Source:** CEPAL (2004), *Unity or Women and Development*.



Shamah 2007). The critical situation in these regions (Barkin 1998) has forced millions of peasants to abandon their plot of land and unique inheritance, and to migrate to urban slums or risking their life by crossing illegally the U.S. border. They settled in hazard prone areas in the suburbs of big cities. Adverse urban conditions have obliged women to develop specific survival strategies (Duque/Patrana 1973; Oswald 1991; 2007). They are complementing the income of their partners with any other alternative than to survive in precarious conditions. There is no doubt the traditional division of labour where women care for the families and men provide the income did never function in dependent societies and even less during crises situations as those that have affected Latin America. As figure 26.5 indicates, with a greater level of poverty, a higher economic participation of women in the income can be found. In all these very poor countries, women are an important part of the labour force to sustain their families and compensate the low wages of their partners that were affected by chronic unemployment (González 2000).

Nevertheless, this financial support comes in addition to their traditional non-paid domestic work, producing an important *poverty of time* related to gender differences (Damian 2002; Dore/Molyneux 2000; Lagarde 1990). In Latin America deep differences exist between rural and urban areas (De Mattos 2003), but also a similar social behaviour. In both areas women work longer and get a lower pay, due to their domestic work without remuneration and the social discrimination of female labour. In the rural area the situation of women is even more critical, nonetheless in

the whole region men do a minimum of domestic work and family help (figure 26.6).

These processes of growing poverty have created in Latin America a highly stratified society: small elites linked to global capitalism and the rest of the society remaining in misery (Rojas/Goucha 2002; Goucha/Rojas 2003). This model of development started with the expansion of the indigenous empires and the exploitation of labour and the environment through tributes and slaves. It got consolidated during the Spanish Conquest and is deepened within the present neoliberal model. Table 26.1 is representative for the whole subcontinent, explaining the social differences and access to wealth and financial opportunity in Mexico. Two different indicators show a similar situation; ca. 23 per cent of the population owns 40.3 per cent of national wealth and 78 per cent of all financial savings (table 26.2). In terms of bank savings 0.07 per cent of Mexicans own 63 per cent of national savings (table 26.3).

Table 26.2: Social Gap in Mexico. **Source:** INEGI (2004) and Bank of Mexico (2004).

Concept	Percentage of Population	Percentage of National Wealth	Percentage of Financial Savings
Very Rich	0.23	40.3	78.0
Workers	52.7	18.4	10.0

The recent publication of the biggest fortunes in the world, Forbes (2007) indicates that Mexico has the third richest man in the world with a fortune of US \$49 billion, only US \$7 billion less than the richest

Table 26.3: Bank Savings in Mexico. **Source:** Bank of Mexico (2004).

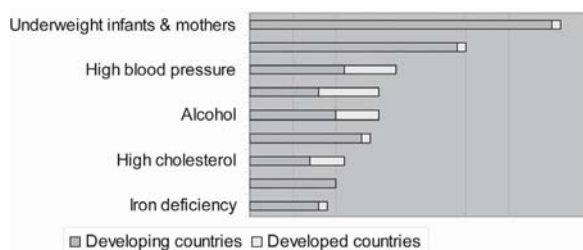
Account	Number of bank accounts	Per cent of Mexican population	Per cent of National Saving
More than 1 million pesos	73,481	0.07	63
More than 1,000 pesos	16,027,000	14.6	no data
Less than 1,000 pesos	15,700,000	14.2	no data

one (US \$56 billion), and his net annual profit in 2006 was US \$18 billion. These data are similar for the rest of the subcontinent; and Brazil and Ecuador are considered countries with still higher social inequality (CEPAL 2006). Thirty three billionaires in LA accumulated in 2006 US \$155 billion, while 225 million persons have survived in extreme poverty.¹¹ According to FAO 40 per cent of the total income in LA is obtained by 10 per cent, and only 5 per cent of the richest get 25 per cent; while 30 per cent of the poorest get 7.5 per cent (compared with 14 per cent in the rest of the world). According to the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), Mexico could reduce its poverty rate from 20 per cent to 13 per cent with a sustained 5 per cent economic growth rate during the next 10 years. However, “if the distribution of income would reach the level of 1980, the reduction of extreme poverty would be not from 20 per cent to 13 per cent, but from 20 per cent to 5 per cent.” Without any modification of social gaps, the same poverty reduction would take 30 years (Lora 2007).

Since the 1960’s, survival strategies and dependence theory evolved from Latin America (Marini 1973; Dos Santos 1978). They were introduced by scholars to other parts of the world; they inspired Galtung’s (1971) theory of ‘structural imperialism’ and they influenced Senghaas’ (1973) theory of auto-centric development. However, the process of concentration of wealth in few hands continued till today and regressive globalization has reinforced it.

The concentration of wealth in LA has created a small, but very powerful elite that maintains close links with the business community in industrialized countries. This has resulted in an increase of physical

Figure 26.7: Leading global risk factors and contributions to the burden of disease (per cent of disability-adjusted life years lost). **Source:** United System Standing Committee on Nutrition/The Lancet (2006).



and structural violence (Galtung 1972; Senghaas 1973). This situation of social inequality has created structural problems of poverty with malnourishment, low paid labour, and bad health conditions (WHO 1999, 2003; WHO/FAO 2003), reducing their human and social security. This major global risk factor contributes to disability and child-birth abnormalities, reducing life expectancy (figures 26.2, 26.4, 26.6, 26.7) all over the Third World (World Bank 1993).

The social tension resulting from these stress factors of life often represent survival conditions that are expressed by traditional illnesses (underweight, iron deficiency, anaemia), but due to the introduction of fast foods and excess of sugar and fat in the diet, a combination with the modern epidemiological picture emerges including high blood pressure, diabetes, and bad cholesterol that have aggravated the health situation of most LA countries. The dependency on drugs and alcohol is another sign of disproportionate social pressure. These variables offer a complex and difficult panorama for Latin America. The costs of the traditional and modern exploitation, inequality, and poverty are left with women who have to struggle with survival strategies to raise their children, and often they have also to take care of an alcoholic man. These severe structural conditions have induced in LA a high diversity of social movements which are all struggling for greater equality and dignified livelihood.

26.4 Social Movements in Latin America

The origins of social movements in LA are linked to its history (Eckstein 2001; Escobar/Álvarez 1992). The increasing gap between social classes, regions, and ethnic groups provoked unrest and armed move-

¹¹ See: Forbes Billionaires List, 2007: “Review of the world’s billionaires according to the Forbes business magazine”; at: <<http://www.woopidoo.com/reviews/news/rich-list/richest-people-2007.htm>>.

ments. In 1958, the Cuban Revolution replaced Batista's dictatorship. Facing repressive political scenarios and mounting poverty, *guerrilla movements* emerged since the 1950's; while peasant, urban-popular, and middle-class-led movements allied to voice their opposition.

A *second* strand of opposition came from the committed Catholics that were influenced by the new ideas of the 'theology of liberation', whose radical priests and spokespersons believed that the church should side actively with the dispossessed, rather than with the elites. Until today the difference between progressive clerics and the church hierarchy represented by conservative priests has created tension on questions of belief. In many countries, military coups and authoritarian regimes together with the Catholic elite brutally repressed these social movements, and often students, trade union, and peasant leaders disappeared in clandestine jails. Women had also been involved in these social movements (CLOC/Via Campesina/ANAMURI 2002).

After decades of extra-judicial disappearances, torture, and murders, known as the 'dirty war', the U.S. government withdrew some of its military aid for Latin America (with the exception of Colombia and Mexico). As many European agencies and governments, the U.S. also demanded respect for human rights. Thus, dictatorial governments¹² were forced to undergo a process of transition that led to the third wave of democratization. During the 1980's and 1990's, many Latin American countries returned to democratic political systems with elected governments. The electoral system empowered popular voters to decide on national issues and to lobby for their interests. Nevertheless, the human and political debts of the 'dirty war' have not yet been compensated for the thousands of young citizens who disappeared during the military coups and dictatorships. For instance, there are still hundreds of children (today young people) in Argentina who were born in jails then taken away from their biological parents, who were murdered, and given in adoption to military and other families favoured by the repressive regimes. Residual pain and anger is apparent in peaceful

demonstrations by their grandmothers in the 'Plaza de Mayo' in Argentina and by other citizens (Rivière/Cominges 2001).

The *third* root is linked to the uprising of indigenous movements, which decided to take a more protagonist way and to leave their centuries of resistance. They articulated their demands together with peasants and the urban poor. In the early 21st century in several countries they achieved an electoral democratization (Eckstein 2001). Besides the discriminated indigenous populations, the urban slum poor and the abandoned peasants, but also young people without any opportunity to get a job have contributed to this electoral transformation.

Despite these sometime contradictory liberation processes the social movements could not prevent the consolidation of the dominant economic and social system that has been benefiting only a few. The increasing social exploitation through neoliberalism and critical gender analyses motivated eco-feminists to link patriarchy and environmental exploitation with gender discrimination and the exploitation of ethnic and social groups. The alliance of the indigenous with environmentalists helped to understand the new threats posed by transnational criminals and paramilitary groups. They demanded territorial sovereignty, absolute respect for their cultural traditions, control over the natural resources in their communal land, food sovereignty, and an end to all forms of repression. Some examples are the struggles for water, gas, and oil rights in Bolivia, Mexico, and Ecuador (Oswald/Hernández 2005). The convergence of such multiple currents, with gender, ethnic, environmental, and ideological-religious elements, made social movements in Latin America more flexible in their efforts to overcome five hundred years of conquest, exploitation, and internal discrimination and repression, using mechanisms of cultural resistance through their language, beliefs, and traditional clothes to identify enemies and to protect themselves better against infiltration (Gaitán 2002, 2004).

In summary, in recent decades three important roots for dissident movements have been:

- The *guerrilla movements* and ideals (Che Guevara, Castro, Cabañas, FARC, Shining Path, EZLN (Comandante Ester 2001; Kaldor/Anheier/Glasius 2003; Le Bot 1997);
- *Christian groups*, strengthened by liberation theology and active grass-roots nonviolent practices, who directly oppose government-led neoliberal policies and an elite interested in modernization, promoting an economy of solidarity and inte-

12 In Mexico a more sophisticated system of selective repression was adopted: leaders were either corrupted or eliminated. Intellectuals were severely repressed under the pretext of their alleged communist affiliation. Student massacre in Tlatelolco, Mexico (1968, 1972) and military coups in Chile (1973), Argentina (1976) and in Central America testify this repression.

grated chains of productive processes and trade within a framework of a parallel or solidarity economy (Cadena 2005, 2003; Ameglio 2002, 2004; Calva 2003; Cordera 2003; Polevnsky 2003; Martínez 2003; Lopezllera 2003);

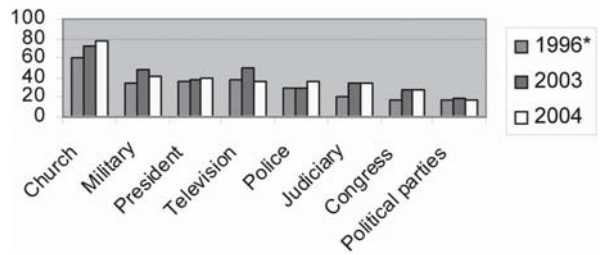
- *Indigenous and peasant groups* which call on resistance and survival strategies developed during the past 500 years of conquest and subjugation (Gaitán 2004; Gil 2004; Menchú 2004; De la Rúa 2004; Armendáriz 2004; Rojas 2004; García 2003; Stavenhagen 2004) linking up with the March of Women, environmental protests against dams, modernization projects (golf clubs, malls), and biopiracy (Foyer 2005, Oswald 2002c; Altieri 1999).

Following this convergence of peasants, workers, urban sectors, and indigenous groups, reinforced by the middle classes and unemployed, they have launched a creative scope of alternatives. In elections, citizens have attempted to oust their neoliberal governments that have been close to the ‘Washington Consensus’ promoting popular candidates in Brazil, Venezuela, Chile, Argentina, Bolivia, Uruguay, Ecuador, Nicaragua, and with a difference of 0.5 per cent in Mexico. However, foreign debts, international agreements, the dictates of the SAP of IMF, the royalties of TNEs, U.S. homeland security, and the interests of ruling elites who seek wealth at any price, corruption and mismanagement have prevented major changes. The mounting despair has been evident in marches, manifestations, and national strikes, forcing the resignation of the presidents in Ecuador, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, and Peru (Stolowicz 2005).

These nonconformities are reflected in recent studies about confidence in Latin American institutions. Figure 26.8 indicates that traditional institutions such as churches, schools, and personal clubs are increasing their confidence rate. The military are still important and the ‘dirty war’ is not yet investigated, and victims have not been compensated. People have little confidence in television and mass media, serving normally elites and TNEs. Corruption in the police and judiciary sector prevent the implementation of laws, leading to impunity, violence, and an inefficient legal system. The parliament and the parties have low legitimacy even though they are the only legal institution able to change the present situation of abuses. Civil society is still very weak in LA, often badly organized and an easy prey of interests, because their leaders are often more interested in personal benefits than in political change.

Low confidence in institutions and the ambiguous role of the military all over Latin America indicates

Figure 26.8: Confidence in Institutions in Latin America (in per cent). **Source:** Latinobarómetro (2005).



also a low trust in democracy. Not only electoral frauds, very long and expensive election campaigns, favouring television companies, but also corrupt governments, have destroyed the well-being of entire nations. Probably the most dramatic case is Argentina, a world economic power in the early 19th century. During the crisis at the end of the 1990’s half of its population became impoverished. Similar processes occurred in all other countries of the subcontinent by transferring wealth from the majority to a tiny minority (tables 26.2, 26.3).

Figure 26.9: Satisfaction with the government and democracy. Question: How satisfied are you with the way democracy works in your country? (per cent responding 'not very satisfied' and 'not at all satisfied'). **Source:** Latinobarómetro (2005).

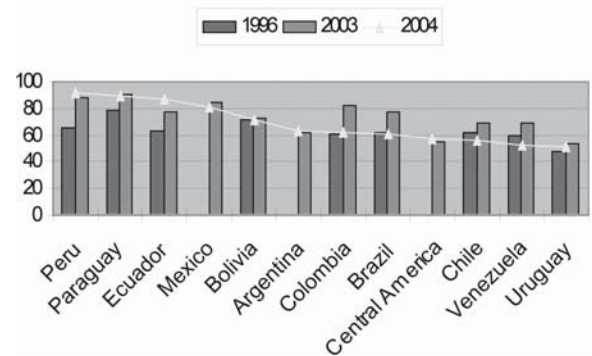
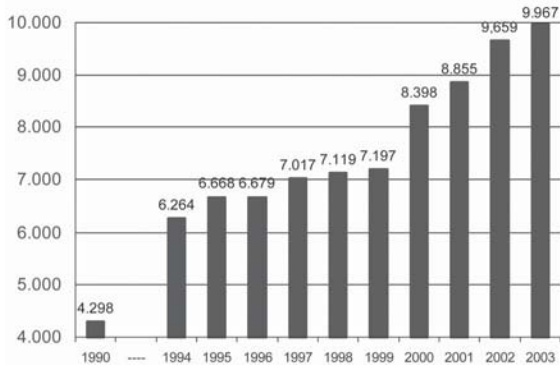


Figure 26.9 expresses this lack of confidence and a mixed feeling with democracy. Debates, collective decision-making, and solidarity belong to their own system of traditional ruling (Olvera 2002). For a neoliberal world of monopolized mass media and centralized decision-making these traditions are too slow. On the other side, the imposition of a world market, global capital flows, instant communications, social vulnerability, imposition of the SAP by IMF, have reduced hope in democracy and livelihood. In 2005, a study by the *Latinobarómetro* showed that a great

majority would again prefer a military dictatorship to an economic crisis. These results can be explained by two decades of loosing income and well-being. Furthermore, in many countries in LA the trust in a democratic government, transparent elections or changes in the conditions of life through election processes were disappointed, especially in Paraguay, Peru, Colombia, and Mexico with high degree of distrust (figure 26.9). A social reaction has been a renewed political radicalization in most countries of LA (MST, piqueteros¹³, Zapatistas; Ouviaña 2005). This has created a complicated political and institutional situation, but has offered LA an enormous potential for growth, investment and well-being, and for civil society to organize better.

Figure 26.10: Mexican Migrants to the U.S. from 1990 to 2003 (in 1000 persons). **Source:** U.S. Census Bureau (2005) drafted by Fernando Lozano at CRIM/UNAM.



26.5 The Zapatista Rebellion in Chiapas, Mexico (1994)

Mexico, having a border of more than 3,000 km with the U.S., was not exempt from these processes of regressive globalization. The first economic crisis and the first SAP agreement imposed by IMF started in 1976. In 1994, Mexico started with a severe economic crisis in the era of neoliberalism and globalization. Similar crises occurred a few years later in Asia, Russia, Brazil, and Argentina. However, the crisis of the peasants started earlier, due to the exhaustion of the model of stable development (CEPAL 1978; IMF 1977), but primarily due to the interests of the na-

tional elite to link up with globalization. The excessive bureaucracy and an inefficient bourgeoisie controlling the government were unable to cope with a new phase of globalization (Kaplan 2002). The substitution of the import-based modernization process and the rapid urbanization were reducing the rural accumulation, and major financial resources were drained into the urban and industrial sectors. As a result, the rural development was subsumed under the urban and since the 1950's an important process of urbanization was underway, making Mexico City the biggest city in the Third World (Negrete/Ruiz 1991).

Since the 1960's, peasants started to migrate to the U.S., later also to Canada with legal permissions and in the 1980's, when U.S. migration policy changed, they became illegal (figure 26.10). Environmental destruction, aggravated by climate change, highly subsidized world basic food prices, and since 1982 a rapid opening of the domestic to the global market had drastically worsened the situation of peasants and indigenous people. This process of exclusive globalization was reinforced with the signing of NAFTA (Arroyo/Villamar 2002), which reconfigured traditional alliances and opposition along non-national lines. Unequal terms of trade in the world market obliged producers to associate themselves within product lines: coffee, pineapple, and fair trade was an alternative for organized peasants to mitigate the negative affects of dumping and overproduction in the world market.

In this context, the *Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional* (EZLN: Zapatistas) in Chiapas¹⁴ surprised the Mexican government and the festivities of the bourgeoisie on 1 January 1994 with a declaration of war. The military response was directly monitored by foreign governments and social groups due to a new internet channel controlled by the Catholic Church (laneta.com), which was at the service of the uprisings. After ten days of intensive repression, international pressure forced the Mexican government to declare an armistice. Simultaneously, the public exposition of indigenous discrimination and poverty con-

¹³ MST is the movement of landless peasants in Brazil; *piqueteros* are the organized unemployed urban workers in Argentina.

¹⁴ Chiapas is the reservation of blue, black, and green gold of Mexico. 62 per cent of its hydro electricity is generated in this state, seven millions hectares permits a solid agriculture, gas, oil, uranium, sulphur, and rainfall over 5,000 mm/year created an important cultural and natural diversity. Nonetheless, together with Oaxaca, Chiapas belongs to the poorest states in Mexico due to the resource and human exploitation, paramilitary groups conserving an illegal land tenure, corrupt governments, and a systematic neglect of infrastructure (Oswald 2002c: 92-131).

fronted the country with the 'other Mexico' (Bonfil 1987) of the poor, ill, abandoned, and exploited. The apparently modern nation (last under the OECD countries) showed the world how regions and social groups live in absolute poverty and underdevelopment similar to Haiti and Ethiopia, due to the unequal development and resource exploitation. International and national solidarity started, forcing a peace agreement; but both the chamber of deputies and senators objected to the agreed modification of the Constitution, leaving the indigenous population in the same marginal situation.

The Zapatistas experienced this act of treason and decided to reorganize locally, based on traditional customs, laws, and a proper governmental system (*caracoles*, later *Junta de Buen Gobierno*) and Neo-Zapatistas laid down their arms. Thus, a nation-wide protest march, international solidarity, and new political alternatives created sensitivity within civil society (Lee 2002). Their model of bottom-up organization, a judicial system functioning locally¹⁵ without corruption, offered health and educational services also to persons who did not sympathize with their movement. It gave them legitimacy, and the possibility to articulate social alternatives. They were supported by new municipalities, but its expansion was limited due to the massive presence of the army, the impossibility to get public funds for an autonomous development, and their rejection to accept them from the repressive government. Most communities depend for their development on internal resources, and some infrastructure has been created with external solidarity funds (González Casanova 2006).

Globally, the EZLN brought not only Chiapas and its indigenous community dignity, but opened a solidarity process which influenced social movements worldwide, showing that global cooperation is possible and able to challenge authoritarian governments and repressive and corrupt structures (Zibechi 2006). Finally, it opened a bottom-up alternative for micro-industry, micro-credit and service integration, food sovereignty, livelihood consolidation, and increasing control over strategic resources such as water and biodiversity. Sustainable rural development with urban integral planning and cultural diversity is achievable

and has been experimented in Chiapas. This case is threatening elites, corrupt governments, and traditional landlords which are organizing paramilitary groups to induce conflicts for land among local communities (Subcomandante Marcos 2006). On the other side, it has created confidence within civil society involved in this struggle (Olvera 2002) and it triggered a global discussion on the unjust system of globalization.

The example of Chiapas is not unique. In many Third World places the affected urban marginal population and also peasants in industrialized countries have been organizing against the world elites. The agrarian crises aggravated worldwide due to the green revolution and genetically modified seeds (GMO). It forces millions of small producers from their plot of land and livelihood (CLOC 2004). The ongoing process of agribusiness and the new food and health cluster in the hands of a few TNEs has been controlling not only the production and trade of agrarian products, but recently also the model of food consumption and health (Oswald 2007; WHO 2003; WHO/FAO 2003; Tansey/Worsley 1995).

Politically, the repercussions of the Zapatistas have been complex in Mexico. After the disputed presidential election of July 2006, the Supreme Electoral Tribunal had to decide the winner of the presidential elections. The post-electoral process in 2006 and the alliance of the former ruling party (PRI) with the conservative PAN, who took power from 2000 on, has reinforced the regressive globalization based on an alliance of the bourgeoisie. This forced the left parties to organize in four ways: 1. in the electoral process, the PRD (Party of Democratic Revolution) cooperated with other left parties; 2. the alliance of social, peasant, and urban movements outside of party; 3. the integration of traditional leftists, intellectuals, and former PRI persons, due to the loss of identity and social concerns of the present governmental coalition.

There were also more than three million citizens supporting the EZLN and its process of democratization. This bottom-up alternative threatens the traditional corrupt political system, but their territorial autonomy is limiting tourist and economic interests of global elites. The army encircled the Zapatista region with a low intensity war (López/Rivas 2002; Benítez 2002) and threatened the population, thus hampering this genuine process of development. 4. A minority of orthodox Marxists decided to maintain an armed struggle (EPR; ERPI), being confined in some states of Mexico where poverty and marginalization allows them to count on popular support (López/Rivas

15 The Inter-American Bank for Development (2006a) found out that only 1.8 per cent of the crimes were punished in Mexico and the loss due to the non-implementation of the law costs the country around 15 per cent of GDP each year. It increases inequity and creates social distrust.

2005: 190–195). 5. The sole reality that an alternative is maintained after 13 years of aggressions gives other social movements in the country and outside hope for change and force for struggle.

26.6 The World Social Forum: A Response to the World Economic Forum

There are two main visions of how the World Social Forum (WSF) started, reflecting not only the existing tension within the social movements, but also ideological and political underlying factors. The first position, mainly explained in European books and by Western scientists (most of them men) starts with the World Women's March for gender equity, the campaign of ATTAC for a Tobin tax, and *Le Monde diplomatique* for democratic popular participation. Together they organized with representatives of Brazilian MST, other peasant movements and the *World Forum of Alternatives* an 'anti-Davos' event. Due to the geographical difficulty of this little town in the mountains, the limited communication facilities, and the well organized police, they decided after a meeting in Zurich to find an adequate place to organize not only an anti-Davos meeting, but one proposing another possible world.

There is another explanation, shared in the South, which links up the structural poverty and regressive globalization with the upsurge of social movements, struggling against the hegemonic centres and the imposition of their neoliberal model, the exploitation of natural resources and the destruction of social networks, and cultural and immaterial goods. This explanation is related to Latin America, where during 1968 students started revolutions for wider political participation and democratization. In 1971 the peasant centre Túpac Katari was founded in Ecuador, and in 1974 the first indigenous congress took place in San Cristóbal de las Casas in Chiapas, Mexico. The progress of social exclusion led in Mexico to the first economic crisis in 1976, followed by other countries in LA, Asia, and Africa. They aggravated the survival of the poor and induced a massive migration process from the rural areas to the towns, which is still underway, above all in India and China. Later, as a result of several military coups, in 1977 a long campaign of the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo in Buenos Aires started, and in 1979 together with the foundation of the MST the first land occupation occurred in Brazil in the Fazenda Malai in Rio Grande do Sul. In the

same year the *Trade Union of Workers and Peasants* (CSUT-CB) was founded in Bolivia, later transformed into *Central Obrera Boliviana* (COB), and in Mexico the *Independent National Peasant Movement Plan de Ayala* (CNPA). All these social movements of the indigenous, peasants, workers, and women, relied on their internal resources coming from communities able to create their proper and independent space of struggle.

The consolidation of alternative processes was brutally repressed, e.g. in the 1968 student massacre in Tlatelolco, Mexico; in 1954 by a military coup and dictatorship¹⁶ in Guatemala and Paraguay; later in 1964 in Brazil; 1968 in Panama; 1970 in Bolivia; 1973 in Chile and Uruguay; 1976 in Ecuador and Argentina, 1991 in Haiti and 1992 in Venezuela. In addition there were civil and guerrilla wars in Central America, in Colombia, Peru, Brazil, Argentina, Ecuador, Mexico and in other countries. The massacres against the indigenous people and ethnocide in Colombia, Guatemala, Bolivia, Ecuador, and Peru reinforced repression (Tlatelolco, Mexico; Uruguay, Guatemala, El Salvador, and Paraguay). In different parts of Latin America the movements understood during the 1980's that it was necessary to train and educate their members in order to create stable organizations able to transform society from the inside. Health and education together with food sovereignty was picked up by most movements. MST consolidated its organization with 4 million members and it is supported by additional 480,000 families. MST set up 3,000 camps for landless peasants and established 1,500 schools,

16 Worldwide, military coups were a common tool to gain power and most of these dictatorships are still in power: Muammar al-Qaddafi, leader of Libya (1969–); Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo, President of Equatorial Guinea (1979–); Lansana Conté, President of Guinea (1984–); Blaise Compaoré, President of Burkina Faso (1987–); Zine El Abidine Ben Ali, President of Tunisia (1987–); Than Shwe, Military General, Head of Junta, Myanmar (Burma) (1988–); Omar Hassan Ahmad al-Bashir, President of Sudan (1989–); Yahya Jammeh, President of The Gambia (1994–); Pervez Musharraf, Chief of Army Staff and President of Pakistan (1999–); François Bozizé, President of the Central African Republic (2003–); Ely Ould Mohamed Vall, Chairman of the Military Council for Justice and Democracy in Mauritania (2005–); Sonthi Boonyaratglin, Chairman of the Council for Democratic Reform under Constitutional Monarchy in Thailand, Present President of the Council for National Security (2006–); Commodore Josaia Voreqe Bainimarama, Head of the Fijian Army, Acting Prime Minister of Fiji (2006–) (Luttwak 1980).

teacher training colleges and the peasant university Florestan Fernandes. Their philosophy which influenced deeply *Via Campesina* (2005) and the WSF is “the question of power can not be resolved by the occupation of the palest, which is the easiest thing, but by creating new social relations” according to Pedro Stédile, a leader of MST. Transformation of the society is not like a reality show, that are often transmitted on television, but a transformation of daily life in the place where the people live, work, and meet; the public space where the system of domination and exploitation is understood in any action and imposition.

In this complex socio-economic situation the EZLN (that was represented in the WSF by neo-Zapatistas and solidarity movements) – armed groups were not allowed to participate – initiated a dialogue. They referred to the fact that as indigenous they were conquered, and as indigenous they would liberate themselves. Convinced that a collapsing system will require a new one, all these forces met at the WSF to strengthen a collective alternative interpretation of reality and possibility of change.

The concrete history for the final organization could be summarized with these facts: The first decision was to hold it in the South, where the neoliberalism was affecting seriously and where the majority of people were poor. Second, Latin America had better conditions, organizational capacity and political circumstances of popular organizations. Oded Grajew the coordinator of the *Associação Brasileira de Empresários pela Cidadania* proposed Brazil, the government of the state of Rio Grande do Sul and the mayor of Porto Alegre, in the hands of the worker’s party PT, were interested to support it. For the leader of PT, Luiz Ignacio Lula da Silva, it was an opportunity to promote his candidature as president of Brazil, and the Jesuit University offered its installations. Finally, after diverse meetings between Grajew and Francisco Whitaker (2006) the idea crystallized. Together with Le Monde Diplomatique, PT, Via Campesina and representatives of diverse other social movements, an International Committee was created. The name agreed on was WSF and it took place at the same time as the World Economic Forum in Davos, to reinforce the anti-meeting character and to symbolize a real alternative.

Confronted with a worsening of life conditions for a majority, increasing poverty, and unemployment in the North and South, intellectuals and social leaders have tried to find alternatives to exclusive globalization promoted by the *World Economic Forum* (WEF) in Davos, Switzerland. ‘Another world is possi-

ble’ and ‘globalize the struggle, globalize the hope’ were some of the mottos used during the first *World Social Forum* (WSF) in Porto Alegre in 2001 that was organized as an alternative movement against neoliberalism. In addition to intellectual proposals a solid coordination of social movements started as the *Assembly of Social Movements* (ASM). They were able to adopt a common agenda of world action that respected diverse ideologies and struggles. During the second WSF also in Porto Alegre, Brazil (2002) a unanimous campaign against the war in Iraq was launched and 15 million participants went on the streets on 15 February 2003 in 800 cities protesting against this aggression, and obliging some of their governments to withdraw from this bellicose act.

A huge alliance with church leaders (the Pope, archbishops, Islamic, Buddhist, Hinduism and Jaina religious leaders), Hollywood and sport stars, managers, social leaders, and political parties were not able to stop the war of the U.S. government and its allies, but it lacked an endorsement of the UN Security Council. Each participant of the WSF used his own network, and wider and looser networks supported by internet allowed a better coordination, avoiding an extreme monopolization or an easily corruptible leadership. This resulted in political initiatives in many countries to counter the disillusionment with state-led multilateralism, and the reduced costs of communication created a geopolitical environment for massive civil organizations and the consolidation of the ASM, also for people unable to participate physically in the WSF in Porto Alegre, Mumbai or elsewhere.

Other effects were the interchange of empiric experiences with lawless and unfair globalization in economy and technology strengthening the links and permitting to develop diverse regionally adapted strategies of struggle, combined with international denunciations of neoliberal abuses through the internet. A third achievement was the development of alternatives. *Via Campesina* launched the campaign for food sovereignty and ‘seeds as sacred goods of earth and patrimony of humanity for communities’ as a model of dignified livelihood for rural small producers. The Zapatistas interchanged experiences of democratic self-government, increasing solidarity with the dispossessed. The municipal government discussed the popular budget assignation and direct democracy instead of an electoral one. Progressive deputies analysed different styles of law creation and reinforcement. Popular education was promoted with the participative liberation pedagogy of Paulo Freire, and the MST inaugurated its National School Florestan Fernandes

on 23 January 2005, a university built by 1,115 workers belonging to their organization, able to train peasants technically with their own ideology of solidarity.¹⁷

26.7 Social Movements Against Globalization and for Altermundism: A Platform for Reconceptualizing Security?

Confronted with these worsening social conditions, the excluded organized themselves to increase their human, gender, and environmental security (HUGE, Oswald 2007). This represents a response to the underlying structural factor of global capitalism linked to the system of international division of labour and the appropriation of the surplus by a small elite. The neoliberal doctrine linked to pragmatic technocrats in multilateral and national governments are under pressure from their citizens. Particularly, LA is not only suffering the strong impacts from their SAP, but got also organized in favour of a model of an economy achieving both human security (Ogata/Sen 2003; Annan 2005; Brauch 2005, 2005a) and environmental security (chap. by Dalby in this vol.; Olivier 1981).

In Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay, Ecuador, Venezuela, Bolivia, Chile and Nicaragua, governors from left parties and social or indigenous movements were elected (Barrera 2005). Argentina obliged bondholders to accept only 25 cents for each dollar Argentina owed them, sharing the mismanagement under the Menem government. Chávez is launching the *Bolivarian Alternative from the Americas* (ALBA), an ambitious economic plan which uses their regional money in commercial interchange instead of the dollar. Bolivia, one of the poorest countries in the world under the leadership of his indigenous president Evo Morales is nationalizing its energy resources with the goal to overcome hunger, extreme poverty, insufficient health services and undernourishment with the earnings (Murray/López 1996). Finally, the organized pressure against the Free Trade Agreements of the America proposed by U.S. President G.W. Bush derailed and the U.S. now signs bilateral trade agreements with

each country. South America is also reinforcing its Mercosur and is creating the Bank of the South.

Moreover the protest movements against regressive globalization have spread globally, including opposition against the WTO in Seattle (1999), Cancún (2003) and Hong Kong (2005). It is reflected in the protest meetings against the WEF in Davos, in the alternative summits of the G-7, G-8, the WB, IMF, and wherever the global economic elite met. It was also present in the recent coup in Thailand, where 10,000 protesters were opposed to the U.S.-Thai trade negotiations and the new military government stopped these trade talks. The world protest against the Iraq War exposed clearly the crisis of multilateralism and the limits of the UN system to maintain peace and economic stability. The difficulties within the WTO due to the refusal of the U.S. and the EU to reduce subsidies for agriculture, inspired Fred Bergsten (2004), a supporter of free trade during the meeting in Cancun in 2003 to compare the WTO “to a bicycle: they collapse when they are not moving forward.” Their double standard in trade policy, preaching free trade, and practising protectionism, has been rejected by Southern governments and social movements.

Furthermore, the improvement of human security and poverty alleviation in China and India are not the results of a rigorous application of the SAP of IMF, but of a genuine state intervention in their economic policy. Also, Malaysia refused to accept the IMF recommendations and was less affected by the Asian economic crises. The decline of a naïve globalization, promoting within the present system of world power a sustainable livelihood, is evident with a growing opposition and social pressure (Shaw 2003) and worldwide economy of solidarity sometimes linked with environmental services (Martínez 1995). Better communications shows that the South transfers annually US\$200 billion (World Bank 2005) to wealthy countries. Additionally poor nations are obliged to pay for debt services, patents, and royalties against their own interests.

Finally, the obsession with economic growth at any costs, promoted by the WB, IMF and WTO, and based on oil intensive production and transportation, brought the world to the limits of global and environmental change (Crasswell 2005). Another geopolitical factor threatening *environmental security* (see chap. by Dalby in this vol.; Brauch 2003, 2005, 2007) is water with its surface reserves in the Amazon region, in Venezuela, and Argentina and its underground water in the Guarani aquifers in South America. Water transformed into food is traded worldwide as virtual water

17 Symbolically, the building of 30,000 m² used a sustainable model of construction of bricks developed on the university campus reducing iron, steel, and cement. This university is open for students from other organizations and countries promoting a democratic land reform, social justice, and the right to land and food sovereignty.

and could increase the food power of these countries, especially when global warming is threatening the food security in the U.S., Canada, and Australia (Oki/et al 2002, 2003; UNESCO-IHE 2004), today's most important food exporters, due to drought and extreme weather events (Alcamo/Endejan 2002). Will the need for alternative energy be able to destroy the last remaining huge tropical forest - the Amazon - to grow sugar cane for ethanol production? Will irresponsibility and interests be able to create further irreversible damage?

The present crisis of legitimacy within the multilateral UN organizations obliged the World Bank to take social movements and gender equity seriously into account. Popular resistance and active opposition to regressive globalization are not only expressed by anti-globalization and protests against the WTO, IMF, WB, and the G-8, but increasingly also by positive alternatives, as expressed by an increasing *altermundo* worldwide.

The World Social Fora started in Porto Alegre in 2001 to adopt a collective political agenda. The third WSF in Mumbai (2003) started symbolically with a massive demonstration of Dalit women and men, asking for equality and inclusiveness in India. Nairobi (2007) focussed on poverty, violence and HIV/AIDS. The clarion theme 'peoples struggle, peoples' alternatives' reinforced cultural resistance. From 2004, the WSF have spread globally and regionally, bringing together social groups and persons who are developing alternatives in their daily life. Exchanging experiences, learning from the success and failure of others, and supporting groups with difficulties multiple social movements, have emerged. These bottom-up activities have increasingly been taken into account by some governments. In some LA countries top-down governmental policies responded to these goals, which led to new laws. However, the protest marches and the declining support for President Lula in Brazil have also shown that social movements and citizens are critically evaluating the impact of economic policies on their pockets. They put pressure on their governments to move away from regressive policies. For these reason Brazil, Argentina, Indonesia, and Thailand repaid their debts to the IMF, knowing that their economic crises had been aggravated by their required implementation of the imposed SAPs.

With regard to gender insecurity, registers of intra-familial and interfamilial violence, rape, feminicide, and women as war objectives are growing. This insecurity relates to structural, physical, and cultural violence, where women were and are discriminated dur-

ing thousands of years within patriarchal, violent, and exclusive structures of families and society. An integrated *gender security* approach is considering first a wider concept of gender, including all vulnerable groups, and second, focus on livelihood, food security, health care, public security, education and cultural diversity, as concrete tools to reduce the present insecurity. Further, it is questioning the existing process of social representation-building and traditional role assignment between genders, including environmental and human security (HUGE) concerns¹⁸. An integrated approach of HUGE focuses on overcoming the consolidated gender discrimination by reorienting '*human security*' to defeat discrimination through specific governmental policies, institution building, and legal reinforcements by stimulating political and social participation of women, the young, and the elderly.

Gender sensible Islamic countries have shown a one per cent higher GDP growth rate than countries which are discriminating against women (World Bank 2005). Nevertheless, in Africa women own only 2 per cent of the land, where they contribute 33 per cent of the paid labour force; 70 per cent of agricultural labour days; 60-80 per cent of the subsistence production; 100 per cent of food transformation; 80 per cent of food storing; 90 per cent of spinning and weaving; 60 per cent of harvesting and market activities (FAO, 2002). Due to permanent socio-economic crises they are trained and have developed survival strategies in coping with short and long-term disasters such as economic crises and famine.

In synthesis, since the fall of the Berlin Wall, the democratization process in LA, the death of Mao in China and the modernization process in India, a new scientific debate has emerged focusing on new threats to security. The security concept has widened (Buzan/Wæver/de Wilde 1998) and deepened, shifting from nation-states to other referent objects from the individual to the global level (Brauch 2003). Some multilateral organizations have introduced sectoral security concepts, such as food (FAO 1996a, 2000a, 2006, 2005a, 2005b; FAO/IFAD/WFP 2005), health (WHO 1999, 2003), labour (ILO 2005), and water security

18 In this chapter the security term is widened and deepened, overcoming the narrow approach of military security. The author is convinced that human, gender, and environmental security (Oswald 2001, 2004, 2006a, 2006b) is a 'HUGE' security concept that is able to deal with the new risks and threats (Beck 2001, 1998) from global and climate change (Crasswell 2005).

(UNEP 2004, 2001). Confronted with poverty, increasing inequality, resource scarcity, population growth, technological threats (genetics, cloning, nanotechnology), increasing vulnerabilities and risks from natural disasters are frequently aggravated by human activities (Beck 2001, 2007). This can be observed in the different effects hurricanes had in Cuba, Haiti, Mexico, and the U.S. (Wisner 2004).

The concept of security was widened from the narrow military dimension to additional societal (Touraine 2006), economic (Stiglitz 2002a/b; Sen 1995; Calva 2003, 2007; Fuentes/Rojas 2005), human (UNDP 1994, 1996, 1998, 2000, 2003; UNCTAD 1994), environmental dimensions (Brauch 2003, 2004a, 2004b, 2005, 2005a; Homer-Dixon 1991, 1994, 1999, 2000; Homer-Dixon/Blitt 1998; Baechler/Böge/Klötzli/Libiszewski/Spillmann 1996; Bächler 1999; Bächler/Spillmann/Suliman 2002), and to gender perspective (Reardon 1996; Mies 1998; Shiva 1988; Oswald 2001; 2007).

Recently and as a result of the complex globalization process, combined security patterns are relating human, gender, and environmental security: HUGE (Oswald 2007, 2008) with peace-building (Boulding 1992; 2000) and nonviolent conflict resolution, where the humans are located in their Anthroposphere, responsible to care about nature as part of the complex Earth system, and to live with leaving few footprints and destruction. Undoubtedly, a widened concept of security shows that *altermundism* has already induced changes, by re-establishing a 'HUGE' solidarity, sustainability, and dignity for the most vulnerable.

26.8 Summary and Conclusions

The initial question posed in the introduction was whether WSF has been a platform to increase security in a wider sense? The experience after the six WSF and the regional meetings in Caracas, Bamako, and Karachi, are complex and it is too early to evaluate their possible success and impact as well as limitations. Therefore no simple answer is possible. The crystallization of different currents within the WSF was symbolic at the Nairobi meeting, remembering that Africa is the birth place of humanity and therefore humanity as a whole has to explore and open ways to confront the present impasse of neoliberal and regressive globalization. There is no single way possible and the survival of multiple ethnic groups was possible thanks to their strategy of resilience-building and resistance.

First: the WSF is neither a movement, nor an organization; it is an *open space* to mobilize horizontally collective and diverse forces from bottom-up. It is clear that social movements have not yet developed an integral answer and a coordinated strategy of articulation against neoliberalism. The most important question is whether this is desirable and feasible? Is it possible to combat with few tools the economic, military, political, and ideological concentration of world power?

Second: The evolution of the WSF in Nairobi (2007) has shown that some participants were benefiting or are trying to benefit. First of all, Lula and Chávez were re-elected as presidents of Brazil and Venezuela, and José Bové tried to be elected in France in spring 2007. International ATTAC wanted to lead a world movement supported with the Tobin tax on speculative money. Samir Amin and other prominent intellectuals insisted that the book of Whitaker (2006) is ingenious and without any social class analyses. Furthermore, it is impossible that free decisions and consensus decision-making could not be reached within the present structure of social exclusion. Finally, in this group there is a wide spectrum of INGOs and NGO, which depend on financing from multilateral, governmental or private subsidies, and which were convenient for understanding and sometimes dividing the efforts agreed upon during the WSF. Their agenda was excluded from the beginning on from the ASM. Their often personal interests (former Marxist, Leninists and Trotskyites) is also called *realism*. For them the previous WSF and noticeably Nairobi has been a debacle. They wanted to create an Anti-Liberalism World Organization with an organized and hierarchical structure, reproducing the present model of the patriarchal system.

Third: There is a *idealist* group (former Marxists influenced by Gramsci) who are supported by a wide coalition of religious leaders ranging from the theology of liberation and Buddhism to religious pluralism. Together with some Nobel peace prize winners, they are promoting a spiritual approach and a theology of intercultural and inter-religious liberation against hegemonic and neoliberal efforts of society and churches. Their combination of psychoanalysis, African and Asian spirituality, and feminist gift-identity, tries to rescue with genuine spirituality and ethical behaviour the deep values inside any human being. They hope to be able to control religious fundamentalism and terrorism, but also neoliberal exploitation and destruction.

Fourth: There are the *utopians*, also excluded, some of them are identified with Maoist ideologies. They have a self-reliant and bottom-up background (Ubuntu, Ujamaa, ejido, ahimsa, economy of solidarity, caracol, the other money, the other stock market, etc.). They are represented in the WSF as the ASM and the *Social Movements World Network*. For them the WSF is an open space, where primarily social movements interchange experiences of struggles and create a global agenda to coordinate the opposition against neoliberal events (WTO, G-8, IMF's ministerial sessions). But more important, the World Social Fora have created space where the social experiences of the excluded are analysed, their failures understood, and their practices improved. In this space, global themes such as genetic modified organisms, peasants' seeds patrimony of humanity, economy of solidarity, livelihood improvement, political struggle for local sustainable development, democratic land reform, etc. were discussed and mutually reinforced.

These groups have created a transnational space of solidarity and struggle, able to promote a new platform of security where existing power relations have not been frontally attacked, but an alternative world model has been created, where the excluded could find a dignified live. Together with spiritual reflections and sessions, dance and song, they have created a new working space and labour creation beside the formal job markets, and often also besides the formal political system. These isolated groups were always victims of repression and exploitation. Today, their force has created a counterbalance to the power excess from dominant governments and elites (see MST). In these social movements, integrated e.g. in Via Campesina, Freire's alternative and liberation education, a world solidarity economy, ecofeminism and gift economy, some democratic trade unions and millions of local self-reliant efforts have become the hope for an alternative future for the three billion people who have been excluded from the benefits of globalization. They are creating their opportunity for a dignified and sustainable livelihood, related to food sovereignty, traditional medicine, resistance, and social solidarity networks. This is a utopia based on spirituality, ethics, sustainability, and solidarity. It may be a future for the majority of the world population - many of them have been victims of the globalization process.

27 Security Regionalism in Theory and Practice

Björn Hettne

27.1 Introduction: Conceptualization and Previous Debates

The aim of this chapter is to clarify the meaning of 'security regionalism' or the regional dimensions of security. Due to globalization and the end of the Cold War the world order is moving beyond national sovereignty. Post-sovereign political rationality assumes that solutions to problems of security must be found in transnational structures. Security itself is becoming increasingly complex, even if the threat to physical security remains in focus. Mortal threats can come from different sources and levels of society, domestic as well as international. The purpose of regional peacekeeping is precisely to prevent the spread of local conflicts. Conflict management is consequently getting internationalized, whether on a global or regional level. From having been seen as a rival approach to universalism or globalism the regional level has become increasingly important, judging from recent literature. In case of 'complex humanitarian emergencies' caused by serious human rights violations, this includes external intervention in what was called 'domestic' affairs; perhaps the most dramatic and controversial aspect of post-sovereignty. An increasing number of interventions are regional rather than multilateral and this chapter tries to explain why this is the case. In this introduction some crucial concepts are first defined and the previous debate on regionalism and security is briefly summarized. As far as the concept of *security* is concerned the general introduction to this volume has already put the concept in context. What is of importance for this analysis is the increasing importance of intra-state conflicts and how domestic crises influence *regional security*, making the traditional distinction between domestic and international less relevant. Human rights and other internal security matters are thus treated as important security problems in international relations (Lake/Morgan 1997: 23).

There is after decades of academic discussion still no consensus about what is to be meant by *region*, except that we must go beyond geography but nevertheless retain a territorial dimension to make sense of the concept. The 'new regionalism', furthermore, focuses on emerging formations rather than seeing regions as given subsystems of the international order. *Regionalism* is a key aspect in the post-cold war situation. It refers to a tendency and a political commitment to organize the world in terms of regions; more narrowly the concept refers to a specific regional project. In some definitions the actors behind this political commitment are states; in other definitions actors are not confined to states. *Regionalization* refers to the more complex process of forming regions; whether these are consciously planned or caused by spontaneous processes is not agreed upon by all authors. A region can be more or less coherent, referred to as level of *regionness*. A higher degree of regionness and regional identity also implies capacity to act, or *actorness*, most importantly in security management. Lower regionness consequently implies greater impact from the outside. The level of actorness can best be assessed in the security field. A high level of actorness also means that security policy may reach outside the particular region and even influence world order. This is so far the case only with the EU. The often-used concept of *regional organization* is also rather unclear. Some regional organizations are explicitly recognized by the UN as a particular organizational level of world order; others are developing more spontaneously, raising intricate problems of legitimacy. This will be discussed in the last section.

The first generation of regional integration studies in the 1950's and 1960's were immediately concerned with economics, but more fundamentally they were in fact concerned with peace and security. They tended to see the nation-state as the problem rather than as the solution. The relevant theories were federalism and functionalism/neofunctionalism. *Federalism*, which inspired the pioneers of European integra-

tion, was not really a theory but rather a political programme; it was sceptical to the nation-state, although what was to be created was rather a new kind of state. There was no obvious theorist associated with federalism. In contrast, *functionalism* has been much identified with one particular name: David Mitrany (1966). This was also an approach to peace-building rather than a theory. The question for functionalists was on which political level various human needs (often defined in a rather technical way) best could be met. Usually the best way was found to be going beyond the nation-state, but not necessarily going regional (Mitrany 1966). Thus both federalism and functionalism wanted the nation-state to go, but through different routes and by different means. Neofunctionalism more explicitly discussed integration as a region-building process, and the positive implications as far as security was concerned were taken for granted. Neofunctionalism was essentially the theory of European region-building authored by Ernst Haas (1958). What was created in Europe was according to Karl Deutsch a 'regional security community' defined as "the attainment of institutions and practices strong enough and widespread enough to assure, for a long time, dependable expectations of peaceful change among its population" (Deutsch 1968: 194).

Today it has become commonplace to distinguish between an older wave or generation of regionalism and a more recent, new 'generation' of regionalism ('the new regionalism') starting in the latter half of the 1980's and now being a prevalent phenomenon throughout the world. The studies in the new regionalism considered new aspects, particularly those focused on conditions related to what was called globalization (Hettne/Inotai/Sunkel 1999-2001, 2000; Hettne/Söderbaum 2000; Telò 2001). In the more recent theorizing, security concerns are still relevant but these are often seen as causal factors forcing countries to cooperate, due to the risk of *regionalization of conflict*. By this is meant both the outward spread or spill-over of a local conflict into neighbouring countries, and the inward impact from the region, in the form of more or less diplomatic interference, military intervention and, preferably, conflict resolution, carried out by some kind of regional body. Security regionalism has now become a genre in itself (Lake/Morgan 1997; Adler/Barnett 1998; Buzan/Wæver 2003).

The focus of the rest of this chapter will be on the regional dimensions of conflict management, both the tendency of domestic conflicts to be regionalized, and the need for conflict resolution to be em-

bedded in regional security arrangements. The chapter contains four parts: a presentation of the dimensions of security regionalism, an overview of the global pattern of regional conflict, a framework for the analysis of particularly regional conflict resolution, and a discussion of future prospects for regional versus global security management.

27.2 Dimensions of Security Regionalism

Regionalism and security can be related in many different ways. One has to do with the choice of unit for investigation, e.g. a regional security complex, defined by Barry Buzan as "a group of states whose primary security concerns link together sufficiently closely that their national security cannot realistically be considered apart from one another" (Buzan 1991: 190). The concept has later been rethought in a multi-sectoral and social constructivist direction, making the actual delimitation of the unit more nuanced, but not easier since different security sectors (economic, environmental, societal) may define different regions (Buzan 2003). In an alternative approach developed by Lake and Morgan (1997) regions are defined in terms of the mode of security management or "regional order". Regional orders can shift from simple balance of power systems or concert to more comprehensive communities or integrated polities. The authors also suggest an alternative definition of regional security complex: "the states affected by at least one transborder but local security externality" (Lake/Morgan 1997: 46). The region is nevertheless also here primarily a level of analysis.

Another link between regionalism and security concerns the regional implications of a local conflict. These depend on the nature of the security complex and the way various security problems are vertically and horizontally linked in particular regions, which can be highly varying.

A third link has to do with the conflict management role of the organized region (if there is one) for internal regional security, or 'regional order', for the immediate environment (e.g. the neighbourhood policy of the EU) of the region, and for world order (to the extent that there is actorness enough to influence the shape of world order). Conflict management with regard to immediate environment (but outside the region) can refer to an acute conflict or aim at preventively transforming the situation, either by stabilization or by integration (enlargement of the regional

organization). No clear-cut distinctions can be made. The region can thus be cause (the regional complex), means (regional security management), and solution (regional development).

Development regionalism means concerted efforts from a group of countries within a geographical region to enhance the economic complementarity of the constituent political units and capacity of the total regional economy. *Security regionalism* refers to attempts by states and other actors in a particular geographical area - a region in the making - to transform a security complex with conflict-generating interstate and intrastate relations towards a security community characterized by cooperative external (interregional) relations and domestic (intraregional) peace. The concept also includes more acute interventions in humanitarian crises (complex humanitarian emergencies) often the result of human rights violations, either between societal groups or by a repressive state.

In the globalized world there has emerged, as a result of the spread of disorder, a qualitatively new discourse on intervention called 'humanitarian intervention': a coercive involvement by external powers in a 'domestic conflict' with the purpose of preventing anarchy, punishing human rights abuses, and promoting democracy and 'good governance'. The recent focus upon human security rather than state security is significant for understanding the change of the security and development discourse and the fundamental challenge to sovereignty. Implied in concepts such as 'human security', 'human development', 'human emergency', and 'humanitarian intervention' is the idea of a transnational responsibility for human welfare. *Complex humanitarian emergencies* thus refer to serious multidimensional crises in which the issue of coercive intervention from outside naturally arises. There are three dimensions: Socio-economic crisis, political crisis, and a pressure for external involvement, due to regionalization of conflict.

The level of regionness can be purposively changed. For instance, security cooperation within a region would lead to improved stability, making the region more attractive for international investment and trade, and development regionalism would mean a more efficient use of available resources. There are of course, in terms of *political stability* and *economic dynamics*, different types of regions in the world where these approaches apply differently: core regions, intermediate regions, and peripheral regions.

27.3 The Global Pattern of Regional Conflict

This is not the place for going into the details of regional conflicts, but in order to pinpoint the significant differences among regional orders a brief overview with a few concrete examples is called for. There is consensus that regional dynamics has been increasingly important after the Cold War and that security problems more often tend to be handled within a particular region in a more or less institutionalized way. This is still a trend, not an established fact.

The regional security frameworks created so far in the different world regions are embryonic, with the exception of Europe that has been transformed through regional cooperation from a *security complex*, largely defined by the historical tense and war prone conflict between Germany and France, into a *security community*, where war is no longer an option in resolving conflicts. There is, however, still a number of old and new instances of intrastate conflicts representing mixtures of different forms of political rationality and different types of conflicts, as well as gang wars in the great cities, neo-fascist violence against immigrants, and fundamentalist sectarianism providing a climate for terrorism.

The very existence of the EU makes it unlikely that conflicts close to the core could be permitted to escalate. Other institutions in the security field are OSCE (Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe) and NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization), both with a much wider geographical coverage. The most comprehensive approach to security has been developed by OSCE (Adler 1998). In the post-Soviet space (except the Baltic) the CIS (Commonwealth of Independent States) has a security role but this organization, more or less imposed, is seen with great scepticism by most members, and in reality the stabilizing role is played by Russia (Robinson 2004).

The 'near abroad' of the EU and that of Russia coincide to a large degree. Russia has claimed the role as stabilizer in this area but seems to lack a coherent security policy, except the simple policy of control which has some neo-imperialist overtones, strengthened by the post 9/11 anti-terrorist objective. The neighbourhood also plays a most important role in the EU's more coherent and comprehensive security strategy with the ambitious purpose of transforming the security complex (Charillon 2004). The large EU neighbourhood is constituted by parts of the

post-Soviet area (European part and Southern Caucasian) and the Mediterranean area.

The security concerns of Europe can thus be understood in terms of concentric circles where the security strategy differs with the distance. In the closest circle *enlargement* is the preferred security policy. The success story is the transformation and integration of Central and Eastern Europe, which in fact implied a large number of resolved and thus prevented conflicts. The Balkan region has proved to be a more difficult challenge for European crisis management; we are still not able to assess the outcome of conflict management here.

The general method involved in the policy towards the neighbourhood is *stabilization*. The Barcelona process is for instance a strategy of cooperation between the EU and its Mediterranean neighbours where, in accordance with the basic concern for stability, security is the first priority. The stabilization option in the 'soft power' arsenal forming part of the neighbourhood policy presupposes a strong economy and effective diplomatic instruments.

This is even more the case regarding the peace building effects of *interregionalist* partnerships with more far away regions such as ASEAN and Mercosur. The EU ambition is here to formalize the partnership relations as being between two regional bodies rather than bilateral contacts between countries, but for pragmatic reasons, the forms of agreement show a bewildering variety. The emphasis on interregionalism by the European Union may in the longer run prove to be important in the reconstruction of a multilateral world order in a regionalized form, here called *multiregionalism*, meaning a horizontalized, institutionalized structure formed by organized regions, linked to each other through multidimensional partnership agreements.

The regional order in Latin America is shaped by the hegemonic/dominant role of the USA (also the most obvious security threat), an influence diminishing towards the south, organized in the Mercosur, where there is competition between the USA and Europe. Against Mercosur, the USA promotes the project of the FTAA (Free Trade Area of the Americas). The security problems are of the non-traditional type. The Andean states are often ruled by populism, which has made regional cooperation difficult and increased external leverage. Domestic conflicts are concentrated to these countries (Colombia being a particularly severe case) but rarely affect inter-state relations (Phillips 2004). In the Southern Cone the traditional rivalry between Brazil and Argentina has

been transformed into institutionalized cooperation, creating a security community which even serves as a bulwark for democracy in the region (Hurrell 1998). But even this case has been disputed (Mares 1997).

In Asia there are several regions with different regional problems, and consequently different solutions to regional crises. East Asia, where interstate relations are always tense and sometimes hostile can be described as a potential 'concert', which would mean that the relevant regional powers informally consult each other on a more or less regular basis and if necessary intervene collectively in crises. Southeast Asia, with a rather effective regional organization, has been seen as a security community since all interstate conflicts implying the use of force have been prevented (Acharya 1998). South Asia is considered as an explosive security complex where security threats to a large degree emerge from domestic tension and sometimes have resulted in war. Regional solutions have been prevented by the Indian preference for bilateralism. This does not, however, contradict the enormous potential advantages of regional cooperation, which more recently seems to have been realized in the region. Central Asia with almost no regional cooperation is becoming part of a new Great Game, with the USA competing with Russia and China. Southwest Asia, or the Middle East, is dominated by the USA. This is an artificial region named from the outside and so far also lacking in capacity for regional conflict resolution.

In peripheral regions, e.g. in Africa, there is a conspicuous lack of cooperation that could lay the foundation for a regional security community at the same time as borders are porous due to the unfinished state of nation-building projects. Their normal situation is a tense security complex, prone to both interstate and intrastate conflicts, creating a pressure on external actors to intervene in 'failed states', which threaten to give rise to regional security crises, as in West Africa and in the DRC. The continental regional organization (AU) is assuming a larger role in security management, but both SADC and ECOWAS have played an operational (albeit controversial) role, based on regional security mechanisms. In the case of Liberia the crisis took place in the shadow of the first Gulf War. The imperative to intervene was expressed by Nigeria's president in the context of the Liberian crisis: "When certain events occur in the sub region depending on their intensity and magnitude, which are bound to affect Nigeria's politico-military and socio-economic environment, we should not stand by as helpless and hapless spectators" (Francis 2001: 42).

This is the rationale behind Pax Nigeriana (Adebajo 2002a: 111). When the global community finally acted by the establishment of UNOMIL, the response was too weak, undertaken for the wrong reasons, as well as with a malfunctioning relationship to ECOMOG. The international community seems to be able to deal with only one crisis at a time, which is one comparative advantage of regional crisis management. The wars following the 1994 genocide in Rwanda show the linkage between domestic conflict and regional security. The many unresolved problems associated with humanitarian intervention are shown in Darfur, seen by many as another genocide case.

27.4 The Analysis of Conflict Management

There are six crucial elements in a framework for the analysis of external (including regional) involvement in conflicts: (1) the early prevention, or 'provention' of conflict; (2) confidence building measures and preventive diplomacy; (3) modes of external intervention; (4) peace settlement; (5) conflict resolution; and (6) post-conflict reconstruction.

The framework uses the idea of a 'conflict circle' as a simplified way of understanding conflict dynamics on an analytical level, but it must be emphasized that there is no 'natural history of conflict' in the real world. The 'conflict cycle' could be short, if conflict resolution takes place before the conflict turns violent, or long, if conflict prevention fails. There are examples of both. It is important to maintain a comprehensive view of the full circle: the holistic approach.

27.4.1 Provention

The first 'stage' precedes the 'conflict' even in its potential or latent form. Economic-historical analysis shows that the pattern of development chosen at one point in time can result in structural imbalances, social tension, and political conflict much later. In the early stages of a potential, i.e. still not initiated, conflict cycle, the type of development strategy is therefore crucial for conflict prevention, or to use John Burton's term, *provention*, combining the promotion of conditions conducive to peace and the prevention of conditions conducive to violence. Provention implies "the promotion of an environment conducive to harmonious relationship" and thus "prevention of an undesirable event by removing its causes" (Burton 1990: 2-3). In discussing regional crisis management

in the longer perspective beyond intervention, it is thus important to link security regionalism and development regionalism. These two aspects of regionalism are complementary and mutually supportive. This is implied in the concept of regional security community discussed above.

In this context we are particularly interested in a regional approach, where 'provention' would imply an effort to remove the very root causes of conflicts inherent in the development process. Development regionalism was defined above as efforts from a group of countries to increase the productive capacity of the regional economy. The approach promotes the interests of the region as a whole as well as taking advantage of complementarities within the region, seen as a coherent economic system, rather than a group of competing national economies. This cannot be done without some degree of actorness on the part of the region.

Development regionalism is thus a way to break vicious circles; it is also an important 'preventive' factor by which conflict-generating development processes can be eliminated at an early stage. International development assistance also has a preventive role to play here to the extent that a conflict-consciousness is 'mainstreamed' into international development cooperation. This is reflected in the current praxis of making peace and conflict impact assessments (PCIA) in development work. In this approach it is implicitly recognized that such considerations would be much more effective if applied at an early stage, rather than when the conflict already is a fact.

27.4.2 Preventive Diplomacy

Provention is problematic in the sense of being counterfactual. The conflict that never takes place is not the source of satisfaction that it should be. Prevention, on the other hand, attracts a lot more of interest, since everybody can see the difference in terms of material costs and the amount of suffering between a conflict subdued at an early stage and a conflict that is fully developed, not to speak of the costs of post-conflict reconstruction. In spite of that, prevention is also usually coming too late, because the mechanisms for early management of emerging conflicts are at best embryonic.

One source of the current interest in prevention has been Boutros-Ghali's (1992) *Agenda for Peace*, which called for early warning systems, fact-finding missions and confidence-building measures. The idea caught on and a number of regional associations now

have some conflict prevention body (or 'organ') at least on paper. The first really preventive intervention was carried out by the EU in Macedonia (2003). Unfortunately no preventive measures were taken in this case, which shows the bias towards focusing on one conflict-resolution method at the time. Boutros-Ghali's (1992: 11) definition is by itself a stage approach as he understands preventive diplomacy as "action to prevent disputes from arising between parties, to prevent existing disputes from escalating into conflicts and to limit the spread of the latter when they occur." In this definition the first stage seems to coincide with what above was called prevention, and the third stage implies that the conflict has already turned violent.

Here the concept of conflict prevention is confined to the period (or stage of the conflict cycle) after it has become manifest, but before it has turned violent. To prevent an ongoing conflict from escalating is discussed below as 'intervention'. Intervention presupposes a 'complex humanitarian emergency' in order not to fall under the illegal action of 'intervening in the domestic affairs of another country'. In this stage the conflict reaches a dangerous stage of a political vacuum. Black holes constitute a danger, not only to a particular region, but ultimately to the states-system as a whole. Therefore they provoke international counteraction of some sort. This may take many different forms.

27.4.3 Modes of External Intervention

Provention (in terms of development) and prevention (in terms of diplomatic action) are early forms of civil intervention, but by intervention is mostly meant military intervention in order to put an end to a violent conflict. Distinctions can be made among five different modes of intervention in acute regional security crises: *unilateral*, *bilateral*, *plurilateral*, *regional*, and *multilateral*.

- The *unilateral* carried out by one intervener without asking for permission;
- The *bilateral* where there is some kind of (more or less voluntary) agreement between the intervener and the regime in the country in which the intervention is made;
- The *plurilateral* by an ad hoc group of countries or some more permanent form of non-territorial security alliance;
- The *regional* carried out by a territorially defined regional organization;
- The *multilateral*, finally, implying the involvement of the whole 'international community'.

A unilateral intervention can either be carried out by a concerned neighbour trying to avoid a wave of refugees into its own territory, or by a regional super-power having strategic or economic interests in the region. A bilateral intervention is a rather rare phenomenon and cannot be described as intervention in a strictly legal sense, since there is no (manifest) coercion. Intervention implies imposition. There may, however, be an element of imposition in a bilateral arrangement as in the Indian peacekeeping mission in Sri Lanka 1987. In contrast to a plurilateral intervention by a more or less ad hoc grouping of countries (typically a 'concert'), the regional has a territorial orientation and the right as well as the duty to intervene may be agreed upon in a regional treaty. The multilateral intervention normally means an UN-led or at least UN-sanctioned operation,

One much discussed issue is whether the operation is coercive or not. A lot of confusion is associated with this distinction, relating to different kinds of peace-missions, for instance peacekeeping vs. peace-enforcement. Due to the principle of non-intervention embraced in the UN Charter, it is only the first that is generally accepted; but as an effect of the changing nature of conflict, there is normally an escalation from peacekeeping over 'extended peace-keeping' to peace-enforcement. Generally one would assume that regional interventions are more coercive and more enduring, since the regional mission is not simply a task to be performed within a limited time period, but a serious crisis to be permanently solved in the long-term interest of the whole region.

27.4.4 Peace Settlement

The peace agreement is the formal ending of a conflict. There are endings which are not formalized in a peace agreement, for instance a military victory of one side, or when fighting reaches a stalemate (Miall/Rambotham/Woodhouse 1999). In the latter cases long-term peace building is usually not considered. This may, or may not, be the case in a formal agreement.

The idea of a 'hurting stalemate' is based on the strategy of separating the conflict, presumably having a logic of its own, and social change in general (Zartman 1985). In accordance with the holistic approach it is, on the contrary, essential that the terms of the peace agreement, in order to be sustainable, should also address the root causes and to be preventive.

The fact that so many peace agreements do not hold is the main argument to focus on root causes. There are also more ‘superficial’ reasons for the parties to continue a war, namely the many vested interests, what is referred to as the ‘greed factor’, which develops in the course of warfare. It is, however, reasonable to assume that the large majority of the population living in a situation of war would prefer peace, if given a chance to make its voice heard.

27.4.5 Conflict Resolution

Conflict resolution may of course take place before a conflict turns violent. Here we discuss post-conflict resolutions. A peace settlement may include principles of conflict resolution to be applied, or simply be confined to conditions of cease-fire. In any case the way out of the conflict goes through political restructuring of some kind, i.e. a new political relationship between the contending groups, typically ethnic groups. Ethno-national mobilization may have the historical function of modifying the nation-state project, and the pattern of development inherent in it. The question is how? If we exclude coercive assimilation of ethnic or other minorities in the mainstream nation-building project, a method which usually forms part of the problem rather than of the solution, there are in principle three political ways out of such domestic crises:

First, *constitutional change*, modifying a skewed power structure and establishing a power-sharing arrangement within a particular state formation. A political constitution can itself be seen as an instrument of conflict resolution in a multiethnic state. This is why ethnic demands, at least in an early stage, often include constitutional reform; for instance decentralization of political power to ethnically more or less distinct provinces, internal self-determination referring to societal groups rather than to administrative territorial units, and ‘consociational democracy’ where democracy functions as a human rights regime rather than as a formal political model of transfer of political power. This solution, if applied at an early stage of the conflict cycle, might prevent it from deteriorating into a security problem. Its logic, however, remains within Westphalianism. The accommodation of cultural diversity is a complex process, if culture is itself defined as process rather than inherent qualities embodied in social groups. Against ‘a state-defined, enforced difference’ (Young 1999: 7), it is important to develop a non-primordial concept of multiculturalism (interculturalism).

Second, *the dismemberment of the state*, sometimes accompanied by an organized ‘ethnic cleansing’, is an option that remains open when the preferred solution – constitutional reform – has failed. This unfortunate solution has actually been seriously discussed in the context of the Balkan crisis (Kaufmann 1999). Partition is rarely a good solution, since the old inter-ethnic conflict simply is redened as an interstate conflict (‘pathological Westphalianism’), but in some cases it may nevertheless be necessary in order to prevent massacres and massive human rights violations by the drawing of frontier lines. The independent International Kosovo Commission (2000) has taken that line of argument by making a distinction between legality and legitimacy. However, an increase in the number of states with unsettled grievances among themselves implies a decreasing level of regionness and increasing level of international anarchy.

Third, a completely reversed process is the *integration* of neighbouring states into a regional formation, a process, providing solutions to ethnic tensions simply by downplaying the role of borders, so central to the old Westphalian order based on national sovereignty. Ethnic conflicts often spill over into nearby countries where they are perceived as threats to national security. Conflicts among states are therefore more easily solved within an appropriate regional framework. A regional organization can better than the immediately concerned states take the role of mediator in ethnic conflicts, and in terms of culture and values still be closer to the parties than international, extra-regional mediators. In addition, regionalism is the relevant line of protection, the defensive bulwark against the anarchy of the world market and the global forces of homogenization, and the implied cultural ethnocide stimulating dangerous politics of identity. A comprehensive security is created by building a regional community.

27.4.6 Post-Conflict Reconstruction

Post-conflict reconstruction is a new experience of massive social engineering, completely different from the physical rebuilding of war-torn societies (for instance in post Second World War Europe) in which the inner societal coherence is still intact. The black hole syndrome or a humanitarian emergency includes not only physical destruction but also social exclusion, depletion of ‘social capital’, erosion of civil society, decay of institutions and decline of civility. It is a destruction of the social and moral substance of society. In view of the fact that the pre-conflict structure

generated tensions that led to conflict, 'post conflict reconstruction' is of course a most inappropriate term.

The complex rebuilding (or rather the creation of a new equilibrium) cannot be done by outside actors alone, but normally not without them either. Local actors have become paralysed by mutual hostility and fear, apart from lacking necessary resources. There is thus no alternative but to build on the combined efforts of external interveners and remaining "islands of civility" (Kaldor 1999) to combat hate, suspicion, corruption, and criminality. In the process of normalization it is of utmost importance that the destroyed society is reintegrated in the regional economy, communication network, and system of resources in a supportive way through regional cooperation, which in some cases may not have existed at all before. This cooperation must pro-actively avert tensions that may lead to renewed violence, i.e. what was above described as provention. Thus provention is a fundamental principle of post-conflict reconstruction, if another complex humanitarian emergency shall be avoided.

27.5 The Future of Regional Conflict Management

There is still some distance to travel before an effective regional conflict management regime is established. All dimensions of security regionalism are not equally relevant for all regions. In some cases there is regionalization of conflict but no regionalization of conflict management; in some there is a capacity to deal with the conflicts within a particular region but not outside. Only for Europe all dimensions of security are relevant. The European experience is, however, usually recapitulated in negative terms, because of the failure to manage the Bosnian crisis with the use of hard power. The comparison is with the more 'Marsian' US forcing the Dayton Agreement (1995) upon the warring parties. The EU conflict management from prevention and onwards was surely no success. However, the experience can be understood in other terms by looking at the potential of the European approach to conflict management, i.e. soft or civil power. It has to be recognized that much of this approach developed after the event and thus had little effect. Its relevance for the future is a function of the coherence of the European integration project.

In the European Union security has been a most sensitive issue and its further institutionalization

blocked by the constitutional crisis erupting in 2005 which has lowered the level of actorness, i.e. the capacity to shape the security environment. Undoubtedly integration (i.e. the process of enlargement) has until now improved the regional security situation in Europe, but this particular way of security management has an uncertain future as there are obvious political limits to enlargement.

Regionalism and security are multifaceted phenomena that relate to each other in widely different ways as we look beyond Europe. A basic distinction can be made between the classic, neo-functional thesis of regional integration as a peace-promoter (the ASEAN model), and the more recent perspective - associated with the new regionalism (Söderbaum/Shaw 2000) - of the regionalization of conflict as a reason for region-building (the ECOWAS model). These approaches are different but not contradictory; they belong to different stages in the conflict circle. A different situation, but with conflict playing the stimulus role, is when the region organizes against a common enemy. In fact this also applies to the ASEAN case, and to the early development of SADC (Kivimäki 2002).

Development regionalism and security regionalism constitute a package which may differ in content but is relevant in all emerging regions in spite of their different types of problems. Both are equally important in a long-term perspective but since we are dealing with 'high' and 'low' politics or 'hard' and 'soft' security, there is an unavoidable asymmetry between them. There is thus a risk of what is called securitization of the development discourse. This is a matter of focus and to some extent of perspective, but it seems that development concerns today, particularly in the light of September 11, are being subordinated under security concerns. Development becomes a tool rather than a goal in itself. With the right type of development as a goal, i.e. provention as discussed above, there should be fewer conflicts (and less terrorism) in the first place.

Another point is that the first option for engagement in a particular regional conflict must be given to the region itself, possibly supported by an inter-regional arrangement. The reason is that most conflicts tend to become regionalized, while the immediately concerned state may lose control over the escalating crisis and even face collapse. Distinctions between external and internal, as well as state actors and other actors (such as warlords) quickly lose their significance. Furthermore, the conflict resolution must be regional in order to be sustainable. National disinte-

gration must be replaced by region-building: the creation of security communities.

Experiences from most regions (far from being security communities) indicate that security regionalism is a serious option, sometimes imperative, if there is a stable core within the region and a reasonable level of institutionalization can be established. Otherwise, there is not much alternative anyway, since multilateral humanitarian intervention is a highly selective strategy. The main problem is to bridge the gap between the short-term 'imperative' intervention, and the long-term preventive strategy to avoid what later may result in a return to violent conflict. For this a comprehensive institutionalization of regional conflict management is needed.

In a positive circle regional cooperation for development reduces the level of conflict and the peace dividend facilitates further development cooperation. This circle can also be turned into a vicious circle, where conflicts and underdevelopment feed on each other and grow to become regional crises. Development regionalism is a way to break vicious circles, and contains an important preventive factor by which conflict generating processes can be 'prevented' before they occur. Secondly, it is a necessary framework for a post-conflict reconstruction phase.

Regionalization has structural consequences beyond the particular region. *Transregionalism* refers to structures mediating between regions, if in a formal way one can use the word *interregionalism*; and if constituting a form of world order: *multiregionalism*. Like the new regionalism, transregional arrangements are voluntary and cooperative. The interregional agreements designed by the EU usually contain the issues of trade, development, political dialogue, human rights, conflict prevention and security arrangements. They have an impact on world order. This raises the issue of regionalism versus globalism, which has been controversial ever since the establishment of the UN (Henrikson 1995). The UN charter was made compatible with so called 'regional arrangements or agencies' and this idea has unsurprisingly surfaced again as the number of failed states has multiplied. The dominant view has been the need for a multilateral sanction for regional interventions to be legal and legitimate. The reality is however very different from an idealized hierarchical order in which the regional level intermediates between a global space, occupied by multilateral organizations such as the UN, on the one hand, and a national 'floor' of sovereign states, on the other.

Whereas the 'old regionalism', marked by the Cold War divisions, was an arrangement that prevented the UN from interfering in a constructive way in regional conflicts, the 'new regionalism' seems to herald a world order in which the UN and regional organizations will have to resume a shared responsibility for resolving regional security crises, rather than the UN delegating authority and distributing mandates. One reason for a continued need for this shared responsibility is the exhaustion of UN power, the decline in its authority, and the still rather embryonic character of emerging regional formations, particularly obvious in the African case. Here the main concern is with regional and multilateral engagement as the two modes which, in some kind of combination, should be the predominant form of humanitarian intervention in the future, to the extent that legality and legitimacy continue to play a role in international relations after the war against Iraq. Unilateral and even plurilateral interventions lack legality but may on some occasions appear legitimate, and the bilateral case is rare and, furthermore, not an intervention in the strict sense of the word since it presupposes some kind of agreement.

A discussion of the comparative advantage of regional cooperation cannot deal with ideals, must consider the realistic alternatives, the level of regionalization, and the effectiveness of relevant regional organizations. An explicit discussion of this issue focusing on (i) consensus building, (ii) support structure, (iii) engagement in conflict resolution, and (iv) restraint of third parties can be found in Diehl (1994). Furthermore, there are distinct problems such as resource constraints, organizational weaknesses, lack of neutrality, and the role of the regional hegemon. Diehl's (1994: 131) conclusion is thus rather negative for regional as compared to multilateral peacekeeping. However, one has to admit that multilateral peacekeeping is not always forthcoming, and if it comes it usually comes late and for the wrong reasons.

Regionalization of conflict may have such dire consequences for a region with weak institutions that intervention has to be improvised as an emergency. Such interventions are often suboptimal, but we have to recognize that most international interventions in domestic conflicts so far have been failures, mainly because of the extreme complexity of intervening in, not to speak of trying to transform, a society in conflict. What is stressed here are rather the emerging regional formations from below, assuming a degree of legitimacy and actor capacity that the traditional formal, typically continental, organizations lack. They

do not get their mandate from above, but (1) from the cooperating states, pooling their sovereignty in order to better manage global challenges, (2) from an emerging regional civil society, and (3) from an inter-regional agreement containing political dialogue and mutual assistance.

Multilateral and regional (plurilateral) actors represent different types of potentially competing authority structures. It seems unrealistic to think of intermediate regional security organizations that are at the same time subordinated to the Security Council and representative of the states in the region, also because the state-centric approach is becoming increasingly irrelevant, as the world enters the post-sovereign stage. It is true that security can only be pooled or transferred by states, but in the process the states are being locked into a larger regional and interregional framework, shaping their behaviour. In the future, the UN may have to operate in a new political landscape of regional and interregional formations which define themselves as they evolve out of shared interests and perceived threats among a large number of actors, state actors, and others.

The resulting regional and interregional order will be structurally different from the Westphalian order, and an alternative to unilateralism. This can be called 'regional multilateralism', a world order based on institutionalized constructive relations between moderately introverted and rather self-sustained world-regions, capable of managing their own regional crises. However, it is essential that these world regions engage in inter-civilizational dialogues with the purpose of developing an inter-subjective understanding of the conditions for planetary co-existence. September 11 did not facilitate such a world order, the necessity of which becomes all the clearer as the current war against international terrorism shows its inherent deficiencies in terms of legality and legitimacy.

28 Identity-based Security Threats in a Globalized World: Focus on Islam

Mustafa Aydin and Sinem Acikmese

28.1 Introduction

Ethnic and religious issues have gained renewed attention with the spread of globalization. Their divisive character and potential to create conflicts between different groups have been extensively studied since the end of the Cold War, through the lenses of *international relations* and/or *comparative politics*, most of which incorporate historical analysis (Petersen 1979; Silva/May 1991; Brown 1993; Appleby 1994; Janke 1994; Ryan 1995; Ganguly/Taras 1998; Seul 1999; Wiberg/Scherrer 1999; Fox 2001b, 2004; Gurr/Harff 2003; Lobell/Mauceri 2004), *political science* (Lake/Rothchild 1998), *anthropology* (Eller 1999), *sociology* (Gelfand/Lee 1973; Francis 1976; Williams 1994), *social psychology* (Ashmore/Jussim/Wilder 2001), *psychology* (Volkan/Harris 1995; Volkan 1997; Volkan 1999; Lee/McCauley/Moghaddam/Worchel 2004), as well as from a *multidisciplinary* approach (Horowitz 2000).

Among discussions regarding various sources of 'identity' and 'threat' to the rest of the world, Islam has attracted particular attention from Huntington's now (in)famous work (1993, 1996) on the 'clash of civilizations' to George W. Bush's flashbacks to a 'crusade' against terrorists¹. We live in a world where names like *al-Jihad*, *Islamic Jihad*, *Gamaa Islamiyya*, *Hizb-ut Tabrir*, *Army of God*, *Islamic Liberation Front*, *Armed Islamic Group*, *Hizballah*, *Hamas*, and *al-Qaeda*, make the headlights almost daily in connection with terrorism. However, is the picture offered by such analyses and rather superficial presentation of news reporters with regard to Islam as a threat to the world correct? Could there be a link between what is in its essence an 'abstract' formulation, i.e. identity,

and the very 'real' existence of threat to humanity from identity-based conflicts and its close relative, international terrorism?

When we think about the violent events leading to the deaths of many civilians [such as the attack on the World Trade Centre (1993), massacre of tourists in Luxor-Egypt (1997), bombings of American embassies in Tanzania and Kenya (1998), 9/11 attacks (2001), as well as bombings in Madrid (2004), Istanbul (2004), and London (2005)] and their perpetrators, a connection is established rather unavoidably and all-too-easily between the use of terror and Islam. Although this shallow analysis focusing solely on the deeds of extremists and generalizing them to the whole Islamic world is misguided at best, it nevertheless has its attraction in many parts of the world.

However, without denying that the Islam is sometimes used as a self-identification tool and psychological booster for extremist religious groups associated with threats directed at political, societal, economic, and human security at the national, regional or global levels, it is clearly wrong to suggest that there exists a unified-monolithic Islamic civilization threatening the world. Accordingly, this chapter will look critically at the connection between Islam as a religion and Islam as a threat in the globalized world where peoples' resort to deeper religious and ethnic identities came to the fore.

The first part is a *tour d'horizon* on the concept and formation of identities; ethnic, religious, and civilizational versions of identity-based security threats and their link with globalization. Although group identities are mostly shaped by ethnicity, thus ethnic-based threats are more applicable to current regional and global security dynamics, there also exist religious extremists who pose direct threats to regional and/or global security for the sake of their identity. In line with this assertion, the second part analyses how Islam appears as a threat on the mindset of the Western world and why Islam as a civilization cannot be a

1 On 16 September 2001, President Bush told to press that "this crusade, this war on terrorism is going to take a while". For his speech see <<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010916-2.html>>.

genuine source for identity-based threats. It is the contention of this chapter that an 'Islamic threat' based on a Huntingtonian version of a civilizational identity is a myth. Nevertheless, it is also accepted that some radical and extremist groups, imagining identities based on Islam as a religion, might pose threats to the security of wider international society. Thus, the last part of this chapter focuses on under what conditions the Islamic identities could be associated with threats to wider world.

28.2 Identity-Based Threats and Link to Globalization

Identity, rather than a given-natural phenomenon,² can simply be defined as the "sense of self" or "enduring aspects of a person's or group's self-definition" (Seul 1999: 554). Within the context of *individuals*, identity is a by-product of self-identification whereby people group themselves along "different axes - class, language, religion, sex, income, occupation, residence, ideological, political party preference, etc." (Bush/Keyman 1997: 317). Apart from these memberships, given or selected, "one's values, emotions, feelings, attitudes, thoughts and goals" are also part and parcel of psychological "individual identity cards". Individuals strive to construct identities to meet their existential needs such as "psychological security, self-locatedness and belonging"; and "failure to form identities produces psychological discomfort which may be experienced by the individual as a threat to survival" (Seul 1999: 554). *Groups*, which can be depicted as the "self-defining collection of individuals", also construct their own identities for physical and moral survival (Seul 1999: 556). Individual and group identities are so intertwined that individuals might form their identities according to their group memberships (such as membership to an ethnic group), whereas groups are a manifestation of the individuals' gathering around certain features - such as people having same ideological preferences forming an ideology-based group identity.

When an individual's or group's existential needs (dignity, safety, recognition, control, etc.) or values are

threatened by another individual or group, identity-based threats come to the fore (Rothman 1997: 7). Within the context of individuals, those threats are a subject of social psychology, whereas the threats associated with collectivity of groups fall within the purview of International Relations. As this chapter focuses on the identity-based security threats experienced in international relations, it will employ identity as it is understood in terms of groups. In this general perspective, identity-based threats are defined as the threats directed at the existential needs and values of groups which affect their physical or moral survival (Rothman 1997: 9). When a threat is directed at a group's identity by another group, the former responds by producing a counter-threat to the challenger. This is described with the concept of "identity competition/struggle" by Seul (1999: 557) in a reference to Tajfel and Turner (1986: 23):

"When a group's action for positive distinctiveness is frustrated, impeded or in any way actively prevented by an out-group, this will promote overt conflict and hostility between groups." In other words, when a group is not evaluated positively and not favoured by an out-group, it might respond to this negative stance by threatening or challenging that group. Although many intellectuals contend that the root cause for identity-based threats/conflicts is this identity struggle which derives from a complex combination of psychological, historical and cultural factors, they also argue that these threats are "manifested in conventional ways such as rivalries over territory or competition for scarce material or social resources" (Rothman 1997: 7; Seul 1999: 564; Brown 1993: 5). Otherwise stated, all identity-based threats are generated by identity struggle between groups, but fuelled by and manifested through material factors and social dynamics.

Intellectuals are divided over which marker of identity is most associated with threat, and thus with conflict. Some argue that *ethnic identity* is the primary marker drawing the lines between groups, and therefore issues related with ethnic identity serve as a prototype for all identity-based threats (Horowitz 2000; Brown 1993; Rothman 1997; Bush/Keyman 1997; Ganguly/Taras 1998). Smith's (1993: 50-51) definition of ethnic identity as deriving from a "myth of common ancestry, shared memories and cultural elements, link with historic territory or homeland and measure of solidarity", explicitly covers all aspects of culture. Bush/Keyman's (1997: 319) argument that "[w]hen ethnic identity comes to the fore, all other dimensions of identity do not disappear, but they are subordinated to a cultural unity defined in terms of

2 The intellectuals are divided over the formation of identities. *Primordialists* argue that identity is a naturally given phenomenon, which can not be subject to self-formation. *Constructivists* on the other hand claim that identity is a social construction by human choice and actions rather than biologically given ideas dictated by nature (Bush/Keyman 1997 and Ganguly/Taras 1998).

ethnicity”, on the other hand, presents primacy of ethnic identity among all other identity-distinguishers.

In any case, the preponderance of ethnicity as an identity-marker since the 19th century leads us to the conclusion that ethnic conflicts have been the most widespread form of identity-based threats in the modern era. The conflicts in Northern Ireland, the Balkans, Sri Lanka, and in the Middle East were and are a forceful manifestation of rivalry in terms of ethnicity, fuelled by the lack of material and/or social resources. The fact that the ethnic-identity threats have mushroomed since the end of the Cold War also adds value to this argument (Ganguly/Taras, 1998: 4-5).

In explaining which dimension of identity is most associated with threat, some focus on the role of *religious identity* as the primary dividing factor between groups, suggesting that the intergroup conflicts occur mostly along religious lines: “Other elements of one’s identity – ethnic, linguistic, etc. – do not meet the psychological needs of people as comprehensively as religion does” (Seul 1999: 562). Seul argues that religious doctrines and belief systems explain every aspect of human existence, thereby meeting the necessity for self-locatedness not only in past and present but also in future; however ethnicity reflected as a belief in a common ancestry does not locate individuals or groups eternally (Seul 1999: 561-562). Since, religion lies at the heart of group identities; he suggests that the most significant type of identity-based threats should have a religious character. Events of 9/11 carried out by militant fundamentalists who identify themselves along religious lines or the demographic/societal threats posed by Muslim populations in Europe can be considered as examples of religious identity-based threats. However, this argument is misguided to the extent that it fails to explain the widespread ethnic conflicts surrounding the globe, such as the struggle driven by the claims of Basques for a national identity which led to a perennial conflict between Basques and Spain, who should have been unified on religious grounds in accordance with Seul’s arguments.

Counter to the arguments whether ethnicity or religion lie at the centre of group identities, Huntington with his ‘Clash of Civilizations’ theory posits civilizations as the main determinants of group identities; thus he argues that a clash between *civilizational identities* will form the next pattern of conflict at the global level (Huntington 1993, 1996). In this theory, civilization is defined as the highest cultural grouping of people which are distinguished by common objective elements – language, history, religion, customs,

and institutions – on the basis of subjective self-identification (Huntington 1993: 24).³ Huntington (1993: 25) argues that the differences between civilizations “are far more fundamental than differences among political ideologies and regimes” that they inevitably lead to clashes. In line with this hypothesis, he assumes that the most intense type of identity-based threat will originate from Islam directly to Western civilization. Wars in Afghanistan and Iraq following al-Qaeda’s attacks in 2001 seem to correspond with this ‘clash of civilizations’ argument (Tusicisny 2004: 485). This line of reasoning, giving primacy to civilizational identity and perceiving clashes between civilizations as the major threats to global security, is also misguided. Huntington’s hypothesis necessitates the existence of unified and monolithic civilizations. However, “in reality civilizations are complex, encompassing diverse and often contradictory beliefs, values, and forces that belie facile generalizations” (Esposito 1999: 229). In this sense, he fails to explain the diversity and differences as well as the clashes for instance within the Muslim civilization. “The Iran-Iraq War, divisions within the Muslim world over support for the Gulf War of 1991, the conflicts among Muslim countries belie the existence of Huntington’s monolithic threat” (Esposito 1999: 229).

As illustrated above through various justifications, it can be argued that identity-based threats associated with ethnicity are more applicable to current regional and global security dynamics; whereas threats emanating from religious or civilizational differences alone are less likely to explain today’s panorama of international relations. However, this assumption does not exclude the fact that there are extremists and fanatics who pose direct threats to regional and/or global security for the sake of their religious identity, acting supposedly on behalf of all their co-religionists, disregarding whether or not this is their will. This argument also does not dismiss the religious dimension of ethnic identity-based threats; in which religion plays its part alongside other markers of ethnicity, as in the case of the struggle between Bosnians and Serbians.

Whether identified along ethnic or religious – or even Huntington’s so-called civilizational – lines, all

3 In 1993, Huntington divided the world into eight civilizations: Western, Confucian, Japanese, Islam, Hindu, Latin American, Slavic and Orthodox, and African. He revised this division in his book of 1996, firstly by dividing Confucian civilization into Buddhist and Sinic, and secondly by eliminating the Slavic from Slavic and Orthodox civilization.

identity-based threats manifest themselves in three ways: Firstly, if a group aims at overthrowing governing elites in a country, thereby diminishing their authority and sovereignty by democratic or anti-democratic means, then it constitutes a threat to domestic political security. Secondly, the existence of these groups in other societies forces the governing elites of those societies to deal with their issues of identity, such as wearing the *hijab*⁴ at French universities, which poses a threat to the domestic or regional societal security. Finally, when these groups refer to the use of force to achieve their aims, they are then subjects of military security either at the national, regional or global level.⁵

Globalization – the rising interdependence of citizens and nations across the world – resulted in an increase of identity-based threats, mainly associated with ethnicity and religion. Firstly, “the materialistic and superficially universalistic set of western values imposed on the rest of the world intensified nationalistic and religious sentiments elsewhere,” and secondly the global spread of capitalism, the prospects for free movement of people, and the expectations for better jobs with an expanding set of material desires created disappointments and resentments since people could not get what they expected (Ishiyama 2004: 3). As a response to the homogenization of culture by globalization and resentments created by the spread of capitalism, people drew themselves closer to their ethnic and religious identities. To put it differently, search for a combination of religious and ethnic identities was regarded as a powerful response to the destructive forces of globalization (Kinnvall 2004: 741).

It is beyond doubt that globalization has produced ethnic and religious awakening. However, the role of globalization in the transformation of this awakening to threats should not be exaggerated. In other words, globalization has not directly led to the resurgence of identity-based threats; rather it acted as a contributing factor. The root cause for the rise of the threats associated with ethnic and religious identities was a combination of economic, political, and social variables (Ishiyama 2004: 5). When ethnic or religious groups had access to the political and socio-economic resources such as “sufficient income levels, voting rights, presence in commerce, access to political power, equal legal protection”, their ethnic or religious awak-

ening that stemmed from the dynamics of globalization did not easily transform into threats or conflicts (Ishiyama 2004: 14).

28.3 The Myth of the Islamic Threat

The dynamics of globalization that culminated in the resurgence of religion as a social and political phenomenon, the decline of the long-demonized communist threat with the end of the Cold War, and finally the tragic events of 9/11 have led many to re-question Islam’s relationship with the above-mentioned identity-based threats. Throughout history, Islam as a civilization in Huntingtonian terms has always been viewed as a threat by the Christian West, even well before the exposition of Huntington’s polemics on inter-civilizational affairs. This view necessarily and superficially has assumed the existence of a monolithic, unified Islamic Empire equipped with a radical ideology that ultimately aimed at destroying Western civilization. In other words, Islam has been perceived as an identity-based threat to the extent that it provided the basis for a civilizational identity.

This myth of an Islamic threat is *firstly* embedded in the depths of history. As argued by Halliday, “history of conflict between the world of the West[ern] Christianity and the world of Islam stretching back over a millennium contributes to the image of an Islamic threat” (Halliday 2003: 109). By the end of the 7th century, a united Muslim community first formed by the Prophet Mohammed and then ruled by his caliphs expanded its borders from North Africa to India. During subsequent centuries and under various rulers,⁶ Muslim rule and faith spread across much of the world either by peaceful means or by *jihad*. When the Muslims appeared in Christian lands, they were considered as a part of “hosts of pagans and infidels inhabiting the Western Christian world” (Mastnak 2003: 206). That was how the Muslim threat was originally constructed. The crusades between the 11th and 13th centuries were the first fully-fledged response of Christendom/West to the so-called ‘Islamic threat’. Both the subsequent waves of crusades and the capture of Jerusalem initially by Christians (1099 and 1229) and finally by Muslims “left lasting imprints of distrust and residual enmity” between adherents of both religions (Saikal 2003: 31). When the Byzantine capital was conquered in 1453 by Sultan Mehmet the

4 Headscarf worn by Muslim women.

5 For a sectoral analysis of security and different types of security threats see Buzan/Wæver/de Wilde 1998.

6 For a brief history of Islam see Armstrong (2000) and Yunus (2003).

Conqueror of the Ottomans, or later the same power forced its way into the heart of Europe, the so-called 'threat of Islam' became part of daily life and of the cultural heritage (such as songs, plays, sayings, tales, etc.) of European societies. This brief history from a Western perspective partly explains the roots of the current perception of Islam as a threat.

The second factor rendering Islam as a threat derives directly from the actions of Muslim governments and from the declarations of Muslim leaders. Although a cursory glance might present an impression that the existence of an 'Islamic threat' argument emanates from the West, this may not totally be true when one carefully looks at the speeches of Khomeini, or of other Islamic figures such as the exiled Ghannouchi of Tunisia, al-Turabi of Sudan, al-Madani of Algeria or lately Osama bin Laden, who frequently refer to the idea of *jihad* against the West or even the ideal of converting the whole world under Islamic rule (Halliday 2003: 110-111). Moreover, the Muslim governments in general use this rhetoric for controlling and suppressing Islamic movements challenging their authority such as the ones in Algeria, Turkey, Tunisia, Egypt, Pakistan, and in the former Soviet regimes of Central Asia, as well as for guaranteeing financial and military aid from the Western powers in their struggle with those Islamic groups (Hadar 1993: 29-30).

Another factor that visualizes Islam - as a civilization - as a threat is closely linked to the growing number of Islamic communities that have been established throughout Europe, mostly in Britain, France, Germany, Holland, and Switzerland as a result of waves of immigration since the 1950's, as well as in the US. Today, the total number of Muslims in Western Europe is estimated around six to eight million (Li 2002: 401; Halliday 2003: 120); whereas there are over 1,000 mosques and Islamic centres in the US accommodating approximately six million Muslims. These Islamic-oriented identities become a source of concern for Western states - with predominantly Christian societies - when they are challenged to deal with social issues such as "the availability of *halal* meat, the provision of places of worship, respect for Islamic practices in education, the clothing and segregation of Muslim women" (Halliday 2003: 121). In this sense, Muslim communities especially in Europe by "putting strains on the social fabric of European societies" pose threats to their societal security (Esposito 1999: 234). The synonym for this threat is known as "Islamophobia"⁷, or lately as "Eurabia" that "represents an ever-growing Muslim Europe - within Europe".⁸ This

general negative stance of the Western world towards Islamic societies mainly stems from the vision of Islam as being anti-modern and the myth of Islam as a long-standing threat.

Finally, the tragic events of the last two decades helped to shape the vision of Islam as a threat. The attacks on New York's World Trade Centre in 1993 with the alleged international support from Iran and Sudan, embassy bombings in Kenya and Tanzania in 1998, the events of 9/11 coupled with bombings in Madrid and London respectively in 2004 and 2005 reminds the world of a unified, monolithic threat that originates from the civilization of Islam.

Islamic civilization as a whole has been regarded by the West and surprisingly by the Muslim world itself as a 'threat'; and in this sense Islam has been labelled as a "civilizational-identity based threat" to the rest of the world. Thus, Islam has been presented as a monolithic threat emanating from a unified civilization. Jonathan Paris refers to this unified and monolithic character of the Islamic threat by stating "all that is needed ... a charismatic Sunni Arab fundamentalist, a Nasser with a beard to unite Muslims into a pan-Islamic political force, which would eventually usher in a unified conquering army of Muslims ready and willing to battle with the West" (from Gerges 1999: 25). Within this context, Paris contends that the one-fifth of the world population that is Islamic is ready to launch a jihad against the four-fifths of the world (Gerges 1999: 25). Newspaper headlines and articles maintain the existence of such a 'monolithic Islamistan'.⁹

However, this uniform character of the Islamic world as well as the monolithic dimension of the Islamic threat is a myth. The reality, however, is the divisions and fractions within the Arab and Muslim world. First, "a multiplicity of contrasting interpretations and claims defines the Islamic vision," and thus Islam cannot be represented as a "monolithic, monotonous and undifferentiated religious order" (Pasha 2003: 116-117). Second, in the face of a common enemy, the Muslim world may unite; though, once the threat or the enemy demans, the solidarity among the Arab or the Muslim world dissipates as quickly as it was formed; since national interests and regional

7 For a detailed account of literature on Islamophobia see Halliday 1999.

8 "Tales from Eurabia", in: *The Economist*, 24 June 2006, p. 11.

9 The concept of a 'Monolithic Islamistan' has been used by Hadar 1993: 31.

politics rather than ideology or religion remain the primary determinants of Muslim politics, like elsewhere (Esposito 1999: 225–226). Moreover, “the military threat posed by unified Islam forces under the Ottoman Empire has long since disappeared” (Halliday 2003: 113).

The most important evidence of the diversity of positions within the Muslim world was revealed with the Gulf Crisis of 1990–1991. At first, Saddam’s invasion of Kuwait was condemned by nearly the entire Arab world. However, Saddam was very successful in providing a popular support for his actions “by appealing to Islam to enhance his image as the champion of the Palestinians, of the poor and oppressed, and the liberator of holy places”. Moreover, when Western forces presented themselves in the Gulf, Saddam quickly gained support of those who would oppose the occupation/intervention of the region by foreigners, such as the Islamic activists in Egypt, Pakistan, Jordan, Tunisia, Morocco, and Algeria. For them, “defending Saudi Arabia and liberating Kuwait was one thing, attacking Iraq quite another” (Esposito 1999: 253–254). While these activists alongside Iran’s Ayatollah Khomeini were supporting Saddam in his call for a jihad against the West, some Muslim countries and religious leaders such as the official *ulama* of Egypt and Saudi Arabia were completely on the other side. Clearly, the Islamic world was fragmented then, and still is with regard to many issues.

The heterogeneous character of Islam is also evident in the case of Europe’s and the West’s Muslim communities. As indicated by the cover story of *The Economist*, “Britain’s mainly South Asian Muslims have far less in common with France’s North African migrants or Germany’s Turks than they do with other Britons.”¹⁰ In other words, so-called Islamic communities in Europe do not primarily construct their identities based upon their religion; but upon their ethnicities in which religion only plays a part alongside other markers. Thus, identity-based threats posed by these groups can only be a by-product of their all-encompassing ethnic identifications.

Clearly, the contention that there exists a unified, monolithic Islamic threat in any version is nothing but a myth. Titles like “The Muslims are Coming” (Pipes 1990), “The Roots of Muslim Rage” (Lewis 2001/2002), “Militant Islam Real Threat” (Pipes 2002), and a growing literature involving the cliché of *Islamophobia* mirror this imaginative discourse.¹¹ The proclivity

to domesticate Islam is very fashionable in large sections of the academy, “evidenced in part by the belligerence directed at Muslims in a fast proliferating cottage industry of experts with direct lineage to the corridors of policy making and state power” (Pasha 2003: 112). Academic and political visualization of Islam as a threat is mostly embedded in ideological and material considerations of the Western world. Ideologically, “the ontological persistence of Islam as the generalized Other of Western modernity and its socialized and materialized forms” explains why the Islamic world is perceived as menacing in the West (Pasha 2003: 113). This vision of Islam as an alternative to Western liberal-modernist ideology stretches back to the depths of history, and is accelerated with the recent terrorist incidents associated with militant Islamic groups.¹²

The end of the Cold War and the disappearance of the communist threat also contributed to the perception of Islam as a threat to the West. The belief that Western society needed a “menacing subordinated other” filled the gap left by communism with the Islamic threat (Halliday 2003: 113). In this sense, “the end of the Cold War led to claims that the spread of political Islam marks the onset of a new cold war where the West’s liberal democratic values are pitted against the religious revivalist norms of political Islam” (Salla 1997: 729). In materialistic terms, experts with direct lineage to the corridors of policy-making and state power in the West are well aware of the fact that creating an enemy is the best tool for legitimizing offensive foreign policies. In other words, viewing the Soviet Union as an enemy had justified “expensive and extensive military apparatuses” and “offensive military policies”, thus the loss of the communist threat left no choice for the West to search for a new one (Hippler/Lueg 1995: 4).

28.4 From Myth to Reality: Islamic Identity-Based Groups and Security Threats

When Islam as a religion lies at the heart of a group’s identity, then these groups might pose threats to security under certain conditions. Even though religion re-

10 “Tales from Eurabia”, in: *The Economist*, 24 June 2006, p. 11.

11 For a short review of some recent books on the Islamic threat, see “Muslims and the West: First, Know Thyself”, in: *The Economist*, 24 June 2006, p. 97.

12 For a link between Islam and terrorism see Weyland 2004.

mains the major marker of those groups' identities, the threats associated with those groups might not result directly and solely from their religious motivations, but from a combination of social, economic or political factors. Those groups can be *organizations* such as Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt or al-Qaeda in Afghanistan, or even *states* like Iran and Libya.

With the end of the Second World War, when the newly independent states in the Middle East (such as Egypt, Syria, and Iraq) began to abandon 'Islamic principles and rule', *Islamic identity-based organizations or parties* became actors of regional and international politics. Islam was regarded by the new governing elites of the region as an "impediment to modernity, progress and development" (Milton-Edwards 2005: 32). However, it was soon recognized that Western-built secular regimes failed in providing political and economic order to these societies. In an environment of bad governance, ongoing conflicts, weak economies and corruption, Islamic identity-based organizations and parties flourished with a similar motto of transforming their societies into ones ruled according to Islamic values. It should be noted that their intention was not necessarily or always derived from the fact that they wanted to create a world living under an Islamist rule, but to respond to the corrupt and unpopular regimes in the Middle East (Hadar 1993: 35).

These Islamic-identity-based groups are divided as 'liberals' and 'fundamentalists' depending on their interpretation of the extent in applying the core Islamic values to modern social and political life. Liberal Islamic organizations or parties, through the processes of *ijtihad* (interpretation) and *fitrah* (natural sense of right or wrong), opt for a modern way of life within the context of Islamic values such as a society where complete gender equality prevails; whereas fundamentalists,¹³ by resisting modernity, restrict themselves to the literal interpretation of their sacred texts. Whether liberal or fundamentalist, to the extent that these Islamic-identity-based groups try to achieve their aims through democratic means they can only constitute threats to the political security of the governing

regimes by challenging their authorities and sovereignties. For example, many Islamist groups "working together with secular parties and using the language of political liberalization, have pressed for political reforms that have led to the elections in Egypt, Tunisia, Algeria, Jordan and Kuwait, and to the establishment of a consultative assembly in Saudi Arabia" (Hadar 1993: 3). However, from a Western point of view this identity-based threat directed at the political security of the governing elites has more comprehensive repercussions for Western interests. The fear is very simple: By overthrowing the states or governing regimes, these groups will destroy the *status quo* in the Middle East region particularly and thus will jeopardize Western access to oil. In other words, with the Islamist movements gaining strength, the West fears the "transformation of old and reliable friends into more independent and less predictable nations that might make Western access to oil less secure" (Esposito 1999: 241). In this sense, Islamic-identity-based groups threaten the economic security of the West when they advocate the overthrow of the governing regimes in the region.

It is a commonplace in the media as well as among politicians and intellectuals to associate these groups with radical, violent, and extremist fundamentalists who have caused the execution of hundreds in suicide bombing attacks across the globe, including the tragic events of 9 September 2001. In this context, it is beyond any doubt that when fundamentalists refer to the use of force, terrorism, and violence rather than using democratic means, they pose security threats understood in the traditional sense. These *radical fundamentalists* aim at the "ultimate construction of a universal Islamic state"; and argue that "jihad is sanctioned by God and it is the only means to resurrect the Islamic state". Their final aim is to "spread the word of *Allah* throughout the world" (Khashan 1997: 12, 20). The *Armed Islamic Group* in Algeria, *Gamaa Islamiyya* and *Islamic Jihad* in Egypt are clear examples of such violent revolutionaries as well as *Hamas* and *Hizballah* which also posit political dynamics in their movements alongside armed struggle. Osama bin Laden and his *al-Qaeda* have been perceived as the major threat lately. Apart from the 9/11 attacks, he is "suspected of funding groups involved in the bombing of the World Trade Centre in 1993, bombings in Riyadh in 1995, and of the Khobar Towers in 1996, the killing of fifty-eight tourists at Luxor as well as the bombings in Tanzania and Kenya" (Esposito 1999: 278).

13 Fundamentalism is defined as the "strict maintenance of the ancient or fundamental doctrines of any religion or ideology". Another definition would suggest that "fundamentalism indicates a certain intellectual stance that claims to derive political principles from a timeless divine text". It is also defined as a "rejection of modernity and its secular variant in both democratic and non-democratic societies". For all these definitions see Milton-Edwards 2005: 3.

In addition to organizations such as al-Qaeda or Islamic Jihad, states constructing their identities along the fundamentalist version of Islam might also cause this type of traditional security threat in the military sense. Iran is a typical case for state-sponsored militant fundamentalism. Since Khomeini's seizure of power in Iran, military Islamic fundamentalism has dramatically increased within and without the Muslim world (Hoveyda 1998: 1, 194). One of the pillars of Khomeini's rule was to export the Iranian Islamic Revolution abroad, and use of force as well as terrorism were the justified tools towards this *holy* aim (Mohaddessin 1993: 114). Thus, only nine months after the Shah's downfall, the American Embassy in Tehran was occupied and fifty-two hostages were held for more than 400 days by the 'militants' under the watchful eyes of the Khomeini regime (Mohaddessin 1993: 20–22). Moreover, attacks on the US Marine Barracks and French troops in Beirut on 23 October 1983 were also linked to Iranian-backed radical groups in Lebanon (Khashan 1997: 7).¹⁴ State-supported violent fundamentalism also manifested itself in the explosion of Pan Am Flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland in 1988 killing 270 people on board which was linked to the Libyan government (Hoveyda 1998: 1).

The state-based Islamic militarism is mostly associated with terrorist activities (Mohaddessin 1993; Hoveyda 1998). In this sense, this is not very much different from the threats posed by the Islamic-identity based fundamentalist groups. However, the threats posed by those states are far more serious, since they have all types of political, economic, and military power which is not the case for the small and limited-power groups. When Islamist militant groups cooperate with those states, such as *Islamic Jihad* cooperating with Iran, the repercussions would obviously be much more severe.

28.5 Conclusion

With the events of 9/11, the world has witnessed the tragic character of identity-based threats. As argued by

Rothman (1997: xii), "one of the reasons identity-based conflicts are so engaging is that it is so visceral; it comes from – and hits us – in our gut". Even though the attacks of 9/11 were carried out by some marginal extremists, the main identifier of that group's sense of self was Islam as a religion and way of life. It was more than true that "Bin Laden and his followers drew on a variety of traditions within political Islam to justify their actions aimed at challenging the Western presence in the Middle East" (Halliday 2003: x).

This suggests that Islamic-identity-based security threats may only derive from the violent terrorist actions of radicals and extremists who construct their identities along Islamic lines. Since their identities are constructed alongside their understanding of so-called 'Islamic traditions', they constantly refer to Islamic concepts such as 'jihad' to justify their militant and terrorist actions. Although they usually corrupt and twist the meanings of such concepts, nevertheless, their frequent usage of Islamic terminology encourages association of Islam with fundamentalism and even radicalism or terrorism. Thus the perception of many Islamic groups in the West as "bearded clerics, gun-wielding and masked supporters of Islam, arms dealers, secret world of covert operations and international terrorism" (Milton-Edwards 2005: 9) emerges and recreates itself with every new terrorist attack in the name of 'Islam'.

However, equating fundamentalists totally with radicals and terrorists is misguided at the outset, and Islam as a religion should not be seen as a threat in itself. This was the logic that forced President Bush to apologize when he inaccurately used the word 'crusade' to describe the anti-terrorism campaign that directly connoted a war between the forces of Christendom and Islam. Therefore, a distinction should be made between Islam as a religion and militant Islam as a threat. If not, the Medieval spectre of the religious wars might come back to haunt the international order. The caricature crisis of early 2006 attests how easily ridicule could get out of proportion in today's distrustful world to start a much dreaded clash between civilizations. In such a case, the theory would become a sad self-fulfilling prophecy.

14 Even though the responsibility for the bombings remains uncertain, *Hizballah* backed by Iran and Syria has been associated with the Beirut attacks. Though Iranian elements were not directly involved in the incident, the US District Court declared in May 2003 that the Islamic Republic of Iran was responsible for the bombings, on grounds that Iran had originally founded and financed Hizballah. See <<http://www.cnn.com/2003/LAW/05/30/iran.barracks.bombing>>.

29 Security and Sovereignty

Bharat Karnad

29.1 Introduction

In the prevailing international system of sovereign states, it is the sovereignty of weak states that is most in peril. The concept of sovereignty is not absolute – there never having existed an isolated, autarchic, state surviving entirely on its own and by itself. The exercise of sovereignty is limited by international law and by the differential in the power of states (Schlichtmann 2000). States have always treated sovereignty, according to Robert Keohane, as a bargainable resource (Wood 2001: 2) – compromising it under duress or surrendering portions of it in return for substantial benefits.

Assuming the international system is an anarchy hovering between being “benign” and “of a belligerent kind” (Brown 1992: 20–21) and states have ultimately to rely on themselves for protection (Waltz 1959: 188), an irreducible minimum criterion of sovereignty, defined as the ability of a state to take care of its security by itself (Mearsheimer 1991: 148), is met only by a few countries because the requisite will, wherewithal, and resources are not easily mustered. Thus sovereignty is reduced to an abstraction defining the *de jure* status of a nation-state, not its *de facto* condition.

This chapter will take a snapshot of the post-cold war world before analysing from a realist perspective the three principal interlinked threats to sovereignty, namely, intervention, globalization, and insurgent subnationalism. Notwithstanding ‘the complex interdependence’ obtaining in many aspects of international life, security continues to be perceived in national terms and is so tackled (Prins/Sellwood 1998: 254). The central argument is that the litmus test of sovereignty – the ability of a nation-state fully to protect itself by its own means – has to do with whether, to what extent, and how well a state prevents encroachment of its national security space by powerful foreign countries and external forces, like globalization, and preserves its internal authority in the face of violent activities by armed secessionist groups catalysing

around distinct ethnic, religious, and regional identities. A basic taxonomy of countries is drawn up on the basis of the ability of states to protect their sovereign rights and prerogatives. Differential sovereignty, it will be argued, is the consequence of the bulk of the countries in the system – mostly poor and less developed – being denied the freedom (from outside interference) to use whatever means, including violence, to forge a nation out of masses of disparate and often resisting peoples, freedom that the post-industrial societies and states of the First World enjoyed when passing through the invariably bloody nation-building stage earlier in their individual histories. In the event, the chapter will conclude that while ‘sovereignty’ is increasingly an elastic notion, in practice it is meaningfully exercised – no surprise this – only by the strong states. The analytic approach adopted here is driven chiefly by concerns of policy, not international relations theory.

29.2 The Post-Cold War World

The ending of the great bloc rivalry and the passing of ideology as conflict-driver has resulted in the ‘victor’ in the cold war – the United States – gaining primacy along with its main system characteristics, namely, democratic form of government and open economy whose logic has set loose the forces of globalization. But US ‘maximalist’ policy stressing preemption and preventive war in an age rife with fear and uncertainty (Sestanovich 2005) has exposed the tendency of powerful countries to expand their sovereign space at the expense of the weaker states. As it is, the weak countries are having their sovereignty eroded by globalization and, because of the breakdown of social cohesion and domestic political consensus, the inability of the regimes to meet the aspirations of the people or just bad governance, by the rise of violent sub-nationalist movements. Extreme internal disorder in these post-colonial states, in turn, prompts ‘humanitarian’ intervention (Sorensen 2001: 116–120).

The emerging world order, in the event, features the United States as the Leviathan – Thomas Hobbes’ construct gone international – intent on imposing an international order conforming to its national interests in what it supposes is an increasingly unmanageable and anarchic world; a clutch of great powers and would-be great powers – China, the European Union, Russia, India, and Japan – forming the second tier, seeking to maximize their leverage and manoeuvring space *vis-à-vis* each other and the Leviathan (the universal hegemon) with a mix of confrontationalist and bandwagoning policies, and bolstering their respective power and influence especially in the proximal regions. Issue-based cooperation is solicited by the Leviathan and frequently given by the second tier countries to advance their common interest (Huntington 1999: 12–13). Except that the perceived commonality is specific issue-based. Such hierarchy observes Ian Clark, “collectivizes decision-making within the ranks of the Great Powers while retaining the anarchical form of politics as between that rank and others” (Clark 1989: 3). And then there is the multitude of countries in the lowest tier marked by their varying incapacity to escape victimization.

29.3 Intervention and its Perils

Whatever sovereignty may mean in the case of Third World countries, many of whom neither fulfil the criteria of ‘civil states’ where citizens enjoy security (Jorgensen, no year: 110–111) nor meet the widely-accepted, albeit First World, normative standards¹ because of clashing native concepts of tribal/ethnic or religious solidarity and regime security (Jorgensen, no year: 97–98), they provide soft targets for international intervention, for regime change, and for political and social re-engineering. By one reckoning, over two billion people inhabit some 60 states mostly in Africa and Asia, which are in different stages of ‘failure’ (The Fund for Peace/Carnegie Endowment for International Peace 2005: 56–65).

Other than outright military invasion or pre-emptive action, overt external intervention may involve map-changing proposed by friendly countries or by multilateral bodies like the UN to resolve enduring territorial disputes and ‘neo-trusteeship’ schemes that

are “indistinguishable from colonialism and paternalism” (Jackson 1998: 12) and smack of the Versailles solution permitting powerful countries to take over resource-rich but internally unsettled states (Macmillan 2001: 107–116). In the future, it may become the means of not only reforming “war-torn territories” (Caplan 2002) into ‘protectorates’ but as has been claimed, of adding to ‘the policy repertoire’ of ‘targeted countries’, like Iraq and Afghanistan, where sovereignty is ‘shared’ and ‘governance assistance’ offered requiring “individuals chosen by international organizations, powerful states, or ad hoc entities [to] share authority with nationals over some aspects of domestic sovereignty” (Krasner 2004: 85–94).

While neo-trusteeship is still only an idea gestating in Western policy circles, military intervention, starting in the Balkans in the early 1990’s, has highlighted issues relating to contested sovereignty and security (Thomas 2003). Intervention has always been a feature of the ‘Westphalian’ system negotiated by European princes circa 1648, which territorialized the notion of sovereignty (James 1986; Philpott 2001). According to one analysis, in the period 1815–1975 some 45 military interventions took place (Krasner 1995: 245–246). About two dozen more have occurred since then. The reasons have ranged from abolition of slave trade, protection of one’s citizens in a foreign country, and of minority populations to changes in the religious and social character of a state to seeking natural resources abroad, and protecting one’s national assets, investments, and positions of political and economic advantage (Krasner 1995: 233–234).

In the new millennium, the reasons for intervention have increased to include regime change, and imposition of democratic form of government and free market norms. It was contextualized by a hard-boiled school of thought originating in the United States, which conceived of future tensions, turmoil, and conflict on a grand scale on the basis of ‘clash of civilizations’ and telescoped it as a conflict between democratic governance and authoritarianism and, for good measure, conflated it with the tensions between the free market philosophy and closed economies. It created in its wake not just an entirely new demonology in the United States and the West, but gave the impetus for shaping a new international system based on a Manichean view of the world. Threats to the Judeo-Christian West were seen as emanating from two quarters – extremist Islam and a disciplined and aggressively expansive Confucian Chinese culture, both of which, owing to their supposedly illiberal, authoritarian, nature were perceived as being on a collision

1 For the case that sovereign states are accorded legitimacy on the basis of their ‘Europeanization’ in terms of norms of governance, governmental institutions; see: Suzuki undated, at: <<http://rspas.edu.au/ir/Oceanic/OCISPaper/Suzuki.pdf>>.

course with the West (Huntington 1997). After 9/11 the thesis about the threat centred on the Muslim world gained credence.

To tackle terrorism – designated the principal scourge – sourced to Islamic states (Iraq, Taliban-ruled Afghanistan) and organizations, like al-Qaeda, direct action strategies of military pre-emption and intervention and preventive war against stateless terrorist organizations and their hosts, the so-called ‘failed/failing states’ and ‘rogue’ or ‘crazy’ states, have been mooted by the United States. Despotic regimes are sought to be replaced by force if necessary with democratic rule in the hope that freely elected governments will be less tolerant of terrorist activities aimed at the US, Western institutions, and liberal values (Bush 2002; for theoretical and historical bases see: von Hippel 2000). Trying to defeat the purveyors of terror by spreading good governance through democracy may be a “Pollyannaish” effort (Rosenau 1998: 51) but it has not deterred the US from making this its principal policy plank. The basic problem here is that the targeted people(s) may view the current ‘global war on terror’ as a Western crusade against Islam and the system may end up, willy-nilly, with a Huntingtonian ‘clash of civilizations’ on its hands.² The sustained anti-terror measures by the US and by the UK after 7/7 (when suicide bombers attacked the London underground railway system on 7 July 2005) have led to even more extreme reaction in the Muslim world.³ In the circumstances, affecting a democratic makeover of Iraq or Afghanistan, in the manner of Japan and Germany after the Second World War (von Hippel 2000), is unlikely to be smooth, painless or easy, as the US is beginning to realize. Such forced democratic transition and liberalization of Islamic states is problematic also because the host culture predisposes the people to oppose alien, and especially, Western norms and thinking of any kind (Lewis 2005: 36–51). But Western liberalism can be tackled in one of two

ways. A politically canny Mahatma Gandhi was able, for instance, to turn the liberal pretensions of the British against the colonial overlords and by peaceful means hasten the end of empire in India, which is a composite multi-religious, multi-ethnic society (Karnad 2005: 29–51). Or, it can be forcefully resisted, a path now being adopted by peoples mostly in Muslim countries spawning terrorism and insurgencies, which are the bane of the modern era. Obviously, there is, in the main, a disconnect between the Islamic World and the US and European states exacerbated by the scant respect the latter accord the structure and norms of Islamic society, which are wholly defined by Islam. This is in contrast to the secular slant of Western liberalism which sets few limits on individual liberty and freedom of expression. Inevitably, it leads to mutual incomprehension and alienation and a head-on clash over the dos and don’ts in Islam, the manner in which this religion is practised, and over Islamic values perceived as antithetical to Western-qua-modern sensibilities.⁴ Worse, combined with the truncated sovereignty the US is promoting, especially in West Asia, it mocks the concept,⁵ prompting outcries.⁶ The American approach has nevertheless won hesitant support from its European allies and regional partners, not all of whom are equally motivated or convinced about the propriety or even the sustainability of such course of action, but who find the emotional clamour for promoting freedom, human rights and democracy emanating, among other sources, from

2 The meeting of the Organization of Islamic Countries (OIC) Information Ministers, for instance, in its “Second Cairo Declaration” of 12 March 2003 referred to the US and Allied actions in invading Iraq as “challenges that imperil the security, peace and stability of our Ummah (Muslim community at-large)”; see at: <<http://www.oic-oci.org/english/info/6/6iim-ciro-dec-e.htm>>.

3 Al-Qaeda in an internet statement talked of such attacks as a response to “the global evil powers which are spilling the blood of Muslims in Iraq, Afghanistan, Palestine, Chechnya.” See: Ali Khalil: “Muslim world urged to unite”, in: *The Asian Age* (New Delhi: Agence France-Presse, 25 July 2005).

4 Thus cartoon depictions of the Prophet Mohammad in a Copenhagen newspaper not only had the Muslim population of Denmark livid with rage, it sparked demonstrations in distant Kashmir province in India. See: Dan Bilefsky, “Cartoons ignite cultural combat” in: *International Herald Tribune* (31 December 2005/1 January 2006)

5 The then US Secretary of State Colin Powell asked Iraq to ‘give up’ some of its sovereignty in order, he said, to better protect itself and then followed up with a statement that whether Iraq did so or not, the US-led multinational force would retain final jurisdiction over Iraqi ‘security’; see at: <www.globalpolicy.org/security/issues/iraq/election/2004/0427powell.htm> and <www.historiansagainstawar.org/resources/eisenberg2.html>.

6 West Asia is a “victim of a huge scam, a monstrous lie couched in doublespeak”, wrote Arab columnist Mohammad Sid-Ahmed referring to the situation in Iraq and Palestine: “The deception is...in endowing sovereignty with a meaning that is the exact opposite of what it stands for, namely, occupation and subordination.” See: Mohammad Sid-Ahmed: “Deficient Sovereignty”, in: *Al-Ahram Weekly Online*, at: <<http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/2004/692/op.5.htm>>.

East European leaders, like Vaclav Havel and his Helsinki Citizen's Assembly, hard to ignore. In any case, given the marked superiority of US arms and confronted by what amounts to *force majeure*, the rest of the world seems reconciled to American activism even when, like the operations in Iraq or Kosovo, it lacks UN approval and, hence, international legitimacy.

Indeed, since the early 1990's several Secretary-Generals of the United Nations, perhaps taking their cue from Washington - its largest financial provider - have warned that apart from the absence of democracy, good governance, respect for human rights and protection of minorities, states responsible for terrorist activities or hosting terrorist organizations or illegally acquiring weapons of mass destruction can reasonably expect to face external intervention. The contradictory aspects of the UN Charter may be partly to blame for enabling intervention (Lyons/Mastanduno 1995: 2-3).

Whatever the legality of it, justifications for interventionism have not been lacking. Sovereignty, it is contended, is like property in that it burdens the state with certain responsibilities toward the community and the common good, which if not met can attract punitive actions (Kratchowil 1995: 21-42). And that it is linked to 'responsible' behaviour by the state and, depending on how egregiously irresponsible it chooses to be on any issue, can face punishment and forcible course correction (Onuf 1995: 43-58). And, because sovereignty is 'organized hypocrisy' any way that violating it is no big challenge, especially if larger issues like regional and international order and stability are at stake. In this reading, intervention is said to be mandated by "the logics of consequences" which, it is argued, supercede "the logics of appropriateness" (Krasner 1999: 6). Presumably, this means that considerations about the consequences of non-intervention, strained through the filter of the potential intervener's national interest, outweigh the concerns pertaining to the legality of such action. The US government has articulated just such an interpretation of sovereignty.⁷ It is a line endorsed by Western policy establishments

with calls for international instruments to implement a "duty to prevent" (human rights abuses) and 'Responsibility to Protect' people.⁸ UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan, anticipating this trend, had in 1998 defined the international organization's "cardinal mission" as promoting "human security and human development" (Jorgensen, no year: 98). But these are onerous objectives fulfilled by only a few advanced countries of the world, leaving the bulk of the states exposed on one or both of these counts to threats of multilateral or unilateral intervention. This only proves the point that international law and organizations have singularly failed to spread liberal values and norms (Crawford/Marks, 1998: 85). Notwithstanding such failures, the US and the western countries continue trying to reform the allegedly problem states with some 'tough liberalism'⁹ - a variant, no doubt, of 'tough love' urged on Western parents to deal with their wayward adolescent children.

In this situation, international relations, it is rightly feared, can quickly degenerate to resemble the law of the jungle. It prompted the premier theorist of 'just war', Michael Walzer, to say that while it is easier to justify intervention on humanitarian grounds (like preventing genocide in Kosovo) than as liberation (like in Iraq), if the mission is nevertheless the latter, three criteria of reasonableness should be met before armed intervention is ordered, namely, that (1) the people in the targeted state are materially involved in their own liberation activities and seen to be taking grave risks by doing so, (2) without outside military intervention the indigenous liberation movement would die, and (3) there is little possibility of collateral damage with respect to the people or the neighbouring states (Walzer 2005). None of these conditions were met by any of the recent interventions in Kosovo, Bosnia, Iraq or Afghanistan.

But rhetoric apart, powerful states are seen to embark on intervention only if it is practically feasible, meaning, as Krasner put it bluntly, when "the threat is high and invasion ... easy."¹⁰ Weak countries, in the event, have an incentive to acquire by hook or by crook nuclear weapons of mass destruction (Speed/May 2005: 39-49), notwithstanding the US' threaten-

7 The US Under-Secretary of Defense Douglas J. Feith, in fact, declared that this concept "means not just a country's right to command respect for its independence, but also the duty to take responsibility for what occurs on one's territory, and, in particular, to do what it takes to prevent one's territory from being used as a base for attacks against others." See Douglas J. Feith: "Freedom, Safety and Sovereignty" (2001), at: <<http://www.defenselink.mil/cgi-bin/dlprint.cgi?>> and: <<http://www.defenselink.mil/speeches/2005>>.

8 Madeleine Albright, Robin Cook, Lamberto Dini, Lloyd Axworthy, Ana Palacio and Surin Pitsuwan: "A New U.N.", in: *The Asian Wall Street Journal*, 11 July 2005.

9 Martin Wolf: "Tough liberalism is the only response to a divided world" in: *Financial Times*, 25 July 2005.

10 Stephen D. Krasner: *Conversations with History*, at: <<http://globetrotter.berkeley.edu/people3/Krasner/krasner-con3.html>>.

ing stance,¹¹ and the possibility of an “apocalypse” (McNamara 2005). Despite being signatories to the Non-Proliferation Treaty, the manner in which North Korea and Iran have manoeuvred to revive their nuclear weapons option in the face of international opposition orchestrated by the US and the West provides evidence of just how threatened they feel and what they consider would credibly deter any kind of interference in their domestic affairs and sovereign decision-making. This thrust toward proliferation of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction is the flip side of America’s chimerical search for absolute security for itself. It is reflected in the US policy of projecting power, imposing democracy, continually upgrading its conventional military forces, and enhancing its nuclear security posture and mission profile (Payne 2005: 136–151).

But intervention may be easier than the follow-on policies to install pliant and pliable ‘democratic’ governments, which efforts are proving difficult and costly to realize, as the Western experience in Iraq and Afghanistan indicates. The ‘limits’ of the Western policy of intervention and ‘regime change’ are now being debated (Haass 2005) and the advisability of replacing the ruler or the ruling clique, not the native system of governance, pondered (Mills 2005: 34–38). The crux of the problem is that American policies to reform despotic political systems and open up ‘closed’ economies on the one hand and to sanitize various countries across the globe suspected of hosting extremist organizations and encouraging terrorist activities on the other hand cannot be divorced from the hard-headed assessments of the US national interest.¹² This has given a new impetus to the *raison d’etat* doctrine (Meinecke 1998: 146–195) and regional powerhouses may be tempted to emulate the US, justifying their belligerence on the basis of ‘national interest’.

Moreover, the post-cold war international system featuring the three tiers of states is being reinforced by globalization with the advanced countries better able to deal with the effects of the transnational flow of capital and manufactured goods, skilled labour and services, in part, because they are in a stronger posi-

tion to dictate the terms of engagement. Where valuable natural resources are involved, this trend has several odious features of 19th century colonialism, featuring conflicts to control resource-rich territories. In the last decade and more the ongoing indigenous resource wars in Africa (Le Billon 2005) are in essence not unlike the Western intervention in Iraq (Prestowitz 2003: 138, 289, 291) which has vested the US with effective control of the largest reserves of oil outside of Saudi Arabia and, should Washington decide on an Iraq-type denouement for Iran, of the vast Iranian oil and gas wealth as well. It has enormously complicated the efforts at terminating resource-related conflicts because while international pressures and UN sanctions can be brought to bear on the local warring parties in Africa (Le Billon 2005: 58–64), no such police actions are possible against the US and its allies in Iraq. Moreover, the sovereignty-sapping programme of a powerful congeries of Western countries led by the United States to change other countries in their own liberal, democratic, image reflects the colonial-era hubris of the ‘civilizing mission’. It does not, apparently, matter that democratic rule so imposed subverts its chances of success and its utilitarian value by devaluing it in the eyes of the people of the targeted state who, whatever its potential for doing good, may reject it as an alien imposition.

Many countries in the bottom tier are ‘failed states’ or potential ‘failed states’ where governments either give surreptitious help to, or are unable to prevent their territory from becoming incubators and exporters of, international terror. By design or disability, they may also host drug cartels and gun-running syndicates and pose, perhaps, the gravest threat to systemic stability and peace, whence great power intervention or multilateral action of some kind becomes inevitable. Alas, there is no guarantee that multilateral interventions will work any more than unilateral ones. Thus, the UN peacemaking/peacekeeping mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo, for instance, has not worked well (The Fund for Peace/Carnegie Endowment for International Peace 2005: 57–58). Other than forgiving debt and mounting multilateral efforts to contain the various dangers emanating from them, the unwillingness of the US and the big powers to get involved in any meaningful way means that these states – a large number of them in sub-Saharan Africa and very sensitive about preserving and protecting their sovereignty (Jorgensen no year) – will be left to manage the best they can on their own, unless some new critically important natural resources are discovered and their

11 “(E)ven a small and poor state ... in a position to produce the means to cause devastation to other people – damage far beyond the ability of such a state ever to remedy or recompense”, Under-Secretary Feith, “will face preemptive or preventive military action.”

12 See: US State Department/US AID: *Security, Democracy, Prosperity, Strategic Plan FY 2004-2009*, at: <http://www.revisitaforum.com.english/pdf_en/24299.pdf>.

control becomes an issue, or a genocide on the Rwanda-Burundi scale, or some other calamity catapult them into international consciousness. Intervention is, nevertheless, in danger of becoming an all-purpose panacea for the ills of, and shortcomings in, the nation-building process.¹³ But such interventionism, as a Union of Concerned Scientists Task Force Report concluded, “lowers the barriers to war [for every country] by creating new grounds for military action which could be easier to meet than the normal standards for self-defence” (Union of Concerned Scientists 2003: 18).

29.4 Globalization and its Dangers

The discussion about what is ‘globalization’ is less important, for practical policy reasons, than the means – the transnational flow of labour and capital and the spread of enabling technology (optical fibre and satellite-based communications and information disseminating networks, exponentially advancing computing speeds, etc.), and their effects – uneven distribution of benefits, empowerment of non-state actors like multinational corporations and NGOs (non-government organizations), and economic interdependence. It has led to more transnational companies and business firms taking advantage of lower labour costs and deciding to relocate their manufacturing and processing units from the developed world to the second tier states with the requisite skilled manpower resources and even passable infrastructure. China and India in the second tier have most benefited from these globalizing trends. Indeed, behaving verily like countries of the top tier, these two states are now engaged in aggressively cornering natural resources, like oil, in distant turmoil-ridden countries.¹⁴ In the security sphere, it has resulted in ‘military deglobalization’ with potential strife limited mostly to intra-state conflicts and localized crises spawned by the ‘strategies of

the discontented’ arising out of the uneven distribution of benefits of globalization (Coker 2002). If the free market is assumed to be at the core of globalization, then the antecedent conditions – a democratic form of government and an open society – that have enabled Western countries to progress, would have to be replicated in other countries as well before globalization becomes a phenomenon in which all states have a substantive stake. It is with this requirement in mind that historian Niall Ferguson (2003) posed a pertinent question about whether globalization is possible “without gunboats?” Or, to put it differently, whether democratization of “Fallujah” can be achieved without “the Abrams tank?” (Ferguson 2005:).

Globalization is international politics by another name. Consequently, the most globalized states also happen to be the most powerful politically (A.T. Kearney 2005). But politics cannot be divorced from the changing distribution of soft and hard power of the dominant states. It may be, as Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye claim, that in the present day where “countries are connected by multiple social and political relationships ... security and force matter less” (Keohane/Nye 1998). But this observation holds only in the case of the Leviathan and the states in the second tier. This leaves the majority of the countries of the world out of the reckoning unless, like Iraq, Iran, Arab West Asia and sub-Saharan Africa, they sit on vast reserves of oil, gas and minerals, whereupon the Western motivation to acquire, control or hold on to these significant natural resources also kicks in. It is marginalized countries and regions, traditionally hostile to Western norms and values that are at the receiving end of American policies to eliminate terror and seed democracy where resentment of the US and the West is the greatest. Their need to ensure uninterrupted supply of energy, minerals and other natural resources, require the investment of time, financial resources, and political and military effort to ‘pacify’ the host people before democratic institutions, ideology, and values can take root, and these societies can be plugged into the globalized milieu. That democratization and globalization are akin to bitter medicine a

13 India’s Foreign Secretary Shyam Saran voiced just such a suspicion: “Could a right or responsibility of humanitarian intervention and limits on national sovereignty, even if well intentioned,” he wondered, “inadvertently lead to a proliferation of such catastrophes, since in principle, such a course of action would be based on the promise that external forces can resolve all problems, in all parts of the world?” see: speech by Foreign Secretary at the International Conference on: “State sovereignty in the 21st Century: Concept, Relevance and Limits” (New Delhi, India Habitat Centre, 23 July 2001); at: <<http://meaindia.nic.in/speech/2001/07/23spcor.htm>>.

14 There have been numerous analyses and financial intelligence reports on-line and in newspapers examining the growing India-China rivalry in unstable parts of the world. As illustration, see Joe Duarte, 2005: “India, China and the Oil Markets, Part 1”, in: *Financial Sense Online* at: <www.financialsense.com/editorials/2005/03.13.html>.

patient may have to be forced to ingest is the underlying premise of US thinking on intervention. But even among Western countries, leave alone in the international community at large, shared values and interdependence have not created the consensus for such action (Krasner 1995: 249).

Given that the enhanced capacity to impose and enforce on the part of the hegemonic set of states and the desire to deter and resist such impositions on the part of the vast majority of countries fearing loss of sovereignty are the defining characteristic of the international order in the new millennium, the renewed premium and emphasis on military prowess is not surprising. But because maintaining a technologically in-date conventional military deterrent is cost-prohibitive, nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction that strategically even out the risks of confrontation even with great powers, are increasingly prized. This is apparent in North Korea's and Iran's attempts to obtain the nuclear bomb. To a considerable extent, it immunizes a country against bullying and use of force against it and permits the state to accept as much or as little globalization, liberalization and democratization as it deems safe and appropriate for itself from the point of view of protecting its cultural and social identity and cohesion and systemic order and stability.

Despite all the evidence to the contrary, globalization is nevertheless perceived by some as a process that is generally fair and involving no compulsion or coercion – direct or indirect, imminent or immanent, immediate or latent. It is seen as comprising a dynamic that is, by and large, benign with the logic of global capital and marketplace deciding, “what goods and services should be produced”, “how, and where to produce them”, and how the benefits should be distributed in order to advance the interests of the less well-off countries (Dunning 2003: 13–18).

Shorn of the unexceptionable liberal intent, what such thinking amounts to is intervention by economic means. ‘Global capital’ necessary for such purpose is not a free good freely available to developing states, but something the powerful and prosperous countries chiefly produce and control and dole out directly or through lending agencies (like the World Bank) as development grants and aid for reasons of self-interest. It is the donor states with the financial clout that wield coercive power and decide what and how much goods and services to produce, how and where to produce them, and how to distribute the benefits (Stevenson 2005; Krasner 1999: 225–226). The economically strong states also configure the tariff structure to suit their particular interests.¹⁵ As aid-receivers and,

excepting the oil-producing countries, exporters of other natural resources and commodities, these by and large supplicant states have little say and no means of challenging the unequal terms of exchange. Financial aid and trade concessions, in any case, are grossly inadequate for a thorough and effective liberal makeover of the Third World. In this situation, the coercion a donor state can bring to bear cannot be disconnected from its interest in donating unless, as some neo-Marxists contend, the US (and by extension the prosperous West) are themselves victims of oppressive international capital (Hardt/Negri 2003: 219–350). The empirical record of progressive globalization, however, is dismal. The number of Least Developed Countries, as determined by economic indices, has actually increased from 24 in 1971 to 50 odd states today, even as the concentration of wealth has grown until now when 20 % of the world's population account for 82 % of the world's Gross Domestic Product. Understandably, there are few enthusiasts for globalization in poor countries. As Shamshad Ahmad Khan, former Foreign Secretary of Pakistan, has put it, far from helping poor states better their lot, market-driven globalization “has actually aggravated global economic disparities” ensuring “some winners but many losers.”¹⁶

Technology is a supposed facilitator of globalization but, like capital, it serves the interests of its owners/producers – mainly the US and the states of the second tier. As a valued good, technology and its dissemination is tightly controlled. Moreover, because advanced technology breeds technical competence and because this results in autonomy in the economic and security fields, the sale and transfer of sophisticated ‘dual use’ technologies with civilian as well as military uses, in particular, are even denied to states belonging in the second tier, like India. Access is prevented by technology-denial regimes, like the Nuclear Suppliers Group and the Missile Technology Control Regime. Self-sufficiency particularly in high-value, advanced military technology presupposes an effective scientific, technological, economic, and industrial infrastructure and human resources base, which enables a country to achieve freedom from politico-military

15 As a powerful trading nation, China complains that the US has abused the Special Restrictive Measures allowed by WTO to impose textile quotas. Reuters: “China asks U.S. not to misuse WTO”, in: *The Economic Times*, 4 August 2005.

16 Shamshad Ahmad Khan: “Redefining NAM's role” in: *Dawn*, 4 January 2006: at: <www.dawn.com/2006/01/04/op.htm>.

pressure and to better assert its sovereign rights. But the astonishing increases in the scale and capacity of technology means that an “asymmetry of scope is emerging between political and economic geography”, resulting in the expansion of markets to global size and in “strategic alliances” even between states who may be proto-rivals in the military sphere.¹⁷ Generally though the principle the Haves have adopted in the technology sphere is to sell poor nations fish, not teach them how to fish. This is reflected in the stretching out of the phase in which poor countries rely on the West for their technological requirements. It is an aim furthered by policies emphasizing sales of finished products, not technology and, at most, the assembly of whole items from breakdown kits supplied by the supplier state. Developing countries bracketed in a higher category may be allowed licensed manufacture-deals. Only developing states in the second tier are now in a position to leverage full-value added production of sophisticated goods and systems – a level reached by China and, to an extent, India. It is a recipe for the vast majority of states of the Third World to remain locked as technological dependencies.

The trouble with globalization though is not that technology availability is in a trickle-down mode, but rather that it implicitly means ordering polities premised on the Western principle of self-determination. For the vast majority of socially, religiously, and culturally heterogeneous countries in the developing world this is tantamount to acquiescing in their own break-up in case any minority community chooses to exercise its right of self-determination and secession and, if thwarted in this “nationalist” enterprise, seeks moral support and material assistance from the West, and resorts to violent insurgency, when earlier these groups would have sought to work things out.

29.5 Insurgent Nationalism and its Problems

In 1914 there were 59 sovereign states, by 1946 there were 74, by 1950 a total of 89, and by 1993 their number had grown to 192 (Ferguson 2003: 372). A fallout of the U.S. policy of promoting ‘freedom’, ‘democracy’ and ‘representative government’ in the world may birth more states. These concepts fuel se-

cessionist passions, sow social strife, and initiate political conflict in already unstable countries. States caught in the cross hairs of this policy are mostly Third World societies susceptible to socio-political fissioning with discontented and rebellious peoples seeking self-determination and separate homelands based on their clan, tribal, ethnic or religious group affiliation. This is an ironic *outcome* – a proliferation of sovereignties – in a supposedly ‘post-sovereign world’. Full-blown sub-nationalism could mean a Russia fragmenting into some 89 ethnically distinct semi-autonomous republics, Indonesia into 250 different ethnically homogeneous island-states, and Africa into 2,000-odd sovereign entities along tribal lines (Rabkin 2004). This fearful prospect is why Algerian President Abdelaziz Bouteflika in his address to the UN General Assembly in October 1999 lamented that “Sovereignty [is] our final defence against the rules of an unequal world” (Emmerson 2001).

Most newly founded countries were carved out from the vast European empires in Asia and Africa post-1945 with little regard for factors that make for strong nation-states like ethnic and religious homogeneity. It provoked the former President of Tanzania Julius Nyrere into calling African states, for example, ‘artificial creations’ (Jorgensen, no year: 106: quotation in the FN 41) – a label that could apply to other ex-European colonies as well. Composite or heterogeneous states containing a mix of peoples and cultures are particularly vulnerable to the threat from sub-nationalist sentiments, with external machinations stoking accumulated grievance against the existing state and apparatus of government, until the opposition transmogrifies into violent insurgencies and ‘freedom’ movements. The sub-nationalist tendencies let loose by the unresolved differences between majority and minority communities, tribes and groups constituting these new, still immature, nation-states were held in check during the US-Soviet Union bloc rivalry due to the overarching tensions of the bipolar system. But the end of the cold war and the onset of globalization has weakened state sovereignty and changed the dynamics of insurgency (Rosenau 1995: 193). Modern communications have at once widened the support base of insurgents and complicated their tactics, as well as those of the regimes fighting them. Insurgent movements are seen to be empowered in cases where states have not coped well with globalization but find it hard to survive when facing militarily strong and effectively globalized countries (Mackinlay 2002).

17 Stephen J. Korbin: “Beyond Symmetry: State Sovereignty in a Networked Global Economy” (1995): 2; at: <http://cbi.gsia.cmu.edu/papers/cbi_workingpaper-1995-08.html>.

But, worryingly, globalization has failed to address the symbiotic relationship between the nationalist belief in the right of self-determination and the democratic principle resulting in the problem of 'infinite regress'. This problem obtains, write Philip Spenser and Howard Wollman, when the "principle of self-determination is taken to be an absolute right" because then, they argue, "it can lead to an almost infinite number of claims, as the number of potential nations in the world (however we define nations) is bound to exceed considerably the present number of states" (Spenser/Wollman 2002: 142-143). It is a problem accentuated by the US policy of spreading democracy. Minority groups seek 'recognition' for their 'nationalist' cause from Washington and otherwise try to assert their unique identities rejecting, along the way, the assimilationist impulses inherent in nation building (Taylor 1994). At the military-tactical level, however, it is difficult to distinguish insurgent groups from terrorist outfits. They are often plugged into the same clandestine transnational financial and logistics support networks and, in their common desire to make a large public impact, subscribe to the same kind of terror tactics.

Because statehood, as Immanuel Wallerstein maintains, has always preceded nationhood (Wallerstein/Balibar 1991: 81) and no nation-state, according to Charles Tilly, has come into being by democratic consent (Spenser/Wollman 2002: 144) and, indeed, as Tilly has contended elsewhere that wars, in fact, make nation-states (Tilly 1984), at the core the problem concerns the unavoidably violent processes of nation building that seek to merge many minority and group interests and identities into a singular national consciousness. Except for some newly industrializing countries, like the 'little dragons' in Asia who are ethnically homogeneous and have achieved living standards in 40 years that European states took two or three centuries to attain (Harris-White 2002: 6), the rest of the developing states - hit by intervention, globalization and insurgencies - are not being afforded the time or the latitude to sculpt unhindered viable nation-states out of disparate peoples, as was the case of the countries of the First World. They are, to use the weak state/strong state-weak society/strong society paradigm (Katzenstein 1976), weak states with weak societies. They are no more able to fend off external threats than they are to control internal dissent. Historically, nation-building in Europe and America was a bloody exercise in which ethnic and religious minorities were violently assimilated and attempts at secession ruthlessly quelled. Far from obviating strong

states, such nation-building processes helped their emergence. Like, for example, the United States, whose path to nationhood was marked, other than the waves of violent struggles between newer immigrants and the more settled lot differentiated by religion and their European country origin, by slavery, genocide of the native Indians, and a long and horrific Civil War.

The international campaigns for Human Rights and religious and political freedoms that new states are hounded by, in effect, are instruments for coercion which, if they do not prevent, then hinder the evolution of viable nation-states. Mohammad Ayooob has argued that no external pressure should be put on African states driven by feuds and bloodletting, because they are behaving no differently than America and European countries did in the period of their national consolidation (Ayooob 2002). It is the main reason for the leaders in the developing world insisting on respect for the principles of sovereignty and non-interference.¹⁸ And why the member-states of the Organization of African Unity, in particular, are most committed to the sanctity of the colonial borders, however irrationally they may have been drawn, and vociferously reject outside intervention in their domestic affairs. And why, similarly motivated South American countries in the 19th century strongly opposed US interference in their internal affairs and adopted the Drago and Calvo Doctrines, described as "an almost obdurate interpretation of the principle of non-intervention" (Lyons/Mastanduno 1995: 11), which the US government accepted only in 1933 (Krasner 1999: 21). South American states have matured since then and in time so will the states in Africa, West Asia, and elsewhere in the world struggling to achieve nationhood. The requirement is for these countries to be left well enough alone to evolve at their own pace and in their own fashion, for the West to overlook the corruptions and minor excesses of tyrants and uni-party systems short of genocides and massive dislocation of peoples with the potential for spilling over into neighbouring states and threatening regional stability, and for the US to desist from taking action to rectify the situation which will only derail

18 Rudolfo C. Severino, Secretary-General of the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) at a round table in July 2000 referred to these two principles as "the bulwarks protecting the small and the weak from domination by the powerful." See: Rudolf Severino: "Sovereignty, Intervention and the ASEAN Way", 3 July 2000; at: <<http://www.aseansec.org/3270.htm>>.

the traditional processes of nation-building at work. But even genocide may not be sufficient reason for Western intervention if it is “intentionally provoked” to attract such intervention as was done, according to Alan Kuperman (2003), by the Albanians in Kosovo. If the West, moreover, is unwilling “to deploy its armed forces preventively, it must temper its use of coercive diplomacy aimed at compelling rulers or rebels to surrender power because”, Kuperman argues, “of the risk of inadvertently triggering massive violence” (Kuperman 2004). Nevertheless, in the 21st century international public opinion will not countenance states and tyrannical regimes unleashing extreme and systematic violence against their own people. Such countries and governments need to be dissuaded. But between the imperatives of just and reasonable humanitarian intervention and the necessity to respect the sovereignty of nations lies a golden mean. It has to do with building a consensus in the UN General Assembly about ‘good housekeeping’ standards that all states pledge to observe. Any gross and sustained violation of these standards should automatically activate multilateral intervention. This will at once safeguard the sovereignty of states, obviate arbitrary use of force by great powers, and permit the taking of corrective measures that have international sanction.

29.6 Conclusion

Advanced technology reflected in the digitization of weaponry and in network-centric warfare may have eventuated, as Michael Dillon suggests, in “intensive and extensive hyperbolicization of security” (Dillon 2004: 82) evident in the war against terrorism. There has been a matching hyperbolicization of sovereignty by the strong states that, ironically, have the least to fear from the weakening of sovereignty. This is evident in the US withdrawal from the Kyoto Protocol and in its unwillingness to subject its troops to the jurisdiction of the International Criminal Court. It highlights the fact that sovereignty and security are relative concepts. While both principles have in practice lost ground in a globalized and interdependent world with technology and the logic of the marketplace making nonsense of man-made borders and autarchic national units, strong countries are, nevertheless, better placed to cope with the assaults on their sovereignty by having hard power in reserve. Post-colonial countries in the process of becoming nation-states have no such capability. Owing to the sensitivities of the “globalized space” (Rosenau 1998: 38–43) they are, in fact, denied

the historically legitimate instruments, including violence, and a conducive milieu for state-building, like freedom from outside interference, thereby flattening out their options. They are expected in short order to become functioning democratic systems without transiting through the mandatory disorderly stages or to face external intervention to ensure that they do. Considering the evidence, what may obtain in the third tier is a collection of ramshackle, potemkinized ‘democracies’. But even the hopeless states need to be reassured that, within limits, normal eruptions in the processes of nation-building will be tolerated. The fast industrializing societies (of the second tier, especially China and India) boasting of the traditional power characteristics, like location, size, population, and natural and human resources, are at the tipping point at which their gain in stature and substance renders their sovereignty relatively unassailable. It is a threshold comprising sustained economic growth backed by acquisition of comprehensive military power, including strategic nuclear reach and punch. When the bulk of the countries attain this tipping level is the point at which, in theory at least, the international system will achieve *homo stasis* and the sovereignty and security of individual states will become safe. But, realistically speaking, because this state of grace is unlikely to be attained any time soon, if ever, the sovereignty of poor, politically and militarily weak and marginalized states will, as in the past, continue to be at the sufferance of rich and powerful countries.

30 Subordinate, Subsumed and Subversive: Sub-national Actors as Referents of Security

Varun Sahni

30.1 Introduction

Identity politics, the politics of difference, is always intrinsically and intensely relational. We define who we are, and who we are not, by either linking ourselves with, or differentiating ourselves from, those around us.¹ Coping with difference has always been an important aspect of human and social life. Sometimes difference is enriching, at other times merely functional; often, however, it is ominous and menacing. When difference seems to be, or indeed becomes, threatening, what emerges is a securitization of difference. It is this dimension of security – how the state deals with the threat of difference *within* itself, and how sub-national actors position themselves *vis-à-vis* the threat posed by the state – that is the principal theme of this chapter.

The chapter is organized into the following seven sections. In section 30.2, the ground is prepared for the subsequent sections by analyzing the complex interrelationship between state, society, and security in the historical moment of political modernity. While the concept of security has been reworked in recent years to bring society and social forces into the picture, the modernist project of sovereign territoriality continues to remain intact in much of the world. This implies that identity politics necessarily is the assertion of difference *vis-à-vis* the state and its hegemonic definition of ‘national’ identity. In Section 30.3, we explore the ambiguity in the Copenhagen School concept of securitization and explain why we nevertheless use the concept in this chapter. Section 30.4 explores the notion of subordination (to the state) that is inherent in the idea of the sub-national, and explains why sub-national actors are seen by the state as per-

petually presenting themselves with the threat of in-subordination. In Section 30.5, the focus is on the trans-border character of sub-national actors. Presumed by the state to be subsumed within it, sub-national actors often transcend sovereign borders in terms of their ethno-cultural affiliations and external links. Insistence of difference within or evidence of links outside are therefore seen by the state as a threat. Section 30.6 shows how sub-national actors can be actively subversive of the state, resorting either to covert subversion ‘from below’ or overt subversion ‘from above’. Section 30.7 investigates how the threat perception of the state *vis-à-vis* sub-national actors can be mitigated or eliminated through a broad and inclusive process of political engagement. Section 30.8 concludes the chapter, suggesting the sorts of inclusive answers that politics ought to throw up.

30.2 State, Society, Security, and Modernity

Over the last fifteen years, a great deal of conceptual and theoretical effort has been expended in transcending ‘traditional’ security studies, which had for half a century focused largely on the state and its external security concerns. The expansion of the intellectual focus of security studies has involved, minimally, the adding of non-state actors and the internal security realm to the traditional statist and militarist concerns of security studies. This intellectual effort can be seen in the emergence of new ‘schools’ of security studies, of which *Critical Security Studies* (Krause/Williams 1997) and the *Copenhagen School* (Buzan/Waever/de Wilde 1998) are perhaps the most prominent.² Through a broad redefinition of ‘security’ in terms of existential threats to *any* ‘referent object’, scholars of security studies have been able to come up with novel and exciting answers to three basic questions: security for whom, from what, and at what cost? From being

1 As Charles Taylor (1992: 32–33) would put it, “We define our identity always in dialogue with, sometimes in struggle against, the things our significant others want to see in us.”

the obvious and only answer to the first question (security for whom?), the state has moved in many cases to being the answer to the second question (security from what?); in other words, the state has come to be viewed not only as the sole referent object of security, but also as a frequent threat to the security of other referent objects.

A more expansive understanding of security and securitization therefore requires us to push the boundaries of security studies simultaneously in two seemingly contradictory directions. Firstly, we obviously need to go *beyond* the state, which involves our paying attention to non-state referents of security at varying levels of analysis, ranging from the individual human being to the planetary ecosystem. Secondly, and perhaps less obviously, we need to insert security studies *within* the state, which requires us to stop treating the state only as a unitary rational actor in the neorealist tradition (Waltz 1979), and to also view it in relation to society and social forces. For the plain truth is that the state does not exist anywhere in splendid isolation: "States are parts of societies. States may help mold, but they are also continually molded by, the societies in which they are embedded" (Migdal/Kohli/Shue 1994: 2).

However, recognizing that the state is 'socially embedded' does not mean that we can escape the state, or indeed its aspirations and pretensions of omnipresence and omnipotence. This reality needs to be heard above the bewitching siren call of European postmodernity. The inspired experiment that has resulted in the impressive institutional, policy and even cultural architecture of the European Union is not, and perhaps never will be, the political norm for organizing social life at local, national, regional or global levels. Most of the world is still in the throes of modernity: the state retains the lead role in the social drama. The

project of political modernity is about the state perfecting its sovereign territoriality,³ which Europe alone has seemingly transcended. Thus, in the light of the European experience, we could almost say that different continents are currently passing through very different historical moments. The logic of politics across Asia and the Americas remains the logic of modernity. Africa appears to be mimicking European postmodernity at the discursive level, but the logic of politics in Africa seems to be sliding back to pre-modernity:⁴ we need only contrast the bloodshed over Biafra in the late 1960's - an unambiguous moment of political modernity - with the contemporary disaster of state failure and social chaos in Darfur. Indeed, the future of European postmodernity should itself be problematized. The failure of the European experiment would surely imply the re-emergence of the logic of sovereign territoriality on the continent. However, even if the European experiment were to succeed, what will emerge at the end of the protracted process will probably be a European *state*; a large, continent-wide, federalist, pluralist state in all likelihood, but nevertheless recognizably a state. Thus, in the fullness of time we may come to regard European postmodernity as an essential artifice, a carefully designed and constructed bridge that connected Europe's past - a Europe of states - to the European state of the future. The basic point being made here is that the project of political modernity, though increasingly frayed, remains essentially intact: the sovereign territorial state is not going to wither away any time soon.

Driven by the logic of political modernity, the statist conception of 'national identity' is therefore both the hegemonic core and the Archimedean point around which all other conceptions of identity in society have perforce to cluster. To put it more simply, all other identities in society - with the possible exception to gender identity - must necessarily relate themselves to, and be related to, the national identity as designed and defined by the state. Thus, identity politics is inevitably the politics of asserting difference from

2 While both schools support a widening of the concept of security, there is little else that they do coincide on. For instance, they disagree on as basic an issue as the conceptualization of security itself. According to the *Copenhagen School*, security is "a self-referential practice, because it is in this practice that the issue becomes a security issue - not necessarily because a real existential threat exists but because the issue is presented as a threat." (Buzan/Waever/de Wilde 1998: 24). The *Critical Security Studies* perspective holds that "security is a derivative concept; it is in itself meaningless. To have any meaning, *security* necessarily presupposes something to be secured; as a realm of study it cannot be self-referential." (Williams/Krause 1997: ix; emphasis in the original.)

3 Mohammed Ayoob labels this historical process as "state making" - attempts by the state "to extend and consolidate its control over contested demographic and territorial space" (Ayoob 1997: 133) - to attain "effective statehood", which he defines as "a balanced combination of coercive capacity, infrastructural power, and unconditional legitimacy" (Ayoob 1997: 140).

4 The term 'pre-modern', implying in this context the re-emergence of pre-state political formations, should not be confused with 'primordial', which has the connotation of primeval or primitive.

the hegemonic (national) identity of the state. We must, however, qualify this statement in two important ways.

Our first qualification relates to the interrelationship between various sub-national identities themselves. Why must we insist on seeing the politics of difference only in relation to the state, and not in terms of the mutual interaction of diverse social groups unmediated by the state? Surely, relations between Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland, Anglophones and Francophones in Canada, Sinhalese and Tamils in Sri Lanka, Hausas, Ibos and Yorubas in Nigeria, Turks and Kurds in Turkey, Russians and Chechens in Russia, or Malays and Chinese in Malaysia, to give only a few examples, do exist independent of the respective states? It is undeniably true that different ethno-cultural identities are collocated and therefore coexist in most parts of the world; ethno-cultural homogeneity is a rarity, diversity the norm. However, the logic of political modernity implies that the state cannot be written out of the sub-national (ethno-cultural) equation, for two reasons. Usually the state, and the resources and capabilities that it enjoys and commands, is captured by one or several ethno-cultural groups: often the numerical majority, sometimes a historically privileged minority. Thus, the politics of difference for the Québécois, Ulster Catholics, Jaffna Tamils, Ibos, Kurds, Chechens and Malacca Straits Chinese implies either acquiescing to or contesting the manner in which their respective states are (ethno-culturally) constituted; these sub-national minorities simply cannot afford to treat the state as neutral. However, even when the state is able to maintain its critical autonomy *vis-à-vis* various sub-national identities, its insistence on a particular synthetic formulation of national identity makes it a party to the politics of difference.⁵ This is, of course, particularly true when identity politics itself is securitized. Thus, for instance, the Indian state, avowedly secular, had nonetheless internalized many ceremonial Hindu practices on supposedly 'neutral' cultural grounds, well before Indian politics took a majoritarian turn in the mid-1990's (Misra 2004).

Our second qualification would be to remind ourselves that not all non-national identities are sub-na-

tional in character. On the contrary, the state in contemporary times has been forced to relate to several distinct types of non-national identities that are *not* sub-national in character. To mention only three of the most obvious, the contemporary state must relate to supra-national identities (such as the European Union), macro-cultural identities (like the Muslim Ummah) and diasporas of a wide variety of shapes and sizes. There is, nevertheless, one significant difference between these non-national identities and sub-national identities: it is only with the latter that the state often chooses to *securitize* its relations.

Why are relations between the state and sub-national actors the subject of security? We suggest in this chapter that this is so for three closely interlocked reasons. Sub-national actors are *below*, *within*, and hence *against* the state. It does not particularly matter whether a particular sub-national group is against the state or not. From the totalizing perspective of the sovereign territorial state, sub-national actors, precisely because they are supposedly subordinate and subsumed, are *always* potentially subversive. Later in the chapter, we will sequentially conceptualize these three dynamics with the ultimate objective of re-conceptualizing and de-securitizing the relationship between the state and sub-national actors. However, before doing so we will make a detour through Copenhagen to visit the concepts of securitization and de-securitization.

30.3 Copenhagen Quandary: Security as High Political or Apolitical?

What exactly does the verb 'to securitize' mean? The *Copenhagen School* has presented security as a move that "takes politics beyond the established rules of the game", by framing a public issue as either involving a "special kind of politics" or as being "above politics" (Buzan/Waever/de Wilde 1998: 23). In order to be securitized, an issue has to be presented as an existential threat demanding "absolute priority" and extraordinary treatment in the form of "emergency measures and ... actions outside the normal bounds of political procedure" (Buzan/Waever/de Wilde 1998: 23-24). Securitization, from this perspective, can be viewed as an *extreme version* of politicization, whereby a public issue is presented as requiring total or exclusive political attention. Alternately, securitization can be seen as being *opposed to* politicization, inasmuch as a public issue is removed from the normal political bargaining processes. Securitization is therefore a very slip-

5 The general apprehension in this regard is captured well by Charles Taylor: "The claim is that the supposedly neutral set of difference-blind principles ... is in fact a reflection of one hegemonic culture.... [Only] the minority or suppressed cultures are being forced to take alien form" (Taylor 1992: 43).

pery concept, containing within itself the diametrically opposed notions of ‘total politics’ (or hyper-politics/super-politics) and ‘no politics’ (or trans-politics/supra-politics).

If the Copenhagen School concept of securitization is so ambiguous, why is it used in this chapter? We do so because the concept of *de-securitization* – “the shifting of issues out of the emergency mode and into the normal bargaining processes of the political sphere” (Buzan/ Waever/de Wilde 1998: 4) – is of crucial importance in mitigating the threat that the state perceives from sub-national actors. Irrespective of whether securitization involves hyper-politics or trans-politics, de-securitization is about a return to ‘normal politics’, politics without qualifications. In Section 30.7 it will be argued that sub-national actors will cease to be the referents of security only when they become ‘normal’ political actors in the eyes of the state. But what makes sub-national actors a threat to the state in the first place? That is what the next three sections will explore and explicate.

30.4 Below: The Perpetual Possibility of Insubordination

Sub-national identities – as is implied by the nomenclature of the concept itself – are required by the state to lie *below* the national identity at all times. However, far from being unambiguously located at a subordinate level of analysis and consciousness, sub-national identities often emerge, both in analysis and in practice, as being coordinate with national identity. That a sub-national identity could be regarded as co-equal to the national identity transforms the former into a problem, and often into a threat, for the state. To give a prime example, to posit the Kashmiri identity at the same level as the Indian identity, instead of subordinating the former to the latter, is to immediately pose a challenge to the Indian state and its carefully constructed edifice of Indian nationalism (Ganguly 1999; Varshney 1993). The promise of internal autonomy for Kashmir must therefore be balanced against the potential threat of Kashmiri *azadi* (independence). The persistence of a Timorese identity, often on co-equal terms with the Indonesian identity, was a lingering thorn in the flesh of the Indonesian state (Barata 1998).

Even apparent exceptions to the notion of sub-national subordination, impressive though they may seem at first glance, are considerably less so upon close examination. The Canadian policy of bilingual-

ism has sought to give equal status to the French language in all aspects of social life, but especially in the official business of state (Schmid 2001: 101–122). However, even in Canada the sub-national Francophone identity cannot be placed at par with Canadian national identity. A telling example comes from Canada’s membership in the *Organisation internationale de la Francophonie* (International Francophone Organization): while Canada is a member, the Canadian provinces of Québec and Nouveau-Brunswick (New Brunswick) are classified only as participating governments in the organization.⁶

Thus, sub-national actors become the referents of security because they are *below but not always beneath the state*. It is the prior insistence of subordination that gives rise to the constant spectre of insubordination.

30.5 Within: The Cancer or the Virus

Sub-national identities are not only expected by the state to remain below the national identity, they are also required to stay *within* the boundaries constructed by sovereign territoriality. However, this insistence of the state becomes highly problematic for two very different reasons. In the first place, most sub-national boundaries *do in fact transcend* sovereign borders, particularly in the case of postcolonial states, most of which have emerged out of a messy historical process of unplanned colonization and unorganized decolonization. Thus, the fact that there are Hausa populations that straddle a number of sovereign boundaries in West Africa becomes a problem for the states of that region. The ‘Tamil problem’ is made more acute for the Sri Lankan state by the fact that there is a large Tamil population in southern India separated from the Tamils of northern Sri Lanka only by the narrow waters of the Palk Straits. Sub-national identities that transcend the sovereign border are often treated by states as a potential fifth column, ready and waiting to serve the interests of the foreign (and neighbouring) state.⁷

However, there is another problem that also arises when it is assumed that sub-national identities are sub-

6 On this point, see at: <<http://www.francophonie.org/membres/etats/>>, accessed 1 September 2005.

7 The classic treatment of this problem is Myron Weiner’s “Macedonian Syndrome” model, which is based on “the transnational character of ethnic groups and the disputes over boundaries [between states]” (Weiner 1971: 667).

sumed by the larger national identity. The expectation that sub-national identities can exist cosily within the national identity often converts even an innocent act of sub-national assertion into an act of treachery and deceit. The relatively mild assertion of indigenous identity in Chiapas by the *Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional* or *Zapatista Army of National Liberation* (EZLN) uprising was viewed by the Mexican state as a major challenge to Mexico's carefully crafted national identity of *mestizaje* (the mixing of pre-Hispanic and European blood and culture);⁸ fortunately, the Mexican state has used minimal force to confine the uprising to the Selva Lacandona (Reygadas/Gómezcesar/Kravzov 1994).

In contrast, the assertion of Shia identity in Iraq was dealt with far more brutally by the Ba'athist regime of Saddam Hussein (Makiya 1998). To summarize, sub-national identities often end up being seen by the state either as a virus that brings an alien infection into the body, or as a cancer that eats up the body from within; in either case, the medicine is strong and the surgery drastic. Thus, sub-national actors become referents of security because they are *subsumed by the state but not submerged within it*.

30.6 Against: Sub-nationalism as Subversion

Thus, the sovereign territorial state regards sub-national actors, often imperfectly subordinated and subsumed, as potentially subversive. However, our analytical treatment of sub-national actors in the preceding sections has been to view them as essentially passive objects of securitization by the state. In reality, sub-national actors have agency: they actively protect and promote their interests, which are often at complete odds with those of the state. In this section we will analyse how sub-national actors subvert the state by contesting its aspirations and pretensions and weakening it from within and without.

There are two radically different ways in which sub-national actors subvert the state. We will call these divergent strategies 'subversion from above' and 'subversion from below', and use the examples of two

contemporary Islamist groups that do not advocate violence to illustrate these respective strategies.⁹ The *Hizb ut-Tahrir al-Islami* (The Party of Islamic Liberation), a group that has been in existence since the 1950's, has become the most important Islamist force in Central Asia after the implosion of the Soviet Union. *Hizb ut-Tahrir* is subversive from above because it advocates "the overthrow of governments throughout the Muslim world and their replacement by an Islamic state in the form of a recreated Caliphate" (ICG 2003). Thus, subversion from above can also be regarded as overt subversion, taking the state head on. The *Tablighi Jama'at* (Preaching Party), on the other hand, is "a movement both translocal and postnational", that "finds a tangible manifestation in Islam today" in the "Islamic notion of Ummah, a community of believers unhindered by geographical or national boundaries" (Mandaville 1999). As has been pointed out, "the immediate concern of the *Tablighi Jama'at* is not the capture of state power and the establishment of an Islamic state, but rather the moral reform of individuals, often described as 'making Muslims true Muslims'" (Sikand 2002: 2). The strategy of the *Tablighi Jama'at* can be regarded as subversion from below or covert subversion: challenging the state by transforming the individual citizen.

There are several similarities between the *Hizb ut-Tahrir* and the *Tablighi Jama'at*. Neither is, strictly speaking, a sub-national actor, in that both groups are transnational in terms of ideology, membership and strategy. Both groups, ostensibly, are non-violent in terms of their methods. Both are Islamist in the sense that they seek a return to early pristine Islamic practices in public life. Both follow similar tactics of proselytizing individual Muslims exclusively. Both have faced brutal repression from the Uzbek state. Yet the two groups differ starkly in terms of their basic strategy: while the *Hizb ut-Tahrir* is a political party that aims at overthrowing apostate states in the Muslim world in order to recreate the Caliphate, the *Tablighi Jama'at* is a religious movement that aims to trans-

8 On *mestizaje*, see Basave Benítez (1992). The conception of *México mestizo* (mixed race Mexico) has in recent years been contested by the diametrically opposed conception of *México profundo* (deep 'hinterland' Mexico), with strong indigenous overtones. On the latter, see Bonfil Batalla (1996).

9 The term 'Islamist' is used here in deliberate contradistinction to the term 'Islamic', the adjective that is traditionally used in English to characterize all aspects of social and human life that are derived from, inspired by or connected to the religion of Islam. The distinction that is made here is between 'Islam as belief/faith' and 'Islam as political ideology'. It is critically important to draw this analytical distinction, since only a minority of Muslims worldwide can be accurately characterized as Islamist.

form Islamic societies through the transformation of millions of individual Muslims.

The most robust sub-national actor in recent years to follow a strategy of subversion from above or overt subversion is the *Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam* (LTTE), which has waged a relentless guerrilla war with a terrorist campaign against the Sri Lankan state for over two decades (Richardson 2005). The LTTE has also been able to establish a quasi-state in the northern part of Sri Lanka, and has taken on the Sri Lankan armed forces in pitched battles that have resembled an interstate war more than a civil war or an armed uprising. The LTTE is easily the most successful sub-national actor in contemporary times; it is only the implacable hostility of the Indian state – which ironically had a major role to play in establishing the group – that can impede the LTTE's aim of setting up a state called Tamil Eelam in northern and eastern Sri Lanka.

Falun Gong in China is perhaps the most fascinating example of sub-nationalism to have emerged in recent years (Chang 2004). It is also a prime example of subversion from below or covert subversion. Established in 1992, *Falun Gong* is an admixture of Buddhism, Taoism, and Qigong exercise routines. The most remarkable aspect of *Falun Gong* has been its explosive growth: in its heyday, the group had over 60 million adherents, the same size as the Chinese Communist Party itself. The group has also shown incredible resilience in the face of fierce repression by the Chinese state, which clearly regards *Falun Gong* as subversive in its organization and intent (Forney 2001; Spiegel 2002).

Thus, sub-national actors become the referents of security not just because the paranoid state wills it. Many sub-national actors *actively work to subvert the state*, either overtly by taking on the state, or covertly by converting the individual citizen against the state.

30.7 De-securitizing the Sub-national through Political Engagement

How can the sub-national be de-securitized? The sub-national, as we have seen, is subversive: we live in times when the whiff of self-determination is once again in the air. As Alexis Heraclides remarks, “one can detect a weakening in the existing taboo against secession, indeed the signs of an emerging paradigm shift whereby secession will no longer be treated as unthinkable by the international system” (Heraclides 1992: 399). The increasing spread of democratization

has had a paradoxical impact upon the doctrine of self-determination. On the one hand, Daniel Philpott (1995: 353) insists that “Self-determination is inextricable from democracy; our ideals commit us to it.” Amitai Etzioni, however, strongly dissents, arguing instead that “with rare exceptions self-determination movements now undermine the potential for democratic development in non-democratic countries and threaten the foundation of democracy in the democratic ones. It is time to withdraw moral approval from most of the movements and see them for what they mainly are – destructive.” (Etzioni 1992: 21) Philpott does take the democratic “intuition” to an extreme by advocating that “any group of individuals within a defined territory which desires to govern itself more independently enjoys a prima facie right to self-determination—a legal arrangement which gives it independent statehood or greater autonomy within a federal state” (Philpott 1995: 353). This focus on the possibility of “independent statehood” is important because, as Allen Buchanan reminds us, “It would be a mistake to assume ... that developing new forms and degrees of self-determination will eliminate entirely the need to come to grips with the problem of secession” (Buchanan 1992: 352). In other words, despite significant social engineering, the subversive potential of the sub-national remains intact.

Is it possible to de-securitize the sub-national? As we have seen, de-securitization is a process through which a security issue – an existential threat to a referent object requiring extraordinary responses – gets converted into a political issue, subject to the normal bargaining of politics (Buzan/Waever/de Wilde 1998: 4). Politics, in Harold Lasswell's memorable formulation, is about “who gets what, when, how” (Lasswell 1936); or, as David Easton put it less elegantly a generation later, “the authoritative allocation of values for a society.” (Easton 1963: 129) Of Lasswell's classic questions, the “who” question is undoubtedly the most important: Who governs? Who is excluded? Who benefits? At whose expense? Throughout human history, from society to society, these four questions have been fiercely contested. Every few generations, in every human society, these questions are reopened and new answers sought. Self-determination and secession flow out of inadequate answers to these basic questions.

In a fascinating study of four sub-nationalisms in Pakistan, Adeel Khan comes to the conclusion that there is a “direct link” between the strength of the sub-nationalisms and “their distance from or proxim-

ity to state power” (Khan 2005: 189). Khan elaborates:¹⁰

The Pakhtun nationalists’ journey from separatism to integrationism has been a journey from Pakhtuns’ exclusion from state institutions to their present over-representation. Likewise, Mohajirs’ journey from ardent support for state nationalism to separatist rhetoric is rather too obviously linked with their downslide from their position of dominance in the state structure. On the other hand, the two most marginalized groups, Sindhis and Baloch, have been as consistently nationalistic as their distance from the state has been unchanging. (Khan 2005: 189)

There are a couple of other findings of general importance that emerge from Khan’s work. He links the power of sub-nationalisms in Pakistan to “their social, economic, and political location in the state system” rather than culture, history and language; the latter “have been part of the symbolic and rhetorical armoury of these movements but not of their actual political agendas” (Khan 2005: 189). Furthermore, while the sub-nationalisms in Pakistan “have always been centred around provincial autonomy and a share in the central government”, the Pakistani state has “labelled them secessionist and thus forced them into that role” (Khan 2005: 190).

Obviously, not all the findings that emerge from the Pakistan case have universal relevance. Sub-nationalisms elsewhere have been more ambitious in their aims, and states elsewhere have not been as crude as the Pakistani state in responding to sub-nationalist challenges. Nevertheless, it is clear that access to state power is the most efficacious route – other than outright repression, which works in some instances, goes disastrously wrong in others – to contend with the threat posed by sub-national actors.

30.8 Conclusions

Ultimately, securitization is a political decision. De-securitization, similarly, must necessarily rest on a political decision to give ever more inclusive answers to the cardinal questions of politics. Who governs? Each of us may end up governing one day. Who is excluded? None will be wantonly or deliberately excluded. Who benefits? The benefits will be shared in a manner that is fair and just. At whose expense? Since all of us will benefit, we will also share the costs in a just and fair

manner. Only when these become the normal responses of normal politics will the state and the sub-national actor be at peace with each other.

10 Khan uses the term ‘nationalism’ to denote the identities that we are labelling as ‘sub-nationalism’ in this chapter.

31 Non-state Based Terrorism and Security

Gunhild Hoogensen

“Of course I support blowing up, it is our right. Maybe no one will sympathize with us when they hear that children blow themselves up, but that, that’s called heroism” (Sabrine, 19 years old interviewed on PA TV).¹

“They respect us and they resent us. But they want what we have.” Colin Powell, U.S. Secretary of State (*Atlantic Monthly*, 21 June 2004).

“Security is what you make of it” (Buzan/Wæver 2003: 48).

31.1 Introduction

The act of terrorism is as ‘old as human history’ and has been a focus of policy and research for centuries (Czech National Alliance (Great Britain). 1916; Kurth-Cronin 2002/2003: 34). Earlier work on terrorism largely focused on definitions (Bergesen/Han 2005). As the literature addressing terrorism continues to expand however, so have the various methods of analysis from statistical and criminal networks analyses, to sociological analyses, among others (Enders/Sandler 2005; Xu/Chen 2005; Turk 2004). The phenomenon of terrorism has been widely examined from a security analysis standpoint as well, albeit significantly dominated by state and international security perspectives, examining in what ways states are currently threatened by terrorism, and how they can and ought to respond (Tan 2004; Carpenter/Wiencek 2005). These approaches usually address the legal and military measures to ‘combat’ the threat so as to first maintain state integrity and second to protect the primary or first level targets of terrorist acts (such as ‘innocents’). In many respects the dominance of the state-based security approach to terrorism can be interpreted as a move against wider conceptions of security, particularly after the events of 11 September 2001 and the reinigorated military and political secu-

urity policy in the United States. One of the primary objectives of this book is to determine the extent to which security approaches have, or have not, altered due to the historic moments ending the Cold War and the attacks on the USA on 11 September 2001. As such, this chapter will argue that the moves towards a broadened security agenda after the Cold War need to retain their power and influence, and the setbacks towards a state-based political and military security after 9/11 need to be strongly reconsidered. As the act of terrorism demonstrates, a disjuncture occurs between the state, society and individual, whereby the focus on the state and state-based responses may not be adequate when dealing with non-state actors such as terrorists and terrorist networks (Beeson/Bellamy 2003; Kurth-Cronin 2002/2003).

To begin to understand terrorism from a securities perspective we need to recognize and include the existence of security referents in addition to the state. We must examine the relationship between terrorism and state security, as well as the relations between individual, and societal (identity-based) security dynamics, or non-state referent perspectives. Although state-based terrorism is important (not least the relationships between state terrorism and non-state terrorism), this chapter will concentrate on non-state actors. In examining some possible roots of terrorism (which, in the arguments to follow, focus on human and societal security and essentialist hyper-identities), we might be able to say something about terrorist networks and more importantly about how people may be attracted to or recruited into terrorist networks. As argued by Walter Laqueur however, terrorism is such a complex phenomenon that it is meaningless to attempt to find an overarching framework that accounts for all terrorist activities over time (Laqueur 2003). Keeping this advice in mind, we can look at notions of identity and the creation of hyper-identities and their relation to terrorism. This does not mean that acts of terrorism become reified, ahistorical foci of analysis (as Laqueur fears); quite the opposite in fact.

1 Itamar Marcus: “Promoting Women Terrorists”, in: *Jerusalem Post* (9 October 2003), at: <<http://www.pmw.org.il/index.html>>.

Identities are multiple and changing over time, including ethnicity, but also gender, class, race and so forth. As subjects of politicization and securitization however, at a given moment in history an identity or set of given identities may be manipulated and ahistoricized for political purposes, and in a few cases, employ the act of terrorism.

31.2 Relations of Security

Human and societal security have a great deal to offer an analysis of terrorism. They are both non-state based security perspectives which can inform analyses of non-state actor activities like terrorism. Simply stated, human security roots itself in the security of individuals, and societal security in the security of community/group identities. Despite their non-state based orientation, human and societal security are not often discussed as complementary and relational units, but as one versus the other. Barry Buzan and Ole Wæver have played an instrumental role in the development of societal security over the past decade, and more recently Buzan (2004a) has argued against the efficacy of human security, claiming that the only way to study security at the non-state level is through societal security. As Buzan (2004a) notes, human beings are always interacting with others, and take their meaning from the societies in which they live. A focus on the individual has the potential to 'remove' the individual from his or her surroundings. The current debates on human security have not, in fact, adequately addressed the relationship between the individual and her social surroundings (see: "Special Section: What is Human Security?" in: *Security Dialogue*, 2004: 345–387). There appears to be some agreement among scholars that human security is not a replacement of state security, but that the state does not automatically imply security for its people, and nor does the notion of security automatically imply the state (Shinoda 2004a: 23; Shinoda 2004b: 6–7; Thakur 2004: 347; Acharya 2004: 355). Otherwise there is little to no agreement on a definition, and the parameters of human security move from state/military friendly definitions that seek to ensure security of 'people' who are in the throws of traditional war, to a broad development/security orientation that includes a wide range of security issues from physical and political to economic and environmental securities. The former retains the narrow cohesiveness policy-makers enjoy, but it does not really address the issues that human security was created to highlight, namely security from

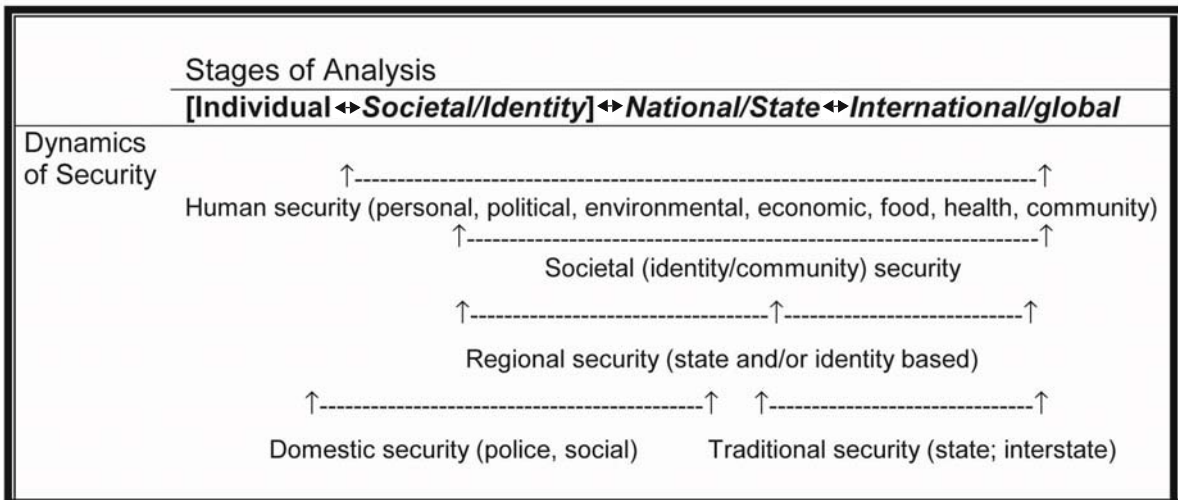
'below', the bottom-up, or rather, from the people. Security of people is not always synonymous with security of states; just as 'trickle-down' economics is riddled with pitfalls, so is 'trickle-down' security.

Part of the difficulty lies with the apparent determination to keep different 'levels' of analysis separate (whereby levels also imply a hierarchy or prioritization of state and international levels over lower, 'sub-state' levels), as well as a lacking recognition of the interrelationships and dependencies of these levels upon one another. Figure 31.1 attempts to provide a simple visualization of these relationships, referring to 'stages' instead of levels. The dynamics of security are then seen to span across and flow through the stages, demonstrating the complexity of security dynamics rather than reducing the concept of security to one dominant and hierarchically prioritized 'level' (the state) and one dominant approach (state security). For example, human security is shown to span from the individual through to societal, the state, and even international as human in/securities can transcend state boundaries connecting people across states as well as within them.

With so many dynamics and stages of security (and more, such as a separate dynamic of environmental security), the spectre of hyper-securitization is raised (Hoogensen 2005b). If security can be theorized from so many positions, from individual to international, we become enveloped within a straightjacket of security, immobilized by the presence of so many possible threats. This is not the case when it is recognized that security, like power, has a positive and negative side (Hoogensen 2005b; Bleiker 2000). Security exposes vulnerabilities and sources of fear (negative security), but it also speaks to capabilities and enabling (positive security) – people, societies, groups have been able to ensure their security by a variety of means, to ensure that life continues, to even make sure a good life can be found (Bajpai 2004).

Capabilities and enabling are expressed in diverse ways however. If certain needs are constructed as very important to the individual or community, unfulfilled human needs (or insecurity) could cause frustration, resistance, and, eventually, violent conflict (Saikal/Schnabel 2003: 25). Resistance is a form of enabling that is often employed in relation to dominant paradigms that enforce or perpetuate inequalities such as patriarchy, imperialism, state security, and so forth. Such resistance, or dissent, can be exemplified by civil rights, women's or gay and lesbian movements; social movements in general (Bleiker 2000). Resistance comes in many forms, however, and does not always

Figure 31.1: Relations of Security²



manifest itself in benign disobedience; resistance can be violent (Hollander 2002; Gentry 2004).

Non-state based approaches to security make visible not only alternative security referents, but also how power and resistance play an important role in the security dynamic. Traditional and domestic security, both of which are state-centric (the state, through its domestic and foreign policies, determines security needs internally through policing and/or economic and social policy, as well as externally through military and defence policy) are integral features of the security dynamic. The attraction to these approaches, both academically and politically, are clear due to their seemingly neat and tightly packaged parameters, where the one does and will not interfere with the other (therefore domestic security interests such as social security are not the purview of, nor have any rela-

tion to, the external security of the state and vice versa). These neat packages tend to become somewhat unglued however when seen in relation to the other security approaches.

Regional security demonstrates the ways in which the simple distinctions between internal and external become blurred, and where the primacy of the state comes into question. The region as a security referent acknowledges security interests beyond the state, but 'below' the international system (Buzan/Wæver 2003; Hentz/Bøås 2003). Although argued as a 'new' security referent, the region has often been theorized as nothing more than the sum of its parts - a group of states. Thus regional security can be understood as very state-based, whereby a group of states find that their security interests merge and/or integrate (Buzan/Wæver 2003). However, regional security can also become blurred by identity, whereby other affiliations besides state boundaries may reign. These regions may be still territorially contiguous but cut across state borders, such as Kurdistan or the Blackfoot Nation (crossing the Canadian/American border). A region might refer to territorial proximity but not include full state territories, such as the Arctic. On the other hand, regions may take on a wholly different character, defining areas such as the 'democratic world' (dominated by, but not exclusively contained within North America and Europe), 'zones of peace and turmoil', the 'core' and 'periphery', or the 'Muslim world' which includes areas of the Middle East, Central and South East Asia, and Europe (Beeson/Bellamy 2003; Rhodes 2004; Agathangelou/Ling 2004). Traditional territorial boundaries are increasingly breached, recently demonstrated by the Belgian

2 The following discussion is a further development of an earlier work which has appeared in Hoogensen, 2005b. This discussion is also taken up by Hoogensen in Brauch, et al 2008. The stages of analysis are indicated in bold script as individual, societal/identity, national/state, and international/global. The stages are presented horizontally in an attempt to avoid a prioritization of one stage over another. The arrows between the stages indicate relationships, where many of the stages have overlapping relationships. The individual and societal/identity stages are bracketed together to indicate an additional strength in their relationship, while societal/identity, national/state, and international/global are italicized to indicate a recognized additional interconnectivity between them. The dynamics of security are indicated by dotted lines and arrows spanning across those stages to which they most relate.

woman turned suicide bomber in Iraq. Thus, regional security interacts with societal security, or the security of identity. Societal security is about “identity, the self-conception of communities, and those individuals who identify themselves as members of a particular community” (Buzan/Wæver/de Wilde 1998: 119). Societal security is most often portrayed as ethnic identity (McSweeney 1999: 77; Buzan/Wæver/de Wilde 1998: 119–140). Like regional security, societal security may well be confined within, if not defined by, a state (making state and societal security somewhat similar or supportive of each other). However, more often than not, the social constructs of state boundaries either contain more than one identity, or cut through identities/communities.

Regional security merges with societal security to demonstrate the scope and range identities can take, while human security tugs on this dynamic from the other end – from the local, the individual. Human security’s perceived unmanageability (so many different voices defining security) is in fact its asset in the security dynamic. The role of the individual in determining security needs is akin to the role of human agency in the agent-structure debate. It is the individual’s claim to security. Of course, this suggests that human in/security is more than just a condition – it is an act itself, an expression of insecurity. Denying human security denies the element of human agency, both the individual ability to define security as well as to cope, adapt, and resist. If security is only defined from above, either from the state or from societal/identity categories (self-defined or imposed), the individual is subject to the structures from above and denied a voice, denied agency. Precisely because identity plays such a significant role in non-state based security we need to acknowledge societal security’s relationship to human security, the latter identifying security both within but also outside of identity attachments. Human security allows for resistance, seeking and establishing security that may lie outside the recognized parameters of states and societies.

The nexus between societal and human security is crucial to understanding non-state based security. A primary weakness of societal security is hyper-identity, which can be understood as a fear of positive, democratic social change and a narrow view as to whose societal security is actually threatened (Suhrke 2003: 96, 98). The focus on one identity can lead to essentialism, ethnic cleansing, terrorist acts in the name of an essentialist/fundamentalist identity, and a drive to a ‘pure’ one-identity community (Green 2003: 8–12; Gleditsch 2001: 105). It can also lead to what Anna M.

Agathangelou and L.H.M. Ling call the militarization of daily life – tightening the grip on the local in the name of a national/communal security (2004: 530). The tendency to create hyper-identities clashes with a more complex reality – that we have many identities rising and subsiding according to context (Maalouf 2003: 10, 26). These multiple identities are not always reflected in the societies we live in and the securities these societies articulate. Hyper-identity may arise from an already dominant group, or in response and resistance, from a previously non-dominant group. The insights provided by a societal security perspective are nevertheless important, particularly from the point of view of “the other” (Suhrke 2003; Crawford/Lipschutz 2003; Bigo 1997, in: Crelinsten 2002). We need to become more aware of how societal security might be articulated and manipulated. Through the example of terrorism, which creates and manipulates hyper-identities, it becomes clear that hyper-identities in the name of societal security do not lead to security at all – they create another insecurity. Taken together, human and societal security are both capable of resistance towards a dominant state security (they may be expressions of compatible insecurities), but there is also the potential for resistance between human and societal security, whereby articulations of human security resist dominating/threatening articulations of societal security (such as resisting essentialist, hyper-identities of what it means to be an Islamic man, or an American woman).

31.2.1 Human Security and Resistance

“Power and resistance always coexist”
(Foucault 1981: 95).

“Is this a happy life? Can this be called living? ... What condition is more miserable than to live such that nothing is one’s own, such that one derives from someone else one’s entire well-being, one’s freedom, one’s body, and one’s life?”

(Étienne de la Boétie 1967/1552, in: Bleiker 2000: 54)

Resistance is linked to identity and margins-informed security. Resistance pertains and reacts to the social construction of identities in a given society or within and between societies. “To understand resistance to ... expectations, we must therefore focus on social relations and interaction” (Hollander 2002: 490). It speaks to the dominance/non-dominance relationship as it demonstrates resistance to that relationship. The relationships are intricate, particularly when we speak of resistance to not only identities imposed by our own cultures, but by others as well (Hoogensen/

Rottem 2004: 165). Hyper-identities can either be the target of resistance (resisting an essentialist identity about manhood) or a resistance response to the dominant identity (resisting Western identities by wearing a head scarf). The discipline of gender studies brings decades of experience and analysis to the discussion of power and resistance, and relations between dominant and non-dominant. As such, these discussions are very useful here.

Gender theories argue for a reconceptualization of security based on the insecurities of civilian society, the marginalized, and the depoliticized (Peterson 1992; Tickner 1992; Peterson/Runyan 1999; Hooper 2001; Cohn/Enloe 2003; Green 2003; Wibben 2004; Tickner 2005; Peterson 2004). J. Ann Tickner (2001: 62) states: “since women have been marginal to the power structures of most states, and since feminist perspectives on security take human security as their central concern, most of these definitions start at the bottom, with the individual or community rather than the state or the international system.” Common essentialist gender-based hyper-identities reduce “women to symbols of either fundamentalist traditionalism or Western hypermodernity” (Runyan 2002: 362) or use “gender essentialisms ... to reproduce the traditional notion that ‘women and children’ (but not adult men) are ‘innocent’ and ‘vulnerable’” (Carpenter 2005: 296). Therefore, many gender analyses warn us of the dangers of essentialism and hyper-identity. Without these insights, we remain blind to the various power relations that influence in/security. Security ‘from below’ is not merely an examination of security needs from the individual level, but also how insecurities from below are often the result of the maintenance of security ‘from above’; elite and/or state security creates and perpetuates insecurities on the margins.

Jocelyn Hollander describes the links between relationships of dominance, non-dominance, and resistance, using gender as the context:

To understand gender, we must examine both power and resistance: ‘not only how dominant groups and institutions attempt to impose particular ... meanings, but also how subordinate groups contest dominant conceptions and construct alternative meanings’. Studying moments of gender resistance can help us understand how gender can change, which in turn can aid us in reconstructing gender more equitably (Hollander 2002: 475).

This is applicable to the power relations of other cases of identity resistance where subordinate groups contest dominant structures (for example, Western cultures, superpower states). Dominance and non-dominance have been applied to other relationships

of power based on identity categories such as ethnicity (Secretariat of the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues 2004; Green 2003). Since relations of power exist the world over (MacKay 2004: 153), it is vital that these power relations are acknowledged by and reflected within security approaches.

Resistance by a non-dominant group can, as Caron Gentry argues, be thought of as a social movement, including resistance by terrorist networks. “New social movements use sexual, personal, and cultural identity as stakes in conflict” (Gentry 2004: 277). Although Bleiker and Hollander focus largely on resistance as an act towards positive transformation, it is not exclusively so. Terrorism is an act of contestation and resistance; it is violent, illegal, shocking, abhorrent to many, but nevertheless a contestation of dominance. Gentry argues that terrorism studies has focused more so on the violence of the group and less so on the social phenomenon that is the terrorist network (Gentry 2004: 279). Recognizing these networks as types of social movements brings the notion of resistance and the importance of identity into greater light. It also demonstrates the use of identity, creating a hyper-identity as the resistance rallying point, as the movement requires a “solid, centralized identity” (Gentry 2004: 277). Michael Mazarr (2004: 44) argues a similar case by noting that hyper-identity offers a solution to those “alienated individuals in search of authentic identity amid a debased mass society that has forgotten or destroyed its virtues.” This search for identity, particularly amongst communities “full of pent-up frustration” (Cronin 2002/2003: 52) creates the resistance, and therefore the motivation behind the acts of resistance movements, or social movements. Resistance, in whatever form, is always a product of power struggles between dominance and non-dominance, and needs to be recognized by a securities approach. Local insecurities developed through relations of dominance and non-dominance can and do ‘spill over’ into the international realm, crossing borders, resisting and rejecting the claims of the state that security is only ‘state business’.

31.3 Terrorism

Terrorism is an act of resistance. It is an act, however, that has been and continues to be hotly debated, largely due to its emotional impact. It is a term that is evolutionary and “designed to be subjective” (Cronin 2002/2003: 32). It is a term that is dependent upon the perspective of the observer, further complicated

by the fact that in attempting to understand the term, “misunderstandings abound, especially between genders and persons of differing status, culture, occupation, education, and the like” (Cooper 2001: 882).

Whether the violent behaviour is seen as heroic or abhorrent, its use as a form of resistance against norms of one’s own society or a dominating society must be recognized. Identities are manipulated to serve “the cause”, illustrated in the example of veiling and unveiling by women in the Algerian resistance: women terrorists masquerade first as ‘pure’ Muslim women to allow them to pass through checkpoints untouched, and then dress as Western women to plant bombs: “in taking off their veils they assume a disguise” (Mahoney 1995: 616). The role of identity is relevant to cause as well as how the act itself is interpreted.

A central dilemma in the pursuit of a definition of terrorism is the notion that “one person’s terrorist will ever remain another’s freedom fighter”. Terrorism links heinous acts (causing terror) with a perception of justice that some but not all may sympathize with. Peter Weiss (2002) asks: “What do Nelson Mandela, Menachem Begin, Gerry Adams, and Yasser Arafat, have in common? They all made the transition from being regarded as terrorists to being recognized as statesmen and peacemakers.” James D. Kiras (2002) explains terrorism alongside “irregular warfare”, to a degree uniting revolutionary and insurgency groups with terrorist groups. By doing so he illustrates the problem well – he describes a context where the state is pitted against revolutionaries ranging from Mao Zedong and Ernesto Che Guevara to Osama Bin Laden. These are groups claiming a cause, defining themselves in some way as ‘the other’ in relation to the state and its power. As Kiras (2002) notes, the ways in which we assign labels to, or endow identities upon, these individuals and groups, the language that we use, plays a large role in the confusion surrounding the definition and nature of terrorism and the ways in which we can understand it.

Thus the cause, how these actors identify themselves, and how they are identified by others, all play roles in the definition of terrorism. Most definitions of terrorism reflect some sort of connection to identity, moving from rather vague and open-ended definitions:

Terrorism is the intentional generation of massive fear by human beings for the purpose of security or maintaining control over other human beings (Cooper 2001: 883).

(a hint of identity and security is embedded within this simple definition regarding the *why* one would want to exert control over others, but it is not explicitly explored), to a slightly more open connection to identity through ‘political grievances’ and more implicitly *why* one would want to provoke a draconian or unsustainable response:

Terrorism is ... the sustained use, or threat of use, of violence by a small group, for political purposes such as inspiring fear, drawing widespread attention to a political grievance and/or provoking a draconian or unsustainable response (Kiras 2002: 211).

To an explicit connection to identity:

Four general variables shape the potential for group political action: (1) the *salience of ethno cultural identity* for members and leaders of the group, (2) the extent to which the group has *collective incentives* for political action, (3) the extent of the group’s *capabilities* for collective action, and (4) the availability of *opportunities* in the groups political environment that increase its chances of attaining group objectives through political action (Gurr 2005: 143).

Terrorism is an act connected to a distinct cause; it is political, social (Weiss 2002: 11; it creates a sense of belonging, particularly through alienation) and thereby relational. This relationship shapes a part of the terrorist’s identity. Audrey Kurth Cronin (2002/2003) endows terrorism with the following four significant features: 1. terrorism always has a political nature: “At its root, terrorism is about justice, or at least someone’s perception of it, whether man-made or divine”; 2. it “is distinguished by its non-state character”; 3. “deliberately targets the innocent” and finally, “terrorists do not abide by international laws or norms and, to maximize the psychological effect of an attack, their activities have a deliberately unpredictable quality” (Cronin 2002/2003: 33). Cronin (2002/2003: 36, 38) also notes that terrorism is an act linked to popular movements, and is more than ever linked to identity and alienation.

The terrorist act is committed on behalf of the group to which the terrorist has a sense of belonging (Weiss 2002: 11). This group shapes part of the terrorist’s identity, as well as takes its identity from the political cause it claims. In other words, we see hyper-identity in action, reaffirming itself at both the individual and societal level. It is never permanent because individuals can resist against the hyper-identity as well. However, in situations where identities are understood to be under threat in some way, shape, or form, the hyper-identity gains salience across security stages, from the individual to the state and beyond.

But identity is not just relevant to the cause of terrorism itself, it is imposed by the 'target'. A number of years ago, the IRA dominated the largely Western discourses on terrorism. Being Irish was becoming synonymous with being a terrorist, and the 1974 controversy over identity cards demonstrated how ordinary Irish citizens would and could be penalized for their identity.³ Today, the suspect is Muslim, Middle Eastern. Terrorism today is largely presented as synonymous with Islamic fundamentalism, Muslims in general, Arabs, or to almost anyone of seemingly similar origin (Said 2002). Edward Said notes this when evaluating terrorism and suicide bombing: "Suicide bombing is reprehensible but it is a direct and, in my opinion, a consciously programmed result of years of abuse, powerlessness, and despair. It has as little to do with the Arab or Muslim supposed propensity for violence as the man in the moon" (Said 2002: 24). He recognizes that 'terrorist' has become an imposed identity upon a particular people on the basis of their identity: "Palestinians are all 'terrorist suspects'" (Said 2002: 27). What he claims in addition, however, is the extent to which this group of people is desperate, alienated, and devoid of opportunities to express their identities with pride: "Gaza is surrounded by an electrified wire fence on three sides; imprisoned like animals, Gazans are unable to move, unable to work, unable to sell their vegetables or fruit, unable to go to school ... Palestinian schools, libraries, and universities have ceased normal functioning ..." (Said 2002: 26, 28). The despair of the Palestinian people described by Said is not solely based on socio-economic conditions (Haddad/Khashan 2002: 814). Socio-economic conditions play a significant role, but as argued by Simon Haddad and Hilal Khashan, identity cannot be ignored:

The unfavourable social and economic conditions that frequently invite Western scholars to interpret Islamic radicalism in their light fail to account for the anti-Western agenda of political Islam. In our opinion, the destruction of the Islamic Caliphate some 80 years ago, the inception of European colonialism in Muslim and Arab lands, and Western endorsement of the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine seem to better explain political Islam's grudge against the West than the simplistic socioeconomic argument (Haddad/Khashan 2002: 814).

Westernization, globalization, Europeanization, and Americanization – these are not merely identities to which 'others' react with mere envy (as Colin Powell would suggest in the opening quote). A desire to have the benefits of 'Westerners' may play a role, but equally so does a recognition of the legitimacy of identity claims and societal security. An increased rejection of whole societies based on their identity is not and cannot be any solution to terrorism. No allowance is made for understanding the basis of the hyper-identities upon which terrorist acts rely, nor understanding the expressions of resistance, based on human insecurity, against terrorist actions by those who belong to the same or similar communities.

This blindness to identity and the relations between societal and human in/securities describes well the state-based security responses to terrorism. In his 2004 State of the Union address, President George Bush created identities for the terrorists and their networks in such ways that necessitated their losing a human quality: "We're tracking al-Qaeda around the world, and nearly two-thirds of their known leaders have now been captured or killed. Thousands of very skilled and determined military personnel are on the manhunt, going after the remaining killers who hide in cities and caves, and one by one, we will bring these terrorists to justice".⁴ These terrorists are cowardly, hiding, akin to neither human nor animal but 'killers'. This affects the ways in which their criminal behaviour will be treated. They are therefore not deserving of the ordinary judicial processes accorded to human beings, particularly Americans, and therefore the open admission to killing them is not condemnatory. This was also applied to Iraq:

Having broken the Baathist regime, we face a remnant of violent Saddam supporters. Men who ran away from our troops in battle are now dispersed and attacked from the shadows. These killers, joined by foreign terrorists, are a serious, continuing danger. Yet we're making progress against them. . . . Of the top 55 officials of the former regime, we have captured or killed 45 (Bush 2004).

Iraqi men who opposed the American war in Iraq are equated with terrorists and are also demonized and de-humanized.

This approach informs the state-based security perspective, as opposed to a societal or human security perspective. Anti-terror legislation is rooted in

3 See: *BBC News*, 1 January 2005: "Labour dismissed ID cards in 1974"; at: <<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/4139049.stm>>.

4 George W. Bush: "United States State of the Union Address" (Washington, D.C.: White House, 2004), at: <<http://www.whitehouse.gov/stateoftheunion/2004/>>.

state security rhetoric and is focused more upon the act than on the cause. The result is the use of identity to create laws allowing for new surveillance (e.g. of mosques), stop and search policies, and the detaining of prisoners for extended periods without due process. Migration and immigration of particular peoples (Muslims? Turks? The dark other?) become security risks to the state. These state-based security actions respond to the hyper-identities created by the terrorist organizations, but equally create hyper-identities about whom the possible and suspect terrorists could be.

The slippery slope towards hyper-identity becomes visible through the relationship of human and societal security. Hyper-identity becomes the tool of terrorist networks, but the attraction to the network could be partly attributed to individual expression of human insecurity. Terrorist networks reflect as well as create the insecurities contained within the communities they claim to represent. Terrorist networks cannot create societal and human insecurity from nothing – certainly not to the extent that they can convince members of the community to follow and/or give their lives to the cause the network claims to represent. Thus, they reflect pre-existing human and societal insecurities, but have to constantly re-create the insecurities to ensure that their cause stays alive within the hearts and minds of their potential recruits:

The current war on terrorism, conducted by the United States in response to the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, does not address the underlying sense of alienation among the Middle East's unemployed youths, who provide support for terrorist networks. Sustainable human development in the region thus represents the ultimate solution to regional instability and to swelling support for terrorism. Policies pursued by the United States under the administrations of US Presidents Bill Clinton and George Bush adversely impacted regional conditions; even if the countries in the region achieve self-sustainable human development, continued US confrontations with Iraq and support for Israel at the expense of the Palestinians will surely aggravate the underlying conditions for terrorism (Henry 2003: 60).

Former participants in political causes, many of which have been labelled as terrorists, believe such struggles are important and should continue, including Loyola Guzman, former guerrilla fighter who fought with Che Guevara in his last battle, Leila Khaled who fought for the Palestinian cause in the 1970's, and Mairead Farrell, an IRA volunteer (Brunstad 2004). In interviews with incarcerated Middle Eastern terrorists, Jerrold M. Post, Ehud Sprinzak, and Laurita M. Denny (2003: 171) wanted to find out "what makes terrorists and extremist tick." Identity again was a

strong feature in these interviews. The prison experience itself further reified their identity with the group or organizational membership (Post/Sprinzak/Denny 2003: 174). This fusion of personal with social group occurred from the beginning according to the interview data, whereby "the feelings of victimization, of being evicted from their family lands, and the sense of despair concerning their people's destiny ... contributed to the readiness to merge their individual identity with that of the organization in pursuit of their cause. Once recruited, there is a clear fusing of the individual identity and group identity ..." (Post/Sprinzak/Denny 2003: 175). These individuals were able to establish themselves as part of a group that was valued by their social community (Post/Sprinzak/Denny 2003: 176). The status and experience of refugee life exacerbated the desire to enter into an accepted and socially admired group. As one interviewee stated:

I belong to the generation of occupation. My family are refugees from the 1967 war. The war and my refugee status were the seminal events that formed my political consciousness, and provided the incentive for doing all I could to help regain our legitimate rights in our occupied country (Post/Sprinzak/Denny 2003: 182).

There is no doubt that security studies need to account for and address sources of insecurity outside of, or due to, the state, and recognize causes of oppression and alienation. The powerlessness of being on the margins, being oppressed, removed from family origins, and devalued on the basis of identities, both assumed and imposed, was cited as a motivation towards resistance. Armed attacks gave power back to those who felt they had none.

31.4 Discussion and Conclusion

It is an interesting exercise to examine the insecurities of actors who cause insecurities themselves, in this case, individuals who are part of non-dominant communities, and even those who play non-dominant roles within those communities, such as women. By committing a terrorist act, the actors, male and female, move beyond their position of non-dominance in their own community, and seek to actively cause insecurities to other communities. Is human and societal security meant for these individuals? Not if we do not want to examine the social relationships between referents. Individuals and groups do cause threats however, while simultaneously articulating security needs.

Terrorism is one act of violence that can be seen as an imbalance in the relationship to dominance and non-dominance. It is an act connected to hyper-identity. On behalf of the essentialist claim, terrorist acts are committed, and its message is often as alienating to the recipients as the alienation expressed by the terrorists. Essentialism within these groups is necessary, since vague or broadly defined and compound identities do not provide the adequate rallying point (Green 2003: 7). Whether these acts are praised as the work of freedom fighters or condemned as terrorist acts has as much to do with the identity of the observer and her or his relationship to the act and actor as it does with the actor committing the terrorist act itself. Does the observer identify with the dominant or non-dominant group or position?

Figure 31.2: Security Interactions

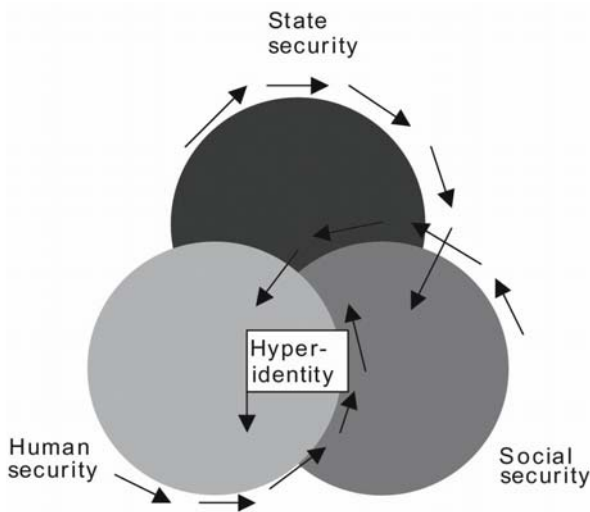


Figure 31.2 attempts to illustrate the relationships between the primary variables discussed. The state security approach revolves from the top-down towards societal security, interacting primarily with societal security (figure 31.1). Societal and human security interact, societal security revolving from the top down, and human security revolving upwards from below. The articulations of these various securities can meet at a point which can lead to the creation of hyper-identity, and provide the ignition point for extremist acts. However, these in/securities are in flux; in this case always revolving. We see the potential for expressions of human and societal insecurities to meet, but they can also revolve away from one another. They can simultaneously express resistance to the dominant discourses (e.g. state) as well as resist each other, particularly human security articulations resisting the

threats imposed by hyper-identity based societal security articulations. In other words, we need to be very aware of all attempts of resistance, acts of human security if you will, emanating from communities (both dominant as well as non-dominant). How aware are state apparatuses of societal and human insecurities and the acts of resistance that respond to these insecurities?

The act of terrorism represents many insecurities (Crelinsten 2002: 78). Can policy reflect the awareness of power dynamics, or is it blind to marginalization and power? There needs to be a juridical response to the act, responding to the crime. But what role has policy played in creating the background for the crime? It would be disadvantageous to create policy that may in fact be bad policy. As Peter Weiss states, “hard cases [such as terrorism] make not only bad law, they also make for bad and dangerous policies” (Weiss 2002: 17). Counter or anti-terrorism policies can lead either to a reduced incidence of terrorism or possibly prevention, or lead to increased incidences: “If counter-terrorism infringes on the rights of too many citizens, spreading the net of targeting too wide, then it risks providing both a justification for terrorism or even revolution, as well as an incentive for recruitment to violent opposition groups” (Crelinsten 2002: 80). The social movement does not justify the violence, but by the same token, the violence does not negate the social movement. In addition to responding to the criminal act, should policy be informed by any other issues or factors, such as responding to the imbalances between dominant and non-dominant groups? Is there a way to avoid or prevent ‘bad policy’?

Security understood on the basis of context and relations of dominance and non-dominance means in large part using security (human/societal) as a measure for a diverse range of policy, from issues of domestic homelessness, poverty and race relations, to issues of intra- and international violent conflict. What it additionally requires however is a constant examination of policy’s own complicity in the creation of dominant discourses, and perpetuating spaces of insecurity which will be ultimately met with resistance (hence, bad policy, and resistance to it). Security policy can not only respond to the threat of terrorism as something that emanates from the ‘other’ and therefore create policies of protection for the potential victims. It must also respond to the insecurities that give rise to the violence in the first place. How have these hyper-identities been created, what has been our role in the creation and reification of dominance that this resistance purports to respond to?

32 Agents of Insecurity in the Andes: Transregional Crime and Strategic Relations

Arlene B. Tickner and Ann C. Mason

32.1 Introduction¹

Current processes of globalization are transforming the world's social and political geography. Many new socio-spatial arrangements are discontinuous with state jurisdictions and increasingly incompatible with the territorial principle of sovereignty (Inayatullah/Blaney 2004; Mason 2005). This spatial reconfiguration is vividly illustrated by the deterritorialization of security in the post-Cold War era. Security domains are not only located above, below, and alongside the territorial state, but they also are intertwined with and superimposed upon other such spaces, presenting a global security matrix at odds with state-centric epistemologies (Walker 1993; Agnew 1994; Brenner 1999). This multiplicity of security sites that characterizes contemporary global order encompasses a wide range of values, actors, and dynamics that transcend the conventional national security model.

Andean security dynamics typify this global security paradigm. Security interdependence, regional overlay, transnational flows, and the prevalence of non-state actors are the defining characteristics of the security landscape in the Andes, making it problematic to analyse security exclusively at the national level. Although it is commonly argued that the Colombian conflict is the vortex of regional insecurity, we find this interpretation to be partial at best (Rabasa/Chalk 2001; Millett 2002). Not only does it obviate the extent to which transnational security geographies have superseded state-based approaches, but it also fails to recognize how the Colombian conflict is both fuelled by and feeds back into transregional activities.

Of particular relevance in the Pan-Andean security context are processes involving transregional dynamics and region-wide networks of actors. The most

acute threats to Andean security are transborder in nature, as epitomized by the movement of drugs and arms that crisscross the region irrespective of political boundaries, and in many cases spill out of the region altogether. Strategic relationships involving both transnational criminal organizations and armed groups operate beyond the control of national governments and manage these illicit trafficking activities.

This chapter looks at the role played by these non-state agents in constructing the threat dimension of an Andean-wide security configuration. We use as a point of departure our transregional framework, which is based on a regional security geography (Tickner/Mason 2003; Mason/Tickner 2006). After specifying this theoretical approach to security we lay out the contours of the model (32.2). The chapter proceeds with a discussion of Andean security (32.3), with particular emphasis on the core security problem of the region, namely illicit flows and networks (32.4). We identify those non-state actors that perpetuate this transregional dynamic, as well as the strategic relations that exist among them (32.5). The text concludes with an analysis of the contributions of the Andean case to current debates on security thinking (32.6)

32.2 Transregional Security Approach

Security has been virtually reconceptualized since the end of the Cold War (Matthews 1989; Buzan 1991; Lipschutz 1995; Buzan/Wæver/de Wilde 1998). This concept has been broadened to include multiple referents, and non-military processes and threats, both of which illustrate how new security principles transcend conventional categories. Most central to new security thinking, however, has been the transformation in security's spatial and territorial context. The most elementary manifestation of this has been the blurring of the internal/external dichotomy that defined previous security studies. Domestic and international domains

1 This paper is part of an ongoing research project on Andean transregional security, financed by the Ford Foundation.

are enmeshed: security risks can be wholly contained at the local level, internal dynamics may become regional, transnational or even global threats and global processes may in turn exacerbate insecurity conditions for certain regions, states or subnational groups. The provision of security has also been globalized. Along with the effacement of the internal/external divide has also come new thinking on the role of the international community in protecting civilian populations and establishing order within state jurisdictions (Walter/Snyder 1999). Security conditions within sovereign states are increasingly considered part of transnational processes and a legitimate concern of a broader global polity.

The deterritorialization of security links up a multiplicity of state and non-state actors at all levels of socio-political activity to form a complex web of interacting dynamics. Indeed, in the Andean context, the defining feature of the security problematic is the existence of region-wide processes that span nation-state boundaries. At the same time, these processes interact with a host of political and socio-economic problems within the region's individual countries. A transregional security approach incorporates both of these dimensions: problems shared by the area's states and societies, and security issues that permeate the regional constellation, and transcend individual state units (Tickner/Mason 2003).

As in most geographic regions, Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and Venezuela are bound together in part by the similarity of the political, socio-economic, and security difficulties they share. Democratic fragility, institutional weakness, poor articulation between state and society, socio-economic exclusion, and multiple forms of violence are common to all states of the region, even though they may manifest themselves uniquely in each national context (Gutiérrez 2003; Drake/Hershberg 2006; Mason/Tickner 2006).

What most stands out about the current security climate, however, is its intermestic and transborder nature. What we denote as transregionalism involves security logics that diffuse the entire region and the primary agents of which are non-state actors that either operate at the regional level, or whose activities are somehow articulated with regional processes. In the Andean context, the most salient transregional security issue is the illicit trade of drugs and arms, and the networks they produce.

Both the national and regional components of transregionalism are highly interdependent: shared problems are both mutually reinforcing and nurture transregional processes. Regional level dynamics

themselves overlap and exacerbate each other, at the same time that they feed back into domestic developments. For example, the tendency toward institutional weakening and democratic deconsolidation in the Andes has provided fertile ground for burgeoning levels of criminality and the formation of illicit transnational networks. These activities both depend on and deepen corruption at all levels of government, leading to further deterioration of public institutions and practices. In addition to links between the regional and national levels, horizontal interactions, both political and criminal, also take place among a wide variety of non-state actors throughout the region.

The centrality of domestic level problems in transregional security dynamics warrants a brief overview of the most critical issues faced by the five Andean nations. First, each has a persistently mediocre economic record. Not only do they share minimal, and in some cases regressive, growth, but they are marked by persistent poverty, cycles of stagnation, and entrenched inequality. Crushing poverty is a way of life in the Andes, with roughly half the population in Bolivia, Ecuador, Colombia, Peru, and Venezuela living below the poverty line. The regional average of those living in conditions of indigence is approximately 25 per cent (CEPAL 2005). The Andean subsystem also registers the highest levels of inequality in Latin America (Munck 2003; Portes/Hoffman 2003), as indicated by their respective Gini indexes: Bolivia 44.7; Colombia 57.6; Ecuador 43.7; Peru 49.8; and Venezuela 49.1 (United Nations 2005). Both poverty and inequality are highly correlated with rising social discontent and increasing levels of violence and criminality.

Weak administrative and political institutions also aggravate insecurity at the regional level. On the one hand, democracy in the Andes has undergone a marked process of deterioration (Mainwaring/Scully 1995; Gutiérrez 2003). Congressional and party weakening, and excessive strengthening of the executive branch, have seriously undermined democracy's foundations and efficacy. Elected governments have been less than successful at guaranteeing the rule of law, and at protecting basic civil rights and freedoms. Democracy's credibility has been further eroded by deeply entrenched official corruption, which is itself highly correlated with weak government institutions. Indeed, the Andean countries rank among the most corrupt in Latin America and the world, according to the Transparency International Corruption Perceptions Index (2005, figure 32.1).²

Figure 32.1: Transparency International Corruption Perceptions Index 2005. May 2005. **Source:** <http://www.transparency.org/cpi/2005/cpi2005_infocus.html#worldmap>. Prof. Dr J. Graf Lambsdorff of the University of Passau produced the CPI table. See: <www.transparency.org/surveys/#cpi> or: <www.icgg.org>.



In addition, Andean countries all receive low marks for their empirical attributes of statehood: the exercise of exclusive authority over territory and populations, the provision of essential public goods, and sufficient coercive power to maintain order and extract resources. Vast areas of national territory are devoid of state presence and administrative infrastructure, giving rise to illegality as well as privatized systems of conflict resolution, security, and justice. Armed insurgencies, violent social movements, criminal organizations, and common delinquency are part of the landscape in all Andean countries, and to a large degree beyond effective government control.

32.3 Andean Security Scenario

Today, the Andean region is commonly viewed as the epicentre of hemispheric instability, attributable to two primary factors. First, it is reduced to the above-mentioned domestic political, institutional, and socio-

economic factors (Council on Foreign Relations 2004; Shifter 2004). Secondly, regional turmoil is associated with the Colombian armed conflict and its 'spill over' effects. Admittedly, with the exception of Colombia's high profile war, there are few acute security problems in or between the other countries of the region. Peru and Ecuador's territorial dispute continues to simmer, following the 1995 armed confrontation. Colombia and Venezuela also have longstanding border disagreements that predate the current Colombian internal conflict. Likewise, the externalities produced by Colombia's internal conflict have led to increasing tensions with neighbours.

Contrary to this reading, however, we argue that there are important region-wide security dynamics that have been crowded out by excessive concentration upon the Colombian conflict and by failure to take into account its regional dimension. Many of the most visible risks to Andean security neither originate within, nor are confined to, a single national territory. Indeed, the second dimension of our transregional model consists of security processes that, while highly associated with internal instability, are more transnational than domestic in nature. Drugs and arms, and the violence and criminality they spawn, crisscross the region irrespective of national boundaries. At the same time, the illegal groups that control these activities form transnational alliances both within the re-

2 On a scale from zero (highly corrupt) to ten (highly clean), in 2005 Peru was classified with a 3.5 corruption index, placing it 65th out of 159 on the country rank. Colombia at 4.0 was ranked 55th, Venezuela at 2.3 was ranked 130th; and both Ecuador and Bolivia were classified 2.5, coming both in 117th.

gion and in conjunction with hemispheric and global organizations. To the extent that Colombian armed groups participate in illicit arms and drug trafficking activities, operate in neighbouring territories and form political relationships with non-Colombian actors, this conflict also takes on an explicitly regional component. Although Colombia's internal conflict clearly generates security externalities, as will be discussed subsequently, the war itself is enmeshed with complex regional and global processes. For example, global drug markets provide a major source of funding for the conflict's primary players, and in turn finance the acquisition of illegal arms. These transactions occur within complex transnational criminal associations inside and at the edges of the Andean region, which are also involved in global financial, criminal, and even terrorist networks. Indeed, seen from this perspective, Colombia's war is more international than normally assumed, actively involving dense trans-border networks composed of an array of global actors (Mason 2003).

32.4 Transnational Criminal Flows and Networks

Transformations in the global political economy have significantly altered the spaces in which illegal activities take place. Namely, the high mobility and volume of goods, people and money, the speed of communication and travel, and the porousness of national borders have facilitated the expansion and consolidation of illicit networks around the world (Van Schendel/Abraham 2006; Williams 1998: 250). Transnational criminal organizations related to the drug trade alone have amassed tremendous amounts of power due to the lucrative nature of the business. According to the 2005 World Drug Report of the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODOC 2005), the global narcotics market generates earnings of approximately US\$ 320 billion per year, and the size of this trade is larger than the GDP of 88 per cent of the world's nations. Drug income is used to influence the political and economic system in those countries in which transnational organizations operate, primarily to keep in check initiatives that seek to restrict illegal activities. Transnational crime particularly targets third world states as venues for their operations due to the fact that weaker countries are not only more vulnerable to corrupting influences but also are less able to combat organized criminal activities effectively (Lee 1999; Serrano 2000).

Not surprisingly, criminal flows and networks pervade the Andean region. A major portion of the global cultivation, processing, and trafficking of cocaine (and to a lesser extent, heroin) is concentrated in the Andes. A traditional crop cultivated and ingested in Bolivia and Peru, by the 1980's coca took on a global dimension as cocaine consumption skyrocketed in the United States and Europe (Tokatlian 1995; Clawson/Lee 1996). An informal division of labour emerged in the Andean region in which Peru and Bolivia provided the raw material which was then processed and exported by Colombian drug cartels. All countries came to be involved in the diverse array of activities that make up the cocaine chain of production, including coca leaf cultivation, coca paste transportation, chemical processing, transshipment, distribution, and money laundering.

This production structure changed dramatically in the 1990's as coca cultivation shifted to Colombia, in large measure due to successful eradication campaigns and aerial interdiction operations in Peru and Bolivia. Developments in Colombia also played a role in the regional reshuffling of the drug business. The demise of the Cali and Medellín cartels in the middle of the decade opened up a power vacuum which was rapidly filled not only by micro cartels, but more relevant for our discussion, by Colombian armed actors. The fragmentation of centralized management had regional implications as well, as different criminal actors throughout the Andes and the rest of the hemisphere assumed control over key aspects of the trade (Lee 2004). With Colombia producing over 80 per cent of the cocaine sold on the global market, and Brazil, Ecuador, Panama, Peru, and Venezuela operating as transit routes for the illegal passage of chemical precursors, cocaine and heroin, and currency, the entire region has emerged as a key site of this transnational network.

Parallel to drug trafficking, the illegal arms trade constitutes another dimension of transregional illicit flows in the Andes. Although it has been fuelled primarily by insurgent-related activities in Colombia, it also furnishes weapons to common criminal organizations throughout the region, creating complex associations that incorporate a wide variety of agents in highly interdependent, multi-dimensional relations. The principal transit routes for arms entering the region are Central America, particularly Panama, Venezuela, Ecuador, Brazil, and Suriname (Cragin/Hoffman 2003). Many of these weapons, stockpiles from the Cold War, originate in Central America, the ex-Soviet republics, and Eastern Europe. Commercial arms

from the United States and Europe also end up on the black market and are channelled into the region. The arms trafficked throughout the Andes include pistols, semi-automatic weapons, sub-machine guns, assault rifles, rockets, mortars, grenades, and ground-to-air missiles.³

The arms trade is highly articulated with drug trafficking. In large measure, this is due to the fact that both arms and drug dealers make use of the same transit routes (Cragin/ Hoffman 2003). Increasingly, however, these commodities also form part of an integrated black market, as criminal groups traffic in both arms and drugs. The enmeshment of drugs and arms networks has been deepened as arms-for-drugs swaps become more commonplace. These complex barter arrangements are made up of countless regional and extra regional participants.

Although Colombia epitomizes this dynamic, Brazil also offers a striking example of how drug and arms flows and networks interact. In addition to being a major cocaine distribution and transshipment area for drugs sent to Europe, the virtual absence of the state in the Amazon has converted this part of Brazil into a haven for criminal activities. The country's role in the drug traffic chain has also allowed for the emergence of drug gangs that control the *favelas* of cities such as Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo (Leeds 1996; Bagley 2003). The transposing of drug- and arms-related transactions has allowed favela-based groups to increase both the scope of their operations and their relative power (Leeds 1996; Martins 2005). In addition to aggravating existing levels of violence in the favelas, drug-related corruption in Brazil has skyrocketed, while parallel power and security patterns have emerged in areas controlled by criminal organizations.

32.5 Non-state Agents of Insecurity in the Andes

Although illicit flows and networks of drugs and arms draw in a wide array of state and non-state actors throughout the Andean region, the Colombian conflict and its participants are the centre of gravity for these dynamics. As the principal actors in Colombia's internal war, the *Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia* (FARC) and *United Self-Defence Forces of Colombia* (AUC) have also emerged as key agents of

transregional insecurity. Proponents of the spill-over thesis rightly stress that illegal armed activities have led to a marked deterioration in public order in border zones with neighbouring countries (Millett 2002). However, it is Colombian armed groups' involvement in illicit transactions and relationships that is the driving force behind the transregional facet of Andean insecurity.

Established in the 1960's as a self-defence organization in response to a period of countrywide violence, the FARC is the most important insurgent movement in Colombia today. Following a strategy of military growth and territorial expansion that began in the 1980's, at present, the group has as many as 18,000 members and operates in 40–60 per cent of Colombian national territory. The growth of private right-wing self-defence groups coincided with the expansion of the drug trade in Colombia during the 1980's. These private armies, originally financed by the Medellín and Cali cartels to defend their landholdings from the guerrillas, evolved into independent organizations with offensive strategies and autonomous political aspirations. In 1997, the AUC was created as an umbrella organization to join disparate paramilitary groups operating throughout Colombia. The group is present in at least 35 per cent of the country and has approximately 13,500 members⁴.

In conjunction with a multiplicity of smaller, independent criminal organizations, both the FARC and the AUC are central actors in the region's drug and arms trade. The AUC's criminal origins are such that they have always been involved in drug-related activities. However, upon stepping into the void left by the dismantling of the Medellín and Cali cartels, paramilitaries won control over trafficking operations that offered a crucial source of income for their rapidly expanding movement (Romero 2004). In 1982, the FARC leadership's approval of illegal taxation of the cocaine industry as a legitimate means of financing its revolutionary agenda also contributed to the transformation of the political economy of the Colombian conflict (Richani 2002). During the 1990's, the country experienced an explosion in domestic coca production. Between the mid-1980's and the early 2000's, coca cultivation mushroomed nearly tenfold, and drug-related activities became a key source of income

3 Confidential authors' interview for Andean transregional security project, Bogotá, August 2005.

4 In July 2003, the government and the paramilitaries signed a settlement whereby the AUC agreed to demobilize its forces gradually and lay down its weapons by the end of 2005. As of December of that year, over 20 AUC groups had demobilized.

for both the AUC and the FARC. Initially involved in production, processing, transportation, and taxation, the FARC had diversified into trafficking by the early 2000's. The AUC, for its part, is estimated to directly manage 40 per cent of the trafficking business (Romero 2004). Territorial wars between the AUC and the FARC to control regions dominated by coca cultivation and transit routes are a key feature of the Colombian conflict, although there are increasing incidents of pragmatic, strategic cooperation between them in narcotics operations.⁵

Dependence upon the drug business as a source of income for financing their operations and arms acquisitions has inserted both the AUC and the FARC into a web of criminal networks throughout the Andes and beyond. Although most of the cocaine consumed in the United States and Europe originates in Colombia, it is nearly always channelled through multiple nodes located within the network. Latin American organizations that traffic in drugs and/or arms are located in Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador, Brazil, Venezuela, Chile, and Mexico.

Brazilian drug lord Luiz Fernando Da Costa (alias Fernandinho) ran a vast crime ring that engaged in systematic cocaine-arms transactions with the 16th Front of the FARC in southern Colombia. Following Fernandinho's 2001 capture, new criminal elements replaced him. Since the late 1980's, Mexican drug cartels have maintained alliances with different Colombian actors in order to channel drugs into the United States. In addition to this intermediary role, increasingly drug traffickers from Mexico operate in Peruvian territory and control the Pacific Ocean transit routes (Soberón 2005: 236–237). In Central America, another key transshipment point for drugs leaving the Andean region, drug trafficking organizations that operate in Guatemala and the Mara Salvatrucha gang, based mainly in El Salvador, also maintain direct relations with Colombian actors.

Guerrilla and paramilitary operations in un-governed frontier regions and their unhampered movement across all of Colombia's international borders facilitate such interactions (International Crisis Group 2003a). In the Venezuelan and Ecuadorian border zones, for example, Colombian armed actors maintain routine relationships with local criminal organizations. Likewise, Colombian insurgents move freely in the Darien region of Panama. This situation provides a permissive environment for illegal drugs

and arms transactions as well as a variety of other criminal activities, including kidnapping, extortion, and smuggling.

Corrupt government officials also commonly permit and/or participate in these illegal transactions. Although official figures are not available, arms, munitions, and explosives belonging to the armed forces of Ecuador and Venezuela have been confiscated periodically from illegal Colombian armed actors. In mid-2002, it was also revealed that a year earlier the AUC had received a shipment of 3,000 AK-47 rifles and 2.5 million rounds of ammunition left over from Nicaraguan government stocks. With the assistance of a private Guatemalan arms dealer, the Nicaraguan National Police sold the rifles to an Israeli arms dealer who purportedly represented the Panamanian National Police. Once the arms ended up in the hands of the AUC, it was determined that the Nicaraguan Police had been suspiciously lax in complying with established international norms regulating arms transactions (Schroeder 2004).

Criminal organizations that operate on all five continents are also directly or indirectly involved in illegal trafficking networks based out of the Andes. The mafias in Russia and the former Soviet Republics, Eastern Europe, China, Korea, Japan, Israel, Nigeria, and Italy, among others, are known to maintain a presence in the region, and have direct and indirect relationships with Andean illegal groups.⁶ Arms left over from the Cold War era are routinely trafficked on world markets, with the ex-Soviet Republics being one of the primary sources of illegal arms that end up in the hands of Colombian non-state actors. Likewise, many of these same criminal organizations trade in cocaine that originates in Colombia and is trafficked by regional criminal gangs out of the region.

The now infamous Peruvian-Jordanian arms scandal of 2000 vividly illustrates both the global scope of these networks, as well as the linkages that illicit flows build between distinct legal and illegal actors (Schroeder 2004; Bagley 2004). This case involved corrupt officials from the Jordanian government, European arms traffickers, the Russian mafia and corrupt military officials, the FARC, Brazilian drug lord Luiz Fernando Da Costa (alias Fernandinho), and Peru's National Intelligence Director Vladimiro Montesinos. In mid-2000 it was discovered that since 1999 approximately 10,000 AK-47 rifles had been delivered to the FARC in Colombia in four separate shipments.

5 Confidential authors' interview for Andean transregional security project, Bogotá, December 2005.

6 Confidential authors' interview for Andean transregional security project, Bogotá, in October 2005.

These weapons were collected in Russia and the Ukraine and shipped by air from several geographic sites. In Jordan, utilized for refuelling on both routes, corrupt governmental officials were bribed with cocaine. The weapons entered the Western Hemisphere via Trinidad and Tobago and Suriname, and were thrown by air into southern Colombian territory. Following the delivery of the weapons, the planes landed in the vicinity of Iquitos, Peru, to refuel and load up with cocaine provided by the FARC in exchange for the arms (Cragin/Hoffman 2003; Bagley 2003; Schroeder 2004). While Fernandinho played a key role as intermediary in these transactions (Bagley 2003: 124-126), Montesinos provided legal cover by purchasing the arms in the name of the Peruvian military, and then permitting them to be rerouted to the FARC.

Instrumental criminal relations are perhaps the most obvious type of association maintained among the Andean region's illicit non-state actors that bypass state controls and generate insecurity. However, the agenda of the FARC in particular is such that this group also cultivates relationships with regional and global counterparts that are more political than criminal in nature. Such efforts have been geared towards gaining international recognition as well as assuring logistical support.

The FARC has also sought to acquire and disseminate technical expertise and know-how through these ties. For example, Vietnamese military experts and ex-FMLN guerrillas have provided training in Colombia in Special Forces techniques as recently as the late 1990's. The arrest of three representatives of the IRA in Colombia in August 2001, two of them experts in urban warfare training and explosives, revealed that between 1998 and that year this group too had trained FARC members. Subsequent military actions made explicit use of this newly gained knowledge. Palestinians have also visited FARC bases for the purpose of providing technical expertise in bomb design. To a lesser extent, the FARC are also believed to engage in knowledge-sharing with other likeminded organizations in the region. The Colombian guerrilla movement is reported to provide tactical assistance to the Peruvian Sendero Luminoso organization.⁷ The high-profile 2004 kidnapping of the daughter of ex-Paraguayan president Raúl Cubas was also widely believed to have been carried out with FARC training.

In addition to links with non-state agents, the FARC maintains informal relationships with regional state actors, particularly in Venezuela and Ecuador. Although neither government provides direct material support, members of the military forces and government officials in each have extra-officially provided sanctuary and freedom of movement within these countries (International Crisis Group 2003). In what turned into a bilateral diplomatic row, in early 2005 a high-level FARC leader was discovered to have been living openly in Venezuela with governmental complacency in spite of an international arrest warrant. The Ecuadorian government, for its part, maintains an unofficial *laissez-faire* policy toward the FARC and its longstanding presence in Ecuadorian national territory.

32.6 Conclusions

In the Andes, the existence of transregional processes linking up distinct actors, problems, and spaces in relational and interdependent ways suggests to us the possibility of a new security cartography. Not only is the Andean security problematic far more than the sum of five domestic situations, but it is also a highly fluid and changing scenario that is not synchronized with a static, territorial map of the region.

The principal transregional security dynamics in the Andes contradict a standard geographical representation in two aspects. First, the primary risks posed to regional security transcend national spaces. As discussed previously, while all the countries share a series of domestic problems, the primordial motor of Andean security is processes that cannot be reduced to the state level. Arms and drug trafficking, by their very nature, are transnational in scope. Although illicit flows may not adhere to the entire region uniformly, the ways in which they traverse and transcend national territories underscore the extent to which alternative security sites have replaced the traditional state paradigm.

Second, these dynamics involve a diverse array of sub-state, transnational, and global actors. While the FARC, the AUC, and other criminal organizations in the region are the principal agents of insecurity in the Andes, extra regional non-state actors are also increasingly a part of the Andean security matrix. Brazilian drug lords and the Russian mafia, for example, can be considered important players in the Andean security game in that their activities link up with regional processes and actors. Indeed, illicit drug and

⁷ Confidential authors' interview for Andean transregional security project, Bogotá, December 2005.

arms flows not only involve non-Andean actors, but also spill out of the region altogether, highlighting the disconnect between the Andean region in its conventional usage and our call for a transregional approach to the area's security problems.

Both features of our transregional security framework – non-state actors and transnational processes – not only establish new parameters for thinking about security in this specific region, but may also provide insights into the use of alternative security cartographies. Remapping geographic spaces according to specific security interactions, threats, and processes is an interesting heuristic device for theorists and policy-makers alike. Such exercises would provide important empirical foundations for illustrating contemporary conceptualizations of global security.

Perhaps more importantly, the policy implications of transregional thinking are potentially significant. Visual imaging of transnational security processes should impress upon policy-makers the importance of multilateral solutions to problems that necessarily extend beyond the state. Notwithstanding the abundance of evidence that the most critical security problems in the Andes are region-wide, regional security cooperation has been in short supply. To date, the region's nations have adhered to a narrow, uncoordinated public policy agenda in their efforts to combat drug and arms trafficking, and transnational crime. Not surprisingly, these strategies have been less than successful in making headway against such problems. This disjuncture reflects the contradiction between a global political order based upon the territorial state and security dynamics that are largely deterritorialized in nature. While certain world regions have evolved toward a more multilateral scheme in which global governance mechanisms are prevalent, the Andean region continues to adhere to a traditional state-based structure which is particularly ill-suited to address the transnational security threats that pose the greatest risks to regional stability.

33 Re-conceptualizing Security Research with Individual Level Data

Jacek Kugler

33.1 Introduction

A half-century ago Kenneth Organski proposed that in the hierarchy of nations, a balance of power among dissatisfied challengers is the precondition for global war (Organski 1958). To support this 'Power Transition' proposal he used a *single* point of evidence: the relative gross output of Prussia and France prior to the 1870 conflict. The discovery that a balance in overall capabilities led to war was path breaking and challenged the prevailing theory that a balance among major contenders leads to peace. What made Organski's claim unusual is that, instead of asserting this relation and relying on previous authority for support, he provided evidence to sustain his contention that nations wage serious war when there is a power transition.

Organski's insight is remembered today because the propositions advanced have since been empirically supported, expanded, and generalized (Organski/Kugler 1980; Kugler/Lemke 1996; Tammen/Kugler/Lemke/Stam III/Abdollahian/Alsharabati/Efird/Organski 2000; Lemke 2002). Numerous replications and extensions now show that major powers wage severe war when their capabilities are at parity, their preferences diverge, and alliance commitments are weak. The policy implications of these arguments have been explored for the coming transition by Asian nations led by China and India (Tammen/Kugler/Lemke/Stam III/Abdollahian/Alsharabati/Efird/Organski 2000; Kim 2002). These arguments have been formalized and extended to conflicts among minor nations (Lemke 2002; Efird/Kugler/Genna 2003). We now know that Organski overreached when he implied that serious war is *always* waged even when the rare power parity conditions are present, but we also now know that when a balance of power is reached serious war is likely. Major wars are waged only when contending parties fundamentally disagree about the rules that ensure a *status quo* in world politics but do not when

they agree on fundamental principles (Werner/Kugler 1996).

Consider recent evidence. Britain was overtaken by the United States in the later part of the 19th century and, despite past conflicts, accepted and supported the transfer of leadership to the United States. British policy created the 'special relationship' that still binds these two powers. At the same time, however, Britain failed to find an accommodation with the rising German state after the 1870 unification. When these nations reached power parity they waged two devastating World Wars to determine who would dominate world politics. In the end both failed. The United States and the USSR emerged as the dominant powers following World War II. This case is excellent because it is now clear that the mere overtaking of Britain by Germany did not cause the two World Wars. Following World War II the recovery and unification of Germany led to the cooperation between Germany, France, Italy, and England. The European Union is peaceful because member nations agree on the status quo and support it.

The concern with power transitions did not stop with the settlement of disputes within Europe. Today the rise of China and India forecasts the possibility of a confrontation with the United States and the Western World. Mearsheimer (2001) for example, disregarding the more current empirical literature on power transition adopting the early parity argument made by Organski (1958), forecasts an inevitable confrontation between the United States and China as the latter overtakes the United States and achieves dominance during this century. The "tragedy of the great powers" presumably leads anarchical nations to seek preponderance, and immolate each other in the process.

The empirical studies of power transition supported by evidence differ from this apocalyptic prediction (Kugler/Tammen 2004). Power overtakings are as dangerous as they are inevitable. These rare conditions set the necessary but not sufficient condi-

tions for major wars to erupt among contending powers. However, and this is a big however, in order to generate a major conflict nations must be dissatisfied with the rules and norms that regulate world politics.

A conflict between China or India and the United States as the Asian giants emerge from the shadows of underdevelopment is far from inevitable. Rather, it is the behaviour of national decision makers in each of the contender nations that will determine if they are satisfied or dissatisfied with the rules and norms governing world politics. If during the overtaking period a pair of these nations sees each other as devastating competitors whose presence impedes their progress - major war - that today includes nuclear exchanges - cannot be excluded. If on the other hand these nations join - as did Europe in the EU - in stable arrangements that provide legal means to resolve disputes, the preservation of peace is likely (Tammen/Kugler/Lemke/Stam III/Abdollahian/Alsharabati/Efird/Organski 2000).

Why do I contend that the new transition perspective is superior to the previous well-established principles of a balance of power or more recent plausible arguments about the tragedy of great power? The simple answer is that the empirical record supports the conditional inferences made by power transition. Clearly empirical correlations do not imply causation. Relying on flimsy ground may be dangerous as the consequences of another World War could be devastating for humanity.

Reason for optimism rises because the transition patterns proposed by Organski that relate power parity and dissatisfaction to severe conflict have been formally deduced from a number of perspectives. Using game theory, expected utility, and most recently structural equations and dynamic stakeholder models, the conditions for conflict and cooperation have been identified and found consistent with the original transition logic at the conventional and nuclear level. Similar patterns have emerged at the conventional and the nuclear levels (Kugler/Zagare 1987; Bueno de Mesquita/Lalman 1992; Zagare/Kilgour 2001; Abdollahian 1996; Alsharabati 1997). Our state of research is not such as to declare power transition as the theory of major war, but it is now a major contender because of the multiple support from inductive persuasiveness, deductive consistency, and empirical support.

The point I wish to make is that powerful insight based on strong logic can - even with a single point - produce theoretical insights that when tested exten-

sively can challenge and overtake previous entrenched paradigmatic propositions. The insights gained from single case studies or a few observations are, of course, simply preconditions to knowledge. Only after the patterns are formalized and corroborated by empirical replications can we argue that, given our knowledge at a point in time, the underlying propositions are robust and their results may be used to generalize and explain the underlying phenomenon. Falsification always looms large, but policy recommendations based on theoretically and empirically grounded propositions may then be useful additions to the decision maker's common-sense analysis.

To achieve these goals we must have effective models for the phenomena under considerations, agree on testing and data collections procedures, and provide clear guidelines for future replication and validation of results. I start with data collection because a frequently undervalued effort is the key to growth as a discipline.

33.2 Data Construction

Attaining useful theoretical propositions, therefore, requires replication - and replication requires effective data collection. This is no easy task. In academia, intellectual rewards are still much higher for theoretical innovation than replication, or empirical testing and certainly data collection. Thus, much effort is devoted to formulating alternate theoretical perspectives, paradigms, or programmes that may be used to explain a given phenomenon. Proportionally much less time and effort is devoted to construct reliable and valid indicators that can substantiate or reject these theoretical formulations. In my view this equation should be rectified, for discovery is the sum of both.

Einstein was a superb theorist who in a brilliant few years restated the rules governing our physical environment in relative terms. His ideas are now well known, if not yet fully understood.¹ Empirical support for his main theoretical propositions came only grudgingly. It took decades before predictions about time and space distortions were confirmed by observing minute disparities in the position of a star during a solar eclipse. Few outside of the close net community of physicists know the names of the observers

1 For extensive commentary on Einstein's work and access to archived materials, see the online official archive available from <<http://www.albert-einstein.org>>.

whose critical experiments address Einstein's theory. Even fewer know the identity of the designers of instruments that generated these observations. We all know however that the results supported Einstein's theoretical predictions. Yet, without that evidence Einstein's insights would be relegated to plausible science fiction - and would still be passionately debated only among physicists.

My point is that without external empirical verification, even superb insights are mere precursors to knowledge. As a field matures many intelligent alternatives emerge to account for the same phenomenon, and most are plausible but simply wrong. In physics, string theory, for example, is theoretically persuasive but empirically untested. Schwarz and Green calculations show that a single equation could explain all the forces of nature and connect all the laws of physics - the proverbial 'theory of everything' (Green/Schwarz/Witten 1987). After 20 years of formal development, few physicists question the theoretical elegance of string theory. Yet, the acceptance of string logic is delayed because plausible experiments based on observable variations have not been devised. The insights advanced cannot be supported or rejected. Meanwhile, theorists have produced over twenty internally consistent formal variants that await empirical tests that could corroborate the insights of any given version of string theory. Given this empirical deficiency string theory must, for the time being, adjust to the status of science fiction. In our field the development of formal models of deterrence have similar limitations since the anticipated event has only, mercifully, occurred once when the nuclear warheads deployed were far different and far fewer than those held in current arsenals of the nuclear nations (Tammen/Kugler/Lemke/StamII/Abdollahian/Alsharabati/Efird/Organski 2000).

World politics, unlike physics, has suffered because of the failure to demand critical tests to support or reject alternate propositions. For that reason - among others - a vast number of theoretical perspectives still compete to account for similar phenomena. Very seldom are empirics used to distinguish between proposed alternate propositions - and when this is done the 'rejected' proposition challenges the measures or even dismisses the notion of falsification outright. It is not difficult to demonstrate, as Waltz argued to create the basis for balance of power theory, for example, that under anarchy where the difference between war and peace is measured in costs, a pair of nations preserves peace when a balance of power is achieved because costs are

high. This fundamental deduction is far more explicitly at the heart of classical nuclear deterrence. Consider: This simple argument is at the core of deterrence and Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD) that assures devastating retaliation against a nuclear attack. As the costs of war increase, the likelihood of war decreases. Since nuclear weapons are devastating, as more are deployed the costs of war also increases. Thus, the deployment and proliferation of nuclear weapons reduces the likelihood of war (Waltz 1981; Intriligator/Brito 1981; Bueno de Mesquita/Riker 1982).

There is ample evidence that this attractive deduction is inconsistent with empirical reality. All devastating wars of long duration that resulted in immense casualties occurred under power parity. Indeed, the most serious wars in the 20th century, World War I, World War II, and the Iraq-Iran war were all waged when the contenders approached parity - the very condition that the balance of power was most stable and with the advent of nuclear weapons under MAD it is theoretically the ultra-stable condition. Even in anarchy, neither side can afford to initiate an attack in the face of an overwhelming second strike.

Leaders of all nuclear nations seem to agree that deterrence is stable under MAD, but concurrently and inconsistently the same leaders argue that nuclear proliferation must be prevented to preserve peace. Consider the current debate in the Middle East. Preventing proliferation of nuclear weapons to Iran is a major goal shared by Europe and the United States. Yet, it eliminates the possibility of nuclear parity between Iran and Israel, reduces the possibility that MAD can be achieved in that region, and potentially increasing the likelihood of war.

Theory and policy are at odds. The lack of empirical support for the deductions that a balance of power leads to peace is insufficient to dislodge the established proposition from its central hold over the theory of world politics. The logical deduction that MAD leads to peace does not affect demands for nuclear non-proliferation. Indeed, in world politics well-established perspectives seem immune to change and unaffected by logical inconsistencies or empirical flaws. By itself, empirical or logical challenges to existing well-established deductions are insufficient, one must have alternate explanations that account for reality more accurately - as does Power Transition that views MAD as unstable and challenges the virtues of proliferation (Zagare/Kilgour 2001). To provide means of altering the theoretical structure, an agreement on the rules for falsification would improve the

importance and utilization of data resources in the study of world politics.

33.2.1 Empirical Promise

Recall that Organski in the mid 1950's had to rely on a single data point to suggest support for his proposition about the relation between parity and war. This paucity of data has been remedied as data at the national level have proliferated. Richardson (1960a) and Sorokin (1937), Maddison (1995), and Bairoch (1993) are among those giants who pioneered the construction of long-term estimates of economic performance of societies, the level of conflict, and the size and composition of its labour force. Russett (1964), who made a major breakthrough with his early compilation in the *Handbook of Political and Social Indicators*, originally expanded the data collection to a large number of socio-economic indicators. Banks (1993) has continued this tradition. The Freedom House (2000) and Marshall/Jagers (2001) in the Polity project provide measures of democracy along a number of indicators that reflect the structure of societies (Munck/ Verkuilen 2002; Sarkees 2000; Woldendorp/Keman/Budge 1998). Following Richardson (1960a) and Sorokin (1937) the innovative and persistent work by Singer and Small (1963) and Singer (1979) and now with Diehl (1990) on the Correlates of War Project (COW) provides ever-expanding global information for the study of war (Sarkees 2000). The collection and selection of data expanded, ranging from the classical antiquity to the global assessments initiated by Modelski/Thompson (1989) and now Thompson's (1988) regarding global cycles. Furthermore, in recent decades' estimates by the IMF, World Bank, UN, EU and a number of specialized groups like SIPRI now provide very broad coverage across demographic, social, economic, and military indicators. Increasingly these supra-governmental organizations are devoting resources to the collection of information about the political system.

Before we bask in the easy glory of data collection let us consider the difficulty of constructing an appropriate indicator for a well-established concept. The evolution of indicators of power illustrates these difficulties. Most analysts may agree that power is the ability of actor *i* to sway actor *j* to change his/her behaviour. The means to achieve *i*'s ends may range from force to persuasion. Signalling to elicit the change can be explicit or implicit. Actor *i* may be powerful, but unwilling to exercise his/her capability to influence *j*. Conversely, actor *i* may be powerless

but highly motivated and vocal in his/her demands on *j*. Perceptions, risk propensity, trust, importance, and expectation of alliances are all elements that need to be accounted for before one can understand whether actor *i* has the ability to sway actor *j* to change his/her behaviour.

In the early stages of measuring power Raymond Aron (1966) suggested over 30 elements - most very difficult to measure - to approximate the concept of power. One way of dealing with such complexity is to limiting the scope of what is included in power. Following that insight, Knorr (1970) argued that potential and passive power could be distinguished using the level of military mobilization. His active power measure was useful in anticipating success in an ongoing conflict, but failed to anticipate the outcome of wars before they were waged. Singer and Small (1963) realizing that Knorr's conception of power was too simple reverted to the more complex arguments proposed by Aron, but concentrated on elements that could be measured. They chose three components - industrial, demographic, and military - to describe the base components of power. Each component in turn was approximated by two indexes. The National capabilities estimator, the percentages each nation held of the total across nations assuming all indexes were equal. Despite its limitations the COW measure is now a standard estimate of capabilities used in empirical analysis of conflict and cooperation. Of course there are critics. Stall and Ward (1989) explore what the effects are of weighting each index differently and considering alternate operational constructs. Boulding (1962) and Bueno de Mesquita (1981) suggest that controls for distance should be imposed to account for the decline in capabilities across space and time. Lemke (2002) proposed adjustments that include the differential ability of military forces to transverse space across time. Kadera/Sorotkin (2001) argue that a geometric mean is a more effective form to aggregate power. Many of these points are well taken. Clearly the speed that today's airplanes can deliver deadly forces, or missiles can deliver their conventional or nuclear cargos with precision to distant targets, is a fraction of what could be attained in the past. Note that this debate is over capabilities, no longer over power. Fuchs (1965) contends that energy consumption is a far more effective and unobtrusive measure of capabilities. Organski (1958) argues that to capture capabilities one does not need a combination of factors, but the overall product of a society that interactively reflects the size and productivity of populations. This insight was imple-

mented twenty years later and evolved substantially with the development of a measure of relative political capacity that weighted the degree of governmental effectiveness given basic resources and proved to be an effective predictor of war outcomes and economic implementation (Organski/Kugler 1980; Arbetman/Kugler 1997). There is no lack of measures of capabilities. Yet, there is no theoretical consensus that capabilities are captured by the indicators proposed, or that these measures indeed capture the more complex concept of power accurately. Yet the large majority of research on war now uses one of these indicators, and forecasts based on them are increasingly accurate. We should not dismiss the difficulties but improve on existing notions to advance the field.

With the advent of the Internet, the number of specialized collections at the national level has exploded. Searching the web allows increased access to information collected by dedicated researchers following well-defined assessments across the international academic community. Organski would be pleased and overwhelmed by the abundance of data now available to test his propositions. Macro analysis is clearly enhanced by such advances.

Prospects for progress at the micro level are equally bright. Much of the systematic theoretical development in the last few decades has been made at the individual level, but data to support this work has been lacking. Whether the propositions are inductive – as in many electoral theories – or deductive as in actor-based models; the key unit of analysis in the most robust theoretical structures is the individual.

In the electoral field, survey data provides individual level information from which statistical inferences about individual voting preferences can be made. As techniques of analysis have improved the many early inferences have been challenged (as is the case with socialization arguments) and replaced by more formal deductive arguments.

Early inroads were made by survey analysis whose goal was to understand and predict electoral behaviour (Campbell /Converse/Miller/Stokes 1960; Verba/Nie 1987). The measure of their possibly unintended success is that no political leader would be caught today during an electoral campaign without the aid of surveys of attitudes that indicate voter preferences. Candidates pursue such information to determine if positions they selected are compatible with the goal of maximizing voter acquisition. Reliance on survey information has gone far beyond elections. Surveys are now used to market all kind of merchandise, antici-

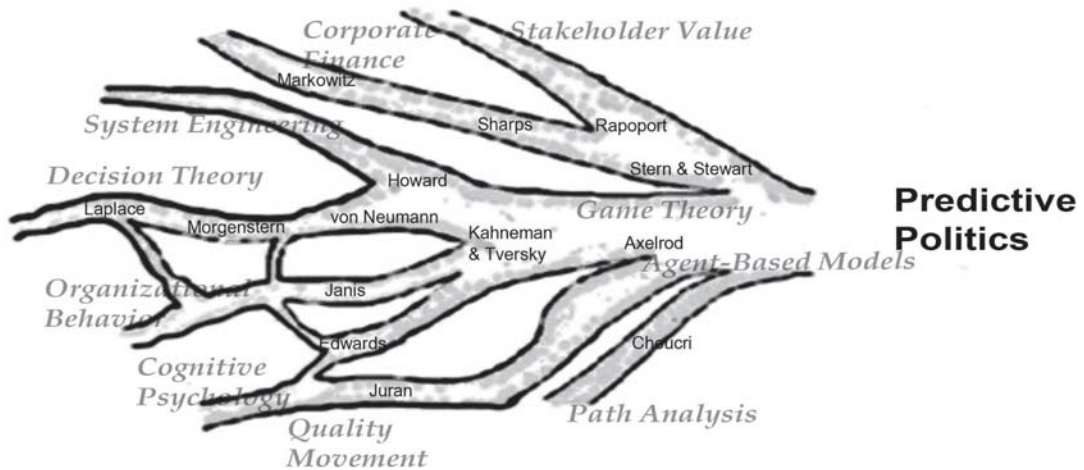
pate reactions to new products, assess the population's attitudes towards the economy or forecast consumer spending to anticipate monetary adjustments. Random samples of whole and sub populations allow investigations to explore any topic that can be conceptualized.

There are limits. True random samples are difficult to design for specific environments. Distrust between the subject and the interviewer can lead to serious respondent distortion. The respondent unwillingness to contribute a response or avoidance of key questions can affect inferences. Again, a large literature has been developed to overcome such limitations with some success. Moreover, major archives including the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research, and its European counterpart in Cologne, and the private holdings by Gallop or Jankovitz, provide vast access to raw survey data. At the same time commercial surveys are increasingly restricted by those who collected the information in the first place, with respondents becoming increasingly reluctant to answer questions about their behaviour without compensation. These limitations do not negate the fact that data at the individual level has been compiled over the last half century providing a major boost to our understanding of domestic political behaviour and consumer preferences.

Individual data in world politics lags behind. Many scholars have used productive shortcuts. Bueno de Mesquita (1981), for example, provided a pioneering assessment of how wars are waged. Many extended applications of rational choice logic based on individual maximization use national and stakeholder data to accurately anticipate when international crises diffuse or escalate into outright war (Bueno de Mesquita/Lalman 1992). Game theoretical approaches pioneered by Brams (1976) and Zagare and Kilgour (2001) established the contours of deterrence by assuming choices that will be made by decision-makers, but again apply their insights to national decisions. Even data collections provide increasingly voluminous material on events that are sometimes linked to individuals. The promise of future enhancements is very encouraging.

As the use of individual data expands, we may be at the verge of predictive politics. Politics initiatives originate in diverse, multi-disciplinary domains. Predictive politics is the systematic analysis of events that anticipates outcomes affected by policy. This emerging field owes much to Edward O. Wilson's (1998a) notion of *Consilience* – a common groundwork of

Figure 33.1: Predictive Politics. **Source:** Adapted from Strategic Decisions Group (2002)



explanation that crosses all great branches of learning.

The argument is that explanation and prediction need be accurate, timely, specific, non obvious, and applicable. Conceptual means to achieve this objective have varied and are rapidly expanding. Below is a sketchy summary of developments in the last half-century.

The decision theory that has dominated world politics in recent years is but one of the many potential strands that can be used to analyse actor based models. Political science faces the same dilemma that confronts string or deterrence theorists. Actor-based theories require data at the individual level, but frequently available information has been restricted to the national or even at the global level. Comprehensive information about preferences of groups within a nation, or key political stakeholders is rarely available and seldom collected. More importantly, such information is transitory as stakeholders change jobs and policy positions affecting their political influence. This incompatibility between the theoretical demands of actor-based models and the empirical reality that they purport to anticipate hampers progress. Not unlike string or deterrence theorists whose empirical requirements have not been captured by experimental physicists or empirical tests, the data requirements and thus the theoretical promise of actor-based models have not yet been fulfilled.

Advances in technology have improved the ability to collect and compile data compatible with theoretical requirements. As we approach individual responses category, game theoretical, decision theory, and a multitude of new actor-based solutions that

compete for the claim to anticipate individual behaviour can be compared and tested. There are still severe limitations. Many of these limitations can be overcome when the instrument used to obtain individual level data is non-obtrusive. Tracing consumer patterns can be far more effectively achieved by information obtained from credit cards than by information gained by survey interviews. Indeed, electronic tracing of purchasing patterns allows large retail stores, like Wal-Mart, to monitor the price of thousands of commodities and relate minute changes to movement of merchandise. Merchandise price, production, and distribution are now driven to a large degree by purchase counts, not merchandising insight.

In a very different arena battlefield information has been altered by the ability to identify individual soldiers, their location, and activity. In the Iraq or Afghanistan conflict communication is almost instantaneous among units allowing centralized reassignment of support even at the patrol level. Major data collection enterprises like ChoicePoint or Lexis/Nexis obtain individual data across a very large number of indicators political and economic from a variety of sources and compile not only academic but individual level information for analytical use. These data compilers are but the top of a large data iceberg of the future.

It is now possible for the more prosperous nations to acquire information on individual behaviour including political preferences, areas of financial support, expenditure patterns, and individual movement. Satellite data gathering is now providing information of phone communication, financial transfers, disaster

details, troop movements, and trade statistics almost instantaneously. If we put aside for now the very serious concerns with privacy – and they should not be discounted – the availability of such data can potentially open new research horizons far brighter than those open to past generations.

Consider the potential of tools like content analysis that provide means to summarize large amounts of written material. McClelland (1968) and Azar (1970) pioneered the technique to extract systematic information from written material. In its early version this process relied on coders that read selected information and consolidated the material following pre-set rules. The process was laborious. Schrodtt (2000) developed the Kansas Event Data System (KEDS) at the University of Kansas that moved human to machine reading of information. This process aided by scanning technology allowed for far more rapid scrutiny of material. Recent innovations expand machine-reading capabilities exponentially. By connecting each word with a number computers can ‘read’ material in different languages at astonishing speed. Of course major obstacles must still be overcome. The most obvious is that grammar differs across languages, and multiple meanings of similar words can only be extracted from their context. However, we are now capable of analysing individual written communication and of course with the use of satellites, phone, and web electronic transmissions. Thus far what prevented us from analysing these sources was the scope of the inquiry. The massive data already collected still lacks effective tools to summarize and order the information. Even though date extraction is in its infancy, future promise is bright. The communication revolution is in many ways the same as genetic sequencing – once you understood how the sequence could be read, massive unexpected discovery is next.

33.3 Conclusions

What does the future hold? The horizon for a revolutionary expansion of social research is bright. Individual level information is now being acquired. The promise is vast because the most powerful theoretical structures have been developed to account for the behaviour of individuals – but data at that level was always lacking. Despite the promise there are limits to the rewards and major obstacles. First the limited rewards. It is difficult to develop a comprehensive collection and classification of information without well-established theory that drive the inquiry. We are

deficient in theory and this deficiency hampers the specification of concepts. Even after the desired information is identified and gathered, the measures must have a direct link to the concept under scrutiny. This is no minor task.

We have yet to overcome the challenges of data collection at the national level, and as we move to the individual level it will be increasingly difficult to capture impartially human preference. The challenge is to capture real positions, real influence, real trust, real risk and so on, and not the perception of positions attributed to an actor or their assumed influence. I am convinced that the individual’s perception of reality affects their behaviour. Thus, like at the aggregate level when nations are seen as weak – as was the case of North Vietnam at the onset of the war with the United States – actions will be taken because perceptions are distorted. Despite such limitations, much progress has been achieved with less than robust measures. As reliability increases with improved data and the acquisition of aggregate and individual level components expands, I believe our discipline will make a major breakthrough.

Individuals are in the end responsible for the behaviour we attempt to understand in world politics. Yet, only sketchy data about individual preferences, individual interactions are available – and frequently such data is provided after the event has taken place. Aggregate analysis would not have been very helpful in understanding the dynamics of the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962. Allison (1971) shows that only after the crisis was over the world found out that President Kennedy had two letters, that he decided to overlook the second one, drawing back the blockade to allow ships that may have carried nuclear devices to turn around. President Kennedy took serious risks. A limited blockade could produce serious naval losses but, to achieve his goal of extracting nuclear weapons from Cuba, President Kennedy had to alter existing standard operating procedures on the fly. He succeeded because he was both willing and able to alter precedents to maximize his goals. His actions succeeded. What if they had failed?

His final option was an outright invasion of Cuba. President Kennedy was working under the presupposition that no nuclear devices were already deployed and ready. That presumption was false. Recent disclosures show that that functioning nuclear weapons were deployed in Cuba, that the Russian general in charge had the authority to use them in case of a US invasion, and declared that Mr. Castro supported fully his decision to use them in case of an invasion.

What we do not know is the final choice had the blockade been challenged. Would the US have invaded? Would the Russian general have used nuclear warheads in Cuba? Would the US have retaliated on the USSR? Would the outcome have been different if another President had been in power? Answers to such questions are now mere speculation, but individual level analysis now provides the means to reliably anticipate outcomes.

The promise of individual level analysis is enormous and should change the study of world politics and social science profoundly. The most serious drawback is reliable data on individual preferences, capabilities, and commitment. Satellite feeds could provide detailed information of the movement of commodities, troops, and activities in installations that analysts may wish to explore. Financial transactions could be traced electronically across societies identifying the flow of money that frequently follows resources from legal transactions in the sale of merchandise to illegal transactions of drugs or diamonds. Phone communications could provide mountains of information from business to government to military transactions. Automatic translations combined with content analysis promise to provide summaries of massive information that could be utilized in individual level analysis. For the first time in our history it is possible to conceive of analysis based on the changes in individual preferences rather than aggregate assessments based on national level information that disregard domestic politics and its implications on world politics. With the new tools we hope to anticipate the actions of opponents before they actually take place and forecast actions that may forestall undesirable outcomes and enhance desirable ones.

A major concern is that the new technologies require individual data which are increasingly in the hands of governments or business. In many instances those who collect such information see no advantage in sharing this resource for analytical purposes. Major collections from satellites and communication transfers are classified. Fiscal transactions are confidential. Communication transfers are available to web providers but not to scholars. Much of the data produced by content analysis tracing in great detail policy inter-

actions remains confidential. Satellite information ranging from crop performance to ecological damage is restricted. Increasingly, survey information is used for marketing purposes and is restricted. Even surveys of political preferences now used by electoral analysts to advance a candidate's electoral prospects or to decide on policy options frequently remain the property of the collectors. Because of such restrictions, many questions that are not central to the holders of that information will not be asked or published. A change in rules of data acquisition is needed before we can act intellectually to analyse this new bonanza. Political science could establish the equivalent of the 'Human Genome' project - that has controls but access. We must be cautious. Interference with the right of individuals to maintain a sense of dignity and privacy is a requirement of a free society - yet the lack of analysis of important data deprives us of knowledge, and in the longer run ignorance affects us all.

The revolution that followed the acquisition of reliably aggregate information for economics in the 1950's was matched by similar acquisition in the 1960's in world politics. No longer were researchers like Organski relegated to compare individual points to argue their case, nor were the collections of data to be performed by the researcher himself. It is now time to face the challenging prospects of extending our knowledge with individual level information that matches so much better with our theoretical expectations.

I look forward to this new revolution in world politics. Aggregate indicators still determine the timing and potential impact of international interactions, but these analyses tell very little about the policy decisions to escalate or resolve disputes. Individual level analysis promises to provide us with theoretical structures rather than with analytical means to alter policy outcomes. To achieve these goals we need to devote substantial resources to the construction of empirical measures that can test our theoretical propositions. The next generation will undoubtedly do so and produce major breakthroughs, advancing our understanding of the dynamics of world politics.

**Part V Reconceptualization of Security in
Scientific Disciplines since 1990**

**Chapter 34 Quest for International Security: Benefits of Justice
versus the Trappings of Paranoia**
Jean-Marc Coicaud

Chapter 35 Security in International Law Since 1990
Michael Bothe

Chapter 36 Human Security from the Standpoint of an Economist
S. Mansoob Murshed

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34 Quest for International Security: Benefits of Justice *versus* the Trappings of Paranoia

Jean-Marc Coicaud

34.1 Introduction¹

Since 1990 much has happened in international security. Following the collapse of the Soviet Union, the end of the strategic competition between the communist bloc and the West seemed to offer relatively good prospects for international peace. However, as the 1990's went by, expectations of a more gentle time ahead progressively faded away. The multiplication of local conflicts and the millions of civilians killed as a result showed that history was still a 'bloody mess'. During the 2000's, the terrorist attacks and the Bush administration's foreign policy brought back on a grand scale a sense of insecurity.

What do the past fifteen years or so imply for the state of international security, its strengths and weaknesses? How should international security issues be approached in the future? Should the prevailing model be extended, or to be innovative, should a better international security regime be aimed at? These are the questions this chapter examines.

The chapter proceeds in three steps: *first*, it defines security from a generic point of view, as a primary right², and touches upon the difficulties that come with this understanding, especially at the international level. This includes pinpointing the shortcomings of the traditional view and implementation of international security (34.2). *Second*, moving beyond the narrow conception of security, it calls for anchoring international security in the demands of justice³. For such demands, far from being external and marginal to security, are internal and central to it.

While dovetailing the quest for justice and security may seem naïve, at least from a realist perspective, and is certainly a demanding task at the international level, as a whole it helps contain the dangers associated with the loss of legitimacy of the international system and the intertwining of geopolitics and negative passions (34.3). *Third*, the chapter reviews some changes in the attitude of actors as well as in the conception and use of the democratic framework required for tackling the challenge of bridging international justice with security and enhancing the establishment of the international rule of law (34.4).

34.2 Limits of the Prevailing Model of International Security

Security is not simply one of the primary rights. It is the primary right of actors from which all others derive (Rothschild 1995). Short of benefiting from security, actors are impeded in their existence, in their ability to subsist, develop, and flourish. While simplifying the question of security, the primacy of security as a right throws it into a host of difficulties. The problems fall into two main categories: the first category concerns the tension between the 'self' and the 'other', and the question of the beneficiaries of security; the second entails the scope and depth of security requirements. In both categories, order of priority is an issue.

If security is first and foremost about ensuring the ability to sustain oneself, it calls for securing this right in the setting in which one evolves. To be sure, protection from environmental hazards (natural disasters for instance) is becoming increasingly important. But it is

1 This chapter is dedicated to Susie. I thank Jibecke Jönsson and Didier Louvel for their comments.

2 The understanding of security in this chapter departs more from philosophy and political science in general than from the various schools of international relations. For a review of the philosophical roots of the security concept see the chapter by Arends in this volume.

3 Justice is conceived here in connection with recognizing and acting upon the rights with which individuals identify.

still in the social dimension of the actor's existence that achieving security has to be principally pursued. In this regard, the search for security is fundamentally shaped by the 'self' versus 'other' divide, with the other seen as a source of uneasiness, if not a possible threat. The difficulties associated with this divide are threefold. First, where to draw the line between the self and the other, between who is included and who is excluded, and therefore between who is seeking security and who is a (potential or real) source of insecurity? As there is a continuum from the self to the other (it can be argued that, although separate, the self and the other are not only connected but also intertwined), this is not an easy task. Second, how to establish an order of priority among actors whose security is vital and those whose security is not (for example, given the choice to be killed or have my father killed, what choice do I make?), and among actors who are the least threatening and those who are the most? How to best tame the insecurity that may stem from interacting with the other is a third difficulty. From cooperation to conflict there is a whole range of possibilities and combinations.

The other category of problems that springs from the understanding of security as a primary right has to do with security requirements. What is needed to achieve security? Here three issues surface, which engage the very meaning of security. First, is security essentially limited to the protection against physical threats, or does it extend to involve other rights? Is security simply about securing what is required to subsist or does it also include what is needed to live a meaningful (dignity) human existence? And, if this is so, what are these other rights which enter into security? Second, how does one calculate the threshold of scope and depth for security requirement at any given time? Assuming that security calls for a plurality of requirements, a third difficulty is the question of the order of priority among these.

Already extremely complex to address at the local and national level, these challenges take their full impact at the international level. Traditionally, in the international realm the conceptualization and implementation of security has been based on three considerations and the priorities associated with them: the 'we' versus 'them' divide, with priority given to the national community over the international community; the dualism between the state and the individual, with priority given to the former over the latter; and the tendency to dissociate protection against physical threats from 'softer' needs or rights, with priority given to physical protection. This had led the

mainstream understanding of security at the international level to be particularist (or exclusionary), state and defence-driven, with national interest and military concerns at the centre of preoccupations.

Surely, in the aftermath of the Cold War the semi-alternative model of collective security (semi-alternative because it aims to overcome the traditional view of security while resting and building upon it) gained attention. A more human rights-inclined version of security, with the emergence of notions such as human security⁴ and the 'responsibility to protect'⁵, made some headway. Nevertheless, the chronic limitations of the United Nations and of the most progressive aspects of its policies, and the Bush administration's war against terror as a way to address September 11, made things crystal clear. They showed that confrontation and might continue to play a major role in international security.

That such a path achieves security is far from obvious. It is even tempting to think the contrary. It may contain violence for a while, but it does not put an end to it. It invites those actors eager to settle scores to simply be prudent and wait for the right moment to strike. Moreover, since the way "one" approaches the "other" shapes its reaction, a confrontational attitude of "one" is likely to only trigger a similar one in the "other". Interaction is put on a dangerous course where actors rely on arms race and the possibility of pre-emptive attacks for protection. This illustrates perhaps more than anything how security, when narrowly understood, leads to overall insecurity.

This does not mean, however, that we should abandon altogether the traditional conception of international security. Because of the accumulation over time of grievances and tensions among actors, a totally open and defence-free existence would give room for too much vulnerability. A certain level of caution and protection is therefore still a *must* for a sense of security to prevail.

Ultimately we are left with the need to seek a middle ground, keeping the following questions in mind: How to ensure that caution and protection do not end up being captives of paranoia? How to envision

4 See: the special issues of: *Security Dialogue*, 35,3 (September 2004) and, for a comprehensive account of what Human Security entails, see Andrew Mack (2006).

5 The document adopted on 16 September 2005 at the UN World Summit in New York, endorsed the acceptance of collective responsibility to protect civilians against genocide and other crimes against humanity. See the chapter by von Einsiedel, Nitzschke and Chhabra in this volume.

and implement a policy of security that does not undermine itself? The answer lies in grounding the search for security into acknowledging and responding to the demands of justice.

34.3 Justice: Best Guarantee for International Security

What makes acknowledging and responding to the demands of justice so important to the quest for security? It amounts to a simple fact. As Rousseau once said, “(t)he strongest is never strong enough to be always the master, unless he transforms strength into right, and obedience into duty” (Rousseau 1968: 53). For, if an actor feels that the environment in which he/she operates and interacts with others does not reasonably well uphold his/her rights as well as what is right, he/she is likely to feel that he/she does not owe more to other actors, or to the social arrangements and political institutions that preside over their relations, than what prudence commands for his/her own survival. The feeling that hardly anything is owed will deepen if the social and political setting appears to unduly favour others. No “tranquillity of spirit” (Montesquieu 1989: 157), so to speak, can be expected for each and everyone. Not even the powerful are immune from this state of affairs. As power assigns responsibility for the shortcomings (unfairness) of the political and social arrangements, the powerful are prone to be a target of resentment and acts of violence from those who feel cheated by the system. The abusive concentration of power tends to become self-defeating for the power holder(s). Take for example a dictator’s fate: more often than not he ends up being himself the victim of his own rule. As his way of governing encourages people to dispose of him when the possibility arises, he is condemned to be in constant fear for his life. Being on the run in his ‘kingdom’ becomes his reality. In this perspective, it has been said that long before the summer and autumn of 2003, when American troops in their search forced him to go from one hiding place to another, Saddam Hussein, while still the master of Iraq, had made a habit of not sleeping two nights in a row in the same bed.

More specifically, there are four main reasons which suggest that seriously considering the demands of justice strengthens security.

First, as long as their rights are factored in, actors have no vital incentive to not respect the rights of others. The sense of relative contentment that settles in makes it possible for an individual to translate respect

for others’ rights into a duty-bound feeling and, in turn, helps others to feel equally duty-bound towards his or her rights. The mutual dependency associated with the intertwining of rights and duties creates a social dynamics of cooperation, i.e. of cooperative solidarity among actors which is essential to the structure and climate of security.

Second, the sense of predictability that a functioning system of rights and duties brings about fortifies security in two ways. It minimizes the feeling of uncertainty and the worries associated with it, which often push people to think and act in pre-emptive ways vis-à-vis possible threats and heighten insecurity. In addition, predictability, by creating confidence, enhances security. When people know what to expect from interactions with others in normal but also extraordinary circumstances (such as when a crime has been committed and is assured to be followed by prosecution and punishment), faith in the system reinforces it as well as the security that it provides.

Taking into account the demands of justice supports security in a *third* way: by moving people away from a victim mentality and culture, it helps to avoid the collapse of the societal and individual fabrics and the insecurity that can accompany it. When injustice is perceived as systemic, the social organization of society and the political institutions that guarantee it loose legitimacy. In the process, it is also their control over people’s spirit and behaviour which disintegrates. The end result is a decriminalization of crime that is apt to generalize insecurity. At the societal level, the loss of social and political legitimacy blurs the normative line between what is permitted and what is not, between what is a crime and what is not, and undercuts the power to enforce it. ‘Anything goes’ emerges as a distinct possibility, spreading to all sectors of society and life. This is reinforced by and gets particularly damaging at the individual level. Having grievances and no recognized mechanisms to address them and be vindicated can lead one to develop a permanent victim identity, with the risk down the road to adopt perpetrator behaviour. By offering reparations, a functioning system of justice (in a functioning society) allows victims to, as much as possible, isolate their grievances and unlock themselves from them, reconcile with themselves and their environment, and be at peace with themselves and the world. In removing the sense of victimization, justice has the empowering effect of enabling the past to be left behind, retaking possession of one’s life, and becoming an active agent again while freeing oneself from the (self)-destructive danger of turning violent outwards.

By contrast, not taking care of, let alone healing, the wounds, disconnects the victims from themselves, which usually translates into a diminished empathy for others. At times what follows is more than a simple desire for revenge; it is a spirit of resentment. Colouring in pathological terms the interpretation of reality as a whole, such spirit induces to have people lashing out against who is viewed as the never condemned guilty party and opens also the gate to broader targets.⁶ The terrorized can very well become a terrorist. When this has become the prevailing climate, when victimization has proliferated to the point of being the defining character of a society and its members, victim and perpetrator come to collide, widening and deepening the trauma even further (Bauman 2000: 236–237). Insecurity (physical as well as psychological) turns into a morbid way of life.

Fourthly, considering the various benefits that they get from a justice-minded society, people tend to have much to lose if it unravels. By the same token, the more vested interests they have in satisfying the demands of justice, the less society is challenged in a negative way at the systemic level, and the more the security that it offers is strengthened. For this to happen calls for making a justice-minded society a work-in-progress, that is to say one which, among other things, is open to adopt and adapt to changes when enough individuals identify with them. As people are prone to stick to the *status quo*, especially if it is to their profit, this is not something that comes easily.⁷ At the same time, there is more security to be achieved in accepting the instability that comes from embracing change than in hanging on to an order out-run by reality (Coicaud 2001).

This being said, it is more difficult to establish a bridge between justice and security, and therefore to secure security at the international level than it is at the national level. But due to the fact that with this greater difficulty comes greater insecurity, it is all the more imperative to try to do so.

The deep sense of disconnect between the search for security and the pursuit of justice at the global level, and the problems associated with it, spring from the national bent, from the national tendencies, of international life (Coicaud 2007: chapter 3). Indeed, international socialization is shaped by and around national society. This bent limits fundamentally the projection (in conceptual and practical terms) of justice and security at the global level. The wall built be-

tween the national and the international realm leads to dissociating security from justice, favouring the former over the latter. In the process it encourages an exclusive and confrontational approach to international security. Hence the realist logic of pursuing security independently from justice by paying more attention to defence and military needs (to defend oneself from the outside) than to the inclusive demands of global justice.

Multilateralism seeks to tame the divide and order of priority between the national and international realms and the effects that they have on the capacity to bridge security with justice. Nevertheless it far from eliminates these problems. In the multilateral context states tend to find more good reasons to pursue narrowly their interest than to cooperate for the public good. The result is a marginalization of the United Nations. As such, it is left to being only a weak global justice provider. This weakness is illustrated by the relatively poor track record of the UN in human rights protection on the ground. As states remain focused on their narrow national interests and concerns, the United Nations, more often than not, fails to convince them of the benefits associated with the global public good, including the global protection of human rights. Another consequence is the inability of the UN to provide global security. For in this area too, historically the attitude of the United Nations has been more the one of a bystander than the one of an

6 Revenge and resentment, although connected at some level, are not identical.

7 In his theory of justice, John Rawls tries to solve part of this problem by calling upon the notion of 'veil of ignorance': "In the original position, the parties are not allowed to know the social positions or the particular comprehensive doctrines of the persons they represent. They also do not know persons' race and ethnic group, sex, or various native endowments such as strength and intelligence, all within the normal range. We express these limits on information figuratively by saying the parties are behind a veil of ignorance. One reason why the original position must abstract from the contingencies - the particular features and circumstances of persons - within the basic structure is that the conditions for a fair agreement for free and equal persons... must eliminate the bargaining advantages that inevitably arise over time within society as a result of cumulative social and historical tendencies. 'To persons according to their threat advantage' (or their de facto political power, or wealth, or native endowments) is not the basis for political justice." (Rawls 2001: 15–16, 97–100). The notion of 'veil of ignorance' is closely linked to Rawls' second principle of justice: "social and economic inequalities... are to be to the greatest benefit of the least-advantaged members of society (the difference principle)" (Rawls 2001: 42–43).

enforcer, rarely acting, or only acting reluctantly, to provide security to people and states under attack. This indicates how the self-centred attitude of member states, with the self-help philosophy that accompanies it, translates not only into hampering global justice, but also into limiting global security. Achieving real global security requires not being the captive of the particularist approach, something which precisely calls for dovetailing security with justice at the international level. Short of this, the deficiency of global justice becomes the deficiency of global security.

In this perspective, the danger of disconnecting security from justice in the international realm could not be graver. By tending to undermine political legitimacy at all levels and fuel the geopolitics of passions (Hassner 2005), it runs the risk of pushing international security even more out of reach.

Why does the undermining of the legitimacy of the international system further weaken security as a whole? It amounts to the fact that, eventually, the discredit of mainstream political institutions and leaders, at the global and national levels, makes the world less secure. To begin with, it is not wise for states to look down on the United Nations for its shortcomings and, true to their biased dual identity (being states and member states, but, ultimately, being more states than member states), speak and act as if, beyond the UN share of responsibility, they had nothing to do with the situation. They have no reason to rejoice because although it can be assumed that states benefit from the incapacitation of the United Nations that is partly their own making, they also suffer from it. The fact that the UN is, despite all, one of the eminent actors of international life, means that when its legitimacy is damaged, the legitimacy of the international system as a whole is weakened. In the process, it is the credibility of member states which is affected. Considering that on them rests principally the international system, major states have here a particular stake. This is especially true for the current hegemon – the United States. Its overwhelming power gives it overwhelming responsibility. It also makes it a prime target for disenfranchised actors. The war in which America and terrorism are locked is an aspect of this story. But less powerful states are not immune either. Being part and parcel of the international system, they cannot dissociate themselves entirely from its limitations. In other words, although political leaders are to this day first and foremost accountable for their policies at the national level, the unravelling of legitimacy at the international level adds to the scepticism that characterizes the general mood vis-à-vis established

politics. Surely, disengagement and cynicism do not necessarily lead to open violence. It is nevertheless always an indication of the lessening of good will and of cooperative behaviour regarding relations among and within states. With living on the edge being the end-result of this state of affairs, the world becomes all the more uncertain and insecure.

The Osama Bin Laden video pronouncement broadcasted by Al-Jazeera on 3 November 2001, challenged the legitimacy of the international system on the basis of ‘the unfair, barbaric campaign’ led in Afghanistan, as well as the many examples of inaction leaving masses of people to die such as Bosnia-Herzegovina, Somalia, etc.⁸ This illustrates how giving reasons for international legitimacy to be contested can deepen international insecurity, especially when it converges with the deadly effects of the geopolitics of passions. Such intertwining of geopolitics and passions is not new. Over the centuries, relations among nations and people have made psychology a key dimension of international life. Because competition, tension, conflict, defeat and victory, decline and rise, feelings of superiority and inferiority have tended to be prominent, this dimension led violent (or negative) passions to take a significant place. In international relations, love for peace may have been identified as the ideal. Yet distrust, resentment, envy, jealousy, hatred, revenge and other passions often get the lion’s share. Modernity and its central actor, the West (with initially key European powers, and then the United States), have only fuelled this intertwining of geopolitics and passions. Despite all their humanist values and achievements, modernity and the West have contributed to the intensification of the intertwining of geopolitics and negative passions. The following major developments account for this situation.

The bringing together of the world that is one of the trade marks of modernity owes much to the domination of Western power. The advance of technology and economy, the increase of interactions beyond borders, the structuring of social organizations along liberal public and private norms, discourses and practices, are defining aspects of a modern culture resulting from the relentless pushes of the West. But what has made it possible for the West to bring the world together is also what tears the world apart. Each uniting factor (technological, political, economic and nor-

8 “Bin Laden rails against Crusaders and UN”, in: *BBC News*, World Monitoring Media reports, 3 November 2001, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/world/monitoring/media_reports/1636782.stm>.

mative) has generated dividing tendencies. In this regard, in the 20th century, non-Western societies hijacked the Western norms of universality and equality to make their case as independent nations, in a movement somewhat reminiscent of how continental European nationalism emerged both out of borrowing from, and combating, French universalism (Coicaud 2002: 114–122). Ultimately, the difficulty of non-Western societies to reconcile with themselves (including finding a balance between tradition and modernity), and of the West and the non-West, as well as of the developed and developing countries to come to terms with each other, has made tensions and conflicts more a rule than an exception. Violent passions have developed all the more as a feature of international relations considering that the intensification of global interaction and global communication, by giving them maximum resonance and impact, has favoured their escalation.

34.4 Embedding International Security in International Justice, and the Challenge Ahead

Security was introduced above as a primary right; and, as a primary right, security is at the centre of the problematic of justice. To take justice seriously, to look after people's rights, is essential to ensuring security. Although at the national level, especially in democracies, the relation between security and justice has long been identified as an internal one, and one which, as such, has been epitomized in the value and institutions of the rule of law, this reality has still to sink in to the international realm. At the international level, the dominating realist paradigm dissociates security from justice, by and large limiting justice to simply an idealist and moral matter marginal to the hard-core actuality of international politics. As we have also shown, there is an urgent need to go beyond this approach to allow the world to move away from the overall insecurity trap in which it is now caught. There is an urgent need to move away from terrorized people terrorizing all around, each according to their own ideology and means. How could this be achieved? In conclusion, a very modest answer to this question is offered. To better embed security into justice, and moreover strengthen security by strengthening justice, two types of change are recommended: first, a change of attitude regarding fear and democratic values; second, a policy change as a way to enhance the international rule of law.

It is understandable that fear is at the heart of the search for security. Desiring to protect oneself and being afraid to be hurt are one and the same thing. Yet, fear does not have to turn into paranoia. Ensuring that it does not, is essential to a healthy and efficient quest for security. When the line holds between the two, search for security has a better chance to connect with and achieve greater security. It has a better chance also to not become part of a self-defeating 'sécuritaire', or police-state approach of security.⁹ Paranoiac fear, isolating oneself from others while eager to control them, invites all to adopt a similar attitude. In the absence of channels of communication, a sense of community, let alone of social intimacy, dissolves among actors. Consequently, to keep fear under check, to have a cautious behaviour not turning into paranoia, fear has to be understood and handled in a positive manner. This is not impossible. Fear can have a positive value when motivating people to embrace life and each other. After all, is it not the sense of finitude which instinctively urges human beings to live to the fullest and connect with others? In contrast, a non-reasonable defensive attitude is when a pathological dimension prevails over a healthy prudent attitude and denies the need of the other. In times of weakness, keeping others at arms length is a sensible temporary measure. But as soon as it becomes a structural behaviour, by eliminating the advantages of being engaged with and engaging others, pathology wins. Since states are made up of and, to a certain extent, by and for human beings, it does not come as a surprise that this logic is at work in international politics as well. As illustrated by modern totalitarianisms, the politics of paranoia backfires, leaving a trail of destruction behind, both at home and abroad.

How to open oneself, and therefore make oneself vulnerable, and yet be strengthened? This is the challenge faced by a search for security which refuses to give in to paranoia. It is also the predicament of modern democratic culture. Rousseau's overall intellectual quest is exemplary in this regard. One question runs through his writings: under which conditions am I going to open to the other, so that the exposure resulting from it does not diminish me, but makes me stronger and more present, to myself, others, and the world in general.¹⁰ Rousseau's answer resides in seek-

9 In this regard, it can be argued that a 'sécuritaire' approach of security seeks less to achieve security than to sustain a certain sense of insecurity. The continued sense of insecurity is the best justification for the 'sécuritaire' approach of security.

ing to fulfil the promising character of democratic values (Starobinski 1988). He sees them as a key to both individual and social responsibility, to acceptance of, and duty towards, oneself as well as others.

This does not mean that any attitude towards, or interpretation of, democratic values will do. Earlier, in pinpointing the uniting and divisive effects of modernity, we alluded to the fact that democratic values can themselves be a source of insecurity. A possible remedy is to ensure that democratic values are neither instrumentalized nor under-utilized. This requires that democratic values abide as much as possible by their progressive character and that their critical approach of reality not only be geared towards non-democratic regimes but also towards democratic regimes, and even the idea of democracy itself as a way to always seek self-improvement. In this perspective, because it rests on their inclusive nature, springing from universality and equality, the critical power of democratic values elevates the existence of efficient mechanisms of fairness to a central benchmark of democratic legitimacy, allowing for instance a certain amount of inequalities only as long as competition is fair.

The transformation of attitude vis-à-vis fear and democratic values calls for a policy change, i.e. an improvement of the current international rule of law. The chance for this to take place depends upon four considerations.

To begin with, there is the need to go beyond a mere moral approach of global justice (which, disconnecting justice from security and reducing it to a distant second concern dependent on the whims of states to be looked after or not, undermines international security, Coicaud 2007: chapter 3). This means adopting an international public policy of global justice. Dovetailing justice with security through integrating moral considerations into a public policy approach expressed and defended by law, would strengthen international security.

In addition, a system of international security embedded in justice has to be built around addressing powerlessness wherever it is (beyond borders). This should be done without altogether abandoning national demands and overlooking the responsibility

that even the powerless hold (in fact, the goal is to restore it).

Also, the relations of the international rule of law with democratic values have to be revisited. This entails recognizing that, although international life encompasses great discrepancies of power, the principle of equality among nations and people is a key aspect of *de jure* international relations. The international rule of law cannot amount to the universalization of a one-sided view of the world. In this regard, rather than giving way to a narrow and absolutist search for security, its ability to socialize uncertainty and instability rests, to a certain extent, on being pluralist and an open-ended process.

Finally, enough resources have to be allocated to implement the strategic services to be delivered by an international rule of law that is taken seriously. The reasons called upon to limit redistribution (including scarcity of resources, corruption of governments at the receiving end, and competition leaving even the most powerful nations nervous about the future and consequently eager to preserve their edge) do not justify inaction or poor action. There is no alternative to working on identifying a structure of (international) justice that is able to create an overall synergy between social justice and efficiency, so to not, as the saying goes, rob Peter to pay Paul (Pogge 2003: chapter 8).

Considering that the national bent and the divides (normative, mental, political, social, economic and knowledge divides) that it introduces among countries are going to remain a given of international life for the foreseeable future, a gap between justice and security will persist in the international realm. This is a formidable challenge, especially since those (Western) developed countries that have been historically committed to intertwining social solidarity and security policies and are among the most active internationalist actors, are increasingly moving away from a 'social state' approach at home (Castel 2002). Giving in to the pressures of economic liberalism and global competition, embedding the political and legal dimensions of the rule of law in welfare policies meant to tame individual mischance, is less and less their policy of choice (Bauman 2005: 51-53). How could then a philosophy of order and justice aiming to dovetail security and justice be endorsed in the international realm while it is being dismantled at the domestic level?

Yet, with democratic values increasingly shaping modern identity, nationally and internationally, the

10 In Jean-Jacques Rousseau's (1953, 1979, 1997) writings, the search for an enhanced presence is conducted in relation with the autobiographical, and objectified, self in *The Confessions*, the teacher in *Emile: or on Education*, nature in *Reveries of the Solitary Walker*, the lover in *Julie, or the New Heloise*, and fellow citizens in *The Social Contract*.

structures of international security and justice are becoming more co-dependent and complementary, both in normative and practical terms, than perhaps ever. As a result, pushing the line of inclusiveness as far as possible, within and beyond borders, is essential to security.

There cannot be inclusiveness without exclusiveness. The counterpoint that the 'other' represents is necessary for people to come together. Tomorrow, if humankind were to be under attack from an extra-terrestrial world, humans, united to ensure their survival, would extend their solidarity beyond borders. We should not wait for this to happen. As we run the risk of being morally and physically bankrupt due to our own incapacity to see the human 'other' as an intrinsic part of ourselves and of our responsibility, we are already under attack from within.

35 Security in International Law Since 1990

Michael Bothe

35.1 Legal Relevance of 'Security'

The term security has different meanings in several social science disciplines. For political science and sociology, the term is used as a tool to better understand and explain political and societal processes and problems. For national and international law, it is by definition a normative concept. Like any legal concept or notion, it is an element of composite norms which are to induce a certain human behaviour, and hereby also the behaviour of legal persons or collectivities. Despite this fundamental difference, the international legal notion of security and the political and political science debate on security are closely related (chap. 4 by Wæver; chap. 37 by Baylis, chap. 38 by Albrecht/Brauch). The law is made, developed, and applied by political actors. Thus, the application and the creation of norms are part of political processes, and the law is an element of steering political processes – the very subject political science tries to explain.

Law provides security of expectations, which seems to be a static concept. But it is not static. It has to fulfil this function meeting societal and political needs which keep changing. Therefore, a fundamental tension exists in the application of the law, a tension between preservation of the existing situation and innovation to meet new demands. This tension inspires a constant discourse between actors which have a role in applying and shaping the law. It is through this discourse that the law becomes concrete in a particular situation which it has to regulate.

The debate about security which is documented in this chapter is a reaction to changing political realities and perceptions. International law cannot but react to these changes. Yet the law cannot fulfil its function without the lawyer abiding by the rules of the profession, by the *lex artis*. Thus, this chapter takes as a point of departure certain fundamental international legal norms of which the notion of 'security' is an essential component. It will then try to show how the interpretation and application of these norms have

changed as a result of changed political realities, or rather of the realities as perceived by the relevant actors.

'Peace and security' is a key notion of the Charter of the United Nations (UN). The preamble and Art. 1(1) of the Charter declare as a goal of the UN "to maintain international peace and security". The same term is then repeated in the provisions of the Charter dealing with the powers of the organs of the UN (Art. 11, 24, 33(1), 36(1), 39 (see box 35.1).

Thus, the essential purpose and the powers of the main organs of the UN depend, from a legal point of view, on the meaning of this crucial notion: 'peace and security'. This applies, in particular, in two respects: First, where there is a danger to international peace and security, or a threat to the peace, UN organs are entitled to act. Second, as action is to be taken to maintain or restore international peace and security, the type of measure which may be adopted also depends on the definition of these terms. If and to the extent that the meaning of this notion changes, the activities of the UN are bound to change as well. This raises the fundamental question of possible modifications of that interpretation, or in other words, of static or dynamic interpretation (Bernhardt 1995: 1419).

Legal interpretation, first of all, has to approach a text with precision. Precision requires recognizing the fact that two terms, namely peace *and* security, are combined in the provision just quoted (see chap. 4 by Wæver). It is, thus, the interpretation of both terms which allows an answer to the question whether a certain course of action is lawful or not. This chapter will deal with both terms as they cannot really be separated. This is true, in particular, for Article 39 of the UN Charter which is the basis for the far reaching powers of the Security Council. It uses, first, the term 'peace' alone in describing the situation which triggers the enforcement powers of the Council ('threat to the peace', 'breach of the peace'), but when the measures to be taken are circumscribed, the term

Box 35.1: References to ‘Peace and Security’ in the UN Charter Provisions (emphasis added by Michael Bothe).

Chapter IV: The General Assembly, Art. 11

(1) The General Assembly may consider the general principles of cooperation in the maintenance of *international peace and security*....

(2) The General Assembly may discuss any questions relating to the maintenance of *international peace and security* ...

(3) The General Assembly may call the attention of the Security Council to situations which are likely to endanger *international peace and security*.

Chapter V: The Security Council, Art. 24

(1) In order to ensure prompt and effective action of the UN, its members confer on the Security Council the primary responsibility for the maintenance of *international peace and security* ...

Chapter VI: Pacific Settlements of Disputes, Art. 33

(1) The parties to any dispute, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of *international peace and security*, shall, first of all, seek a solution by ... peaceful means ...

Chapter VI: Action with Respect to the Peace, Breaches of the Peace, and Acts of Aggression, Art. 36

(1) The Security Council may, at any stage of a dispute referred to in Article 33 ... recommend appropriate procedures or methods of adjustment ...

Art. 39

The Security Council shall determine the existence of any *threat to the peace, breach of the peace*, or act of aggression and shall make recommendations, or decide what measures shall be taken in accordance with Articles 41 and 42, *to maintain or restore international peace and security*.

“peace and security” is used. Thus, the purpose of enforcement measures is to maintain or restore a situation where peace and security prevails. Therefore, the Council may act in situations where *this* situation is put into question, and the term “peace” in the first part of the provision must be interpreted accordingly.

The concept of security depends on political and military perceptions. Where a security problem induces political or military action, the essential factor is not the ‘objective’ security situation, it is the perception of the relevant actors which really matters (chap. 1 and 3 by Brauch; chap. 4 by Wæver). Thus, where these perceptions change, the interpretation of the relevant legal norms of the provisions of the Charter may tend to do the same (Hafner 2005: 56). The perception of the threat which may affect ‘security’ will determine the meaning of security and the type of measures designed to maintain security.

The term peace seems to be more objective, which does not exclude that there are many different concepts of this term.

With the UN the international community reacted to two world wars. This type of major wars was the perceived security problem the new organization was meant to address. This was, according to the ideas of the Charter’s drafters, the common intent of the parties. And indeed, the central security problem which confronted the world after the creation of the UN was again the danger of an international war. For 45 years since the establishment of the UN, the major security problem was the East-West confrontation, the so-called Cold War. It ended in 1990. The result, however, has not been a secure world. It is a world which felt (and still feels) exposed to ‘new threats’. There are, thus, still threat perceptions, but these perceptions are different from what they used to be in the preceding decades. A debate on new conceptions of security (or insecurity) followed, in the political arena as well as in political science analysis. These developments are described elsewhere in this work.

This chapter tries to show how this change in security (or rather: insecurity) perceptions has modified relevant legal rules, that is composite norms where the notion of security or related notions constitute essential elements of the normative content. In particular, it tries to elucidate whether and how this change has had an impact on the interpretation of the relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and, thus, on the extent the legal powers of their organs and the scope of activities of the organization, with an emphasis on the practice of the most relevant collective actor, the Security Council. Actions of the Security Council have always been based on the assumption, made by the decision-makers, that a certain course of action was lawful (or not). In arriving at this conclusion, decision-makers had to, and did, interpret the provisions of the Charter granting certain powers to the Security Council. It is in this way that legal interpretation finds its way into political reality. It goes without saying that this interpretation has often been controversial (chap. 47 by von Einsiedel/Nitzschke/Chhabra). Thus, political controversies are fought through legal argument, a fact which is then reflected in academic doctrinal debates.

Law changes through a political discourse – while the legal technicalities of this process are controversial. This means that the question whether or not a certain modification of a norm has or has not taken place cannot always be answered with certainty. This chapter concentrates on a crucial element of this dis-

course, namely the practice of the Security Council. Where this practice is well established, it is hard to contest that this is the actual law at a given time.

35.2 The 'Peace and Security' Concept in the UN Charter

The Charter of the UN establishes a system of 'collective security', which is the corollary of the prohibition of the use of force. As unilateral military measures to safeguard a state's security interests are forbidden (prohibition of the use of force, Art. 2(4)), measures to maintain and restore 'peace and security' are reserved to the UN, with the only exceptions of self-defence in the case of an armed attack (Art. 51). Thus, the scope of this prohibition and the concept of 'peace and security' are related. Art. 2(4) prohibits the use of force by states 'in their international relations'. The problem to be addressed, thus, is inter-state military violence. The notions of 'threat to the peace' and 'breach of the peace' are wider than that of the 'use of force' in international relations. But it is only natural that these notions are interpreted in accordance with that fundamental concept of security. Thus, 'threat to the peace' would mean a situation of actual or actually threatening inter-state armed conflict (Frowein/Krisch 2002: 720).

It is in this sense that the terms were, indeed, used for decades in the practice of the Security Council. The problem of Palestine originated from a conflict which could have been characterized as non-international, namely that between the Jewish and the Arab community in Palestine. But it soon grew into a conflict between the Jewish community and then the new Jewish State and their Arab neighbours. The first Security Council resolution of 1 April 1948 addressed an internal conflict as a matter of international peace and security.

The Security Council,

In the exercise of its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security;

Notes the increasing violence and disorder in Palestine and believes it is of the utmost urgency that an immediate truce be effected in Palestine;

Calls upon the Jewish Agency for Palestine and Arab Higher Committee to...

Calls upon the Arab and Jewish armed groups to cease acts of violence immediately.

All later Security Council (SC) decisions concerning Palestine clearly referred to a situation of international conflict.

The next conflict on the agenda of the Security Council was Korea. By resolution 82 of 25 June 1950, the SC, in the absence of the Soviet Union, determined the North Korean attack on South Korea to be a 'breach of the peace'. Before its absence, the Soviet Union had claimed that the conflict was not an international one and the SC therefore not competent to deal with it (Frowein/Krisch 2002: 720). Much later, the Argentine attack on the Falkland Islands was also characterized as a 'breach of the peace' (SC Res. 502 of 4 April 1982). The same was true for the Iraqi invasion in Kuwait in 1990 (SC Res. 660 of 2 August 1990).

When the SC considered internal situations for the purpose of determining whether a situation corresponded to Art. 39, it appears that the external ramifications were decisive for determining that there was a 'threat to the peace'. A typical case of this approach was the treatment of the apartheid regime in South Africa. Although the SC condemned South Africa in strong terms, the resolution where the SC declares that there is a 'threat to the peace', with the consequence that it adopts economic sanctions (SC Res. 418 of 4 November 1977), deals with the military threat that South Africa constituted for its neighbours:

The Security Council,

... *Recognizing* that the military build-up by South Africa and its persistent acts of aggression against the neighbouring States seriously disturb the security of those States;

... 1. *Determines*, having regard to the policies and acts of the South African Government, that the acquisition by South Africa of arms and related *matériel* constitutes a threat to the maintenance of international peace and security;

Earlier resolutions on Southern Rhodesia are less explicit in saying that it was the external aspect of the crisis which enabled the Security Council to state that there was a 'threat to the peace', but the relevant resolution clearly referred to an external aspect of the conflict, namely the delivery of oil to the illegal regime (SC Res. 221 of 9 April 1966):

The Security Council,

... *Gravely concerned* at reports that substantial supplies of oil may reach Southern Rhodesia ...

Considering that such supplies will afford great assistance and encouragement to the illegal regime in South-

ern Rhodesia, thereby enabling it to remain longer in being,

1. *Determines* that the resulting situation constitutes a threat to the peace;

Another crisis, where the question whether an internal, or essentially internal, conflict constituted a threat to the peace, was the Congo crisis after 1960. The point of departure for the resolution which contained an express statement on the existence of a 'threat to the peace' was the murder of Patrice Lumumba and other Congolese politicians:

The Security Council,

... *Deeply concerned* at the grave repercussions of these crimes and the danger of widespread civil war and bloodshed in the Congo and the threat to international peace and security;

But the security problem, as reflected in that resolution, was of a double nature, it was both internal and international. This becomes clear from the first two operative paragraphs. First, the internal aspect:

1. *Urges* that the United Nations take immediately all appropriate measures to prevent the occurrence of civil war in the Congo, including arrangements for cease-fires, the halting of all military operations, the prevention of clashes, and the use of force, if necessary, in the last resort;

Then follows the international aspect:

2. *Urges* that measures be taken for the *immediate withdrawal and evacuation from the Congo of all Belgian and other foreign military and paramilitary personnel and political advisers not under United Nations command, and mercenaries.*

The overall picture of the concept of 'peace and security' which inspires the practice of the UN for the first four and a half decades is thus essentially characterized by the international nature of the security problem and a concept of peace as the absence of military violence between states. Where the SC acted in cases of internal violence, it justified its measures by referring to the external security implications of the situations.

That concept was uncontroversial in the practice of the UN. Diverging concepts of 'peace and security' remained a matter of academic discussion only and did not have any influence on the practice of the Security Council. This is in particular true for what is the most radical critique of the UN concept of 'negative peace', namely that of 'positive peace', a theory put forward in particular by Johan Galtung (1971a: 55-104). According to this concept, peace is more than the absence of physical violence. It is the presence of

social justice through equal opportunity, a fair distribution of power and resources, equal protection, and impartial enforcement of the law. This concept has rightly been criticized as loading on the concept of peace all criteria of a good internal and international order, a concept that in the current discourse is rather discussed as 'good governance'. Undeniably these elements of 'positive' peace are at least an essential precondition of the 'negative' peace. While this recognition remained without any impact on the SC practice during the East-West conflict, the concept of 'peace and security' underlying the practice of the UN came closer to the concept of 'positive peace' after the fundamental changes of the year 1990 - although it has never fully adhered to it.

35.3 New Developments after the End of the East-West Conflict: The New Vitality of the Security Council

This chapter will now show how this 'traditional' interpretation has given room to a much broader concept of 'security' and, as a consequence, of the term 'threat to the peace' which is the essential trigger of the enforcement powers of the Security Council under Chapter VII of the UN Charter.

35.3.1 A New Start with a Classical Theme: Iraq/Kuwait

The new era started with a classical inter-state conflict: The Iraqi invasion into Kuwait constituted an armed attack within the meaning of Article 51 of the Charter and triggered the corresponding right of individual and collective self-defence. No Security Council resolution would have been needed, as a matter of law, to justify the action undertaken by a coalition of states to expel Iraqi forces from Kuwait.

But the SC did act. It declared that there was a 'breach of the peace' (SC Res. 660 of 2 August 1990), it adopted non-military enforcement measures against Iraq (SC Res. 661 of 6 August 1990), and then backed the exercise of the right of collective self-defence by a resolution authorizing the use of force (SC Res. 678 of 29 November 1990). What was new in this situation was the fact that the SC was no longer prevented from acting due to the existence of the East-West conflict. In addition, however, the SC created the practice of authorizing or mandating the use of force by states instead of itself conducting an enforcement opera-

tion. That practice later was used also in other cases of a 'threat to the peace' where there was no armed attack and therefore no such right of collective self-defence. It is in this ensuing practice that a completely new and much broader concept of 'international peace and security' emerges in state practice (Neuhold 2005: 33ff.).

This broader concept is divided in two different elements:

- a much broader recognition of internal situations as being 'threats to the peace', which include in particular gross violations of human rights and other humanitarian disasters;
- threats originating from non-state actors and so called rogue states.

The latter element is subdivided into two problem areas: a) international terrorism, and b) the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD).

35.3.2 Internal Situations as 'Threat to the Peace' – Cautious or Less Cautious Approaches

Since 1990, several SC resolutions characterized situations of internal disorder or oppression as a threat to the peace. The following cases can be quoted as typical examples. The development started with a resolution on Iraq, namely with the repression of the Kurdish population in Northern Iraq (SC Res. 688 of 5 April 1991):

The Security Council,

Gravely concerned by the repression of the Iraqi civilian population in many parts of Iraq, including most recently in Kurdish-populated areas, which led to a massive flow of refugees towards and across international frontiers and to cross-border incursions which threaten international peace and security in the region,

Deeply disturbed by the magnitude of the human suffering involved,

... Reaffirming the commitment of all member States to respect the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of Iraq and of all States in the region,

... 1. Condemns the repression of the Iraqi civilian population in many parts of Iraq, including most recently in Kurdish populated areas, the consequences of which threaten international peace and security in the region;

That formulation still is in line with the classical formulations used by the Security Council where the characterization of an internal situation of violence rather stressed the international implications thereof. It also reflects a concern for state sovereignty and in-

tegrity. But it already shows an element of the new approach to the notion of 'threat to the peace' by emphasizing the human suffering.

In relation to Somalia, the Security Council rather stresses the humanitarian aspect of the internal violence which occurred in that country (SC Res. 794 of 3 December 1992):

The Security Council,

... Determining that the magnitude of the human tragedy caused by the conflict in Somalia, further exacerbated by the obstacles being created to the distribution of humanitarian assistance, constitutes a threat to international peace and security;

... Expressing grave alarm at continuing reports of widespread violations of international humanitarian law occurring in Somalia ...

... 10. Acting under Chapter VII ..., *authorizes* the Secretary General and Member States cooperating ... to use all necessary means at their disposal to establish as soon as possible a secure environment for relief operations in Somalia;

In this resolution, the international aspects of the 'threat to the peace' seem to become irrelevant.

In relation to Rwanda, the resolution authorizing the intervention led by France to end the killing and protect certain parts of the population points in the same direction, with somewhat different nuances (SC Res. 929 of 22 June 1994):

The Security Council,

... Deeply concerned by the continuation of systematic and widespread killings of the civilian population in Rwanda,

... Determining that the magnitude of the humanitarian crisis in Rwanda constitutes a threat to the peace and security in the region,

... Acting under Chapter VII ... *authorizes* the Member States ... to conduct the operation ... using all necessary means to achieve the humanitarian objectives ...

Although this resolution alludes to the consequences "in the region", there is, as in the case of Somalia, a strong emphasis on the internal, the humanitarian aspect.

The conflict in Yugoslavia, beginning in 1991, presented a somewhat confusing mixture of traditional international security considerations and of human rights and humanitarian law aspects. This can be deduced not so much from the text of the determinations declaring a situation to constitute a 'threat to the peace', but more so from the measures taken in respect to the various problems related to the Yugoslavian crisis. A specific measure taken to restore peace

and security presupposes a concept of what peace and security means. A long series of Security Council resolutions started with resolution 713 of 25 September 1991:

The Security Council,

... *Deeply concerned* by the fighting in Yugoslavia, which is causing a heavy loss of human life and material damage, and by the consequences for the countries in the region, in particular in the border areas of neighbouring countries,

Concerned that the continuation of this situation constitutes a threat to international peace and security,

... 6. *Decides*, under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, that all States shall, for the purposes of establishing peace and security in Yugoslavia, immediately implement a general and complete embargo on all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Yugoslavia ...

The determination contains the traditional reference to the external consequences of the internal (as it was then considered) crisis and the measure taken is a traditional one addressing the international implications, but there is also the humanitarian aspect of the situation which prompts action by the Security Council. The latter one becomes more and more important in the course of the crisis, in two respects: there is on the one hand the humanitarian situation, in the sense of the living conditions of the population which is addressed by the SC, there are on the other hand serious violations of international humanitarian law. The first aspect requires access to the population for relief actions (SC Res. 770 of 13 August 1992):

The Security Council,

... *Recognizing* that the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina constitutes a threat to international peace and security and that the provision of humanitarian assistance in Bosnia and Herzegovina is an important element in the Council's effort to restore international peace and security in the area;¹

... *Dismayed* by the continuation of conditions that impede the delivery of humanitarian supplies to destinations within Bosnia and Herzegovina and the consequent suffering of the people of that country;

...2. *Calls upon* States to take ... all necessary measures to facilitate ... the delivery ... of humanitarian assistance to Sarajevo and wherever needed in other parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina;² ...

The second aspect finally led to the establishment of the International Tribunal for the (former) Yugoslavia (SC Res. 827 of 25 May 1993):

The Security Council,

... *Expressing once again* its grave alarm at continuing reports of widespread and flagrant violations of international humanitarian law occurring within the territory of the former Yugoslavia, and especially in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina ...

Determining that this situation continues to constitute a threat to international peace and security;

Determined to put an end to such crimes and to take effective measures to bring to justice the persons who are responsible for them;

Convinced that in the particular circumstances of the former Yugoslavia the establishment as an ad hoc measure by the Council of an international tribunal and the prosecution of persons responsible for serious violations of international humanitarian law would enable this aim to be achieved and would contribute to the restoration and maintenance of peace;

... 2. *Decides* hereby to establish an international tribunal for the sole purpose of prosecuting persons responsible for serious violations of international humanitarian law committed in the territory of the former Yugoslavia ...

In East Timor in 1999, the conflict had a clear international dimension, as it followed international attempts to solve the existing tensions which had led to two international agreements relating to the situation, one between Portugal and Indonesia, the other between the UN and Indonesia. Nevertheless, the SC, in its resolution authorizing the use of force, stressed the internal, humanitarian aspect of the violence (SC Res. 1264 of 15 September 1999):

The Security Council,

...*Deeply concerned* by the deterioration in the security situation in East Timor, and in particular by the continuing violence against and large-scale displacement and relocation of East-Timorese civilians;

Deeply concerned also at the attacks on the staff and premises of the United Nations Mission in East Timor (UNAMET), on other officials and on international and national humanitarian personnel;

... *Appalled* by the worsening humanitarian situation in East Timor, particularly as it affects women, children and other vulnerable groups;

... *Determining* that the present situation in East Timor constitutes a threat to peace and security;

... 3. *Authorizes* the establishment of a multinational force... and *authorizes* the States participating in the

1 The same formulation is used in SC Res. 787 of 16 November 1992.

2 See also SC Res. 819 of 16 April 1993, para. 8.

multinational force to take all necessary measures to fulfil this mandate;

In the Kosovo crisis, it is not so clear which elements the SC considered as decisive for its characterization of the situation. The humanitarian element at least contributes to that assessment of the situation (SC Res. 1203 of 24 October 1998):

The Security Council,

... *Condemning* all acts of violence by any party, as well as terrorism in pursuit of political goals by any group or individual, and all external support for such activities in Kosovo, including the supply of arms and training for terrorist activities in Kosovo ...

... *Deeply alarmed* and concerned at the continuing grave humanitarian situation throughout Kosovo and the impending humanitarian catastrophe, and *re-emphasizing* the need to prevent this from happening:

...*Affirming* that the unresolved situation in Kosovo, Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, constitutes a continuing threat to peace and security in the region;

This resolution, once again, stresses the humanitarian component of the definition of the 'threat to the peace', but nevertheless also puts some weight on the international aspect by mentioning terrorist activities and the training of terrorists coming from outside.

In relation to the Darfur crisis in Sudan, the SC Res. 1556 of 30 July 2004, determined that "the situation in Sudan constitutes a threat to international peace and security and to stability in the region," and, consequently, expressly states that it acts under Chapter VII. These are the last two paragraphs of the preamble. It must be assumed that the description of the situation given in the preceding paragraphs taken as a whole contains the constitutive elements of what the SC regarded as constituting a 'threat to the peace':

- the humanitarian crisis, implying an urgent need of humanitarian assistance for a large part of the population;
- the continued violations of human rights and international humanitarian law;
- the plight of the refugees;
- the move of refugees into neighbouring Chad;
- the incursions into Chad by Sudanese militias.

The situation, thus, contains elements of the traditional concepts of a 'threat to international peace', i.e. the fact that a third country is affected both by the refugee flow and by armed incursions. But there is also the modern concept according to which the violation of norms of fundamental importance, of human rights and international humanitarian law and

possibly also the deprivation of a sizeable part of the population of the minimum means of subsistence constitute a 'threat to the peace'.

Haiti is a somewhat special case in this connection. The relevant resolutions contain elements of the practice just reported, but they go further in more than one aspect. The situation which, seen as a whole, the Council regards as a 'threat to the peace' contains numerous violations of human rights and international humanitarian law:

The Security Council,

... *Strongly condemning* the numerous instances of extra-judicial killings, arbitrary arrests, illegal detentions, abductions, rape and enforced disappearances, the continued denial of freedom of expression, and the impunity with which armed civilians have been able to operate and continue operating (UN Res. 940 of 31 July 1994);

This goes beyond condemnations contained in other relevant resolutions in that it expressly includes violations of the rule of law and of an important political right, namely freedom of expression. But the resolution goes even further when it recognizes a failure to respect the principle of democracy as an element of the definition of a 'threat to the peace'. This is expressed in two other paragraphs of the preamble of the same resolution:

Reaffirming that the goal of the international community remains the restoration of democracy in Haiti and the prompt return of the legitimately elected President, Jean-Bertrand Aristide, under the framework of the Governors Island Agreement;

Reaffirming its determination that, in these unique and exceptional circumstances, the situation created by the failure of the military authorities in Haiti to fulfil their obligations under the Governors Island Agreement and to comply with relevant Security Council resolutions constitute a threat to peace and security in the region;

It is a new and broader concept of 'peace and security' which emerges from this practice, which despite a few variations can by now be considered as coherent. 'International peace and security' is more than the absence of physical military violence in inter-state relations. It has a humanitarian and human rights dimension. There is no 'peace and security' where the fundamental values of international humanitarian law and human rights are grossly violated. The core of this new concept has become uncontroversial (Neuhold 2005: 38).

35.3.3 'New' Threats: Violence by Private Actors ('Terrorism') – State Sponsored or not

The resolutions relating to 'new threats' created by international terrorism first addressed Libya and Iraq. Regarding Iraq, the armistice resolution of 3 April 1991 mentioned the problem *en passant* by formulating (or referring to) an obligation of Iraq not to support international terrorism.

The Security Council,

...32. *Requires* Iraq to inform the Council that it will not commit or support any act of international terrorism ...

In a series of resolutions concerning different countries (Libya, Sudan, Afghanistan), the SC pinpointed the non-extradition of suspected terrorists as the decisive criterion of the existence of a 'threat to the peace' which triggered the adoption of enforcement measures under Article 41 of the Charter.

In relation to the controversy between the Western powers and Libya concerning the refusal of Libya to extradite persons alleged to be involved in terrorist acts, the resolutions of the Security Council constitute the decisive point of departure for a series of UN resolutions concerning international terrorism (SC Res. 748 of 31 March 1992):

The Security Council,

... *Determining* ... that the failure by the Libyan Government to demonstrate by concrete actions its renunciation of terrorism and in particular its continued failure to respond fully and effectively to the requests in resolution 731 (1992) constitute a threat to international peace and security;

The same question, with greater vigour, constituted a major element of SC resolutions relating to Sudan and Afghanistan which were (or were alleged to be) harbouring terrorists, in particular the Al Qaeda network. In the case of Sudan, the problem was the non-extradition of persons allegedly involved in an attempt to assassinate the President of Egypt while visiting Ethiopia. First, without clarifying the legal basis of its action, the SC (Res. 1044 of 31 January 1996):

4. *Calls upon* the Government of Sudan to comply with the requests of the Organization of African Unity without further delay to:

(a) Undertake immediate action to extradite to Ethiopia for prosecution the three suspects sheltering in Sudan and wanted in connection with the assassination attempt ...;

(b) Desist from engaging in activities of assisting, supporting and facilitating terrorist activities and from giving shelter and sanctuaries to terrorist elements ...;

Finally, the resolution concerning Afghanistan also started with the issue of non-extradition and sanctuaries, in particular relating to terrorists allegedly involved in the bombing of the American embassies in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam. As in the previous case, the Council, without clarifying the basis of its action (SC Res. 1214 of 8 December 1998),

Deeply disturbed by the continuing use of Afghan territory, especially areas controlled by the Taliban, for the sheltering and training of terrorists and planning of terrorist acts, and *reiterating* that the suppression of international terrorism is essential for the maintenance of international peace and security;

...13. *Demands also* that the Taliban stop providing sanctuary and training for international terrorists and their organizations, and that all Afghan factions cooperate with efforts to bring indicted terrorists to justice;

This is followed by a more precise SC resolution in 1999 (1267 of 15 October 1999 and SC Res. 1333 of 19 December 2000):

The Security Council,

... *Deploring* the fact that the Taliban continues to provide safe haven to Osama bin Laden and to allow him and others associated with him to operate a network of terrorist training camps from Taliban-controlled territory and to use Afghanistan as a base from which to sponsor international terrorist operations;

... *Determining* that the failure of the Taliban authorities to respond to the demands in paragraph 13 of resolution 1214 (1998) constitutes a threat to international peace and security;

After the attacks by Al-Qaeda terrorists against the WTC and the Pentagon on 11 September 2001, the SC went a step further. It determined that acts of international terrorism constitute *per se* a threat to 'international peace and security' (SC Res. 1368 of 12 September 2001; 1373 of 28 September 2001). A culminating point of the resolution practice of the SC is the Declaration (SC Res. 1377) on the global effort to combat terrorism of 12 November 2001:

The Security Council,

... *Declares* that acts of international terrorism constitute one of the most serious threats to international peace and security in the twenty-first century;

An additional element is added to the practice of the SC by resolution 1373 (2001). This resolution no longer relates to a specific situation as constituting a threat to the peace, it rather treats the phenomenon

of international terrorism as such and uses this determination as the basis for a number of general measures, clad in abstract and general normative terms, to combat terrorism (financial measures, criminal prosecution, and police cooperation).

35.3.4 New Threats and the Problem of Proliferation – Rogue States and Private Actors

Another element of the broadened concept of 'international peace and security' is the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. This has been the object of a lengthy series of SC resolutions. The original purpose of the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) was to ensure that the balance of military power existing between the two superpowers should not be destabilized by third parties acquiring nuclear weapons. The concern for the nuclear balance between the superpowers and their allies has gone, but the problem of nuclear proliferation has remained. The major current fear is that such weapons get into the hands of 'irresponsible' governments or private actors. This is the background of a number of SC resolutions on the possession or acquisition of WMDs by certain states.

That development started with the armistice resolution concerning Iraq (SC Res. 687 of 3 April 1991). Apparently assuming that despite the end of the actual fighting and the conclusion of an armistice, there still existed a threat to the peace, the Security Council imposed upon Iraq a number of measures addressing that threat, including arms control and disarmament measures designed to ensure the discontinuation of existing, or prevention of any future, Iraqi possession of WMD or certain means of their delivery. The monitoring system thus established has become and remained a matter of constant controversy (between the United Nations and Iraq as well as between members of the Security Council) until the American-British intervention in Iraq in 2003. This is reflected in a number of Security Council resolutions and the substitution of the original UN supervisory body UNSCOM by UNMOVIC based on Security Council resolution 1284 of 17 December 1999.

Nuclear armament or an alleged intention of nuclear armament has also been on the agenda of the Security Council in two other cases. In relation to North Korea, the Council (resolution 1718 of 14 December 2006):

Expressing profound concern that the test claimed by the DPRK has generated increased tension in the region

and beyond, and *determining* therefore that there is a clear threat to international peace and security

took, on that basis, non-military enforcement measures against that country.

In the case of Iran, the alleged irregularities stated by the IAEA in monitoring nuclear activities in Iraq lead to a report by the IAEA Executive Council to the Security Council, which on that basis took action under Chapter VII of the UN Charter, first provisional measures (Article 40; see SC Res. 1696 of 31 July 2006) and then non-military enforcement measures (Article 41; see SC Res. 1737 of 23 December 2006). The SC apparently assumes that there is a 'threat to the peace', but does not really make clear why. The SC notes:

with serious concern that the IAEA Director General's report of 27 February 2006 ... lists a number of outstanding issues and concerns on Iran's nuclear programme, including topics which could have a military nuclear dimension, and that the IAEA is unable to conclude that there are no undeclared nuclear materials of activities in Iran,

and furthermore

... that the IAEA is unable to make progress in its efforts to provide assurances about the absence of undeclared nuclear material and activities in Iran, ...

This, it is submitted, constitutes a construction of what is a threat to the peace which is, to say the least, problematic even if one accepts the interpretation formulated in resolution 1540 of 28 April 2004 in which the SC affirms

that proliferation of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons, as well as their means of delivery, constitute a threat to international peace and security.

35.3.5 Impact of Broader Security Concepts of 'Human' and 'Environmental Security'

The changes in the legal concepts of 'security' and 'threat to the peace' so far presented in this chapter are limited to those where it is safe to say that they constitute indeed an established and generally accepted practice. To that extent, the change constitutes positive law. But there is a continuing debate on considerably broader security concepts, not only in the academic, but also in the political arena. These discourses go in different directions. The first two are concerned with fundamental values of the international community, namely 'human security' and 'environmental security'. The third one is security of access to vital raw materials.

'Human security' (chap. 46 by Dedring; Brauch 2005, 2005a) is indeed a key notion in the current international debate. Human security means that elements of welfare for all as a precondition of a lasting peace are integrated into the security concept. Undeniably economic stability is an important precondition of peace. Yet, although this concept is part of a political debate in the United Nations, its practical consequences for the law of the UN, in particular the functioning of their system of collective security cannot be shown so far. Despite a debate in the Council, these concepts have not been the basis for any Security Council decision (chap. 46 by Dedring; Benedek 2005: 32ff.).

A different but related concept is that of 'environmental security' (Brauch 2003, 2005, 2005a). It is well known that environmental degradation often plays a role as a factor of political destabilization. A case in point is the discussion about the conflict over water resources. Important as they are, they are nevertheless sometimes overestimated. Their impact on the practice of the SC has so far been insignificant.

Secure access to vital raw materials adds an economic dimension (chap. 36 by Murshed, chap. 43) to the security debate (Brock 2004: 338). It has been formulated as an important security consideration of the Western alliance, for instance in the New Strategic Concept of NATO. There is no denying the fact that a cut in supplies of vital raw materials could in concrete circumstances constitute a threat to the peace, there is, however, no general recognition of this type of vital interest as part of the concept of security under the UN Charter.

35.3.6 An Extended Concept of Peace and Security – Consequences for Permissible Unilateral Use of Force?

This broadened concept of 'international peace and security', to the extent it has found a broad acceptance in international practice, only relates to the functioning of the system of collective security established by the UN. In particular, it adds to the powers of the Security Council. It does not relate to the unilateral use of force by states, in the sense that in situations which, under the new concept, would justify enforcement measures to be taken by the SC, the use of an expanded right of unilateral intervention, similar to the right of individual and collective self-defence, would also be permissible (Bothe 2004: 605 ff.). This limitation must be stressed in the light of the fact that there have been attempts, both in actual political prac-

tice and in academic comment, to also expand the right of unilateral action. This is the temptation or ambivalence involved in the broadened security concepts (Brock 2004: 325, 329ff.).

The two major cases in point are an alleged right of humanitarian intervention and the doctrine of pre-emption. Both approaches have so far been rejected in actual practice and have not become part of a new customary international law (Weller 2005: 277–333).

In the case of humanitarian intervention, there has not even been a serious attempt by the states conducting the campaign against Yugoslavia in the case of the Kosovo crisis in 1999 to claim that there was such a right of humanitarian intervention and that this intervention should constitute a precedent (Weller 2005: 309, 313). Favourable comments have rather remained in the realm of academia (Weller 2005: 316). The report *The Responsibility to Protect* (ICISS 2001: 54ff.) which has attracted a widespread attention for its thesis that there was a duty of the international community to take action in case of massive violations of human rights, expressly refrains from advocating unilateral action for this purpose, but rather a duty of the UN to take the appropriate measures.

Before the coalition intervention in Iraq in March 2003, there was a lot of debate whether the United States and its allies would use the doctrine of pre-emptive strikes, i.e. an expanded version of the concept of anticipatory self-defence, in order to legally justify their action. But this was not done (Greenwood 2005: 387–399; Bothe 2005: 417–423). The official justification for the intervention was the alleged continued validity of the authorization given by the Security Council in 1990 when Iraq had invaded Kuwait. This chapter cannot go into a detailed analysis of this justification strategy, but the very fact that this strategy was used and not another one is significant for the conclusion that the doctrine of pre-emptive strikes has not become a new legal justification for the use of force.

35.3.7 Impact of the Debate on Peace and Security Concepts for Reality – Conclusions

The foregoing analysis has shown that there has been a modification of the international legal concept of security from what can be said to be a formal concept of 'peace and security' (the absence of inter-state military violence) to a more value-oriented concept which encompasses, in particular, the respect of fundamental human rights, but also the behaviour of cer-

tain non-state actors (terrorism). This conclusion has mainly been based on what can be called verbal practice, in particular on the utterances of the SC. But how far is this practice conclusive? Should the actual concepts prevailing in the international system as to 'international peace and security' not be based on actual policy, on deeds, not on words?

The cases of NATO's Kosovo campaign and of Iraq suggest indeed that there is a certain tension between actual state behaviour and the statements of the law as they have been developed. It is suggested, however, that the true meaning of a certain physical behaviour of states cannot be ascertained without having recourse to the verbal discourse which accompanies them. Words matter in international relations, for a number of reasons. It is therefore worthwhile to formulate and read them carefully. In addition, these conclusions are not only based on purely 'verbal' practice. Security Council resolutions have triggered actions. It is the changing realities of world politics which have shaped an international legal discourse. This discourse has had a definite impact on the behaviour of relevant international actors. Where this discourse shows less and less divergence and more and more agreement, one can conclude that the law has changed. Because this change is achieved through international agreement building, it has, in turn, a practical impact. It has also been shown that this development has taken place case by case. The challenge for the legal science and legal practice is to conceptualize this development and to determine how far it reaches in future cases.

36 Human Security from the Standpoint of an Economist

S. Mansoob Murshed¹

36.1 Introduction

The concept of human security is wide-ranging (Gasper 2005a). It extends from notions of personal security, during conflict say, to broader definitions of economic well-being as encompassed in the notion of human development (Streeten 1993). One of the hallmarks of the economics discipline is its concern with measurement. Consequently, we have the human development index, at both the national and regional levels, which is an unweighted average of real income per-capita, longevity, and educational attainment. As yet, there are few quantifiable human security indices, because of the difficulty in devising an objective measure of insecurity under conditions of conflict.²

Two dimensions of human security can be addressed by the economist: 'freedom from want' and 'freedom from fear' (Brauch 2005; Brauch/Oswald/Grin/Mesjasz/Kameri-Mbote/Behera/Chourou/Krummenacher 2008).³ The first refers to the quality of life, and economics is rich in approaches to this, many of which go beyond the simple utilitarian paradigm; making the epithet economics is associated with for being 'the gospel of Mammon' rather unfair. The crudest form of the utilitarian approach states that (cardinally immeasurable) utility emanates from consumption. One can, of course, incorporate non-

hedonistic components into an individual utility function, such as the utility of one's children, which would amount to altruism, as well as solidarity with a cause. Societal welfare is maximized when the sum of individual utilities are maximized. This, in turn, leads to the two fundamental welfare theorems in mainstream economics which are associated with the concept of *efficiency*. A competitive equilibrium is Pareto efficient, and secondly that a Pareto optimal allocation is also a competitive equilibrium. Pareto efficiency, in the strictest sense, implies that one person cannot be made better off by re-allocation without making at least another person worse off. It also means that changes that make some better off without making any others worse off should be implemented. But it raises problems of equity. In a two-person society, for example, Pareto efficiency is compatible with one person having everything and another person nothing; something that is repugnant to most sensibilities. Consequently, in economics, we are used to separating issues relating to efficiency from normative matters pertaining to *equity*.

Besides utilitarianism we also have Sen's (1985) capability approach which states that well-being emerges from capability, examples of which could be the twin freedoms from want and fear. Capabilities are related to entitlements, that could include security; but exchange entitlements or participation in the market are very much part and parcel of 'entitlement'. Rawls's (1971) Maximin principle is, perhaps, less well known. Maximin means the maximization of the minimum. Thus, allocation and choice under this rule maximizes the utility of the least fortunate member (or group) in society. Maximin allocations are not necessarily Pareto efficient, except by serendipity.

Section 36.2 of this chapter examines 'freedom from want' by focussing on economic growth. Differences in growth rates, particularly over the last two centuries, have produced the present disparities between rich and poor countries, which in turn constitute the problem of development. By choosing to fo-

1 I am grateful to Des Gasper, Hans Günter Brauch and two reviewers of this volume for thoughtful insights into earlier versions of this chapter.

2 Subjective measures with numerical codes do exist, e.g. the Minorities at Risk database (MAR 2004). See also Lonergan/Gustavson/Carter (forthcoming) and Lonergan/Gustavson/Carter (2000).

3 The original expressions are from President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's address to Congress on 6th January 1941, see at: <<http://www.Fdrlibrary.marist.edu/od4frees.html>>, accessed on 29 June 2005. President Roosevelt was concerned with security threats where nation states threaten one another. For that we had the United Nations founded in 1945. Most wars, nowadays, are internal wars.

Table 36.1: GDP Per Capita (1995 Constant US\$) Growth Rates. **Source:** World Development Indicators 2002, World Bank (2002).

Area	Annual average GDP growth % 1960–1970	Annual average GDP growth % 1970–1980	Annual average GDP growth % 1980–1990	Annual average GDP growth % 1990–2000
Low & middle income countries	3.1	3.3	1.2	1.9
East Asia & Pacific	2.9	4.5	5.9	6.0
South Asia	1.8	0.7	3.5	3.2
Latin America & Caribbean	2.6	3.4	-0.8	1.7
Sub-Saharan Africa	2.6	0.8	-1.1	-0.4

cus on growth I am being unapologetically utilitarian. Growth creates possibilities for greater happiness. Without growth citizens cannot exercise capabilities. Growth also constitutes the principal avenue for poverty reduction. In poor countries mere acts of income or asset distribution can only serve to make all people equally poor. This does not mean, however, that no attention should be paid to distribution, as perceptions about unfair distribution across groups can promote conflict, as will be discussed in section 36.3. Section 36.2 also analyses the role of institutional functioning in explaining the deep determinants of long-term growth and growth failure. As the opening lines of Tolstoy's (1877, 2000) novel *Anna Karenina* pithily points out: "Happy families are all alike; every unhappy family is unhappy in its own way."

Section 36.3 concentrates on the 'freedom from fear'. It begins by looking at violence as an alternative economic activity to peaceful production. It then examines what economics can contribute to the understanding of the causes of war, the most common form of which is intra-state civil war at present. The problem of transnational terrorism is also analysed, as will be the reasons why peace agreements are so notoriously fragile, and the difficulties in achieving a durable peace due to the indivisibility of the objectives of warring parties. Section 36.4 provides a synthesis with conclusions.

36.2 The Lack of Economic Growth and Freedom from Want

'Freedom from want' in low-income countries, where poverty is endemic, can only ensue in the long run from economic growth. This is because growth enlarges the economic pie and creates the necessary

pre-conditions for economic wellbeing. Granted, this is not sufficient for the freedom from want, which also depends on other mechanisms, including the distribution of income. As far as growth is concerned table 36.1 suggests that recent growth rates of real income per-capita have been low, and even negative, for many developing countries, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa and Latin America in the post-1980 period. In Africa, in particular, the era of globalization is associated with huge development failure. Not only have incomes declined, but also other indicators of inclusion and wellbeing have deteriorated. This includes the return of old diseases such as tuberculosis, the AIDS pandemic, stagnating maternal mortality, and literacy rates. On the other hand, developing countries in East Asia, and more recently in South Asia, have been doing well. Historically also, disparities between rich and poor countries have been growing in the last two centuries. UNDP (1999) reproduces figures to show that the gap in average income between the richest and poorest nations was only 3:1 during the dawn of the industrial revolution in 1820, rising to 11:1 by 1913. More recently, it grew to 35:1 in 1950, rising slightly to 44:1 by 1973. After the commencement of the present round of globalization, this figure has acquired a staggering magnitude of 72:1. The lack of economic growth, and the increasing disparity between rich and poor nations, undermines human security from the standpoint of freedom from want and other human capabilities.

What are the long-term determinants of growth? The new growth theory suggests that many factors can raise the productivity of the inputs (capital and labour) that enter the production process, see Romer (1990). Initially, the stress was put on the development of human resources or human capital. Lately, consideration is also being given to other over-arching factors that might help explain long-term growth, or

more importantly, growth failure. These include geographical location, the adoption of bad policies, the type of resources the economy is endowed with, as well as institutional functioning and governance; see Murshed (2004) for a survey.⁴ In this section I shall consider the last two factors, which will turn out to be interconnected.

Murshed (2004) presents evidence that developing countries with a large mineral-type natural resource endowment have tended to have low growth rates since the 1970's, notwithstanding a handful of success stories like *Botswana. The traditional macroeconomic effect associated with natural resource booms is known in the literature as 'Dutch Disease' (Neary/Wijnbergen 1986). The problem is associated with a sudden windfall gain. This may be due to a rapid, but temporary, increase in the price of oil and other primary commodities, as in the 1970's. Alternatively it can also be associated with natural resource discoveries, increases in worker remittances, or other unrequited international transfers. Irrespective of the cause, a resource boom crowds out the leading sector of the economy. A shift in domestic output from traded goods to non-traded goods takes place. There is empirical evidence suggesting that countries rich in natural resources tend to have higher price levels, and as a result their non-natural resource based goods are uncompetitive and cannot be exported. They, therefore, miss out on the benefits of export-led growth that many other developing countries poorly endowed with natural resources have gained from.

Then there are political economy arguments as to why resource booms or a substantial reliance on mineral resource exports can retard long-run growth (Murshed 2004). Natural resource rents can make corruption, predation, and rent-seeking a more attractive option. This incentive is greater the weaker the environment of law and contract enforcement following societal upheavals. A related problem concerns the allocation of entrepreneurial talent, as analysed in Murphy, Shleifer, and Vishny (1991). The idea being that talent can focus either on production or predation. This decision is a function of the relative returns to these two activities.

A rich mineral type natural resource endowment, where ownership and production is concentrated, may therefore produce poor institutions. Malfunctioning institutions may then retard growth. The importance of institutions has been emphasized by au-

thors such as North (1990) and Platteau (1994). Recent empirical studies also confirm the independent importance of institutions in determining economic performance as measured by the levels of per-capita income. We have currently rich data on government capacity (Kaufmann/Kraay/Zoido-Lóbaton 2002). The rankings are for voice and accountability, political stability, government effectiveness, regulatory quality, rule of law, and control of corruption. They extend from -2.5 at the lower end of the spectrum, to 2.5 at the upper end. The implication also is that a positive score is good and a negative score is below average. The scores are correlated with per-capita income. Most developing countries, particularly low-income nations score negatively in these areas. Easterly and Levine (2003) present evidence based on cross-country econometrics that a mineral natural resource endowment, a poor geographical (tropical) location, and an excessive mortality rate (disease burden) does retard economic development but via *institutions* as measured by Kaufmann, Kraay and Zoido-Lóbaton (2002). Similarly, bad economic policies and choices also hinder economic development via institutions. Consequently, institutions and institutional functioning are the crucial link between resource endowments, geography, policies on the one hand, and economic outcomes on the other hand. A similar line of reasoning is presented in Rodrik, Subramanian, and Trebbi (2004).

What determines these all-important institutions of governance? There is now a consensus that the framework of governance, including respect for property rights, contract and law enforcement, the rule of law, and administrative capacity, matter a great deal if a country is to be successful in its quest for growth and development. The current economic literature points out to several sources of institutional determination, some of which may be related to natural resource endowment.

Authors such as Acemoglu, Johnson and Robinson (2001) date back poor (or good) institutional determination to at least a century ago, to the pattern of colonialization. They distinguish between two types of colonies. The first group corresponds to parts of the New World settled by European migrants, as in North America and Australasia. The second group refers to tropical developing countries, today's Third World. The idea is that better institutions, especially property rights and the rule of law, were embedded into the first group.⁵ In the second category of colonial countries, an extractive pattern of production was set up. This extractive and exploita-

4 Culture is arguably another explanation, see Cuesta (2004).

tive pattern of production is also the legacy of colonialization, malign colonialization in these cases. Clearly, this pattern was more prevalent in some parts of the world, particularly in Africa and Latin America, the Belgian Congo is cited as the worst example. The latter's contemporary counterpart, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) has probably the worst growth experience on record. As the extractive state is expropriatory and predatory, bad institutions emerge and become entrenched even after independence, and a predatory equilibrium emerges. The important question that remains unanswered is why does de-colonialization, and the opportunities it provides for policy changes, not alter the destiny of an extractive economy? It does in some, but not in others. Secondly, despite the saliency of the colonial phase in history, many developing nations have had a collective experience prior to, and after, colonialization that must have also shaped institutions. In East Asia, South Asia, the Middle East, and North African regions of the developing world, well functioning institutions of good governance existed well before the advent of colonialization, and European colonial powers merely adapted pre-existing administrative institutions. The work of Acemoglu, Johnson, and Robinson (2001) is therefore mostly applicable to sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America, and the Caribbean.

Another strand of the literature builds on the link between inequality and mineral-type resource endowment, see the work of Sokoloff and Engerman (2000), as well as Easterly (2001). Commodity endowments of the mineral or plantation variety tend to depress the middle-class share of income in favour of elites, as in Latin America. The idea being that these elites in turn use their power, identical with the forces of the state, to coerce and extract rents. When different groups compete with another for these rents, the rent-seeking contest can lead to even more perverse and wasteful outcomes than when elites collude. The important point made by Easterly (2001) is that small elite-based societies do not have a stake in the long-term development of the land. Unlike in middle-class dominated societies, publicly financed human capital formation and infrastructural development falls by the wayside, hence depressing growth prospects. The reason is that mass education promotes growth, although it eventually leads to power shifting away from elite groups. Education is costly,

but it results in a private benefit for the educated (higher life-time income), as well as an all-important growth enhancing public benefit. The benefits from the latter effect also accrue to oligarchs. This may induce the selfish elite to redistribute income as it allows the capital-constrained poor to obtain an education and contribute to rapid national economic development, even though this means the eventual loss of power for the oligarchy through democracy. The important point is that a tiny oligarchy may be the most disinclined to redistribute income. A smaller and extremely wealthy elite group is most likely in mineral and plantation rich economies. ⁱ

36.3 Violent Internal Conflict and Freedom from Fear

In the early 21st century most wars occur between groups within the same country, and in the *developing* world. Conflict is also a major cause for the persistence of poverty, which in turn is also a cause of conflict (Collier/Elliott/Hegre/Hoeffler/Reynal-Querol/Sambanis 2003).

Are these civil wars fundamentally irrational, and couldn't the differences underlying these disputes be settled peacefully? Sadly, conflict may be the product of rational decisions, even if it is only of a bounded or myopic rational choice variety. It is important to understand that violence is an alternative to peaceful production as a form of economic activity. Francis Edgeworth, writing in the late 19th century, distinguished between consent – and its absence – in human economic interaction:

The first principle of Economics is that every agent is actuated only by self-interest. The workings of this principle may be viewed under two aspects, according as the agent acts *without*, or *with*, the consent of others affected by his actions. In wide senses, the first species of action may be called *war*; the second, contract (Edgeworth 1881: 16-17).

In securing an income, humanity has a choice between production and predation, the relative returns being in part determined by the cost of 'swords' relative to 'ploughshares'. The institutional environment, the quality of law, and contract enforcement also determines this choice. Criminal activity, whether taking the form of extortion or theft, is only one aspect of the economics of violence. War, especially civil war, also has an economic dimension. Hirshleifer (1995) models anarchic inter-group warfare using non-cooperative game theory, in a setting reminiscent of the

⁵ The authors argue that the mortality rate amongst Europeans is what determined whether Europeans settled a colony or not.

primitive conflict over resources between neighbouring communities. Similarly, Grossman (1991) models rebellion against a tax-farming state, where individual choices are predicated upon the relative returns to farming or working for the state or rebelling against it. The main characteristic of these rational choice approaches is the notion of expected utility; the returns (sometimes negative) are the sum of the pecuniary value of various activities weighted by their subjective probability.

In the new rational choice literature on conflict, a distinction is often made between *grievance*, a motivation based on a sense of injustice in the way a social group is or has been treated; and *greed*, an acquisitive desire similar to crime, albeit on a much larger scale.⁶ In many ways the former refers to intrinsic motivation, and the latter to an extrinsic or pecuniary incentive to go to war. These motives are not entirely separate in practice, and change as conflict progresses. Addison, Le Billon, and Murshed (2002) present an analytical game-theoretic model of civil war where greed and grievance exist simultaneously in the midst of poverty.

Grievances include the systematic economic discrimination against groups based on ethno-linguistic or religious differences. Extreme poverty and poor social conditions, including refugee camps, also facilitate conflict by making soldiering less unattractive. Many of today's civil wars have an ethnic or nationalist dimension and ethnicity, whether based on language, religion or other distinctions, often a superior basis for collective action in poor countries than other social divisions such as class. In coalescing groups, therefore, current and historical grievances play a crucial part in resolving Olson's (1965) collective action problem. This is all the more possible when there are inequalities across a small number of clearly identifiable groups, something which is known as *horizontal* inequality, as opposed to the social class-based notion of vertical inequality (Stewart 2000). More often than not, these take the form of high asset inequality, discriminatory public spending across groups and unequal access to the benefits of state patronage, such as government jobs. Furthermore, state failure in providing security and a minimal level of public goods often forces individuals to rely on kinship ties for support and security.

Discussion of greed as a motive for conflict arises mainly in the context of natural resource endow-

ments in Africa, and has been popularized for example by the work of Collier and Hoeffler (2004). Capturable natural resource rents, such as alluvial diamonds in Angola and Sierra Leone, can result in contests over the right to control these, some of which takes the form of warfare, but also criminality and corruption in other instances. Ross (2004) points out that lootable gemstones and illegal narcotics help to finance and perpetuate civil war, as they are a major source of profit for some of the competing groups. Their presence does not, however, robustly explain why civil wars begin in the first place. Ross (2004) also finds that oil and gas revenues significantly contribute to secessionist wars.

The greed versus grievance dichotomy can provide a useful beginning to the discussion of the causes of conflict. But for these forces to take the form of large-scale violence there must be other factors at work, specifically a failing "social contract" and conflict triggers. A functioning social contract, and the concomitant institutions that distribute income and resolve disputes, can prevent the violent expression of greed or grievance (Murshed 2002). Furthermore, the outbreak of conflict always requires triggers, both internal and external. External triggers involve support and succour from an outside power; internal triggers refer to events that induce parties to abandon peaceful negotiation in favour of outright war.

Transnational terrorism, and the strategy of war on terrorism to combat it, is a form of 'new' war. Here intrinsic motivation, which often takes the form of the collective sense of humiliation, plays a greater role; therefore deterrence against terrorists may backfire if it hardens their resolve to resist, as modelled by Addison and Murshed (2005). Perpetrators of terrorist acts are not often uneducated and poor, unlike in the case of civil wars where the soldiery is often drawn from the ranks of the impoverished whose alternative gainful employment prospects are scant. In fact, education can act as an indicator of reliability in acts such as suicide bombing. Terrorism requires individuals to express solidarity with an intrinsic cause or value, where the notion of pecuniary gain associated with greed in the case of civil wars is totally irrelevant. From the viewpoint of individual choice, suicide bombing may be a rational act as explained by Winthrop (2002). This is because the individual has made an all or nothing choice between solidarity to a cause and individual autonomy. An all or nothing choice involves a 'corner solution' to a utility maximization problem. In this situation changing relative prices (in-

6 The expression "greed disguised as grievance" was coined by Paul Collier (Collier/Hoeffler 2004).

creasing deterrence) has little impact on individual choice, which is another way of saying that deterring terrorism will not succeed in preventing people from committing to their cause, even if the success rate of individual acts of terrorism diminishes.

Conflict resolution is more difficult when the intrinsic motivation to fight is strong, as is the case in secessionist wars and certain forms of terrorism. It is also difficult to sustain peace when parties feel tempted to resume warfare so as to enable them to continue looting valuable resources. The commitment problem to an agreed peace treaty is also a serious problem. This difficulty arises when it is in the interest of one or either side to renege on the promise of peace, and the actions that peace involves. In that situation, commitments lack credibility. Sometimes agents or groups cannot commit credibly because there are no institutions or mechanisms upon which to anchor promises. For governments, this is more likely in the context of weak state capacity, as it is difficult for a state to guarantee pledges when its own legitimacy and power base is fragile.

An important aspect of the commitment problem is the very high discount rates, or the short time horizons of the parties involved (Addison/Murshed 2002). In situations of poverty and high uncertainty, agents strongly prefer a dollar today to a dollar tomorrow. Although the absolute value of future peace may be much higher than that of continued warfare, the present value may be much lower when the discount rate is high and there is an impatience to consume. The same argument can be applied to reputation, a factor that is key to the credibility of peacemaking. Breaking an agreement damages *future* reputation, but with a high enough discount rate it might pay to renege because the cost comes in the future. Each failure of the peace process raises the discount rates of the belligerents, thereby increasing the difficulty of making peace. Given the tarnished reputations of belligerents it is even harder to establish credible peace. The problem is particularly apparent in Africa where most indicators of political risk are substantially greater than elsewhere in the world. Solutions lie in directly increasing the cost of reneging on peace agreements, devising commitment technologies through institutional innovation and improving the quality of peacekeeping forces.

The indivisibility of war aims, symbols, or land can also make solutions to certain civil wars intractable. Wood (2003) highlights *indivisibility* as a major impediment to peace deals. This arises when territory, symbols, or revenue in a post-conflict situation

cannot be divided up so as to achieve peace. The problem can be most acute when religious sites such as Har'm El Sharif or Temple Mount in Jerusalem are involved. Also, considerable difficulties arise when it is problematic to achieve compromise over a war aim such as land reform (Nepal and Colombia), or deep constitutional change (monarchy in Nepal). There can also be seemingly irresolvable disputes over post-war power sharing, and the allocation of offices in a post-conflict government.

The theoretical literature on sharing and division offers us several insights into conflict resolution. For example, Brams (2005) points out several allocation rules for a single divisible good, many divisible goods, and several indivisible goods. All of these have implications for durable peacemaking, involving compromises over issues and post-war economic stakes. If a peace agreement, and the divisions and compromises it entails are perceived to be unfair then the deal itself will not be robust. Sharing in this regard must be equitable as well as efficient. That is why envy-free allocative outcomes are so important. In an envy-free outcome each participant does not regard the allocation achieved by another player to be superior to what he/she has achieved. All the various allocative mechanisms considered by Brams (2005) require monitoring or intervention by an outside agency, a mediator, and/or external power. To be successful, however, peacemaking must reconstitute and refashion the social contract. That means broad-based reconstruction, and a solution that does not leave any of the belligerents worse off than they were prior to war.

36.4 Conclusions

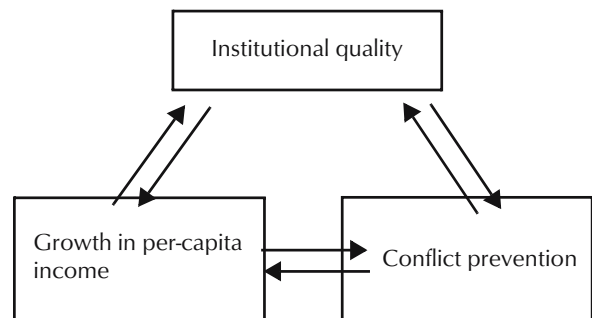
In this chapter I have attempted to argue that human security as broadly understood in economics could encompass elements of the freedoms from want and fear. What I have discussed are inputs in to these freedoms, which emanate respectively from growth and the prevention or conclusion of violent internal conflict. "Freedom from want" has been the traditional subject matter of economics, and includes a wide-ranging understanding of utility and welfare. 'Freedom from fear' or insecurity is something development economists have been increasingly paying attention to, as it is recognized that economic policy cannot be formulated or conducted independent of the political and security environment. Furthermore,

the potential for conflict and civil war in retarding growth and development are equally accepted.

Development and human security imply the maximization of growth and the minimization of conflict, see figure 36.1 below. The latter objective also requires that growth be not too unequally distributed. Institutions and institutional functioning are central to both these goals, as they promote growth and prevent conflict. As Rodrik (1999) emphasizes, countries with weak institutions of conflict management, as well as high-income inequality are less able to withstand economic shocks and experience growth failure. Thus, not only do good institutions promote growth, but growth also prevents conflict. Moreover, growth and conflict are related in other ways. Countries with low per-capita income are more prone to conflict (Collier/Elliot/Hegre/Hoeffler/Reynal-Querol/Sambanis 2003), and nations in conflict have their growth potential curtailed. Although poor institutional quality can both retard growth and promote violent internal conflict, its effect on these two phenomena is not symmetric. Not all countries that are growth failures descend into large-scale internal violence. Similarly, although most nations experiencing conflict do have a poor record in terms of economic growth, several others do not, such as in East Asia (Indonesia), South Asia (Nepal, Sri Lanka) and Latin America (Colombia). History is not bereft of examples of growth and conflict prevention success via good institutions against the odds, when the wrong kind of endowment and geography had existed, such as in Botswana (rich in mineral resources) and Singapore (tropical location with a high initial settler mortality rate).

Institutions may be all important in determining a country's fate and the level of human security, but I have argued that institutions are not exogenously and immovably given. They may be related to historical factors such as endowments of mineral type natural resources, a poor tropical location, and the extractive institutions imbedded through a rapacious colonial past. But this does not constitute destiny. Institutions in the future can be improved via the accumulation of benevolent current and past policies. For example, Glaeser, La Porta, Lopez-de-Silanes and Shleifer (2004) point out that most developing countries were dictatorships in 1960. Some of these dictatorships voluntarily pursued good policies such as respect for contracts, the rule of law, and promoted the accumulation of human and physical capital. This reduced economic uncertainty and promoted growth, and in most instances these countries also avoided large-

Figure 36.1: The Institutions–Conflict Prevention–Growth Nexus



scale conflict. Along with economic development came the simultaneous accumulation of high quality human capital. In the end, that made the dictatorship untenable, as a highly educated and affluent population clamoured for more voice and democracy. We have thus the narrative of endogenous democracy, as applied not only to late nineteenth and early twentieth century Western Europe, but also to contemporary South Korea and Taiwan. An important lesson in this regard is that the imposition of *exogenous* Western democratic models following civil war, state failure, and economic collapse (Somalia and Afghanistan for example), as well as military conquest (Iraq) is likely to be fragile and precarious.

37 The Concept of Security in International Relations

John Baylis

37.1 Introduction

In his classic study of *Man, the State and War*, Kenneth Waltz (1954) charts the disagreements between classical philosophers about the causes of war. Some see it resulting from imperfections in human nature. Others regard the structure of the state as being a crucial determinant of war. And yet other writers focus their attention on the anarchical nature of the international system in which individuals and states have to operate. In this ongoing debate throughout history, Waltz points out that there is a fundamental difference between political philosophers over whether conflict can be transcended or mitigated. This reflects a fundamental difference between 'Realist' and 'Idealist' thinkers, who have been respectively pessimistic and optimistic in their response to the central question of whether war is an inevitable part of human existence.

These two schools of thought, in turn, reflect the distinctive 'Hobbesian' and 'Kantian' traditions in classical philosophy. There has also been a third, 'Grotian', tradition in the international relations literature which takes issue with both Hobbesian and Kantian approaches. Hobbesians see no possibility of moving beyond the essentially violent world in which we live. Kantians, on the other hand, argue that it is possible to 'transcend' violent conflict and move on to a more peaceful existence. Grotian scholars, in contrast, accept that violence and war are extremely difficult, if not impossible, to eradicate completely but argue that it is possible to develop rules and norms which help to 'mitigate' the worst excesses of violence and war. In this sense, Grotians are more optimistic than Hobbesians, and more pessimistic than Kantians. (Wight 1979)

This perennial question of whether war and violence can be eradicated has been very much at the heart of the study of international relations from the time it first became a systematic academic discipline after the First World War. Initially Idealism claimed

widespread support as the League of Nations seemed to offer some hope for greater international order. Later, however, after 1945 during the Cold War, Realism became the dominant school of thought. War and violent conflict were seen by many writers in this confrontational era as perennial features of interstate relations stretching back through human history. With the end of the Cold War, however, the debate began again. For some, the end of the intense ideological conflict between East and West was a major turning point in international history, ushering in a new paradigm in which interstate violence would gradually become a thing of the past and new communitarian values would bring greater cooperation between individuals and human collectivities of various kinds (including states). This, 'new' Idealism, reflected more optimistic views about the development of a peaceful global civic society. For others, however, 'old' Realism remained the best approach to thinking about international security. Cooperation was temporary and the harsh realities of national and international insecurity would soon reappear. This perspective was reinforced after the events of 9/11.

Nevertheless, what this new post-Cold War era brought was a fresh approach to thinking about the nature of security in general which has had a significant impact on the international relations literature. This chapter focuses on the development of thinking about 'security' from its traditional origins to the newer perspectives which have emerged in the post-Cold War period. We begin by looking at traditional views of the relationship between national security and international security and the influence which these ideas have had on contemporary thinking (37.2-37.5). This will be followed by a discussion of the meaning of the term 'security' and a survey of 'new thinking', involving a re-conceptualization of security in recent years (37.6). The conclusion provides an assessment of the contribution of this 'new thinking' to a contemporary understanding of the world we live in today (37.7). In particular, it is argued that while Real-

ism has been justifiably challenged in recent years and alternative approaches have been developed (that provide important new insights), Realism remains a powerful approach to both the study and the practice of international relations.

37.2 Traditional 'Realist' Views about Security

From the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648 onwards states have been regarded as by far the most powerful actors in the international system. They have been the universal standard of political legitimacy with no higher authority to regulate their relations with each other. This has meant that security has been seen as the priority obligation of state governments. They have taken the view that there is no alternative but to seek their own protection in what has been described as a self-help world.

In the historical debate about how best to achieve national security writers like Hobbes, Machiavelli, and Rousseau tended to paint a rather pessimistic picture of the implications of state sovereignty (see chap. by Arends and Coicaud in this vol.). The international system was viewed as a rather brutal arena in which states would seek to achieve their own security at the expense of their neighbours. Interstate relations were seen as a struggle for power as states constantly attempted to take advantage of each other. According to this view permanent peace, in a Kantian sense, was unlikely to be achieved. All that states could do was to try and balance the power of other states to prevent any one from achieving overall hegemony. This was a view which was shared by writers like Edward H. Carr (1946) and Hans Morgenthau (1948, 1960, and 1985), who developed what became known as the realist (or 'classical' realist) school of thought in the aftermath of World War II.

This largely pessimistic view of international relations was shared by more contemporary writers like Kenneth Waltz (1979) and John Mearsheimer (1990). According to these 'neo-realist' writers, security, or insecurity, is largely the result of the structure of the international system ('structural realists'). The structure of anarchy is seen as being highly durable. The implication of this is that international politics in the future is likely to be as violent as international politics in the past. In 'Back to the Future' John Mearsheimer (1990) argued that the end of the Cold War was likely to usher in a return to the traditional multilateral balance of power politics of the past in which extreme

nationalism and ethnic rivalries would lead to widespread instability and conflict. Mearsheimer viewed the Cold War as a period of peace and stability brought about by the bipolar structure of power which prevailed. With the collapse of this system, he predicted that there would be a return to the kind of great power rivalries which had blighted international relations since the seventeenth century.

For neo-realist writers, like Mearsheimer (1994), international politics involves a relentless process of competition, with war, like rain, always a possibility. It is accepted that cooperation among states can and does occur, but such cooperation has its limits. It is "constrained by the dominating logic of security competition, which no amount of cooperation can eliminate." Genuine long-lasting peace, or a world where states do not compete for power, therefore, is very unlikely to be achieved.

The aim of realists, both classical and neo-realists is to 'explain' the world as they see it. In a positivist sense, they claim to develop generically valid, universal concepts and laws which provide a basis for predicting the future. Because the world has been largely violent in the past this is how it is likely to continue. The lessons of the past suggest that the best way to achieve security is to seek power.

37.3 Security as a Contested Concept

Traditionally most writers have agreed that security is a 'contested concept'. Most would also agree that it implies freedom from threats to core values (for both individuals and groups) but there remains a major disagreement about whether the primary focus of enquiry should be on 'individual', 'national', or 'international' security. Historically, the literature has been dominated by *national* security, largely defined in militarized terms. The main area of interest tended to be on the military capabilities their states should develop to deal with threats facing them. More recently, however, this idea of security has been criticized and many international relations experts have proposed an expanded concept of security by widening the limits of parochial national security to include other considerations. Barry Buzan (1983: 214–242) has included political, economic, societal, environmental as well as military aspects. He defined security in broader international terms. This involves states overcoming "excessively self-referenced security policies" and thinking on the security interests of their neighbours. Buzan's work raised questions whether national and international se-

curity considerations could be compatible and whether states were capable of thinking in more cooperative terms.

This focus on the tension between national and international security, however, has not been accepted by all security experts. Others argue that the emphasis on the state and interstate relations ignores the fundamental changes which have been taking place in world politics especially in the aftermath of the Cold War. For some, the dual processes of integration and fragmentation requires more attention for 'societal security'. Accordingly, growing integration in Europe is undermining the classical political order based on nation-states, leaving nations exposed within larger political frameworks (EU). The fragmentation of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia has created new problems of boundaries, minorities, and organizing ideologies causing regional instability (Kaldor 1999). Thus, ethno-national groups, rather than states, should become the focus for security analysts.

Other commentators argue that the stress on national and international security is less appropriate because of the emergence of an embryonic global society in the post-Cold War era (Shaw 1994). Like the 'societal security' theorists they point to the fragmentation of the nation-state but they argue that more attention should be given, not to society at the ethno-national level, but to global society. They argue that the most important contemporary trend is globalization which brings new risks and dangers, including risks associated with such things as international terrorism, a breakdown of the global monetary system, global warming, and the dangers of nuclear accidents. These threats to security, on a planetary level, are viewed as being largely outside the control of nation-states. Only the development of a global community could deal with this adequately.

37.4 'Realists' and 'Neo-Realists' as Pessimists

Despite the debate on a narrow or wide security concept, differences continue between those who are pessimistic and those who are optimistic on a more secure future world. For most contemporary realist or neo-realist writers there is little prospect of a significant change in the nature of security in the post-Cold War world. Pointing to the Gulf War in 1991, the violent disintegration of the former Yugoslavia and parts of the former Soviet Union, continuing violence in the Middle East, the Iraq War in 2003, and the 'war on

terror', it is argued that we continue to live in a world of mistrust and constant security competition. Cooperation between states occurs, but it is difficult to achieve and even more difficult to sustain. There are two main factors which make cooperation difficult. The first is the prospect of cheating; the second is the concern which states have on relative gains.

Writers like Waltz and Mearsheimer do not deny that states often cooperate or that in the post-Cold War era there are greater opportunities for states to work together. They argue that there are distinct limits to cooperation because states have remained fearful that others will cheat on any agreements reached and attempt to gain advantages over them. This risk is particularly important, given the nature of modern military technology which can bring about very rapid shifts in the balance of power between states. "Such a development", Mearsheimer (1994: 20) has argued, "could create a window of opportunity for the cheating side to inflict a decisive defeat on the victim state." States realize that this is the case and although they join alliances and sign arms control agreements, they remain cautious and aware of the need to provide for their own national security in the last resort. This is one of the reasons why, despite the Strategic Arms Reduction Agreements of the early 1990's and the extension of the Non-Proliferation Treaty in 1995, the nuclear powers maintained their nuclear weapons. The unilateralism of the Bush administration has also indicated a determination, especially since 9/11, to put national security at the forefront of its strategic agenda.

Cooperation is also inhibited, according to many neo-realist writers, because states are concerned with 'relative', rather than 'absolute gains'. Instead of being interested in cooperation because it will benefit both partners, states always have to be aware of how much they are gaining compared with the state they are cooperating with. Because all states will be attempting to maximize their gains in a competitive, mistrustful, and uncertain international environment, cooperation will always be very difficult to achieve and hard to maintain. The shifting alliances since 9/11 are said to confirm this.

This view of cooperation in the post-Cold War world is not shared by all neo-realist writers. Some scholars argue that the traditional neo-realist view of international relations should be modified or even replaced. To illustrate alternative ways of thinking on international security, several contemporary approaches will be considered. Despite their differences they share the view that greater future international security is possible through cooperation. Many have ar-

gued that international security has been undergoing significant changes which could enhance opportunities for peace. But this is no universal view.

37.5 'Realists' and 'Neo-Realists' as Optimists

Contrary to the neo-realists (Waltz, Mearsheimer) who remain pessimistic about cooperation between states in the post-Cold War world, other neo-realists were more optimistic. According to Charles Glaser (1994–1995: 51), “contrary to the conventional wisdom, the strong general propensity of adversaries to compete is not an inevitable logical consequence of structural realism’s basic assumptions.” Glaser accepted many assumptions of structural realism, but he argued that there are many conditions in which adversaries can best achieve their security goals through cooperative policies, rather than competitive ones. Security is seen as ‘contingent’ on the prevailing circumstances. These ‘contingent realists’ argue that standard structural realism is flawed for three reasons.

Firstly, they reject the competition-bias inherent in the theory. Because international relations are characterized by self-help behaviour does not necessarily mean that states are damned to perpetual competition resulting in war. Faced with the uncertainties associated with being involved in an arms race, like that of the 1970’s and 1980’s, states preferred to cooperate. There were distinct advantages in working together to reduce the risks and uncertainty rather than engaging in relentless competition which characterized most of the Cold War.

A *second* argument is that standard structural realism is flawed because of its emphasis on ‘relative gains’. States often pursue cooperation precisely because of the dangers of seeking relative advantages. As the security dilemma literature suggests, it is often best in security terms to accept rough parity rather than seek maximum gains which will spark off another round of the arms race leading to less security for all in the longer term.

The *third* flaw in the standard argument is that the emphasis on cheating is overdone. Cheating is a problem which poses risks, but so does arms racing. Schelling and Halperin (1961) argued that it cannot be assumed that an agreement that leaves some possibility of cheating is unacceptable or that cheating would necessarily result in strategically important gains. The risks involved in arms control may be preferable to the risks involved in arms racing. Contingent realists

argue that this is often ignored by Waltz and Mearsheimer. This was the view of the superpowers in the late 1980’s and early 1990’s when many agreements were signed (INF, START I and II). The main thrust of the argument was that there is no need to be overly pessimistic about international security after the Cold War.

The view that, despite the anarchy of the international order, there are opportunities for cooperation between states is also shared by other self-declared ‘neo-realists’ or ‘structural realists’. Barry Buzan, and other members of what has become known as ‘the Copenhagen School’, have argued that one of the interesting and important features of the 1980’s and 1990’s was the gradual emergence of a rather more ‘mature anarchy’ in which states recognized the intense dangers of continuing to compete aggressively in a nuclear world. While accepting the tendency of states to focus on their own narrow parochial security interests, Buzan argued that there was a growing recognition amongst the more ‘mature’ states in the international system that there were good (security) reasons for taking into account the interests of their neighbours when making their own policies. States are increasingly internalizing “the understanding that national securities are interdependent and that excessively self-referenced security policies, whatever their jingoistic attractions, are ultimately self-defeating” (Buzan 1983: 208). He cites the Nordic countries as providing an example of a group of states that have moved, through ‘a maturing process’, from fierce military rivalry to a security community. Buzan accepted that such an evolutionary process for international society as a whole was likely to be slow and uneven. In his view a change away from national security towards a greater emphasis on international security was at least possible, and certainly desirable.

These authors argue that this has happened in Western Europe over the past fifty years. After centuries of hostile relations between France and Germany and other Western European states, a new sense of ‘community’ was established with the Treaty of Rome which turned former enemies into close allies. These states no longer consider using violence or coercion to resolve their differences. Disagreements still occur, but within the European Union these will always be resolved peacefully by political means. Supporters of the concept of ‘mature anarchy’ argue that this ongoing ‘civilizing’ process in Europe can be extended further to achieve a wider security community by embracing other regions with whom economic and political cooperation is increasingly taking place.

One of the main characteristics of the standard neo-realist approach to international security is the belief that international institutions play a minor part in war prevention. Institutions are seen as the product of state interests and the constraints which are imposed by the international system itself (Mearsheimer 1994). It is these interests and constraints which shape the decisions on whether to cooperate or compete, rather than the institutions to which they belong. Such views have been challenged by both statesmen and international relations specialists, particularly after the Cold War. The British Foreign Secretary, Douglas Hurd, stated in June 1992 that institutions themselves have continued to play a crucial role in enhancing security, particularly in Europe. The West had developed “a set of international institutions which have proved their worth for one set of problems”, and he has argued that the great challenge of the post-Cold War era was to adapt these institutions to deal with the new prevailing circumstances.

This view reflected a belief, widely shared among Western statesmen, that a framework of complementary, mutually reinforcing institutions – EU, NATO, WEU, and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) – could be developed to promote a more durable and stable European security system. For many observers such an approach has considerable potential in achieving peace in other regions of the world as well. ASEAN is often cited as an institution which has an important role to play in helping to maintain stability in South-East Asia. Similarly the African Union (AU) plays a part in helping to resolve differences between African states.

This view was shared by many academic writers during the 1980's and early 1990's who were convinced that the pattern of institutionalized cooperation between states opens up unprecedented opportunities to achieve greater international security. Although the past may have been characterized by constant wars and conflict, important changes are taking place in international relations in the early twenty-first century which creates the opportunity to dampen down the traditional security competition between states.

This approach of ‘liberal institutionalism’, operates largely within the realist framework, but argues that international institutions are much more important in helping to achieve cooperation and stability than ‘structural realists’ acknowledge. According to Keohane and Martin (1995: 42): “institutions can provide information, reduce transaction costs, make commitments more credible, establish focal points for coordination

and, in general, facilitate the operation of reciprocity.” Thus, in a world constrained by state power and divergent interests, international institutions operating on the basis of reciprocity can be a component of any lasting peace. Following the Grotian tradition, ‘liberal institutionalists’ argue that although international institutions are unlikely to eradicate war they can help to achieve greater cooperation between states.

37.6 Alternative Approaches

The so-called ‘global turn’ between 1989 and 1991 encouraged some writers who opposed realist and neo-realist approaches from both a Kantian and Grotian perspective to develop alternative security theories. According to ‘social constructivist’ writers, the fundamental structures of international politics are social rather than strictly material. As a result they argued that changing the way we think about international relations can bring a fundamental shift towards greater international security. The aim was less to ‘explain’ than to offer an ‘understanding’ of the world in which we live. Constructivists tend to reject the positivist approach of realist theorist with its emphasis on universal laws, certainty, and prediction. This reflected an important epistemological divide which emerged in the international relations literature from the early 1990's between positivist and what became known as ‘post-positivist’ positions (Booth/Zalewski 1996).

Post-positivist, social constructivists, like Alexander Wendt (1992), think about international politics in a very different way to neo-realists. The latter tend to view structure as being made up only of a distribution of material capabilities. Social constructivists think that structure is the product of social relationships. Social structures are made up shared knowledge, material resources and practices. Thus, social structures are defined, in part, by shared understandings, expectations, or knowledge. Alexander Wendt argues that the security dilemma is a social structure composed of inter-subjective understandings in which states are so distrustful that they make worst-case assumptions about each other's intentions, and, as a result, define their interests in ‘self-help’ terms. In contrast, a security community is a rather different social structure, composed of shared knowledge in which states trust one another to resolve disputes without war.

The emphasis on the structure of shared knowledge is important in social constructivist thinking. Social structures include material things, like tanks and economic resources, but these only acquire meaning

through the structure of shared knowledge in which they are embedded. The idea of power politics, or *realpolitik*, has meaning to the extent that states accept the idea as a basic rule of international politics. According to social constructivist writers, power politics is an idea which does affect the way states behave, but it does not describe all interstate behaviour. States are also influenced by other ideas, such as the rule of law and the importance of institutional cooperation and restraint. In his study, *Anarchy is What States Make of it*, Wendt argues that security dilemmas and wars are the result of self-fulfilling prophecies. The “logic of reciprocity” means that states acquire a shared knowledge about the meaning of power and act accordingly. Equally, policies of reassurance can also help to bring about a structure of shared knowledge which can help to move states towards a more peaceful security community.

Although social constructivists argue that security dilemmas are not acts of god, they differ over whether they can be escaped. Some are optimists, while others are more pessimistic. For Wendt the fact that structures are socially constructed does not necessarily mean that they can be changed. This is reflected in his comment that “sometimes social structures so constrain action that transformative strategies are impossible” (Wendt 1995a: 80). Other social constructivists are more optimistic. They point to the changes in ideas introduced by Gorbachev during the second half of the 1980’s which led to a shared knowledge about the end of the Cold War. Once both sides accepted the Cold War was over, it really was over. According to this view, understanding the crucial role of social structure is important in developing policies and processes of interaction which will lead towards cooperation rather than conflict. For the optimists, there is sufficient ‘slack’ in the international system which allows states to pursue policies of peaceful social change rather than engage in a perpetual competitive struggle for power. If there are opportunities for promoting social change, some social constructivists believe, it would be irresponsible not to pursue such policies (Adler/Barnett 1998). It is important to note, however, that constructivists argue that ‘to the extent that pessimists and optimists differ among themselves concerning the nature of existing structure the degree to which their analyses are relevant should be decided upon the basis of an analysis of the strategies conceivable for transforming structure, (including, for example, the state system, nation states, and transnational markets).’¹

Realists are often criticized for the central role given to the state in their writings. This is particularly true of the approach adopted by critical security theorists like Robert Cox. In his work Cox (1981) distinguishes between problem-solving and critical theories. Problem-solving theorists take “the existing social and political relations and institutions as starting points” (Smith 1999). Critical theorists focus on how these existing relationships and institutions emerged and what might be done to change them.

For them, states should not be the centre of analysis due to their diverse character, being often part of the problem (rather than the solution) of insecurity. They can be providers of security and a source of threat to their own people. Thus, attention should be focused on the individual rather than the state. Security can best be assured through human emancipation, defined in terms of freeing individuals and groups from the social, physical, economic, political, and other constraints that prevent them from doing what they would normally do. This focus on emancipation is designed to provide ‘a theory of progress’, ‘a politics of hope’, and a guide to ‘a politics of resistance’.

Feminist writers also challenge the traditional emphasis on the state in international security. While there are significant differences among feminist theorists, all agree that the literature on international security has been written from a ‘masculine’ perspective. Tickner argues that women have “seldom been recognized by the security literature” even though conflicts affect women, as much, if not more, than men (Tickner 1992). The vast majority of casualties and refugees in war are women and children and, as the recent war in Bosnia confirms, the rape of women is often used as a tool of war.

In *Bananas, Beaches and Bombs*, Enloe (1989) points to the patriarchal structure of privilege and control at all levels which effectively legitimizes all forms of violence. She highlights the traditional exclusion of women from international relations suggesting “that they are in fact crucial to it in practice and that nowhere is the state more gendered in the sense of how power is dispersed than in the security apparatus” (Terriff/Croft/James/Morgan 1999: 91). Enloe also challenges the concept of ‘national security’ arguing that this term often preserves the prevailing male-dominated order rather than protect the state from external attack. Feminist writers argue that if gender is brought more explicitly into the study of security, not only will new issues and alternative perspectives be added to the security agenda, but also the result will be a fundamentally different view of international security.

1 The author is grateful to an anonymous reviewer for pointing this out.

Recent years have also seen the emergence of other normative approaches to international relations which have produced a different and distinctive perspective towards international security. These writers often combine constructivist ontology with a critical normative stance, which on the use of language and discourse analysis. These theorists are sometime labelled 'post-modernists' (George 1994). Post-modernists agree that ideas discourse and 'the logic of interpretation' are crucial in understanding international politics and security. Like other proponents of the 'critical security studies' approach, post-modernists see 'realism' as a central problem of international insecurity because realism is a 'discourse of power and rule' which has been dominant in international politics in the past and which has encouraged security competition between states. Power politics is seen as an image of the world that encourages behaviour that helps bring about war. The attempt to balance power is itself part of this very behaviour leading to war. Alliances do not produce peace, but lead to war. Many post-modernists want to replace the discourse of realism or power with a different discourse and alternative interpretations of concepts such as 'danger' and what counts as a threat to 'national security'. The idea is that once the 'software' programme of realism that people carry around in their heads has been replaced by a new 'software' programme based on cooperative norms, individuals, states, and regions will learn to work with each other, and global politics will become more peaceful. For post-modern writers, security and subjectivity are closely connected. According to David Campbell:

Traditional discourses of international relations maintain that alliance is one where security is a goal to be achieved by a number of instrumentalities deployed by the state (defence and foreign policy, for example). But the linkage between the two can be understood in a different light, for just as Foreign Policy works to constitute the identity in whose name it operates, security functions to instantiate the subjectivity it purports to serve. Indeed, security (of which foreign policy is a part) is first and foremost a performance discourse constitutive of political order: after all 'Securing something requires its differentiation, classification and definition. It has, in short, to be identified' (Campbell 1992).

One central difference between realism and post-modernism concerns their epistemologies (ideas about knowledge). Post-modernists argue that there are no secure, timeless, and uncontested foundations for making choices about interpretations. This leads back to the view of theory as ideology, and as such there is no such thing as value-free enquiry. Realism is

also viewed not only as a statist ideology, largely out of touch with the globalizing tendencies which are occurring in world politics, but also as a dangerous discourse which is the main obstacle to efforts to establish a new and more peaceful hegemonic discourse. This is because it purports to provide a universal view of how the world is organized and what states have to do to survive. Post-modernists reject what they see as the 'preposterous certainty' of realism. In their view the enormous complexity and indeterminacy of human behaviour, across all its cultural, religious, historical, and linguistic variations means that there can be no single interpretation of global reality. The problem with realism according to this view is that by reducing the complexities of world politics to a single rigidly ordered framework of understanding, alternative interpretations and approaches to international security are ruled out. If the world is thought of in terms of anarchy, then 'power politics' will be seen as the solution to the problem of insecurity. On the other hand, if anarchy and power politics are not seen as being an endemic feature of global history then other more peaceful approaches to security might be tried. This has led post-modernist writers to try and reconceptualize the debate about global security by opening up new questions which have been ignored or marginalized. Jim George has argued that in the new post-Cold War strategic discourse

"attention ... has been focused on the growing sense of insecurity concerning state involvement in military-industrial affairs and the perilous state of the global economy. Questioned, too, has been the fate of those around the world rendered insecure by lives lived at the margins of existence yet unaccounted for in the statistics on military spending and strategic calculation" (George 1994).

George argues that such questions require a new communitarian discourse about security. Post-modernists believe that it is not only essential to replace realism with a communitarian discourse but it is an achievable objective. Because experts, and especially academic writers, have an important role to play in influencing 'the flow of ideas about world politics', it is vital for them to play their part in the process of transforming language and discourse about international politics. The whole nature of global politics can be transformed, and the traditional security dilemma can be overcome, if post-modern epistemic communities play their part in spreading communitarian ideals.

37.7 Conclusion

This chapter suggests that approaches to the study of security in the international relations literature have changed significantly from the days when realist views were both pre-eminent and unchallenged. Positivist approaches have been challenged by post-positivist theorists. The central role of the state in realist thinking has been challenged by those who feel that the state has been unnecessarily privileged. Also, the traditional narrow largely military definition of security has given way to a broader understanding of what it means to be 'secure' or 'insecure'. At the same time, however, fundamental differences between those who claim to be optimistic and pessimistic about the possibilities for future security remain. Both approaches provide useful insights and as constructivists point out, such claims themselves can have an impact on international security. It is also important to note that the optimistic and pessimistic traditions in the international relations literature tend to reflect the prevailing conditions in world politics: idealism in the early days of the League of Nations, realism during much of the Cold War period, followed by a new period of idealism after the Cold War ended and then back to realism after the events connected with the 9/11 attacks on the United States. In all of these phases, however, periods of conflict and peace have resulted in challenges to the dominant, prevailing approach to international security. In the early twenty-first century, despite important changes which have been taking place in world politics, this traditional ambiguity towards international security remains. In many ways the world is a much safer place as a result of the end of the Cold War and the removal of nuclear confrontation in East-West relations. The spread of democratic and communitarian values, some of the processes of globalization, and the generally cooperative effects of international institutions have played an important part in dampening down the competitive aspects of the security dilemma between states. This is reflected in some of the contemporary Grotian writings on international relations (Brauch 2004).

These trends have been offset by the September 11 attacks, the war in Afghanistan, the Iraq War, and the 'war on terror'. These conflicts demonstrate the continuing importance of military force as an arbiter of disputes both between, and particularly within, states, as well as the perceived importance of violence by terrorist groups as a weapon to alter the status quo. Conventional arms races continue in different regions of the world; nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons

still provide a powerful influence on the security calculations of many states; crazy and ambitious politicians remain at the head of some governments; and cultural differences, as well as diverse values and the tensions inherent in globalization itself prevent the emergence of global agreement on a wide range of important issues. This has resulted in 'the return of realism' in some of the literature on international relations, especially in the period since 9/11 (Gray 2005).

It remains much too soon to conclude that a paradigmatic shift is taking place in international politics in favour of either the optimistic or pessimistic perspectives. It is possible to identify some new and positive developments which are taking place in the contemporary world (in terms of EU expansion) which suggest that the future of world politics may differ from the past. But the empirical historical evidence, as well as contemporary events (associated with global terrorism), suggest caution. Periods of more cooperative interstate (and inter-group) relations have often in the past led to a false dawn and an unwarranted euphoria that 'perpetual peace' was about to break out. Given the events since 9/11, realism or the Hobbesian tradition, is once again, if not the centre of the stage, then at least a dominant perspective in the contemporary literature and indeed amongst world statesmen. (Meyer 2005: 61). But the alternative approaches, especially constructivism, which became more significant in the early days of the post-Cold War period, remain an important part of the contemporary discourse on international security. Changes in thinking about international security may not have led to a fundamental reconceptualization of security but alternative approaches have provided not only a broader view of what constitutes 'security' and a questioning of the traditional preoccupation with the central role of the state, but also an important challenge to some of the certainties of the traditional assumptions associated with realism. As such, there is now a much healthier and more vibrant debate about international security than existed during the Cold War period between 1945 and 1989. Whether war remains a perennial feature of the world in which we live, or whether it can be transcended or only mitigated, remains one of the central questions that face mankind.

38 Security in Peace Research and Security Studies

Ulrich Albrecht and Hans Günter Brauch

38.1 Introduction¹

In the Covenant of the *League of Nations* (1919) and in the *United Nations Charter* (1945), ‘international peace and security’ have been used together as the key purposes of both international organizations to be achieved by global (chap. VI and VII of UN Charter) and regional systems (chap. VIII of UN Charter) of collective security, as well as by collective and national self defence (Art. 51 UN Charter; chap. 4 by Wæver; chap. 35 by Bothe).

International relations as a social science discipline (chap. 37 by Baylis) has emerged after the Peace Conference in Versailles (1919), relying on knowledge in political philosophy, diplomatic and military history and international law, and it was influenced by the three ideal type traditions the English school has identified with realism (Hobbes), rationalism or pragmatism (Grotius 1625, 1975), and idealism (Kant), that have also existed in other intellectual traditions (Chinese, Indian, Arabic, pre-Columbian) and may be associated with many other thinkers unknown to the Western debate (chap. 3 by Brauch; chap. 10 by Oswald; and chap. 11–21).

Peace research and security studies are two distinct research programmes within the sub-discipline of international relations (IR) and also beyond, due to their multidisciplinary approaches that combine knowledge from philosophy, sociology, psychology, anthropology, and law. Both research programmes are identified with one of the two common goals and purposes of the League of Nations and of the United Nations. While peace research has evolved primarily in the idealist and security studies in the realist tradi-

tion, the Grotian tradition has offered a common middle ground for both programmes.

This chapter addresses two questions: How have the concepts of security evolved in both schools during the 20th century? Did the three global changes: a) the global contextual change in 1990, b) globalization, and c) the emerging ‘anthropocene’ (Crutzen/Stoermer 2000; Crutzen 2000) trigger a reconceptualization of security? To answer these questions, books surveying the evolution and results in both schools will be reviewed in the next five parts.

However, much of the conceptual debate on security and on its reconceptualization has taken place in scientific journals: for peace research especially in the *Journal of Peace Research* and *Security Dialogue* published by the International Peace Research Institute in Oslo (PRIO), and for security studies in *Survival* (IISS) that has been interested more in issues of the changing security agenda and *International Security* (Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University), the leading journal in the US, where many of the new global dangers for US national security have been addressed.²

The evolution of both schools since 1919 will be reviewed (38.2) and the key conceptual disputes between both schools prior to, during, and after the Cold War will be listed (38.3) that provided the framework for the evolution of the security concept in security, strategic, and war studies (38.4) as well as in peace research (38.5) and for the post Cold War dispute between those who adhere to a narrow primarily military and diplomatic security concept and the ‘wideners’ who have combined five dimensions and sectors with five different referent objects and levels of analysis (38.6).

1 The authors appreciate the critical and constructive comments and stimulating suggestions by Úrsula Oswald Spring (Mexico) who commented on two text versions, and by Czesaw Mesjasz (Poland) and Pál Dunay (Hungary) who reviewed the second revised text. Their comments are reflected in this text.

2 See: Lynn-Jones/Miller 1995; Ullman 1983, Homer-Dixon 1991, 1994; Lowi 1993, 1995, 1998; Lowi/Shaw 2000; Gleick 1990, 1991, 1993, 1993a, 1994, 1998, 2000.

38.2 The Two Schools and Three Traditions

The discipline of international relations was born on 30 May 1919 at the Peace Conference in Versailles (Paris) when policy advisers of US President W. Wilson and British Prime Minister L. George agreed to establish scientific institutes for the study of international relations in their countries that should focus on the causes, conditions, and forms of war and peace, and on the approaches and results of international conflict resolution as its conceptual core (Meyers 1979, 1984, 1993, 1994, 1994a). Meyers (2000) saw this new discipline as a science interpreting and resolving crises. According to this interpretation the study of international relations may be understood as an answer of the scientific community to extra-scientific, socio-economic, and political crises that could not be satisfied by the traditional approaches of diplomatic history, political philosophy, and international law (Meyers 1994a: 231).

In the two decades between the World Wars (1919–1939), in the new discipline of international relations an idealist approach focusing on international organizations and institutions prevailed that was being challenged from a realist perspective (e.g. by Carr 1939; Spykman 1942; Morgenthau 1948, 1960; Waltz 1959, 1979).

During the Cold War period (1947–1989) international relations in the West was dominated by theoretical approaches and concepts developed by and disputes among different schools of American scholars that influenced this emerging field in Europe, in the Asia Pacific, as well as in many Third World countries in Africa, Latin America, and in the Arab world whose IR experts were primarily trained in American, British, Canadian, and French universities and graduate schools. During the period of state socialism (1917–1991), the theoretical and conceptual debate in the East was influenced by the Marxist-Leninist ideology, and in China by Maoist thinking that was gradually revised by Deng Xia Ping during the 1980's. In the Socialist world many scholars and political leaders from liberation movements and progressive governments were trained in Marxist approaches to international politics. In the South, in Asia, Africa, and Latin America different regional and national traditions prevailed that were often inspired by the political leaders of liberation movements (Nasser, Nkruma, Nyere) and by third world intellectuals (e.g. Abdel Malek, Samir Amin). From the 1960's to the 1980's, in Latin Ame-

rica, the school of '*dependencia*' influenced the thinking on international relations and on development.

With the end of the Cold War the US intellectual dominance in the IR discipline has declined, and the Soviet influence disappeared with the implosion of the USSR. Since then an increasing theoretical and conceptual diversity has emerged and many new centres of conceptual innovation are blossoming in all parts of the world (Albrecht 1987, 1997, 1999; Crawford/Jarvis 2001). Despite the many schemes and approaches in IR, three scientific traditions are crucial.

38.2.1 Scientific Traditions and Schools of International Relations

Three intellectual traditions of thought, macro theories, or images of the world on IR have been distinguished by the English school (Wight 1991; Bull 1977; Buzan 2001, 2004, 2006):

- the *Hobbesian* or *Machiavellian* pessimist or *realist* with the primary focus on power politics and with a specific emphasis on military strategy (Malnes 1993);
- the *Kantian* optimist or *idealist* focusing on international law and human rights (Covell 1998);
- the *Grotian* pragmatic internationalist or *rationalist* pursuing opportunities for cooperation irrespective of the power difference and the democratic deficit (Bull/Kingsbury/Roberts 1992; Onuma 1993).

While in the early years of international relations during the inter-war period, legal perspectives in the Wilsonian tradition prevailed in the UK and US (Alger 1968; Meyers 1979, 1994a), since 1945 scholars working in the US have dominated and influenced the thinking and writing on international relations. Since then, at least five debates (Maghooori 1982; Baldwin 1993) between two opposite schools of thought occurred first in the US and later within the 'OECD world':

- 1st debate in the late 1940's and 1950's between supporters of realism (Carr 1939; Morgenthau 1948, 1969; Herz 1959; Niebuhr 1949) that called for power politics and the so-called *idealists* in the Wilsonian tradition who stressed international law and institutions (Claude 1962; Clark/Sohn 1966). Realist notions and concepts dominated the teaching of undergraduates, in graduate schools, and in

research programmes that trained the Western foreign policy and security elites.

- 2nd debate during the 1950's between *traditionalists* (both realists and idealists of the 1st debate) that often relied on common sense based on historical evidence and the *behaviourists* (Bill/Hardgrave 1973; Rosenau 1969; Snyder/Paige 1978) that called for rigorous quantitative methods. Many early peace researchers of the 1950's and 1960's were in the behaviouralist tradition and heavily relied on quantitative methods.
- 3rd debate (Sullivan 1978) between the adherents of a state-centric approach (*realists*: Waltz 1970, 1979) and proponents of global interdependence (*globalists* or transnationalists: Cooper 1968; Kaiser 1969; Morse 1969; Keohane/Nye 1970, 1977) that focused on the objects and actors of analysis: the state vs. transnational economic (e.g. transnational corporations) or societal actors, or between the 'state world' and the 'economic' or 'societal' worlds (Czempiel 1991, 1993). The shift from state to non-state actors was taken up in the 1990's in the debate on deepening of security and in the human security concepts.
- 4th debate (Baldwin 1993: 3–28) in the 1980's and early 1990's between the *neoliberal* challenge (Stein 1993; Lipson 1993; Milner 1993) and the *neorealist* response (Keohane 1986, 1993; Grieco 1993, 1993a).
- Since the end of the Cold War two parallel debates have taken place among analysts of *globalization* (primarily in OECD countries) focusing on processes of deterritorialization and deborderization and proponents of new 'spatial' approaches to international relations (*geo-strategy, traditional and critical geopolitics, geo-economics, geo-ecology*).

These three ideal type traditions and at least five fundamental debates have affected the research in the two schools of peace and conflict research as well as in security, strategic, and war studies.

38.2.2 School of Peace and Conflict Research

Peace research as an independent research programme focusing on wars and weapons was established in the inter-war period. Among the intellectual founders were Quincy Wright (1942) on causes of war in the US and Lewis Frye Richardson (1960a) on mathematical models of arms races in the UK. Since the beginning of the Cold War, in response to the prevailing realist paradigm in International Relations

(IR), peace research centres, academic programmes at universities, and private institutes were established starting in 1945 with the *Peace Research Laboratory* (Theodore Lentz in St. Louis, Missouri), in 1951 the *Institute of War and Peace Studies* (Columbia University) that were influenced by studies by Kenneth and Elise Boulding, Herbert C. Kelman, David Singer, in Canada (Canadian Peace Research Institute (CPRI), 1961, founded by Norman Alcock, Alan and Hanna Newcombe), and in Norway (PRIO, 1959 by Johan Galtung), during the 1960's in Sweden (SIPRI, 1966 by Gunnar Myrdal), in Denmark (PCRI, 1967 by Rasmussen, Herman Schmid), in the Netherlands (Polemological Institute, by Bert Röling in Groningen), the UK (Richardson Institute), in the 1970's in Finland (TAPRI), Germany (HSFK, ISFH), Japan (Hiroshima Univ.), and since the 1980's in many other countries around the globe (preface essay by Oswald; Brauch 1979; Jahn 1994; Kodama 2004; Koppe 2006).

During the Cold War period, peace research focused both on the militarized East-West conflict and on the issues of underdevelopment and North-South relations that was aimed both at the scientific community (basic research) but also at the government elites (policy advice) and as alternative expertise at critical social (peace, environment, development, human rights) movements. Since 1990, peace and conflict research has been confronted with many new political and conceptual challenges after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact, and their transformation from one party to multi-party systems, with new wars, problems of nationalism and ethnicity, and with a rethinking on concepts of security. While during the Cold War the major focus of peace research were critiques of the security and armament policies in West and East³, since the 1990's many peace researchers have shifted to a widened (Krell 1981) and deepened security concept, especially to societal (Wæver chap. 44), environmental⁴, and human security⁵ issues.

3 See e.g. for the German debate: Albrecht 1972, 1972a, 1974, 1975a, 1976a, 1980, 1982, 1983, 1984; Brauch 1982, 1983, 1984, 1986, 1986a, 1987, 1987a, 1989, 1989a; Jahn 1991; Jahn/Lemaître/Wæver 1987; Senghaas 1969, 1970, 1972a.

4 Gleditsch 1996, 1997, 1997a, 1998, 1998a, 2001, 2001a, 2001b, 2001c, 2002, 2003; Brock 1991, 1992, 1997, 1999.

5 See the "Human Security Doctrine for Europe" co-authored by: Albrecht/Chinkin/Dervis/Dwan/Giddens/Gnesotto/Kaldor/Licht/Pronk/Reinhardt/Schméder/Seifert/Serra 2004.

In 2007, the most influential peace research institutes with a focus on basic social science research are PRIO (Oslo), PRIF (Frankfurt, Germany), the Institute for Peace Science, Hiroshima University (Japan) and many others, and with a policy focus SIPRI (Stockholm, Sweden), the US Institute of Peace (Washington, D.C.), IFSH (Hamburg, Germany), Swisspeace (Berne, Switzerland) and others.⁶ Since 1964, many peace researchers and peace and conflict research institutes have cooperated in the framework of the *International Peace Research Association* (IPRA)⁷, of the *Peace Science Society* (International)⁸, and within the *Peace Studies Section* of the *International Studies Association*, and the *Peace and Justice Studies Association* (PJSJA)⁹ in the US that formed in 2001 as a result of a merger of the Consortium on Peace Research, Education and Development (CO-PRED) and the Peace Studies Association (PSA). For those within the peace research community who have focused on ‘negative peace’ (Galtung 1969, 1975), security issues, and conceptual approaches have been a major concern.

Since the late 1960’s, many scholars from the peace and conflict research community critiqued the approaches and analyses of the security studies community both from theory-guided as well as policy perspectives (Krippendorff 1968; Senghaas 1969, 1972, 1973; Albrecht 1971, 1972, 1974, 1975; Albrecht/Eide/Kaldor 1976). During the 1980’s, critical peace researchers and security specialists focusing on ‘alterna-

tive’ security (Weston 1990) and ‘non-offensive’ (Møller 1991, 1992, 1995), ‘non-provocative’ (Boeker), ‘defensive’ (Brauch/Kennedy 1990, 1992, 1993) or ‘confidence building’ defence (SAS 1984, 1989) emerged as alternative experts to advise political parties, social movements and the media, and thus contributed to a conceptual debate that mobilized millions of people in Europe against the deployment of new nuclear weapons and missiles in East and West, but also for the realization of disarmament and human rights in all parts of Europe.¹⁰ During the Cold War period a narrow security concept prevailed that focused on the political and military dimension in most studies from a peace research perspective.

38.2.3 School of Security, Strategic, and War Studies

International and national security, strategic, and war studies are often used synonymously, while others have defined ‘security studies’ as a broader and ‘strategic’ and ‘war studies’ as a more narrow research programme in the realist and primarily Hobbesian but also in the pragmatic Grotian tradition (Buzan 1991, Betts 1997). According to Wæver and Buzan (2007), strategic studies was used from the 1940’s to the 1980’s for dealing with military affairs, while since the 1980’s they were often relabelled as security studies. The term ‘war studies’ has been used in the UK (King’s College, Department of War Studies) and in Canada (Royal Military College).

Security or strategic studies emerged in the US after World War II with the Cold War when the new US global military role, innovation in military technology, and the role of nuclear weapons created a need of the national security, military, and intelligence community for secret policy advice, but also a political interest in an intensive national security debate to sustain high military expenditures. In 1948, the RAND (Research and Development) Corp. was set up to improve policy and decision-making through research and analysis.

During the 1950’s and 1960’s, security studies developed and applied systems analysis contributed to the development of doctrines and to the debate on theories of nuclear deterrence, and focused on arms control, strategic decision-making, alliance policy, counter-insurgency, and economics of defence. In the

6 See for lists of peace research centres around the globe: <http://www.priub.org/afb_pri/pri.htm>; for surveys of peace research history and research results, e.g. in Germany, see: Krippendorff (1968); Eberwein/Reichel (1976); Brauch (1979); Graf/Horn/Macho (1989); Hauswedell (1997); Wasmuth (1998); Eckern/Herwartz-Emden/Schultze (2004); Koppe (2006).

7 IPRA was founded in 1964. See the Preface Essay by Oswald and for more information of IPRA’s history and activities see at: <<http://soc.kuleuven.be/pol/ipra/about/history.html>>.

8 The Peace Research Society (International) was established in 1963 by Walter Isard. In 1973, the Society became the Peace Science Society (International). Stuart A. Bremer served as the Executive Secretary of the Society from 1989–2002 and Glenn Palmer since 2002. The PSS(I) as a “scientific association of individuals developing theory and methods for the study of peace” has been a US based association. For the history and activities see at: <<http://pss.la.psu.edu/2007-History.htm>>.

9 See for details at: <<http://www.peacejusticestudies.org/index.php>>.

10 See: Albrecht 1980, 1985, 1986, 1988, 1989, 1989a; Albrecht/Krasemann 1989; Albrecht/Nikutta 1989; Brauch 1982, 1984, 1986, 1986a, 1987, 1989.

1970's area studies, arms race theory, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and advanced technology, and intelligence were added. Since the 1960's security studies increasingly became also an academic undertaking distinct from the approach of think tanks and consultancy firms, and research programmes were set up at several of the leading US universities (e.g. at: Harvard, Stanford, Yale, Pittsburgh and SAIS), and in the late 1970's and early 1980's sections on international security studies were formed within ISA and APSA (Wæver/Buzan 2007).

According to Wæver and Buzan (2007: 383-402), security studies "emerged in the US and was exported to Europe". In Europe, security studies were conducted in foreign policy institutes, in military academies, and military staff colleges that aimed at policy advice and training of military officers. In Europe, leading military strategic thinkers were P.M.S. Blackett, Basil Liddle Hart, Michael Howard and Laurence Freedman in the UK, Raymond Aron and Pierre Hassner in academe and several generals in the military in France, and Christoph Bertram and Lothar Rühl, two journalists, decision-makers, and policy advisers in Germany.

In the Soviet Union and in Russia, the two major foreign policy think tanks within the Academy of Science, IMEMO and the Institute of US and Canada Studies, became major centres of conceptual and policy innovation during the Gorbachev era, and their concepts - partly adapted from the arguments of alternative security experts in the West - contributed to many Soviet foreign policy and arms control initiatives in the late 1980's.

The main global security studies institution is the *International Institute of Strategic Studies* (IISS) that was founded in 1958 in London and initially focused on problems posed by nuclear weapons. During the 1960's and 1970's, the IISS contributed to concepts of nuclear deterrence and arms control, and in the 1970's and 1980's it set up a regional security programme that focused on conflicts. In the 1990's, after the Cold War the IISS dealt with problems of ethnic conflict, dramatic political change, peacekeeping, and local arms control. As a policy institute, the IISS tries to innovate and influence and to facilitate contacts between government leaders, business people, and analysts on international security. IISS publishes the journal *Survival*, the *Adelphi Papers*, as well as the annual *Strategic Survey* and *Military Balance*, and on occasion books and dossiers.¹¹

Since the end of the Cold War, 'critical security studies' emerged in the US (Klein 1994), Canada

(Krause 1999; Macleod 2004), and in the UK (Booth 2005). In Canada¹², in the US¹³, in the UK¹⁴ and within UNU¹⁵, research centres and programmes were set up that have focused on human security issues. In Europe, three new intellectual schools of security studies developed that may be associated with Aberystwyth, Paris, and Copenhagen (Wæver 2004).

38.3 Disputes Between Two Research Programmes

Between these two research programmes of peace and conflict research and security, strategic or war studies, many scientific disputes existed on theoretical assumptions, methodological approaches, and on policy issues where the different concepts of security on which both schools based their analyses were mostly ignored. Below these disputes are briefly listed before the different security concepts are reviewed and discussed in parts 38.4 and 38.5 (table 38.1).

38.4 Evolution of Security Concepts in Security Studies

With the end of the Second World War two new concepts of 'international peace and security' in the UN Charter (1945) and 'national security' in the US National Security Act (1947) entered the vocabulary of international politics and of the scientific discipline of

11 For a critique of the IISS's: *Dossier on the Iraq's Weapons of Mass Destruction* of 2002, see: Ekeus 2004.

12 The *Human Security Report Project* (HSRP), School for International Studies, Simon Fraser University was established in 2002 as part of the Human Security Report Project at the *Human Security Centre*, Liu Institute for Global Issues, University of British Columbia. In May 2007, this project joined the School for International Studies; see at: <http://www.humansecuritygateway.info/about_en>.

13 In 2000 the *Institute for Human Security* was established at The Fletcher School of Law & Diplomacy; see at: <<http://fletcher.tufts.edu/humansecurity/>>; Center for *Unconventional Security Affairs*; University of California, Irvine; at: <http://www.cusa.uci.edu/about_cusa.htm> focuses on human security as one of four research topics.

14 See: The *Applied Research Centre in Human Security* (ARCHS) was established in 2006 at the University of Coventry; see at: <<http://www.coventry.ac.uk/research-net/d/176>>.

15 See: UNU-EHS (Institute on Environment and Human Security) in Bonn; at: <<http://www.ehs.unu.edu/>>.

Table 38.1: Major Disputes Between the Peace and Security Programmes (1945-2007)

Decades, Disputes	Security, Strategic, War Studies		Peace and Conflict Research	
	Realist (Hobbesian)	Rationalist (Grotian)	Idealist (Kantian)	
1940's	RAND (1948)		• Peace Research Laboratory (1945)	
disputes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Political: liberal internationalism vs. conservative isolationism in the US • Scientific: first debate in international relations: realism vs. idealism 			
1950's	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • IISS (1958) <i>Survival</i> (IISS, 1959) <i>Adelphi papers</i> (IISS, 1961) 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ann Arbor (1957) Journal of Conflict Resolution 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • PRIO (1959)
disputes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Political: cold war ideologies and nuclear disengagement and test ban debate • Scientific: first debate in international relations: realism vs. idealism; behaviouralist revolution, debate on theoretical approaches and methods 			
1960's	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Johns Hopkins, SAIS • Columbia: Saltzman Inst. • Harvard; J.M. Olin Inst. 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • SIPRI (1966) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • IPRA (1964-present); <i>Journal of Peace Research</i> (PRIO)
disputes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Political: Vietnam war, Scientific: military industrial complex, national security state, deterrence theory 			
1970's	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Security and arms control programmes sponsored by the Ford Foundation at • Harvard, MIT, Cornell, Stanford, UCLA <i>International Security</i> (1976) <i>Journal of Strategic Studies</i> (1978) <i>Comparative Strategy</i> (1978) <i>Defense Analysis</i> (1985) <i>Science and Global Security</i> (1989) <i>Security Studies</i> (1991) 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ISFH (1971) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • TAPRI (1970) • PRIF (1970), • CLAIP (1977) • APPRA () • AFPRA () <i>Bulletin of Peace Proposals</i> (PRIO, 1970-2/1992) <i>Friedensanalysen</i> (1976-1999, 24 volumes)
disputes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Political: Vietnam war • Scientific: critiques of nuclear deterrence, theories of arms races vs. armament dynamics 			
1980's	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National strategic studies institutes (IISS 1992) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • US Institute of Peace 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • COPRI (1985-2002) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National peace research centres (UNESCO 1991)
	ISA: International Security Section		ISA: Peace Studies Section	
disputes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Political: debate on deployment of nuclear missiles in Europe, militarization of space, missile defence issues; • Scientific: alternative security strategies, and of non-offensive defence doctrines 			
1990's	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National strategic studies institutes (IISS 1998); • many military academies 			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National peace research centres (UNESCO 2000) <i>Security Dialogue</i> (3/1992-
discourse	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Political: National and ethnic conflicts, peacekeeping, failing states and new wars • Scientific: National and ethnic conflicts, failing states and new wars; narrow vs. wide security concept, national vs. human security 			
Since 2000	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No new survey of strategic studies centres by IISS was published since 1998; • many military academies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Aberystwyth: Booth • Copenhagen: Buzan/ Wæver/ de Wilde • Paris: Bigo 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No new UNESCO survey of peace research centres was published since 2000, last web update is 2003.
New disputes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Political: war on terror; military interventions, wars; constraints of democratic freedoms • Scientific: constructivism, risk society theory; widening: narrow vs. wide security concept, deepening: national vs. human security; sectorialization: water, food, health, climate, gender security 			

international relations (Wæver 2006; chap. 1 by Brauch, chap. 4 by Wæver, chap. 35 by Bothe).

Between 1945 and 1949 the US national 'security system' gradually evolved. While in 1939, President Roosevelt still defined the Western hemisphere as the zone of American security, this zone had become global by 1945. Czempiel (1966) distinguished between direct and indirect, ideological and strategic, universal and ubiquitous dimensions of this new US security system without defining the meaning of the concept of security itself. In his *peace strategies* Czempiel (1986) distinguished among three means to achieve peace, by collective security, by changes of the societal structures (system of rule), and by achieving welfare, thus pointing to three problem areas for the analysis of international relations: security, system of rule, and welfare where security prevails over welfare.

In the UK, E.H. Carr (1939), an early realist critic of the idealism in international relations in the inter-war years, in his *The Twenty Years Crisis* focused extensively on military and economic power, but not on security (Tickner 1995: 175-177). In *Nationalism and After*, Carr (1945) called for a 'pooled' or 'common' security based on a world security organization with standing international force which was dismissed by many American realists as 'unrealistic' who claimed the lack of pursuing 'national security' interests in the 1930's was responsible for WW II (Morgenthau 1973). Thus, during the Cold War period (1947-1989), for the realist mainstream in IR, the 'national security' concept focused on the state as the referent object that prevailed over other security concepts both in the political debate and in the emerging research programmes on 'strategic' and 'security studies'. But what did the key value and goal of this analysis, the concept of 'security', mean for this research programme?

During the Cold War, Arnold Wolfers (1952, 1962: 147-165) noted for the US a shift from a welfare to a national security interpretation of the 'national interest' where the latter has become synonymous with national security. However, he cautioned that "security covers a range of goals so wide that highly divergent policies can be interpreted as policies of security." With Lippmann he argues that "a nation is secure to the extent to which it is not in danger of having to sacrifice core values, if it wishes to avoid war, and is able, if challenged, to maintain them by victory in such a war." Like power and wealth, security is a core value of a nation, then follows what has become a classic definition of the security concept in IR:

But while wealth measures the amount of a nation's material possessions, and power its ability to control the

actions of others, security, in an objective sense, measures the absence of threats to acquired values, in a subjective sense, the absence of fear that such values will be attacked (Wolfers 1962: 150).

Wolfers acknowledged that security dangers cannot be measured objectively but are always the result of subjective evaluation and speculation. National efforts to achieve greater security are also a function of their power and opportunity to reduce dangers through their own efforts. Besides the extent of the external threats, "numerous domestic factors such as national character, tradition, preferences, and prejudices will influence the level of security that a nation chooses to make its target" (Wolfers 1962: 153).

For Frei and Gaupp (1976, 1978: 3-16) security is both a "value symbol" but often it is used as an empty formula that has been associated by Kaufmann (1970) with a lack of dangers or by Nye with a lack of dangers or threats. But which values are to be protected against which dangers? Among them are a minimal economic welfare, a certain political and social autonomy, and status as a group, or the survival of the system. However, the latter must be put in a specific context with types of actors and situations. The more the intended values are above the desired level, the higher the degree of security achieved will be. State security as the realization of state values at a desired level is being endangered at three levels of conflict and uncertainty: a) within society (*internal security*); b) within political and non-political relations of the state and society towards its context and to international organizations (*relational security*); c) within the context in other states and societies and in international organizations (*contextual security*). This pointed to four functional levels of state security of reproduction, production, steering, and integration.

Frei and Gaupp (1978) interpreted insecurity as a consequence of conflict and uncertainty where values are being threatened by scarcity and or inconsistency, and by an uncertainty whether they can be reached in the future. Achieving security (i.e. the probability of the desired value configuration and level of realization) depends on whether, a) both value scarcity (conflict on distribution) and value inconsistency (due to ideological conflict) may endanger values; and b) incomplete information and a missing coordination of action lead to uncertainty. The degree of security depends on the externally determined uncertainty of conflict and on the self-determined strategies for reducing insecurity. They distinguish among these four dimensions of security political strategies: a) the approach of dealing with the conflict and uncertainty; b)

self-determined and context-oriented strategies; c) strategies of power and confidence; d) individual or collective self-interested strategies (Frei 1977; Gaupp 1978),

The basic works by Kaufmann (1970) and Frei (1977, 1990) and by Frei and Gaupp (1978), as well as many studies in French, Spanish, Japanese, and in many other languages remained unnoticed in the dominating Anglo-Saxon security studies literature.

Buzan (1983: 1) correctly argued that “one needs to understand the concept of security in order to have a proper understanding of the national security problem, and secondly, that in its prevailing usage the concept is so weakly developed as to be inadequate to the task.” For Buzan (1983: 3–9) security is an underdeveloped concept both in IR and in strategic studies that has been both ‘ambiguous’ (Wolfers 1962) and ‘contested’ (Gallie 1955–1956) due to its partial overlap with the concept of power, to the reactions to the realist orthodoxy from peace research, to the nature of strategic studies, and to the interest of policy-makers to maintain its ‘symbolic ambiguity’. While Buzan (1983: 11) does not offer a definition of security, rather his objective is “to develop a holistic concept of security which can serve as a framework for those wishing to apply the concept to particular cases.” In his conceptual introduction to strategic studies, Buzan centres on two questions: “What is the referent object for security?” and “What are the necessary conditions for security?”

Inspired by Waltz (1959) Buzan (1983) analysed as referent objects individuals (18–35), states (36–72), and the international system (73–92). Individual security is seen as a social problem (e.g. ‘social security’) with two faces of the state as a protector and as a source of threat. National security is analysed as an object of the interrelationship between the idea of the state, its physical base, and its institutional expression. The nation state is confronted with manifold threats and vulnerabilities. Within the international political system the state is confronted with both international anarchy, a specific system structure, and security complexes that pose a defence as well as a *power-security dilemma*¹⁶ for the state. Buzan (1983: 245–258) concluded his analysis with a plea for a holistic view of security that discusses national security in relation to the individual, the state, and the international system.

In the immediate aftermath of the Cold War, Lynn-Jones (1991/1992: 53–63; 1992) conducted a review of international security studies (ISS) for the ISS section of ISA that raised three questions: How will the end of the Cold War affect ISS? Should the field

adopt a new agenda? Does it have the analytical tools to answer new questions? He defined as the object of ISS: “international violence and threats to the security of states” with two key themes: “1) the causes and prevention of war, and 2) strategy – how military forces are used for political purposes” while “the effects of wars” received less attention. ISS “has always been a multidisciplinary enterprise, embracing the approaches of political science, history, psychology, economics, sociology, and the physical sciences.”

He defined ‘national security’ as “defending a particular state against external threats,” for ‘international security’ “security interdependence renders the unilateral pursuit of security impossible,” while ‘global security’ refers to “institutions to deal with ecological, economic, military and other threats to the global community or even the survival of the planet.” Within ISS, its scope of analysis from a narrow focus of ‘national security’ on violence and war to a wide focus of ‘global security’ remained controversial, but a consensus emerged that the traditional war and peace issues remained important but that the nature of threats should be broadened when they became a cause of conflict, and economic threats that may undermine the state’s industrial base should be included.

Lynn-Jones (1991/1992: 56–58) added to the agenda for future security studies: regional security issues in the developing world, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, issues of US defence policy, US grand strategy, problems of nationalism, the causes of peace and cooperation and economics and security, but not environmental security issues that have been

16 Buzan (1983: 157–158) distinguished between a *defence* and a *power-security dilemma*. According to his definition the defence dilemma arises from “the nature and dynamics of military means as they are developed and deployed by states.” Buzan (1983: 159) further argued that the most serious *defence dilemma* occurs “when military measures actually contradict security, in that military preparations in the name of defence themselves pose serious threats to the state.” In contrast the *power-security dilemma* (Buzan 1983: 173–213) deals with political problems, which he explained for revisionism and the arms dynamic. For Buzan (1983: 207) the *power-security dilemma* is sustained “not only by the tensions between status quo and revisionist interests, but also by the massive momentum of the arms dynamic”. These two dilemmas refer to the dichotomy of the two rival interpretations of the armaments dynamics: an *external* (threat based) vs. an *internal* (autodynamic) causation. For a review of the debate on the *security dilemma* (Herz 1950) see chap. 40 by Brauch.

suggested by Ullman (1983), Myers (1989) and Mathews (1989) in the US debate.

One of the leading American neo-realists, Stephen Walt (1991: 211–239), observed a “Renaissance of Security Studies” since the mid 1970’s when security studies started to become “more rigorous, methodologically sophisticated, and theoretically inclined”. According to Walt (1991: 212) the main focus of security studies is “the phenomenon of war.” They may be defined as “the study of the threat, use, and control of military force” (Nye/Lynn-Jones 1988) by exploring the conditions “that make the use of force more likely, the way the use of force affects individuals, states, and societies, and the specific policies that states adopt in order to prepare for, prevent, or engage in war” (Walt 1991: 212). Security studies also include “statecraft – arms control, diplomacy, crisis management,” Walt argued against a widened security agenda because this would destroy its intellectual coherence. He argues that much work of consultants and think tanks supported by defence contractors and the US Department of Defense (DoD) is rather political than scientific and that it should often be treated as propaganda instead of serious scholarship.

In his review of the different phases of security studies, from the Golden Age (1955–1965), to the decline in the 1960’s, and the renaissance since the mid 1970’s, Walt avoided a detailed definition and discussion of his own neo-realist security concept. Walt acknowledged that peace researchers rather than civilian strategists and the behavioural revolution in the social sciences “made a major contribution to the methodological self-consciousness of the international relations profession” (Walt 1991: 215). Methodological weaknesses, the lack of training of junior scholars, the political debate on the Vietnam War, but also détente with the USSR and the declining economic status of the US, shifted the interest from international security to international political economy.

In the US the renaissance of security studies as an academic field started in the mid 1970’s when the Ford Foundation sponsored several strategic centres in security studies, e.g. at Harvard, MIT, Stanford, Cornell and UCLA, and when the journal of *International Security* (1976) and the *Journal of Strategic Studies* (1978) were founded. During this second phase, several new developments emerged, such as the use of history with the method of ‘structured focused comparison’ (George 1979, 1988), the challenge to rational deterrence theory, case studies on strategic weapons projects (Brauch 1990), a new focus on conventional warfare and on US grand strategy and the

relationship of security studies and IR theory, as well as the political events of the end of the Vietnam War and the collapse of détente. For the security studies in academe theory creation, testing became preconditions for theory applications. Walt saw the major challenge for security studies in the post Cold War era to steer “between the Scylla of political opportunism and the Charybdis of academic irrelevance.”

Walt (1991: 225ff.) cautioned against the claims of the postmodern approaches, the use of formal models and an overemphasis on short-term policy applications. He added to the agenda of future security studies: the role of domestic politics, the causes of peace and cooperation, the power of ideas, the end of the Cold War, questions of economics and security, refining of theories, and a protection of the database. He called for a steady research support to enable an evolution of knowledge.

In a critical response to Walt, Edward A. Kolodziej (1992: 421) called for “analytic, normative and methodological perspectives ... for a richer conceptual, broader, interdisciplinary, theoretically more inclusive, and ... a more policy-relevant understanding of security studies.” Instead of an exclusive focus on ‘American national security’ based on a narrow notion of realism, he proposed to analyse “international security or security per se” including the “threats posed by states to groups and individuals” and those posed by “non-state actors” such as guerrilla, terrorism, and low-intensity warfare, and the dual nature of the state as an object of these movements and as a “major source of international insecurity” (Kolodziej 1992: 422–423). This critical response reflected a call of a deepening of the security actors, away from the narrow state-centred focus, for both security by whom and for whom.

Kolodziej proposed a set of guidelines, including 1) a broader scope of ‘reality’ to be covered; 2) the behavioural and normative assumptions on which the research is based should be states; 3) the disciplinary and interdisciplinary scope should be widened; 4) the historical and empirical bases for generalizations should be widened beyond the Western or exclusively American context; 5) the problem to be solved should determine the scope and parameters of normative theory; and 6) “resist the temptation to consign security studies to a ghetto within the academy” (Kolodziej 1992: 435–437).

The dispute between Walt (1991) and Kolodziej (1992) is partly reflected in what Buzan, Wæver, and de Wilde (1998) have described as the debate between the adherents of state-centred traditionalists and a

wider concept of security with different referent objects and sectors or dimensions of analysis. However, both have avoided defining the very concept of security as the key value and goal of security studies.

Buzan (1991, 1997) and the Copenhagen school (Buzan/Wæver/de Wilde 1998; Wæver/Buzan/de Wilde 2008), whose members have come both from an unorthodox realism and strategic studies (Buzan) as well as from pragmatic peace research (Wæver and de Wilde) and have sometimes perceived themselves as Grotians, have opted for the wideners and combined five levels of analysis (international system, international subsystem, units, subunits, individuals) with five security sectors (military, environmental, economic, societal, political). The key question of their conceptual security analysis is: "what quality makes something a security issue in international relations?" In their view security is about survival:

It is when an issue is presented as posing an existential threat to a designated referent object (traditionally, but not necessarily, the state, incorporating government, territory, and society). The special nature of security threats justifies the use of extraordinary measures to handle them. The invocation of security has been the key to legitimizing the use of force, but more generally it has opened the way for the state to mobilize, or to take special powers, to handle existing threats (Buzan/Wæver/de Wilde 1998: 21).

The key innovation of the Copenhagen school has been Wæver's theory of securitization that is defined as an intersubjective process that is socially constructed. Wæver (1995, 1997; chap. 4 and 44) has discussed the concept of security as the first of two other related concepts of threat and defence. While the traditional referent object of security has been the state whose defence should be given priority and because of the nature of the international system. But while the state may be the main actor the primary referent object of security are the people who may be threatened by another state.

Terrif, Croft, James, and Morgan (1999: 1-9) in their introduction to 'security studies' noted "that there is no agreement what constitutes security", partly because its core "contain normative elements that mean that analysts and policy-makers cannot agree upon a definition through an examination of empirical data." In the post Cold War era there exists neither an agreement on the concept of security nor on the threats and who the enemy is. In the view of these authors this "is a product not only of the collapse of the Cold War structures but also ... of the collapse of the hegemony of the realist paradigm in international relations." They note that many national pol-

icy-makers and international relations officials, e.g. of the UN, OSCE, NATO, and EU (see part VII) have re-defined security concepts and agendas since 1990.

In their review of the security concepts in IR, these authors argued that there is disagreement on the referent point, be it the state or the individual, or as Job (1992) distinguished: "the security of the individual citizen, the security of the nation, the security of the regime and the security of the state." Similarly, there has been no agreement on the nature of the threat, and as the post-positivists argue "constructing 'threats' is part of constructing the 'other'". But for Ken Booth (1995: 344) "the enemy is us, Western consumerist democracy ... is the problem."

According to Terrif, Croft, James, and Morgan (1999: 185-189) the study of security studies as a subfield of IR has been influenced by the dispute between positivist, post-positivist, and critical approaches to theory whose epistemological bases are different, as well as the definition of security from the perspectives of postmodern, critical, feminist theory or from the vantage point of 'social constructivism:

Positivism assumes that international and security phenomena are materially based and have material explanations; relativists argue that international and security phenomena are ideationally based and can only be understood through examining discourse; and epistemological realism assumes that there is a material basis to the world, but that this can only be understood through the interaction of social forces that operate on the ideational level.

In the perspective of these authors "security and security studies at the end of the twentieth century seem disaggregated and bewildering." This is due both to the end of the Cold War, but also due to the "intellectual vibrancy of the subfield of security studies." Croft (2000: vii-xi) reviewed the changes in security policy and studies from 1980 to 2000, noting a widened discourse since 1990 which has resulted in a securitization of new areas of public policy as well as new threats, challenges, and risks.

Steve Smith (1991, 1995, 2000: 72-101) reviewed the changing conceptualization of security between 1980 and 2000 when "the concept of security was both widened and deepened." Based on his own experience of teaching security studies for 25 years, he noted: "Security studies is no longer something to be explained: it is also something to be understood, and this is a massive change of focus." In addition to the fundamental change in international politics, international relations and security studies have changed, "neo-realism is no longer dominant," and "the state is

no longer the only or core actor, and as a result it is less privileged than before.”

Within security studies, he distinguished between *traditional security studies* represented by Walt (1991), Baldwin (1995) and Betts (1997) in the US, Freedman (1987, 1993, 1998) in the UK, and Haftendorn (1991) in Germany. Most of them adhered to the state as the key referent object, and the *non-traditional literature* on a) *alternative defence and common security* (Palme Report 1982; Väyrynen 1985); b) the *Third World security school* (Thomas 1987; Walker 1988; Ayooob 1984, 1989, 1991, 1995), c) Buzan (1983) and the *Copenhagen school* (1998), d) *constructivist* (Adler/Barnett 1998; Katzenstein 1996), e) *critical* (Krause/Williams 1996, 1997; Booth 1991a, 1991d, 1995, 1997, 1998, 1999, 1999a; Wyn Jones 1995, 1995a, 1999), f) *feminist* (Tickner 1992, 1995; Steans 1998; Cohn 1987; Cooke/Woollacott 1993; Elshtain 1987, 1997; Enloe 1990, 1993; Brock-Utne 1985), and g) *poststructural* (Klein 1994; Campbell 1992, 1998; Dillon 1996; Campbell/Dillon 1993) security studies. For Smith and Booth security is “essentially a derivative term” that “refers to issues embedded within the deep structure of politics and economics, issues that emerge through the zones of conflict and become components of security policies.”

In light of 11 September 2001, Smith (2005: 27–62) returned to the review of the different schools within security studies on “the contested concept of security” interpreted all concepts of security as theory-dependent what makes a neutral definition of the concept impossible.¹⁷ Within the traditional literature on security, Smith distinguished among the rational choice, the neoclassic realism with its theories that focus on domestic policies, and offensive and defensive realist theories. While repeating most arguments and sources of his previous review in 2000, Smith notes in the conclusions the arguments of those who warn of an overextension of the security concept, and concludes that in his view “the events of September 11 support those who wish to widen and deepen the concept of security,” although this event has been used to streng-

then the position of the state and of military security. Smith concludes:

The concept of security is therefore a battleground in and of itself. There are those who wish to broaden and deepen it ...; and there is now a reinvigorated neoclassical realist school focusing on the traditional meaning of the term: the military security of nation states. To those working within the traditional area of the subject, broadening and deepening only threaten to undermine the utility of the concept and render it useless for analysis. If the concept of security refers to *any* threat, then it becomes meaningless. Broadening and deepening also carry the risk of undermining the important practices of state security, it is claimed by undermining the core activity of state security.

Based on the critical theory of the Frankfurt school, and stimulated by Ken Booth (1991, 1991a, 1991c, 1994, 1995, 1997a), Steve Smith and Michael Sheehan, Richard Wyn Jones (1999) developed an emancipation paradigm for security theory and practice. After developing his theoretical approach, he discussed theory and reconceptualizing security; technology and strategy; as well as emancipation and reconceptualizing practice.

Wyn Jones (1999: 93–123) argued that with the end of the Cold War the concepts and theories “lost whatever limited relevance they once enjoyed” and critical reassessments have emerged.¹⁸ He based his argument on the failure of realist and neo-realist approaches to predict the end of the Cold War and the peaceful transition¹⁹ partly on the overemphasis on the state. “Statism appears to be one of the main sources of insecurity” and has acted as “an ideological justification of the prevailing status quo in which the vast majority of the world’s population are rendered chronically insecure.”

He argues that traditional security studies has tended “to abstract military issues from their broader context by making a series of often implicit assumptions about that context based on realist premises, for example, those concerning the role and value of the state” (Wyn Jones 1999: 100, 102). He distinguishes between *deepening* (by understanding security as a derivative concept that reflects deeper assumptions on the nature of politics), *broadening* (the security agenda beyond military threats), and *extending* security (by overcoming state-centrism and moving to-

17 Developing his previous categorization of 2000 further, Smith (2005) reviewed six schools that were involved in the discussion of broadening and deepening the definition of the concept of security: a) the traditional literature, b) the Copenhagen school, c) constructivist security studies, d) critical security studies, e) feminist, and f) poststructuralist security studies, as well as on g) human security by looking at their methods and objects of analysis and not on their respective concepts of security on which these are based.

18 See: Lynn-Jones/Miller 1995; Lipschutz 1995; Tickner 1995; Baldwin 1997; Krause/Williams 1997; Bilgin/Booth/Wyn Jones 1998; Buzan/Wæver/de Wilde 1998.

19 See: Gaddis 1992/1993; Lebow 1994; Wohlforth 1995, 2003; Waltz 1995; Mearsheimer 1995.

wards identity analysis and emancipation). Wyn Jones (1999: 117) suggests that security analysts should concentrate on “real people in real places” (Booth 1995: 123), “making individual human beings the ultimate referents” of analysis, what will create a new complexity that must be understood as “a prerequisite for bringing about comprehensive security.” Wyn Jones (1999: 118) argues that “theories of security must be for those who are made insecure by the prevailing order, and their purpose must be to aid their emancipation.” Building on Booth (1991a: 319, 1999) he argues:

‘Security’ means the absence of threats. Emancipation is the freeing of people (as individuals and groups) from those physical and human constraints which stop them carrying out what they would freely choose to do: War and threat to war is one of these constraints, together with poverty, poor education, political oppression and so on. Security and emancipation are two sides of the same coin, emancipation, not power or order, produces true security.

Such a deeper, broader, and extended reconceptualized security concept should be in the centre “of a new critical security studies capable not only of mapping out the contours of the present but of plotting a course for the future” (Wyn Jones 1999: 166).

Ken Booth (2005: 2), a self-proclaimed ‘fallen realist’ and one of the conceptual leaders of *critical security studies* (CSS) and of the *school of Aberystwyth* called for a bottom-up critique of the orthodoxy in security studies during the Cold War and for a rethinking security debate, especially after the US response to 11 September 2001 with its ‘war on terror’. In his view the ideas that shaped the mainstream realism during the Cold War:

derived from a combination of Anglo-American, statist, militarized, masculinized, top-down, methodologically positivist, and philosophically realist thinking, all shaped by the experiences and memories of the inter-war years and World War II and the perceived necessities of the Cold War (Booth 2005: 13).

Booth (2005: 5–9) pointed to nine flaws of realism as being: 1. “not realistic,” 2. “a misnomer,” 3. a “static theory,” 4. with an “unsophisticated methodology,” 5. that “fails the test of practice,” 6. whose “unspoken assumptions are regressive,” 7. with a “narrow agenda,” 8. whose “ethics are hostile to the human interest,” and 9. that is “intellectually rigid.” Booth (2005: 9) argues that this worldview: “continues to survive and flourish because the approach is congenial for those who prosper from the intellectual hegemony” of this approach.

Critical theorists of security have challenged the positivist orthodoxy in Western social science from

post-positivist and post naturalist perspectives that are not self-replicating. According to Booth (2005: 11–12), CSS should be based on the following premises by being “more self-conscious and sophisticated”, “self-reflective ... and open to change”, that “seeks to expose the problems of contemporary social and political life” from a distance. It should avoid “static interest”, should be “ethically progressive”, aim at “emancipation” based on a “broader agenda”, and offer a “better understanding of the relationship between theory and practice”.

Booth (2005: 14–15) called for a *deepening* of the analysis by “uncovering and exploring the implications of the idea that attitudes and behaviour in relation to security are derivative of underlying and contested theories about the nature of the world politics.” CSS should be based on *ontology* by including other referents than the state, from individuals to humankind (‘human security’), *epistemology* and an orientation towards *praxis* (relationship between ideas and action). In addition, he supported a *broadening* of the security agenda, by trying “to turn every security issue into a question of political theory (i.e. *politicizing* security). He proposes to go beyond the five sectors or dimensions within a neo-realist perspective and of the different levels of analysis of the Copenhagen school. He defined critical security studies:

as an issue-area study, developed within the academic discipline of international politics, concerned with the pursuit of critical knowledge about security in world politics. Security is conceived comprehensively, embracing theories and practices at multiple levels of society, from the individual to the whole human species. ‘Critical’ implies a perspective that seeks to stand outside prevailing structures, processes, ideologies, and orthodoxies while recognizing that all conceptualizations of security derive from particular political/theoretical positions; critical perspectives do not make a claim to objective truth but rather seek to provide deeper understandings of prevailing attitudes and behaviour with a view to developing more promising ideas by which to overcome structural and contingent wrongs (Booth 2005: 15–16).

Michael Sheehan (2005: 1–2) has observed that Buzan’s (1991: 7) reference to security as an “essentially contested concept” that was characterized by “unsolvable debates on its meaning and application” was often used as an excuse for not even trying to define what the key concept of the strategic and security studies means for the authors in the respective schools of thought. While both the security problems, agendas and policies, as well as the focus of the competing schools addressing security studies have signifi-

Table 38.2: Elements of the Three European Schools in Security Theory. **Source:** Wæver 2004: 13.

Aberystwyth or Welsh school	Copenhagen school	Paris school	Shared Characteristics
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Widening • Emancipation • Social construction of threats 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Securitization: political construction of security issues • Desecuritization • Securitizing actors and referent objects • Five security sectors 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Internal and external security merge • Policy field • Security agencies • Praxis over discourse 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reflections on the concept of security itself • Widening • Security as practice • Self-reflection

cantly changed since 1990, the question remained unanswered as to how this has affected the meaning of the key concept of security, and how such a reconceptualization of security has occurred.

In the reviews of the security concept in strategic and security studies, the concept itself and its Greek and Roman origins has hardly been defined in the Anglo-Saxon literature, with the exception of the early definition offered by Wolfers (1952, 1962). The work by Kaufmann (1970), Frei and Gaupp (1978), has been overlooked in the trendsetting conceptual debates. Richard Smoke (1975) argued that the field had “paid quite inadequate attention to the range of meanings of security.” During the 1960’s and 1970’s the focus increasingly shifted from ‘national’ to ‘international security’. Sheehan (2005) reviewed the thinking on security in realism, the work on security communities and democratic peace, the Copenhagen school, the approaches of gender and security, postmodernism, and security and critical security. Sheehan (2005: 178) concluded that how security is defined is vital

because it is a crucial factor in determining how societies choose to allocate their scarce resources, and what is deemed to be legitimate political discourse. ... Dominant ideas and concepts are part of the constructed consensus that provides the superstructure for the existing distribution of power and authority in society. When a set of assumptions, definitions, and beliefs achieve the status of being regarded as common sense, they become what Foucault called ‘discourses of truth’ marking the limits of what is deemed to be ‘true knowledge’. For this reason, the definition of what is and what is not ‘security’ is likely to continue to be an intellectual and political battleground. This is only right, for it is at the heart of what politics is, or should be, all about.

One of the intellectual framers of the Copenhagen school, Ole Wæver (2004), noted an increasing split in the debates on security studies in the US between offensive, defensive, neo- and post-classical realism, as well as constructivists, and neoliberal institutionalists and the emergence of distinct theories on security in

Europe that in his classification are associated with *Aberystwyth* (CSS represented by Booth, Wyn Jones, Williams, and partly Steve Smith), *Paris* (Bigo’s Bourdieu-inspired work) and *Copenhagen* (Wæver’s theory of securitization, Buzan’s security sectors and their joint work on regional security complexes) besides the *traditionalists* (common sense and policy realism), radical postmodernists and feminists (table 38.2).

The *Paris school* has been distinct from the American, the Aberystwyth, and Copenhagen schools: It has been inspired by Bourdieu, Foucault, and other French sociologists. Its intellectual leader has been Didier Bigo and his journal *Cultures & Conflicts* has become a major platform. Bigo’s empirical work has shown:

how internal and external security merge as agencies compete for the gradually deterritorialized tasks of traditional police, military and customs. Also they jointly produce a new threat image by constantly connecting immigration, organized crime and terror. Insecurity is largely a product of security discourses and security policy (Wæver 2004: 11).

The contextual change as a result of the first global peaceful change of the modern international order has triggered manifold changes in the thinking on security in security, strategic, and war studies since 1990 in the Western debates. So far no systematic assessment of the theoretical thinking on security and on the centres of theoretical and conceptual innovations in Asia (China, India, Japan), in Western, Eastern and Southern Africa, and in Latin America, and in the Caribbean as well as in the Arab world exist (table 38.3).

The debate on reconceptualization of security has remained self-centred, often due to the lack of knowledge on the ongoing theoretical debates in other parts of the world and the lack of funding of their representatives to participate in global conferences and debates. However, these debates have also been going on at the meetings of the *World Social Fora* and of

Table 38.3: Reconceptualizing of Security in the US, Europe, and the Rest of the World. **Source:** Adapted from and inspired by Wæver 2004: 16,

	United States	Europe	Rest of the World Africa/Asia/Americas
Security concept	Lack of interest, undefined	Centre of reflection	No generalization is possible (diversity)
Theory	Competing IR theories applied	Many competing theoretical approaches	Low theory, Common sense realism Emancipation
Theoretical approaches	Rationalist theories Historical case studies	Reflectivism (Social) constructivism	Different approaches
Actors • Deepening	State-centred (traditional)	IGO, state, individual, humankind	• State-, regime-centred • Focus on social movements
Focus • Widening	Narrow military (traditional) Environmental security dimension of national security	Broad/extended: political, military, economic, societal, environmental	• Narrow security agenda (traditional) • Human, livelihood security agenda (societal)
Knowledge	Instrumental for solving political tasks/problems of national (international) security	Reflection as part of a political process in society	• state tasks • people's survival strategies

the scientific programmes of the *global environmental change community* (IHDP). For the policy oriented elites the annual and regional conferences of the IISS have offered a platform to discuss security policy issues. Except ISA and the first World Conference on IR in Istanbul and efforts supported by UNESCO, so far no platform exists for a global debate on reconceptualizing, rethinking, and redefining security.

While most authors would agree that a widening and a deepening of security has occurred the changes in the security concept itself were hardly defined, while on the basic changes in the theoretical approaches, the security problems, agendas and policies since 1990, a consensus emerged, but a discussion of the deeper meanings of the concept was in most cases avoided. No single contribution of the reviewed literature referred to the sectorialization of security such as energy, food, water, health or livelihood security, even the human security conceptualization as well as the extensive human security debate in the peace and development community. The literature reviewed and cited relied nearly exclusively on literature in English and by Anglo-Saxon authors. The thinking of the other five billion people and of the security experts, thinkers, and debates taking place outside the Western world was in most cases insufficiently treated. This self-centred Western security dialogue has remained unchanged. Often the rest of the world does

not exist as centres of conceptual innovation and theoretical debate. This has been a continuity that has remained unchanged by the end of the Cold War.

38.5 Evolution of Security Concepts in Peace Research

The UN Charter in chapter VII referred to “action with respect to threats to the peace, breaches to the peace and acts of aggression” and not to violations of human, national, international, and global security. This debate has been extensively covered in international law.

The key value and goal of the peace research community has focused on the ‘peace’ concept, while the ‘security’ concept was often discussed only as an antidote to ‘peace’. Galtung’s (1967, 1968, 1969, 1975, 1988, 1993) classic distinction between ‘positive’ and ‘negative’ peace was stimulated by the conceptual debates in Latin American during the 1960’s (Frank 1966; possibly by the early work of Marini 1973; Dos Santos 1978; for a survey: Bornschier 1981). He defined positive peace as the absence of ‘structural violence’, and negative peace as the absence of ‘physical violence’. While the goal of ‘positive peace’ is closely connected with other basic goals of social justice, overcoming exploitation and granting of social, economic, and individual human rights, the goal of ‘negative peace’ fo-

cused on research that dealt with wars, conflicts, armaments, arms control and disarmament measures, policies and strategies.

While the concept of 'security' affects both positive and negative peace, it was primarily discussed by those peace researchers that worked on military and state-centred security issues during the Cold War era but from a primarily critical theoretical and policy perspective.

Schwerdtfeger (2001: 97-99), who reviewed the conceptualization and theoretical status of peace research, discussed security as an opposite term like violence, power, aggression, war, "organized peacelessness" (Senghaas 1969), enmity, and conflict. While during *pax romana* peace was dependent on security, during the Middle Ages security was subordinated to peace. This changed in the 18th century with the strengthening of the modern nation state when the 'pax civilis' of the early modern period was replaced by 'public order and security'. With the development of the modern nation state the original understanding of peace was replaced by the security concerns of the state, which was reflected in both the state sciences and in political science. With the development of peace research, the thinking on peace returned to political science and international relations but associated with it was a dispute between the traditional peace researchers who understood peace within the security realm and those critical peace researchers who saw peace as a potential for development among people (Senghaas 1971). How have peace researchers conceptualized security during and after the Cold War?

As no comprehensive survey and assessment of the use of the security concept in peace research exists, the following review will be selective, based on a review of several IPRA Proceedings and introductory texts or assessments of peace research results. At the seventh IPRA conference in Oaxtepec (1977) when CLAIP was established (Oswald 2006), only two contributions focused on security dealing with "The Doctrine of National Security" in Brazil (Cavalla 1979: 90-102) and on "Security policy options for the 1980's - new perspectives for a policy of détente and arms reduction in Central Europe" (Brauch 1979: 104-123). Both chapters reflect totally different policy concerns and research agendas.

Cavalla, a former minister from Chile, then in exile in Mexico (n.y., 1978, 1979a, 1979b, 1979: 90), critiqued the concepts of national security as the ideologies of the nation state, many of them were then ruled by military dictatorships "which implement new types

of states of exception, constituting the expression of the bourgeois counterrevolution in dependent countries." In his view this "doctrine [is] for the military who execute centralized government functions" and it is "related to other bourgeois counterrevolutionary theories" that were used to legitimize the "national security states" and their actions.

The contribution by Brauch (1979: 104-121) was more limited in focus and scope dealing with arms control theory and practice pertaining to Europe with the goal "to decrease the possibility and probability of any military conflict in Central Europe by military and non-military means" (104), and it argued that "security should not be seen only in terms of a military balance of power. Other elements: economic potential and ideological attractiveness and stability should be included in any power equation" (Brauch 1979: 105). It proposed "unilateral measures that do not endanger the national security" as well as guidelines for future security policy options (structures, means, processes), and it stressed the importance of alternative security policy options in Central Europe, leading to a "denuclearization, arms reduction and to an European security system" (Brauch 1979: 112-117), some of them were realized with the end of the Cold War.

These two contributions were somewhat symptomatic for the security-related discussions within IPRA: a fundamental critique of a concept that was used by the military elites to legitimize their rule and repression, and a reformist attempt to look for ways out of the doctrines of mutual assured destruction. While both were in a way prophetic (the military dictatorships are gone and the system of deterrence is overcome at least for the time being in Europe), neither author conceptualized what they meant with security and the specific concepts they used.

At the eighth IPRA conference in Königstein (Germany) in 1979, Gert Krell (1981: 238-254) offered a first analysis from a peace research perspective of "the development of the concept of security" in which he introduced security as a "value and symbol." For Krell (1981), the security concept has been "one of the most complex concepts, comparable to values and symbols" that has been used "as one of the most important terms of everyday political speech, and one of the most significant values in political culture." In Krell's (1981: 238) definition "security means first absence of danger and protection against danger, - or positively stated - the presence of desired values." He pointed to the object of protection (territorial inviolability of the state, citizen, physical survival and autonomy) and referred to a threefold dilemma "of secur-

ing peace with military means in the Nuclear Age”, a deterrence, a defence and an arms race dilemma, and to the “precarious balance of defence and détente”. Krell also noted an extension of the concept to new dimensions (‘economic’, individual non-military dimensions of security: globalization and interdependence), and he observed new developments for security policy, such as resource scarcity, interdependence among actors and issues, new patterns of military, political and economic conflict; a reduced utility of the military instrument in the pursuit of security goals, an increase in complexity of decision-making, and unprecedented problems of adjustment and global responsibility (Krell 1981: 251).

With the end of the Cold War, many of these early reflections on the security concept were applied by governments in their broadened or extended security concepts as reflected for example in two German defence white papers since the turn (BMVg 1994, 2006). These conceptual considerations were developed further in the first *Copenhagen Paper* by Jahn, Lemaitre and Wæver (1987) and by Wæver, Lemaitre and Tromer (1989) and later by the Copenhagen school (Buzan/Wæver/de Wilde 1998; Wæver/Buzan/de Wilde 2008).

During the 10th IPRA conference in 1983 in Győr in Hungary, two of the eight commissions dealt with security issues: commission 1 focused on “arms race, strategic doctrines and alternative security,” and Commission 2 on: “politics and economy of militarization and demilitarization,” but only two of the ten chapters by Marek Thee (1986: 48–63) dealt with “conceptual issues related to European security, arms control and confidence building measures” and by Ulrich Albrecht (1986: 165–175) focused on the “military use of research and development”, but neither discussed the concept of security.

In the proceedings of the 13th International Conference of IPRA – its 25th anniversary – in Groningen in July 1990, one of three parts dealt with “Reconceptualizing Security” with contributions by Randall Forsberg, Lothar Brock, Patricia Mische and Úrsula Oswald. In her introduction, Elise Boulding (1992: 65) referred to the emerging debate between adherents to a narrow and wider concept:

If the term security is to be stretched to mean everything, it is in danger of meaning nothing? In part the debate in this section is a semantic one. Neither of the two authors who are using the narrower definition of security – as security from attack – would deny that there are many threats to human well-being besides military threats. What is important is to separate the strategy of warfare from the multitude of threats facing

humans today, including those of ecological destruction and economic devastation. The authors arguing for the wider definition are basing their analysis on a model of interconnectedness of social and physical variables in a whole-system framework that their colleagues do not deny, and all agree that the real task is to eliminate destructiveness in all its forms and increase the level of human cooperation and environmental awareness as far as possible.

Forsberg (US) and Brock (Germany) adhered to a narrow military security concept, while Mische (US) and Oswald (Mexico) reconceptualized security by addressing environmental security dangers.

Forsberg (1992: 67–78) argued for an alternative security system based on non-offensive defence and peacekeeping, she pointed to positive conditions for demilitarization but referred also to dangers on how a new arms race could emerge due to inertia, vested interests of military officers and defence industries, a possible turnabout in the USSR and a potential rearmament of Germany and Japan.

Lothar Brock (1992: 79–102) pointed out that the fear of a global nuclear holocaust was replaced by a

widespread fear that the natural basis of human civilization may be destroyed through the dynamic of this very civilization; that the biosphere may be thrown out of balance, with unforeseeable consequences for all existing social systems; that non-deliberate environmental destruction will darken the expectations of present and future generations just as much as the prospect of any deliberate war. Thus, one looming disaster has been replaced by another – with little time for relief in between.

Brock reviewed four linkages between peace and the environment, discussed manifold causal linkages (war over natural resources, environmental impact of war and the military, environmental pressures to avoid war and reduce ‘structural violence’), reviewed the *instrumental* linkage (environmental warfare, environmental cooperation as a means to build peace), the *definitional* linkage (environmental degradation as war, peace with nature), and the *normative* linkage (concept of environmental security and sustainable development, rationalization of traditional security thinking, environmental and comprehensive security). Brock cautioned (1992: 98): “defining environmental issues in terms of security risks is in itself a risky operation,” and he warned “we may end up contributing more to the militarization of environmental politics than to a demilitarization of security politics.”

While Brock warned of the need to widen the security concept to the environment, Patricia Mische (1992: 103–119), who coined the concept of ‘eco-

logical security' in 1986, argued why environmental threats require a need to redefine security. Mische (1992: 106-107) distinguished three phases in the evolution of concepts and systems of security, arguing that during '

the first and longest period of human history, concepts of security centred primarily on nature, including (a) the life-giving, nurturing, aspects of nature; (b) the life-threatening capabilities of nature in the form of earthquakes, volcanoes, hurricanes, tornadoes, floods, droughts, blizzards, and changing food and water supplies; and (c) the sense of mystery, awe, surprise, power and beauty aroused by nature. ... In the second period, the primary locus of threats shifted from nature or the biosphere to the sociosphere. In the meantime, a new class of threats is emerging that requires a whole new way of thinking and organizing for human security. Once more the threats have to do with nature, but this time not what nature can do to humans, but rather how human activities may be damaging nature can do to humans, but rather how human activities may be damaging nature, and in turn, the way this damage may distinguish the prospects for future human survival, security, and peace.

Mische saw in past military activities an obstacle to new systems of security and argued that the advancement of world peace is essential to ecological security. She suggested an increased focus on the linkages between the environment, peace, and security. Towards that end she proposed both intergovernmental and citizen initiatives aiming toward a global culture of ecological responsibility via the Earth Covenant and the Project Global 2000 that aimed at a "redefinition of security and sovereignty."

From a third world perspective, Úrsula Oswald (1992: 121-126) reflected on the achievements of "the past three decades of development in terms of peace and active non-violent conflict resolution." In the first part on development and ecology she contrasted the initial proclaimed aims of development policy that after three decades (1960-1990) were overshadowed by the undeniable realities of poverty, hunger, ecological destruction, and other conflicts when "development had become a myth" (Oswald 1992: 121). Oswald argued that the modernization of agriculture and livestock production "have brought about desertification and salinization," and she pointed to eight major mechanisms for extraction from the South as a backyard market providing cheap labour force, as a source of cheap raw materials, a backyard for tourism and exotic sex, an ecological reserve, a backyard for human, technological and military experimentation, for depositing exotic/toxic waste, and "for extracting money through interests, patents, royalties, regalia, unequal

terms of trade, multinationalization, and poorly paid labour forces" (Oswald 1992: 123).

In the second part, Oswald outlined strategies to overcome the development myth and enter peaceful postdevelopment ecotopia by critiquing three strategies of, a) the integration of liberal and neoliberal economies and the formation of huge economic blocs with their respective backyards; b) a new economic order, and c) an "autonomous development with some temporary, sectoral, or regional delinking from the world economy" based on forces "from below and based on ecological and non-violent criteria." Oswald concludes "there is no chance to achieve a peaceful and ecologically sound future" with the first two approaches, and with regard to the third she suggested seven basic propositions: 1) by shifting from the capitalist logic of maximization of profits to a productive logic of use; 2) by recycling waste, abolishing toxic materials and adopting a rational process of horizontal and vertical productive integration; 3) by replacing individual profit-making ideas with an individual and collective self-sufficiency logic; 4) by a peace development oriented at conflict resolution; 5) "there is no peaceful, ecologically sound postdevelopment without personal, family, social and national security;" 6) by integral education and collective conscious practices, and 7) by an integration "of women and ethnic, social and religious minorities into the total life of a society." Oswald concluded (1992: 125-126) that these ideas "point the way to a peaceful, sustainable green alternative path that could change the nature-society relationship, permit a future for our children, and produce an ecologically viable, non-violent beginning of the next century: a post-development era of peace."

These four conceptual assessments, presented during the global turn in July 1990, pre-empted the debate between the adherents of a narrow security concept - even though for different reasons - and the proponents of a widened, deepened, and extended security concept that has been in the centre of the debate in international security studies and peace research since the early 1990's. Jahn (1988: 105, 1991) had previously cautioned that international peace research should not shift to national security research where security needs replace a yearning for peace, and he called for a reassessment of the role of security policy in the framework of a comprehensive peace policy.

Lothar Brock (1991, 1999, 2001, 2002, 2004) has been a persistent sceptic of an extension of the security concept. While a widened security concept would overcome the territorial fixation of security by a functional approach (Zangl/Zürn 1997), a widened con-

cept would extend the categories of military thinking to non-military issue areas and thus potentially contribute to their militarization (Jahn 1988; Deudney 1990; Lipshutz 1995; Müller 2002, 2004). Brock (2001: 184) suggested as an alternative of the fragmentation of security problem areas a return to a comprehensive discourse on peace. Brock (2004: 324) argued that a transformation of security policy towards demilitarization could better be achieved with a narrow rather than with a widened security concept. Furthermore, Brock (2004a, 2006) pointed to the ambivalence of the extended security concept that can be used both to emphasize the need of a civil conflict transformation and to legitimize a limitation of civil rights and freedoms domestically. He preferred a narrow concept of security as a protection against illegal violence.

One of the founding fathers of and most prolific writers on peace research, Johan Galtung, during the first 30 years of his writings (1951–1980) seems to have avoided in his early work a conceptualization of security (Gleditsch/Leine/Holm/Hoivik/Klausen/Rudeg/Wiberg 1980), but in 1982 he suggested alternative security doctrines (Galtung 1982). Twenty years later, in the mission statement of Transcend, a network for peace and development which Galtung helped to establish, among its 20 research programmes security was mentioned once under XI. *Non-military Approaches to Security and War Abolition*. In June 2005, in a “ten point peace studies primer”, Johan Galtung argued:

In security studies, violence is seen as caused by evil forces, like dangerous classes and inferior races/religions/ideologies ‘out to get us’ and the remedy is to have enough strength to deter or destroy those forces. ... We have something of the same in today’s struggle between peaceful conflict transformation and the reliance on court systems, governments and the UN Security (not Peace) Council. This security discourse stands in the way of a rational approach to peace. The remedies offered are two: to be strong enough to deter, and/or to crush those forces of evil, as we see it all over the world in the Anglo-American effort to deal with terrorism or tyranny. The net result is a security state like a fortress, and much, much killing, all over.²⁰

While Galtung (2005) repeatedly criticized the security concept he did not offer any systematic analysis of his notion of security similar to his definition of peace.

In a volume by Transcend, Brand-Jacobsen and Jacobsen (2000: 142–150) discussed new approaches, perspectives, and actors beyond security. They argued that traditional state-centred notions of security focusing on “freedom from the threat or use of force” are unable to address the new challenges facing the world community. “Group security, human security, environmental security and security from fear and want are only a few of the concepts and approaches necessary to broaden the understanding of the meaning of the word.” Furthermore, challenges to security cannot be limited to the military, “but must be extended to include economic, political, social, cultural and ecological factors as well” (Brand-Jacobsen/Jacobsen 2000: 143). This raises questions of security *from* whom or what, *by* whom or what, and *for* whom or what. One major danger to security they see in the persistence of Cold War mindsets of “zero-sum, win/lose, competitive and conflict-provoking thinking” (Brand-Jacobsen/Jacobsen 2000: 145). They see in “security itself, and the worldview it endorses, one of the key dynamics and causes which must be transcended in order for any real ‘security’ to exist” (Brand-Jacobsen/Jacobsen 2000: 149). But they lack any discussion of the theoretical foundations of the security concept and to which extent this concept has changed since 1989–1991.

The SIPRI director Alyson Bailes (2006: 1–30), on the occasion of SIPRI’s 40th anniversary, reviewed “the world of security and peace research in a 40-year perspective.” She noted three processes of change for the conceptions of danger and security in the post Cold War era: “a) diversification of the security agenda, b) diversity of actors, and c) the preference for solutions involving action rather than restraint” (Bailes 2006: 11). The forms of violence have broadened from intra-state conflicts to transnational opponents (terrorists, lawlessness, and criminality) and interpersonal violence. Thus, the security goal of governments has widened to the “protection of people and their rights against the whole range of such disorders” with an increasing focus on internal security and no division between external and internal security. In addition non-military risks of climate change, desertification and disasters to the state and people have increased. While the Westphalian system of nation states dominated the security analysis during the Cold War, since 1990 new actors both below (insurgents, ethnic and regional communities) and above the nation state (multinational corporations and multilateral institutions) as well as transnational

20 See: TFF: Meeting Point: Johan Galtung: “Peace Studies: A Ten Point Primer”, at: <http://www.transnational.org/SAJT/forum/meet/2005/Galtung_PR_Primer.html>.

actors (terrorists, criminal networks) have been objects of security concerns and analysis.

Paul Rogers, a former director of the Bradford School of Peace Studies, saw at the heart of a new evolving post Cold War security paradigm three drivers: “the widening wealth-poverty divide, environmental constraints on development, and the vulnerability of elite societies to paramilitary action. The paradigm ... has been evolving largely unnoticed for at least a couple of decades, and there have already been numerous indicators” (Rogers/Dando 2000; Rogers 2002: 79). Rogers (2002: 119) argued that the persisting socio-economic divide, environmental constraints, and the spread of military technologies are most likely leading to conflicts what requires “to develop a new paradigm around the policies likely to enhance peace and limit conflict.” That should focus on a) arms control, b) closing the wealth-poverty divide, and c) responding to environmental constraints.

Ernst-Otto Czempiel (1966, 2002), one of the founding fathers of theory-guided peace research in Germany, in an analysis of the “New Security in Europe” provided a critique of neo-realism and ‘realpolitik’. However, neither Rogers nor Czempiel analysed the theoretical and empirical aspects of the reconceptualization of security that has taken place since 1990.

In a two volume project on the future of peace, where the first volume (Sahm/Sapper/Weichsel 2002, 2006) offers an assessment of peace and conflict research of the first generation of German peace researchers, and the second volume (Jahn/Fischer/Sahm 2005) offers assessments of contemporary peace and conflict research from the perspective of the younger generation, only two contributions by Brauch (2002b) and Zangl (2005) discussed security related issues.

Brauch (2002b: 305–309) argued that disarmament should not be addressed any longer within a narrow concept of national security, but should use a broader security concept. He distinguished with regard to the goal and concept of security among three schools of realists, structural realists, and geopolitics experts that analysed external, internal, national, and international security, pragmatists or liberal neoinstitutionalists that used a broadened security concept consisting of a military, political, economic, societal and environmental dimension, and so-called ‘idealists’ in peace research that addressed human security and human survival.

Bernhard Zangl (2005: 159–187) discussed to which extent the postnational constellation of international security policy has differed from the national

constellation that has evolved since the 1990’s, a shift that has occurred in international economic, environment, and communication policy since the 1970’s. Since the 1990’s in international security policy there has been a shift in security dangers from national (other states) to transnational (terrorists, crime networks) actors that is reflected in the significant increase of new types of internal conflicts and civil wars. Zangl argued that the supranationalization of governance gradually set in since the 1990’s with the significant increase in UN peacekeeping operations, most of them dealing with civil war situations where the participation and the use of force was accompanied by an increasing ‘international’ legitimization through international security concerns and not solely of national security interests. This implies in Zangl’s interpretation that international security policy has to be analysed as a multi-level policy that differs significantly from the security policy of the national constellation where the national level prevails. Zangl, however, did not discuss whether this shift implied a reconceptualization of the prevailing security concepts (see chap 22 by Brauch).

Due to this functional widening of the security agenda, the strategies and means needed to cope with the new dangers have also changed. This was a concern of the UN SG’s High Level Panel on Threats (UN 2004; chap. 47 by Einsiedel/Nitzschke/Chhabra). Accordingly the scope of security concerns and the security agenda of international organizations (UN, OSCE, NATO, EU) have widened significantly since 1990 “towards fields where economic, social and other functional processes (and competences) prevail” (Bailes 2006: 20). However, this review of the changes in the security agenda and actors during and after the Cold War has avoided a discussion of the security concept and to which extent a reconceptualization has taken place.

From this review of selected writings on security by authors associated with peace research globally and regionally in the Western world, it may be concluded that security issues and especially the analysis of conceptual issues of security has not been a major preoccupation within peace research – compared with security studies. While peace researchers have already referred to the need for a widening of the security concept since the late 1970’s, and discussed the need for a widening and deepening of the concept, so far no systematic assessment seems to exist that traces the manifold changes of the use of this concept, e.g. in the major international journals, such as the in the

Journal of Peace Research, the *Bulletin of Peace Proposals* that became *Security Dialogue* in 1992.

While a reconceptualization of security could be observed based on the selective review of prominent authors with regard to the discussion of the security issues, agendas, actors, and institutions since 1990, this was rarely linked to the fundamental contextual change of 1989, only partially to globalization, and not yet to the shift towards a new phase in earth history (anthropocene).

38.6 Conclusions: New Post Cold War Conceptual Disputes and Efforts for an Integration of Critical Approaches

A lively debate on the reconceptualization of security was triggered by the fourth and peaceful global change of the Northern dominated international order in modern history with the end of the Cold War. The major turning point – at least from a European perspective – has been 9 November 1989 and not 11 September 2001 (Risse 2004; Kupchan 2004; Müller 2004a; Guzzini 2004; Moravcsik 2006).²¹ Several conceptual innovations were evolving prior to the global turn of 1989–1991 suggesting:

- A peace and security policy ‘beyond deterrence’ in the nuclear era (Senghaas 1969);
- a *widening* of the agenda (of what and for whom?) of US national security during the 1980’s (Ullman 1983, Myers 1989, Matthews 1989);
- a *broadening* of the scope from ‘national’ to ‘common’ (Palme 1982; Bahr/Lutz 1986, 1987) ‘mutual’ (Smoke 1991; Smoke/Kortunov 1991) and ‘comprehensive’ (Westing 1989, 1989a, 1989b) security;
- a *deepening* of the concept of security from ‘national’ to ‘international’, ‘global’ (Steinbruner

2000) and ‘world’ security (Klare 1994, 1996; Klare/Thomas 1991, 1994, 1998);

- a *sectorialization* of security from national and international to ‘ecological’ (Mische 1989, 1992, 1992a, 1998; Gorbachev 1987, 1988; Stein 1994) environmental security (Myers 1989; Brundtland Commission report (WCED 1987)); and
- an *alternative focus* and *goal* from an offensive towards a ‘defensive’ (Brauch/Kennedy 1990, 1992, 1993), ‘non-offensive’ (Møller 1991, 1992, 1995), ‘non-provocative’ (Boeker 1984, 1985, 1987) or ‘confidence-building’ (SAS 1984, 1989) defence or ‘alternative security’ (Weston 1990) since the late 1970’s and during the 1980’s and 1990’s;

With the end of the Cold War, the contextual change has triggered several additional conceptual innovations suggesting:

- a *widening* of the scope (*of what*) to at least five ‘sectors’ (Buzan 1991; Buzan/Wæver/de Wilde 1998) or ‘dimensions’ (Brauch 2003, 2005, 2005a);
- a *deepening* of the actors, referent objects (*for whom and by whom*) and levels of analysis from the nation ‘state’ *upward* to ‘international’ (UNSC, NATO) – both macro regional and global – or supra-state (EU) actors and *downward* to sub-state actors, such as micro regions, communities, ethnic groups, clans, families, and individuals (Buzan/Wæver/de Wilde 1998);
- a *reorientation* from a ‘state-centred’ to a ‘people’s centred’ approach suggested by UNDP (1994) and UNESCO (1997, 1998, 1999, 2001, 2001, 2003), the Commission on Human Security (CHS 2003) and by the Study Group on Europe’s Security Capabilities (Albrecht/Chinkin/Dervis/Dwan/Giddens/Gnesotto/Kaldor/Licht/Pronk/Reinhardt/Schmèder/Seifter/ Serra 2004);
- and a *further development* of people-centred human security concepts from human to gender security (Hoogensen 2006; Tasneem/Jayawardena/Shrestha/Siddiq/Khasrul Alam Quddusi/Prakash Bhatt/Anarkoly n.y.) and to a combined concept of human, gender, and environmental (HUGE) security concept (Oswald 2001, 2007, 2008);
- a *sectorialization* of security as reflected in energy (IEA), food (FAO, WFP), water (UNEP, UNU), health (WHO), and other sectoral concepts as climate security (Beckett 2006, 2007);
- a *shift* from a ‘national constellation’ to a ‘post-national constellation’ (Habermas 1998a, Zangl 2005; chap. 22 by Brauch);

21 This view was shared by Moravcsik (2006: 3) of Princeton University who wrote: “For Europe, in the realist and neo-conservative understandings, the defining moment of the contemporary era is not 9/11 but 11/9: the collapse of the Soviet empire, symbolized by the fall of the Berlin Wall on November 9, 1989. Without major direct threats to their security, Europeans have felt free to disarm, cultivate their unique postmodern polity, and criticize the United States. Thus, many argue, Europeans and Americans disagree about not only power and threats, but also means.”

- a *diversification* of the theoretical approaches within international relations and security studies from positivism to (social) constructivism (Wendt 1992, 1995, 1999), and postmodern, postpositivist, post structuralist, feminist and critical security studies (Krause/Williams 1996, 1997; Wyn Jones 1999; Booth 2005);
- a renewed *shrinking* towards a narrow national military security concept within the policy-oriented strategic community primarily in the US and some think tanks in Europe that are involved in consultancies for the military and for defence companies;
- an emerging *integration* of the manifold critical approaches with the emergence of a 'New European Security Theory'.

The controversies between security studies and peace research that have been very heated from the late 1960's to the late 1980's have mostly disappeared after the end of the Cold War. Rather, the debates on the widening and deepening of the security concept have occurred primarily within the two research programmes:

- primarily within the *security studies* community between the neo-realist proponents of a narrow security agenda (Walt 1991; Lynn Jones 1991/1992) and those that have proposed a widening and deepening of the security concept both from realist (Kolodziej 1992), critical realist (Booth 2005), or Grotian realist (Buzan 2001, 2004, 2006) and many other postmodernist and poststructuralist approaches (Wæver 1997);
- and to a much lesser extent within the *peace research* community where some of the founding fathers (Jahn 1975, 1991, 2005, Brock 1991, 1998, 2001, 2004) have cautioned against a militarization of widened security concepts, while others have pointed to a shift in the urgency of non-military human security dangers and concerns that require utmost efforts (e.g. climate change) where the military tools and logic are irrelevant.

The three schools that have developed in European security studies (Wæver 2004) have stimulated the emergence of a 'New European Security Theory' (NEST) which reflects these divergent critical theoretical approaches to security in Europe, prefers qualitative interpretative methods, and which have partly integrated themes previously addressed in peace research (Bürger/Stritzel 2005: 437-445). During a conference in Paris in June 2005, Ph.D. candidates addressed the possibility of theoretically linking ele-

ments of these three theoretical trends, e.g. by a concept of "positive securitization" (Taureck 2005) that introduces emancipation into the Copenhagen school.

Stimulated by this workshop a Collective on *Critical Approaches to Security in Europe* (CASE) that published its first "networked manifesto" in late 2006 (CASE 2006) encouraging dialogue among these schools to explore new paths for critical approaches to security in Europe that also build on the early work of Johan Galtung (1967) and Dieter Senghaas (1969, 1971, 1972) in 'critical peace research' (Patomäki 2001).²²

According to Booth (1997: 86-87), the end of the Cold War "provoked an intellectual crisis for strategists adopting an orthodox approach to security", while this rupture was less severe for those who had previously challenged this orthodoxy. COPRI (1985-2004), one of the conceptually oriented peace research institutes in Europe, had combined the innovative elements in the Scandinavian, British, German and Dutch discussions and with its theory of securitization (Wæver 1995; Buzan/Wæver/de Wilde 1998; Wæver/Buzan/de Wilde 2008), while the Welsh school introduced the critical approach of the Frankfurt school with the goal to replace "realism's military-focused, state-centred and zero-sum understanding of security" (CASE 2006: 448). The authors have pointed to four directions of future research:

the implications of expanding security to other fields ... ('security traps'); the question of exceptionalism; risk analysis; and the 'politics of belonging'. These four lines of research engage with several of the impasses and tensions in critical studies, and propose different modalities of tackling 'security' critically (CASE 2006: 460).

Security traps refer to a potential misuse of securitized policy problems by security bureaucracies that may counteract the initial intentions. CASE claims that critical security studies (CSS) has "taken over the critical role in the field of 'peace and security'". The collective suggests that peace researchers should develop a deeper understanding of their key concepts and "reflect on the normative dilemmas of writing, speaking and practicing peace" (CASE 2006: 462). The authors suggest a critical approach to the merging of the concepts of security and development (chap. 8 by Uvin; chap. 54 by Katseli; chap. 58 by Klingebiel/Roeder). CASE authors also reflect on Carl Schmitt's concept of exceptionnalism for security studies. The relationship of risk, risk management and security are ad-

22 The CASE Manifesto (2006) triggered three replies by Walker (2007), Behnke (2007) and Salter (2007).

dressed as a third major task for future research taking Beck's (1986, 1992, 1999, 2007) risk theory into account (Rasmussen 2002, 2004; Jarvis/Griffith, 2007, 2007a; Jarvis 2007; Carment/Gazo/Prest 2007; Handmer/James 2007) with the goal "to engender a debate between risk-based and threat-based interpretations of "insecurity that will widen the traditional critical security agenda concerned with the mutual constitution of threats and identity" (CASE 2006: 468-469). In the final part, the CASE (2006: 472-477) collective addressed the issue of policy relevance of critical knowledge on security within a pragmatic relationship between policy-maker and scientist in contrast to technocratic or decisionist models (Habermas 1968).

The CASE manifesto brought together a team of young, theoretically minded, and promising scholars that try to overcome the dichotomies of the US debates in IR and security studies. This effort to integrate the critical approaches in both peace research of the 1970's and 1980's with the critical approaches in security studies and by bringing different disciplines (IR and sociology) but also different language cultures of the English and French-writing scholars together into an emerging new integrated European theoretical approach that is fundamentally distinct from the American versions of structural, classical, or neo-classical realism, or neo-realism, is also a signal of a scientific emancipation of a new generation of European scholars working on security issues that have returned to the creative roots of the diverse European intellectual traditions. This vibrant intellectual debate challenges the often self-centred American scientific debates (chap. 1 by Brauch).

However, this new European centred security discourse and theory development must broaden its scope to include the critical conceptual security debates outside Europe and North America. This is both a challenge and an opportunity of a theoretically trained new generation of security scholars to engage in scientific discussions with young scholars from Asia, Africa, the Arab World, as well as from Latin America and the Caribbean.

While the dispute between representatives of traditional, neo-realist, and narrowly focused security studies on the one hand, and policy-oriented peace researchers of the older generation has re-emerged especially since 2000 especially due to the policies legitimized by the events of 11 September 2001, there seems to have been a lesser debate between peace researchers and critical security studies - at least in Germany. In the security studies and peace research liter-

ature, human security concepts were hardly discussed and sectoral security concepts were ignored.

Much of the vitality of the vibrant theoretical and conceptual debate on security seems to have taken place since 1990 within security studies in Europe, and especially as a result of the new approach of the Copenhagen school and the critiques of the school of CSS. However, in nearly all contributions to the Western or North American and European debates, the contributions of scholars in Asia, Africa, in the Arab World, and in Latin America were only in a few cases noted, but mostly ignored. Much research is needed to fill these gaps in knowledge. The mapping of the reconceptualization of security should not remain a purely inter Western effort; the work of scientists representing the other 5 billion people should be analysed more closely to overcome both Eurocentric and US self-centred perspectives.

The following conclusions may be drawn from the debates in both schools:

- The *security agenda* has horizontally widened from a narrow military and political security perspective to a more comprehensive one that includes the economic, the societal, and the environmental sectors or dimensions.
- The *actors (from whom, by whom and for whom)* of security policy have also widened and are no longer (with the exception of some US traditional realists) limited to the state, increasingly sub-national, supranational, and transnational non-state actors must be included.
- So far the *human and gender security* debate and the *sectoral security concepts* have not been systematically integrated by the different approaches of security studies and peace research.

In summer 2007, eighteen years after the end of the East-West conflict, both the security concept and security policies remain highly contested, but - at least in Europe - the debate has been less polarized between two opposing scientific poles of peace research and security studies. Rather, both schools seem to have focused nearly exclusively on their in-group debates, and there has been a lesser debate and controversies between representatives of both schools that have dominated the 1970's and 1980's during the periods of the first (1969-1974/1979) and second *détente* (1987-1989) and the second Cold War (1979-1987).

Based on the achievements of these debates, the author suggests with regard to the future:

- a critical *reflection* and deeper understanding on the concept of security, its etymological and his-

torical evolution, and contemporary use in different cultures and religions in all parts of the world and not only in Europe, North America, and in the OECD world;

- a *progressive integration* of the components of a new critical theory of security, including a deepening of the actor and referent objects, a widening of the sectors (Buzan), dimensions (Brauch), and fields (Bigo 1992, 1996);
- an *internationalization* of the new thinking on security by overcoming its Northern (European and North American) focus and Western theoretical resource base.

This book and the two subsequent volumes intend to contribute to the first and third goal to reflect the intellectual and cultural richness of a diverse world where security is addressing the basic human needs of human beings in their struggle for survival, and not the interests of self-perpetuating national security states and their military-industrial complexes and their rationalizing and legitimizing threat industry.

This is partly expressed in: “A Human Security Doctrine for Europe” (Albrecht/Chinkin/Dervis/Dwan/Giddens/Gnesotto/Kaldor/Licht/Pronk/Reinhardt/Schméder/Seifter/Serra 2004), according to which “civilians should play a significant role in a new EU force designed to combat global insecurity and protect citizens in conflict zones.” This report “argues for a fundamental rethink of Europe’s approach to security – not only within its borders, but beyond. In the 21st century, when no country or region is immune from terrorism, regional wars, organized crime, failing states or the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, Europe cannot ignore the growing insecurity around the globe.” This report further suggests:

Human rather than nation-state security should be at the heart of European policy. Instead of defeating enemies or pacifying warring parties, EU missions should focus on protecting civilians, through law enforcement with the occasional use of force. Europeans cannot be secure while millions of people live in intolerable insecurity. Where people live with lawlessness, poverty, exclusivist ideologies and daily violence, there is fertile ground for human rights violations, criminal networks and terrorism. That is why a contribution to global human security is now the most realistic security policy for Europe. The Study Group has developed seven principles for Europe’s security policy that apply to prevention, conflict and post-conflict contexts alike and which are intended to guide the actions of high-level EU officials, politicians in the member states, diplomats, and soldiers and civilians (Albrecht/Chinkin/Dervis/Dwan/Giddens/Gnesotto/Kaldor/Licht/Pronk/Reinhardt/Schméder/Seifter/Serra 2004).

However; such a regional strategy must be embedded in a global strategy towards international and human security, as has been suggested in the recommendations of the *High Level Panel on Threats* of the UN Secretary-General in December 2004 and in the Report of former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan: *In Larger Freedom* in March 2005 to realize the goals of the “peoples of the United Nations” as expressed in the Preamble of the UN Charter (1945):

to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, ... to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, and to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be obtained, and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom.

‘Security’ has been and will remain a ‘contested concept’ in international relations, in strategic studies, and in peace research in the decades to come due to both contextual political challenges (transition to the anthropocene), diverse cultural impacts, and scientific innovations.

**Part VI Reconceptualizing Dimensions
of Security (Debates since
1990)**

**Chapter 39 Security: The State (of) Being Free From
Danger?**

Laura Shepherd and Jutta Weldes

**Chapter 40 From a Security towards a Survival
Dilemma**

Hans Günter Brauch

Chapter 41 The Changing Agenda of Military Security

Barry Buzan

**Chapter 42 Political Security, an Uncertain Concept
with Expanding Concerns**

Thomaz Guedes da Costa

Chapter 43 Economic Security

Czeslaw Mesjasz

Chapter 44 The Changing Agenda of Societal Security

Ole Wæver

Chapter 45 Environmental Security Deconstructed

Jaap H. de Wilde

39 Security: The State (of) Being Free From Danger?

Laura Shepherd and Jutta Weldes

39.1 Introduction

With the demise of the Cold War, policy-makers claimed to recognize a plethora of new security threats – a veritable ‘dysplasia’ of the global body politic (Manning 2000: 195). In the face of rogue states, loose nukes, international organized crime and global terrorism, among other menaces, government and non-government organizations devoted considerable time and resources to addressing new insecurities. Academics too have tried to rework the concept of security. As David Baldwin wrote in 1997, in the fields of International Relations (IR) and Security Studies, “[r]edefining ‘security’ has recently become something of a cottage industry” (Baldwin 1997: 5), although the difficulty in defining ‘security’ had already exercised the minds of scholars over several decades.¹

This chapter addresses three central issues regarding the conceptualization of security. The first is that different theoretical approaches conceive of ‘security’ differently, depending on their basic ontological and epistemological commitments. The second and related issue is that different conceptions of security, in turn, entail different understandings of threats, of insecurity, and of the referent objects of security, those entities in need of being secured. We seek in this chapter to illuminate these differences. Third, we address the persistent claim that IR and Security Studies should be “relevant to contemporary [policy] concerns” (Krause/Williams 1996: 40). For each approach we draw out the relationship between academic theorizing of security and policy debates. In particular, we highlight the fact that policy-making and academic discussions are, as Stanley Hoffman (1977) famously argued, always already intimately related.

The first section (39.2) presents the conventional rationalist conceptualization of security, one that pre-

dates the end of the Cold War and is prominent in policy discourse. The authority of this vision of security demands that we trace the development of approaches to security from it, despite claims that the post-Cold War era is fundamentally different from those preceding it.

In the second section (39.3), we discuss attempts to broaden and deepen the analysis of security by including a wider array of policy issues under the heading ‘security’ and expanding its referent objects. We draw attention to the differences, and also the similarities, between these reconceptualizations and the rationalist model.

Finally, we offer a third conceptualization of security as discourse (39.4). In this approach, the construction of *insecurity* is investigated in more detail, as are the mutual constitution of threats and threatened identities. Throughout, we use the contemporary security threat posed by immigration as an example. We conclude by emphasizing that these academic concerns about conceptualization – themselves already influenced by policy debates – are of central importance to policy-making, and indeed constitutive of security policy.

39.2 Security As Power

The mainstream rationalist approaches² dominant in IR and Security Studies are fundamentally state-centric.³ They treat security, defined in relation to the

1 See, *inter alia*, Wolfers 1962; Krell 1979; Buzan 1983; Ullman 1983; Ayooob 1983/4; Wiberg/Øberg 1984; Varas 1986; Bay 1987; Mathews 1989; Walt 1991; Huysmans 1995.

2 Despite their internecine disputes over issues like relative versus absolute gains and the extent of cooperation under anarchy (e.g. Baldwin 1993a), we include realism, neo-realism and neo-liberal institutionalism under the single rubric ‘rationalism’ because they share the same substantive and meta-theoretical assumptions (e.g. Keohane 1988; Katzenstein/Keohane/Krasner 1998).

3 States are generally defined in Weberian terms, as administrative organizations issuing binding decisions for a population and territory, and the ultimate repository for the legitimate use of force (e.g. Weber 1947: 156).

state, as intimately related to power, understood primarily, if not exclusively, in military terms. The reason is straightforward. On rationalist accounts, which draw substantively on a realist vision of world politics, the international differs from the domestic primarily in its anarchic character. This anarchy – defined by the sovereignty of the state and the concomitant absence of a supra-state Leviathan – places states in inevitable and perpetual competition, the so-called “security dilemma” (Herz 1951). States are thus always insecure and necessarily concerned with their own survival: “In anarchy,” Kenneth Waltz has stated, “security is the highest end” (Waltz 1979: 126).

The fundamental interest of any state must therefore be to “protect [its] physical, political, and cultural identity against encroachments by other nations” (Morgenthau 1952: 972). ‘High politics’ – the arena of diplomacy and security, war and peace (e.g. Viner 1949) – is thus central for states and “each state must guarantee its own survival since no other will provide its security” (Mearsheimer 1990: 12). Security is conceptualized as an objective state of affairs, ultimately defined by state survival in the face of external threats, and states seek to provide for their security by “maximizing their power relative to other states” (Mearsheimer 1990: 12).⁴ Although the threats need not always be military, the response to insecurity is calculated in terms of power, and generally military power. ‘Threats’ are treated as external and objective such that it is a “*fact* that security is being sought against external violence” (Wolfers 1962: 490, emphasis added). Security becomes “nothing but the absence of the evil of insecurity, a negative value so to speak” (Wolfers 1962: 488).

This rationalist understanding of security, threat, and insecurity rests upon at least two important assumptions. First, it assumes that an independent reality is directly accessible both to state officials and to analysts. The distribution of power can be assessed ‘realistically’ or objectively and, consequently, threats to a state’s security can accurately be recognized. Hence, Morgenthau’s injunction that state officials overcome their “aversion to seeing problems of international politics as they are” (Morgenthau 1951: 7).

4 Military power is not the only relevant form of power, even for rationalists. It is recognized that “what is sometimes termed ‘statecraft’ – arms control, diplomacy, crisis management, for example” (Walt 1991: 213) – can also provide security, and that economic power is necessary for military power. Nonetheless, military threats constitute the ultimate insecurity and military power is the ultimate resort.

Second, this rationalist account posits the existence of certain entities – specifically states – within an environment in which they experience objective threat(s). The nature of states is given and fixed, at least for all practical purposes, and security requires securing states against objective and external threats. These basic assumptions naturalize states and their insecurities, while rendering contingent and problematic their actions and strategies for coping with the insecurities. States and their insecurities are naturalized in the sense that they are treated as unproblematical facts: states thus become the foundational objects that ground security analysis. Rationalist accounts, then, treat states and their insecurities as natural facts while problematizing, and consequently focusing attention onto, the acquisition of security for the state.

On this view, immigration, for example, is represented primarily as a threat to the integrity – the ‘physical, political and cultural identity’ – of the sovereign state. Noticeably, after the events of 11 September 2001, “a number of countries have revisited their asylum systems from a security angle and have in the process tightened procedures and introduced substantial modifications” (Türk 2003: 115). This increase in border control, and the surveillance and enforcement mechanisms such control entails, is premised on a rationalist view of the state and security that sees sovereignty and territoriality as the markers of statehood. Because the state, with its defining territorial borders, is taken as objectively given, border transgressions are potentially threatening: “The dangers of mobility can be described as vectors of threat: security and crime, political and cultural difference, health and disease” (Salter 2004: 72). Immigration, when considered a security threat, thus requires responses that prioritize controlling borders and monitoring human traffic across them.

On this view, in short, the object of security is the state and threats, and therefore insecurities, are objective, external, and fundamentally related to the use of power, and ultimately force. Security is always fragile and relative to the power of other states. The security problematic of any particular state is to develop policies that minimize objective threats, ultimately to the very survival of the state itself.

39.3 Extending Security: Proliferating Referent Objects and Threats

The rationalist preoccupation with the physical security of the state has of course excited extensive criti-

cism. Over the last several decades, critics have argued that both the concern with military security and the concentration on the state as the object of security are dangerously and unnecessarily narrow.⁵ Alternative conceptions of security abound. Analytically, they highlight two arguments.⁶ First, the category of security has been expanded to include threats outside of the traditional arena of 'high politics'. Thus, we have been encouraged to see economic crises, global warming, underdevelopment, epidemics, human trafficking, and so on, as security threats. Second, and as a corollary, the object of security has been extended to include a variety of non-state actors, among them individuals, civil society, the international community, and humanity as a whole. We briefly discuss each of these analytical commitments.

The threats against which the referent object of security can be secured, according to this view, range from conventional 'security' concerns like armed conflict to economic deprivation, environmental disasters, and gender violence. For example, drawing on policy discourses, a 'development/security nexus' has recently been posited.⁷ On this view, as World Bank President James Wolfenson noted: "If we want to prevent violent conflict, we need a comprehensive, equitable and inclusive approach to development" (cited in Thomas 2001: 160). Development, conventionally seen as an economic and social problem, and violent conflict, conventionally the security concern, thus become inextricably linked, substantially broadening the traditional notion of 'security'.

Expanding the policy issues encompassed by the category 'security,' in turn, alters the objects of security. As threats - and responses to those threats - are no longer assumed to be primarily military, security is no longer solely the concern of the sovereign state (Bilgin 2003: 203). Instead, it becomes clear that individuals, communities, regions, and sometimes humanity as a whole,⁸ have a stake in 'security' and can thus potentially work to achieve it (although their interests may not be compatible). The referent object of secu-

rity is thus expanded and security becomes a "single continuum ... protected and enhanced by a series of interlocking instruments and policies" (McRae 2001: 22). For instance, 'human security' has recently received considerable attention,⁹ "broaden[ing] our view of what is meant by peace and security",¹⁰ notably in the policy discourses of international institutions like the United Nations. As the Final Report of the Commission on Human Security asserts, human security is 'people' rather than state centred (CHS 2003: 2) and designed to "protect the vital core of all human lives in ways that enhance human freedom and human fulfilment. ... It means creating ... systems that together give people the building blocks of survival, livelihood and dignity" (CHS 2003: 4). Emphasizing the 'human' referent of security highlights the diverse ways in which threats are experienced, again demonstrating that in/security applies to agents larger and smaller than the state.

Immigration provides a further example of the complexity of the category of 'security' and its referent objects. On the one hand, immigration can be seen as a threat to the state, as it is in the rationalist approach. "The first action that governments typically take when faced with a crisis is to close their borders. States seem intent on gaining security by stopping the world from moving" (Bach 2003: 227). On the other hand, however, individuals often choose to cross borders precisely to overcome insecurities, whether physical, economic, or otherwise. For individuals, barriers to immigration can be threatening, a source of insecurity, while immigration itself offers a (possible) road to security. Put simply, political issues affect different objects of security differently. On this view, we thus need to look at "security issues ... from both [or more] sides of the coin" (Türk 2003: 121), broadening the conceptualization of threat and of the referent objects of security.

Reframing as 'security' issues those previously considered under other rubrics reveals the power of the concept of 'security'. Harnessing this power - which traditionally recognizes that it may be necessary to use force or whatever other measures "necessity dictates" (Waltz 1967: 206) - magnifies the severity of problems,

5 Challenges to the rationalist perspective on security vary enormously in their philosophical and methodological approaches. However, they are minimally united in their desire to reconceptualize security by broadening its scope. Examples include Krell 1979; Buzan 1983; Barnett 1988; Matthews 1989; Boutros-Ghali 1992; Kupchan/Kupchan 1995.

6 Many analysts of course make both at once. We separate them out for analytical purposes.

7 Examples include Martinussen 1997; Duffield 2000, 2001; Dewitt/Hernandez 2003.

8 Early examples include Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues 1982; Buzan 1983; Bay 1987; Tickner 1992.

9 See, for example, Thomas 2001; McRae 2001; Paris 2001.

10 Kofi Annan, 1999: "Letters to Future Generations: Towards a Culture of Peace", at: <<http://www.unesco.org/opiz/lettres/TextAnglais/AnnanE.html>>.

inscribing them with a level of necessity and urgency generally accorded to dire crises, such as war.¹¹ Thus, articulating immigration as a threat to security enables the imposition of stronger border controls, the exercise of surveillance, and the construction of detention camps, among other measures. As a result, it allows for the violation of civil rights and the expenditure of vast resources. Especially in the face of concerns about transnational ‘terrorist networks’, popular support for such measures can be gained by linking immigration to terrorist threats that may “endanger the survival of vast numbers of vulnerable people” (Bach 2003: 242). There is thus a clear political motive for expanding the concept of security. Claims to ‘security’, and particularly ‘national security’, function to leapfrog policy issues up the political agenda, to facilitate speedy responses, to make resistance more difficult, and to make money flow.

These expanded approaches improve on the rationalist focus on military threats to state security by allowing us to recognize a wider diversity of threats that engender insecurity not just for states but also for individuals and the whole of humanity. Nonetheless, their approach to security remains unaltered in fundamental ways. As with rationalism, states and other objects of security are simply assumed to exist, as do objectively given threats to the security of those objects. The analytical and political task thus remains the same: to make the referent objects more secure in the face of these threats.

39.4 Security As Discourse¹²

The difficulty with the preceding approaches is that objects and events do not in fact present themselves unproblematically to the observer, however ‘realistic’ he or she may be. Determining what the particular situation confronting a state or other actor is, what, if any, threat to security it faces, and what the ‘correct’ response might be always requires interpretation. Threats, then, are fundamentally interpretative, not objectively given facts. Immigration, for instance, can be represented as a major threat to the security of a sovereign state, as discussed above. But it can also be represented as a solution to individual insecurities or as a component of the free movement of labour nec-

essary to a successful neoliberal order. All three representations require significant interpretative labour. Rationalist theories and their extensions, assuming as they do that threats are external and objective, cannot explain how a particular situation comes to be understood as a threat to begin with. Understanding security as discourse allows this fundamental question to be addressed. To challenge conventional understandings of security, then, one can focus on *insecurity* and its discursive production.

A discourse is a set of capabilities – a set of “socio-cultural resources used by people in the construction of meaning about their world and their activities” (Ó Tuathail/Agnew 1992: 192–193) – and a structure of meaning-in-use – “a language or system of representation that has developed socially in order to make and circulate a coherent set of meanings” (Fiske 1987: 14). Discourses, that is, are sets of rules for ordering and relating discursive elements (subjects, objects, their characteristics, tropes, narratives, and so on) in such a way that some meanings rather than others are constituted.¹³ Conversely, we have reached the boundaries of a discourse when representations fail to be meaningful, when they seem “unintelligible” or “irrational” (Muppidi 1999: 124–5) from within it.

Understanding security as discourse recognizes that insecurities are discursive constructions rather than natural facts. One way to get at the constructed nature of insecurities is to examine the ways in which insecurities and the objects that suffer from them are mutually constituted. That is, in contrast to approaches that treat the objects of insecurity and their insecurities as given, a discursive approach treats them as inextricably intertwined: insecurity becomes the product of processes of identity construction in which the ‘self’ and the ‘other’, or multiple ‘others’, are constituted.¹⁴ The object of analysis then becomes those states and other referent objects of security and their insecurities generally taken for granted in IR and Se-

11 Wæver’s concept of ‘securitization’ (1995) discusses this idea more comprehensively.

12 This section and the next draw on Weldes/Laffey/Gusterson/Duvall 1999.

13 Relations of constitution differ from causal relations. The process of constitution is definitional: it explains how “a particular phenomenon is that phenomenon and not something else.” It delineates the “possibility conditions for the existence of phenomena”; how, within a discourse, some phenomena are possible such that they are defined in that discourse as those phenomena (Majeski/Sylvan 1991: 8).

14 For approaches to the constitution of self and other in a variety of cultural processes, see, *inter alia*, Campbell 1994, 1998a; Connolly 1991; Doty 1993; Drinnon 1990; Greenblatt 1991; Neumann 1996; Spurr 1993; Todorov 1982.

curity Studies. Insecurities and their objects are denaturalized, in particular by demonstrating how both insecurities *and* actors such as states are discursively produced in relation to one another.

A conception of security as discourse assumes that the identities of actors are constructed through acts of representation, or ‘discursive practices’. This means that security discourses function to construct the identities of various subjects, for example states and migrants, and to position these subjects in relation to each other. The identities thus constructed in turn function to prescribe some behaviours, while rendering others unthinkable. Identities are therefore central to this conceptualization, as how we think of ‘ourselves’ is constructed in relation to how we conceive of the ‘others’ (and vice versa). “The face of the other,” as Dutta (2004) argues, is fundamental to our understanding of our own being-in-the-world. These identities, in turn, are part of the condition for action.

It is, of course, perfectly reasonable for some purposes to take the common sense interpretative categories of subjects for granted for analytical purposes. However, if one is interested in going beyond the agent’s point of view to examine security as discourse, to examine those discursive practices that are the conditions of possibility for the agent’s self-understandings in the first place, then one needs to subject that common sense to critical scrutiny. This common sense is not truth: rather, it is what Stuart Hall has called the “categories of practical consciousness” (Hall 1986: 30). Critical scrutiny seeks to defamiliarize – literally to make strange – common sense understandings and so to make their constructedness apparent. It denaturalizes the putatively given agents, such as states; it denaturalizes the relations among subjects; and it denaturalizes the insecurities faced by those subjects as apparently objective threats.

In the following two sections, we highlight two distinct approaches to the analysis of security as discourse: a critical constructivist approach that focuses on the intersubjective practices of in/security production, and a post-structural approach that emphasizes the performative effects of security discourse.

39.4.1 Critical Constructivism: The Intersubjectivity of In/Security

The claim that insecurities are discursive constructions derives from the recognition of a deceptively simple fact: that people “act towards objects, including other actors, on the basis of the meanings that the objects have for them” (Wendt 1992: 396–7). Critical

constructivism assumes that the world is constituted in part through the meaningful practices of social subjects, and that people act on the basis of the meanings that things have for them. These meanings are fundamentally discursive: they are made possible by particular discourses that provide the categories through which the world is understood. Meaning is thus *intersubjective*: it is a social rather than an individual or collective phenomenon. Meaning inheres in the practices and categories through which people engage with the world. Intersubjective meanings constitute the world as we know it and function in it: they tell us “what the world is and how it works, for all practical purposes” (Hall 1988: 44).

According to this view, identities – both of self and of others – and in/securities, rather than being given, emerge out of a process of representation through which individuals – whether state officials or internet surfers – describe to themselves and others the world in which they live. These representations define, and so constitute, the world. They populate it with subjects, endow them with interests, and define the relations among them. In so doing, they create insecurities, threats to the identities, and thus the interests, of these socially constructed subjects.

Of course, discourses abound and the world is represented in different, and often competing, ways. This means that any representation can potentially be contested and so must actively be reproduced. Meanings, in other words, are neither static nor final; rather, they are always in process and always provisional. The contemporary ‘immigration crisis’ in the United Kingdom (UK), for instance – like its many predecessors¹⁵ – is constituted as a problem in a security discourse that constructs the British national community in opposition to ‘bogus asylum seekers’ and ‘economic migrants’ as well as to immigrant communities that fail to adapt to and adopt a ‘British’ way of life.¹⁶ The production of in/securities thus requires considerable discursive work, as can be seen in the lively debates over what counts as ‘Britishness’ and whether ‘native’, white Britons could actually pass the Britishness test required of those seeking UK citizenship.¹⁷ Dominant discourses – relentlessly construct-

15 See Winder’s (2004) interesting history of immigration into the territories now called ‘Britain’.

16 Gerri Peev: “Test Ignites Questions of Britishness”, in: *The Scotsman*, 1 November 2005; at: <<http://news.scotsman.com/topics.cfm?tid=16&id=2176262005>>; “Test of Britishness for Immigrants”, CNN.com, 31 October 2005; at: <<http://edition.cnn.com/2005/WORLD/europe/10/31/uk.citizen.test.reut/>>.

ing immigration as a national security threat, for instance – must constantly reproduce themselves to answer challenges to their identification of threats worthy of a claim to ‘security’. Contesting discourses, in turn, attempt to rearticulate in/securities in ways that challenge the dominant representations – for example, by constructing immigration as providing a necessary economic resource in the face of declining population growth.¹⁸

Constructions of in/security provide both conditions of and limits on possibility. They make it possible to act in the world while simultaneously defining the “horizon of the taken-for-granted” (Hall 1988: 44) that marks the boundaries of common sense. Such constructions become common sense when they have successfully defined their relationship to reality as one of correspondence. That is, they are successful to the extent that they are treated as if they transparently reflect ‘the real world’. In this way discursive constructions are naturalized, and both their constructed nature and their particular discursive origins are obscured. The creation of common sense is thus “the moment of extreme ideological closure” (Hall 1985: 105). By authoritatively defining ‘the real’, dominant representations of in/security (try to) remove from critical analysis and political debate what are in fact particular, interested constructions. Within the UK immigration crisis discourse, for example, it is not possible intelligibly to argue that refugees and asylum seekers should be viewed as an economic, social or cultural asset. On the other hand, it is possible, indeed common sense, to argue that they need to prove ‘Britishness’.

A corollary of this argument is that discourses are sites of social power. Some discourses are powerful because they are located in powerful institutions. All else being equal, representations by state officials have prima facie plausibility as these officials are constituted as speaking for the state, and ultimately for ‘us’. Such representations are regarded as legitimate not because they are accurate, but because they emanate from the institutional power matrix that is the state. In their representations of in/security, for exam-

ple, state officials can claim access to information produced by the state and denied to most outsiders. They also have privileged access to the media to disseminate their representations (e.g. Herman/Chomsky 1989). And, crucially, their representations have constitutional legitimacy, especially in the construction of insecurity. After all, ‘national security’ is quintessentially the business of the state and the identification of insecurities is a task understood rightly to belong to its officials (e.g. Weldes 1999: 11–12). Dominant discourses, especially those of the state, thus become and remain dominant in part because of the power relations sustaining them.

A critical constructivist approach to security as discourse highlights the intersubjective nature of knowledge claims, the importance of discursive practices, and their construction of the state and other objects of security and their respective in/securities. It denaturalizes those representations taken for granted in conventional approaches, and draws attention to the institutional relations of power that sustain some representations over others.

39.4.2 Post-Structuralism: States Performing Security, Security Performing States

Post-structuralist security theorizing is largely compatible with the analytical approach explored in the previous section, but explicitly highlights the performance of “the social or symbolic order and the subject” (Edkins 2002: 71) as “[n]either subjects nor social order *exists* at a particular point in time. Both are only ever in a process of becoming” (Edkins 2002: 71). Where the previous critical constructivist approach highlights the intersubjectivity of in/security, a post-structural approach interrogates the ways in which these in/securities, and responses to them, are performative of particular configurations of political identity. As Butler explains, “performativity must be understood not as a singular or deliberate ‘act’, but, rather, as the reiterative and citational practice by which discourse produces the effects that it names” (Butler 1993: 2; 1999). In the study of security, the discursive power of the concept ‘security’ is integral to this understanding. That is, the ‘reiterative and citational practice’ of an elected government declaring something – such as immigration – a ‘security threat’ enables certain political processes and policies, as described above. This act “is a performative one which brings a contemporary configuration of sovereignty into being” (Butler 2004: 61) and, in doing so, pro-

17 Ben Russell: “Introducing the Government’s ‘Britishness’ Test: Only Foreigners Need Pass. Natives Can Bask in Ignorance”, in: *The Independent Online Edition*, 16 November 2005; at: <<http://news.independent.co.uk/uk/politics/article323790.ece>>.

18 UK Home Office: “UK Population Project”, 18 December 2003; at: <http://www.ind.homeoffice.gov.uk/ind/en/home/news/archive/2003/december/uk_population_project.html>.

duces the effect of the state – or the institution or network performing the security policy.

On this view, states, acting as unitary authoritative entities, perform violence, but violences, in the name of security, also perform states.¹⁹ In contrast to Steven Walt's charge – levelled against post-structural approaches to IR and Security Studies – that “issues of war and peace are too important for the field to be diverted into a prolix and self-indulgent discourse that is divorced from the real world” (Walt 1991: 223), post-structuralist analysis of in/security in fact problematizes the ways in which ‘the real world’ comes to be recognized as such, and argues that “security ... is first and foremost a performative discourse constitutive of political order” (Campbell 1998a: 199). This approach investigates the ways in which discourses of security reproduce narratives of identity and ontology – a sense of being in the world – and, in the discipline of IR, explores the performance not only of sovereign states as bounded territorial entities, but also of international institutions and the ‘international community’. The (re)production of these identities is often violent, through policies that permit acts of physical violence, or through the discursive violence of marginalization. For example, while security policies that govern immigration might not endorse or permit acts of physical violence directly and explicitly, the construction in popular discourse of the migrant vis-à-vis the inhabitant of the host state may permit the inhabitant to think of the migrant as an outsider, as different, as fundamentally *less than* her/himself. This is a form of discursive violence that creates the conditions of possibility for physical violence, as the hate crimes directed against non-Caucasian's in the UK and US immediately after 11 September 2001 demonstrate.²⁰

Krause and Williams (1997: 51–52) argue that “the question of violence in its direct and brutal form cannot be avoided in security studies.” According to this view, violence encompasses not just acts of interstate war, but also instances of civil conflict and oppressive practices within and between states, as well as the legal structures, policy practice and the research that guides them. Problematizing discourse on ‘security threats’ illustrates not only the ways in which the notion of a co-

herent agential ‘state’ is one that requires constant reproduction, but also the ways in which violence extends beyond the ‘direct and brutal’ to the discursive formations that enable certain actions to be undertaken in the name of security and proscribe other responses. A post-structural approach allows one to investigate the ways in which these acts of violence articulated through discourses of security function to posit the existence of states as boundaries of the domestic realm, to (re)produce state identity, to (re)affirm security as the concern of states, and to (re)produce sovereignty as the organizational matrix of the ‘international’ system.²¹

For example, in August 2005, ten “foreign nationals” were detained pending deportation by the UK immigration service.²² The news report identified one of the individuals as a “radical Jordanian cleric” and all ten were represented by the Home Secretary as “pos[ing] a threat to national security” (*ibid.*). The actions, the media representations of the actions, and the policies that allowed for those actions to be considered a reasonable, ‘thinkable’ way to proceed, are instances of the UK performing its identity – as a sovereign state that is concerned about national security and willing to detain foreign nationals “without charge” as they are deemed as a threat to that security – and also specific components of the state performing their role in the securitization of immigration.

This post-structural approach “rests on the assumption that representations of the world make a difference and that there is no natural or neutral arbiter of a true representation” (Huysmans 2002: 50). Violences and threats, as much as states and in/security, are interpreted through the practices that enable individuals to make sense of their social locations and identities. Primarily, this approach displays “a preference for emphasizing a theorization of the power-knowledge nexus” which conceives of all knowledge as intrinsically related to power and power as productive of certain types of knowledge (e.g. Foucault

19 Examples of this approach include Campbell 1998a; Butler 2004; Ling/Agathangelou 2004; Shepherd 2006.

20 Kevin Anderson: “US Muslims Suffer Backlash”, in: BBC News, 19 November 2002; at: <<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/americas/2488829.stm>>; Islamic Human Rights Commission, 2002: “The Hidden Victims of September 11: The Backlash Against Muslims in the UK”; at: <<http://www.ihrc.org.uk/file/report02sepo6backlash.pdf>>.

21 As mentioned above, this notion draws heavily on Butler's theorizing of gender as performative. Butler sees gender as the organizational matrix that orders the emergence of the subject “within and as the matrix of gender relations themselves” (Butler 1993: 7), just as this perspective sees security discourses as ordering the identity framework of sovereignty. Both regulatory ideals – gender and sovereignty – are premised on a system of binary logic that this approach seeks to problematize.

22 “Threats to UK Security’ Detained”, in: BBC News, 8 August 2005; at: <<http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/uk/4141000.stm>>.

1980). For Security Studies, “it has the advantage that the research slides directly into the key area of the governing work of security utterances” (Huysmans 2002: 60). That is, in light of the dominance of a rationalist vision of security in contemporary policy discourse, and the ways in which this dominance functions to reproduce a discursive link between security and priority in the representation of policy issues, theorizing security as performative and investigating the identities being performed at any given moment draws attention to the types of knowledge that are (re)produced and the practices of power immanent in the processes of (re)production.

By interrogating representations of security and threat, post-structuralist security analysis problematizes the notion that security maps directly onto a pre-determined understanding of the state (of) being free from danger. Policies pursued in the name of ‘security’ and the threats to which these policies purport to respond are performative of a particular socio-political order and the identities of the subjects and objects within that order.

39.5 Conclusion

Throughout this chapter we have indicated ways in which security policies not only impact on the lives of individuals everywhere, but also function to construct the lived experiences of those individuals and limit the conditions of possibility of their lives. We have emphasized the ways in which policy discourses about in/security resonate closely with very conventional conceptualizations of security and that these links serve to prescribe certain policy responses and proscribe others. At the same time, we have drawn attention to the ways in which the political process of securitization produces resources that can be used to implement the policy responses that are implicated in the performance of a particular configuration of political identity.

An expressly critical analysis of security will, minimally, challenge the naturalized assumptions of the rationalist representations of the world, and its extensions. A critical analysis of security refuses to take the world as it finds it, “with the prevailing social and power relationships and the institutions into which they are organized, as the given framework for action,” nor does it see as its general aim “to make those relationships and institutions work smoothly by dealing effectively with particular sources of trouble” (Cox 1986: 208).

A critical theory, in contrast, allows us to disturb “comfortable” understandings of the world, thus opening up the possibility that we can “make the world anew” (Gusterson 1993: 8). Reconceptualizing security as discourse not only attempts to contest privileged constructions of the world but also attempts to re-imagine the world. As Jennifer Milliken (1999: 244) argues, “[c]oncretizing other possibilities is surely the best way to enable people to imagine how their being-in-the-world is not only changeable, but perhaps, ought to be changed.”

These are not simply academic concerns without significance in ‘the real world’. It matters deeply for a host of social relations whether one is more afraid of, say, bombs owned by the United States and based in Britain, or the possibility that a ‘transnational terrorist network’ might get hold of a bomb. It matters for everyone whether immigration is represented as a threat to security, a necessary source of cheap and willing labour, or the exercise of a human right to freedom of movement. Furthermore, conceptualizing security as discourse draws attention to the politics of representation, and pays critical attention to the ways in which ‘we’ as subjects are positioned, and can enjoy privilege, through their practice.

A discursive approach to security assumes that one’s legitimacy as a knowing subject is constructed through discursive practices that privilege some forms of being over others. In the context of ‘security’, because of the concrete social power of the concept, these considerations are particularly important. As Simon Dalby (1997: 19–20) comments, “seen in these critical terms, the whole political preoccupation with security is less a matter of a pre-given political reality and more a matter of the social construction of political orders.” The example of immigration has been used to illustrate the various ways in which it can be represented, and the impact of the different conceptions of security on its representation as a policy issue. In the context of claims that, since 11 September 2001, we live in a world that has somehow fundamentally changed, immigration and the connotations of border control, mechanisms of surveillance, and the violence that accompanies it are of particular relevance. Problematizing immigration – problematizing *security* – entails the recognition that there are no easy answers, that even “falsely obvious” (Barthes 1972: 11) answers need to be challenged. As security scholars, we must take this challenge seriously.

40 From a Security towards a Survival Dilemma

Hans Günter Brauch

40.1 Introduction: Shifting Perceptions of Security Dangers¹

The perception of *security dangers* – of multiple threats, challenges, vulnerabilities, and risks (Brauch 2005a, 2007) – and thus the *security concerns* of nation states and their people has significantly changed in many but not all parts of the world with the end of the East-West conflict. The security concept has widened, deepened and sectorialized, and the classic linkage between ‘peace and security’ – both in the Covenant (1919) and in the UN Charter (1945) – has turned to a conceptual quartet of peace, security, development, and environment (chap. 1 and 3 by Brauch, chap. 4 by Wæver; chap. 10 by Oswald, chap 35 by Bothe).

This chapter will discuss the impact of the manifold conceptual innovation pertaining to security on the classic linkage concept of a ‘security dilemma’. This concept has been widely used for inter-state relations in a bipolar world. It reflected a high degree of uncertainty on the military and economic potential, but also with regard to the intentions of the ‘other’. It also discusses new concepts linking security with development and environment or sustainable development. This is the goal of the new concept of a ‘survival dilemma’ that has gradually emerged during the past decade:

- First, as a Grotian concept focusing on the need for cooperation in ‘facing’ (responding) and ‘coping’ (adapting, mitigating) with manifold new environmental and societal challenges that do not respect state boundaries. This Grotian ‘state-centred’ concept reflects the disappearance of bipolarity and the overcoming of the ‘Hobbesian fear’ (Butterfield 1950, 1950a, 1952) with the end of the Cold War, but also the increase of non-military soft security dangers that require primarily non-military, economic, societal, and environmental mitigation strategies.
- Second, as a human-centred concept that focuses on the causes of *global environmental change* (GEC) and its impacts on humankind and human beings, especially on the poor, the marginalized and the environmentally and socially highly vulnerable people whose personal ‘survival’ and that of their families and communities has been put at risk and who have been confronted with several unpleasant choices.

The ‘survival dilemma’ links a widened and deepened security concept with issues that are caused by unsustainable development and human-induced GEC. The other new concept of ‘sustainable peace’ requires efficient survival strategies for coping with this new challenge (Brauch chap. 3; Oswald chap. 5).

The following four parts of this chapter review the use of the concept ‘dilemma’ in the social and political sciences and in four specialized research programmes (40.2), discuss the evolution, use, and controversy on the ‘security dilemma’ (40.3), offer the first systematic attempt to conceptualize the state- and human-centred concept of a ‘survival dilemma’ (40.4), and conclude with ideas for coping with this dilemma through specific survival strategies (40.5) that combine top-down and bottom-up policies and strategies.

1 The author would like to thank Úrsula Oswald Spring (Mexico) and Béchir Chourou (Tunisia) for valuable suggestions and comments on an earlier draft of this chapter. He also thanks Ben Wisner and the co-authors of the Policy Memorandum on Climate Change and Human Security that was released on 15 April 2007 for permission to use material from this collaborative study. For the full text and the affiliations of all eleven co-authors, see at: <http://www.afes-press.de/pdf/ClimateChange_and_HumanSecurity.pdf>. On April 17 2007 during the British presidency the UN Security Council for the first time addressed climate change as a security issue.

40.2 Dilemmas in the Social Sciences: Security vs. Survival

40.2.1 The Dilemma Concept: Origins and Applications

In a literal sense, the term 'dilemma' refers to "an argument which presents two or more alternatives; *di-*, two, and *lemma*, a proposition or assumption ...; 1. in logic, an argument which presents an antagonist with a choice between equally unfavourable or disagreeable alternatives. 2. any situation necessitating a choice between unpleasant alternatives; a perplexing or awkward situation" (McKechnie 1983: 511).² For Skeat (1946: 169; Collins 1997: 25) a dilemma is "an argument in which one is caught between two difficulties" that are being interpreted "as being equally unfavourable" (Collins 1997: 10).

As a scientific concept, 'dilemma' is used in philosophy and logic and as a prisoner's dilemma in game

2 *The Compact English Dictionary* gave this definition: "1. a situation in which a difficult choice has to be made between two alternatives, especially when a decision either way will bring undesirable consequences; 2. a difficult situation or problem" (Soanes 2002: 304). *The New Collins Concise English Dictionary* defines dilemma as: "1. a situation necessitating a choice between two equally undesirable alternatives; 2. a problem that seems incapable of a solution; 3. on the horns of a dilemma, a. faced with the choice between two equal alternatives; b. in an awkward situation" (McLeod 1985: 313). *The Concise Oxford Dictionary* sees a dilemma as an "argument forcing an opponent to choose one of two alternatives both unfavourable to him; position that leaves only a choice between equally unwelcome possibilities; difficult situation" (Sykes 1985: 268). *Chambers Universal Learning Dictionary* defines dilemma as "a position or situation giving a choice of two causes of action, both equally unpleasant" (Kirkpatrick 1980: 184). *The Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* offers this definition: "a situation in which it is very difficult to decide what to do, because all the choices seem equally good or equally bad.... On the horns of a dilemma (be unable to decide between two unpleasant choices)" (Langenscheidt-Longman 1995: 380). *The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* ²⁰⁰², Vol.1: 680 defined dilemma: 1. In *rhetoric*, a form of argument involving an opponent in choice between two (or more) alternatives, both equally unfavourable. In *logic*, a syllogism with two conditional major premises and a disjunctive minor premise. 2. A choice between two (or several) alternatives which are equally unfavourable; a position of doubt or perplexity; a difficult situation."

theory in both political science and in economics (*Brockhaus Enzyklopädie* ²¹2006, vol. 7: 29). *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Vol. 4: 1998: 94) offered this explanation of a 'dilemma':

in syllogistic, or traditional, logic any of several forms of inference in which there are two major premises or hypothetical form and a disjunctive ('either ..or') minor premise. ... In logic \supset signifies 'if ...then'; \vee signifies 'either ...or'. Symbolically, therefore, a dilemma is an argument of the form $A \supset C, B \supset C, A \vee B$, therefore C. It is not necessary that a dilemma should have an unwelcome conclusion; but from its use in rhetoric the word has come to mean a situation in which each of the alternative courses of action (presented as the only ones open) leads to some unsatisfactory consequences. ... In [a] more complicated version of the dilemma, however, two unwelcome results are presented instead of one (C, above) (Mau 1972: 247-248; Thiel 1995/2004: 482-483).

In political science and in international relations, the 'dilemma' concept has been used with regard to the security of states, "where the policy by a state to achieve security proves to be an unsatisfactory one." If all alternatives open to a state are unsatisfactory, "the state is in a paradox" (Collins 1997: 10):

By falling foul of the security dilemma, any solution the state chooses is unsatisfactory and is thus not a solution at all. The result of the security dilemma is that security cannot be realized. This has led Wheeler and Booth to assert that: 'in an ordinary sense, a security dilemma would seem simply to refer to situations which present governments, on matters affecting their security, with a choice between two equal and undesirable alternatives.' However, when the concept has been used by writers of international relations, this has not always been the meaning they have attributed to the security dilemma. 'In the literature on international politics', Wheeler and Booth (1992: 30) argue, 'the term has come to have a special meaning'.

Before the scientific debate on the security dilemma will be assessed, a review of the use of the dilemma concept for the other three concepts of peace, development, and the environment is appropriate.

40.2.2 Other Dilemmas in the Social Sciences

The term 'dilemma' has also been used as 'peace dilemma', 'development dilemma', and 'environmental dilemma' in the media and by NGOs, but so far it has hardly been conceptualized scientifically.

40.2.2.1 Peace and Peace-Enforcement Dilemma

The term 'peace dilemma' has been used with regard to the nuclear debate on North Korea and the civil war in Sri Lanka, and as a 'peace-enforcement di-

lemma' for Somalia (Frank Crigler: at: <http://www.dtic.mil/doctrine/jel/jfq_pubs/jfq1002.pdf>), as a 'justice-peace dilemma' for the implementation of human rights, or as a 'dilemma of peace-seekers' (Schuman 1945: 12–30) and as a dilemma of specific countries or political leaders with regard to peace. However, no concept of a 'peace dilemma' has been used in the social sciences.

40.2.2.2 Development Dilemma

Senghaas (1982, 2004: 188–191) referred to several dilemmas determined by the structure of the contemporary world, among them the classic 'security dilemma' and a 'development dilemma' that develops in a relatively open world economy between societies and economies that exchange goods and services where major gaps with regard to know-how, organizational capabilities, technological and organizational innovations of its partners exist. He argued that such a development dilemma exists not only between industrialized and developing economies, but also within each group of states, e.g. within the triad of OECD countries in North America, Europe, and in the Far East that leads in different stages to different coping strategies between protectionism and free trade. It is uncertain whether this 'development dilemma' will lead to a 'security dilemma' or even to violent conflicts within and between states.

The term 'development dilemma' has been used in recent books titles (Ostergard 2002; Franke 1980; Behera 2004; Ndikumana 1998), but so far the term has not become a widely used scientific concept within a specific theoretical context.

40.2.2.3 Environmental Dilemma

The term 'environmental dilemma' has also been used in several publications but it has not yet become a specific scientific concept. For these three terms of a peace, development, and environmental dilemma it is unclear what poses the dilemma and what the unfavourable alternatives are for states or human beings. This is different for the 'security dilemma' that triggered a debate in political science, international relations, and in security and peace studies.

40.3 Security Dilemma: Genealogy, Use, Controversy

The idea of a 'security dilemma' has already been alluded to in Kant's treatise on eternal peace (40.3.1), 155 years before John H. Herz⁸ (1950) first referred to

this concept (40.3.2) that has been widely discussed during and after the end of the Cold War (40.3.3).

40.3.1 Kant's Third Preliminary Article in *Eternal Peaces*

With the emergence of the modern nation state and its system of rule, since the 18th century, the state bureaucracy expanded and standing armies were set up. In the third preliminary article of his *Eternal Peace* Kant (1795) referred to linkages between armed forces and arms, and the relations among states that pointed to a 'security dilemma'. Kant concluded that "standing armies (*miles perpetuus*) shall be gradually abolished", because

they constantly threaten other nations with war by giving the appearance that they are prepared for it, which goads nations into competing with one another in the number of men under arms, and this practice knows no bounds. And since the costs related to maintaining peace will in this way finally become greater than those of a short war, standing armies are the cause of wars of aggression that are intended to end burdensome expenditures (Kant, in: Humphrey 1992: 108).

He contrasted them with the role of militias "the voluntary, periodic military training of citizens so that they can secure their homeland against external aggression" (Kant, in: Humphrey 1992: 168). Different interpretations thereof were offered by contemporary philosophers.

According to Kersting (1996: 175) Kant's six preliminary articles outline the negative conditions of a peace among nations or of a negative peace without war. Saner (1995: 49) interpreted them "not as analytic legal deductions but as interventions of reason against political practice." For Lutz-Bachmann (1997: 63) they also "criticize the politics of all absolutistic states, and especially those of Prussia."

With the third preliminary article, according to Saner (1995: 49), Kant describes the armament dynamics, the interaction between armament, its autodynamics, and war. Gerhardt (1995: 58) interpreted this article as an expression of a "strategy of political action." Lutz-Bachmann (1997: 63) stated that Kant "explicitly contradicts ... the military doctrine prevailing since the time of Venetius – 'Si vis pacem, para bellum'."

Cavallar (1992: 116–123) argued that the mere existence of standing armies implies an element of threat that can cause a war, a *security dilemma*, Kant tries to escape by a gradual troop reduction in order not to undermine the military balance. Kant preferred a mi-

litia army with a defensive mission without obligatory service, as suggested in the American Bill of Rights (1776).

However, the interpretation of this preliminary article changed. While in the late 19th century several German writers (Rühl 1892, Pfeleiderer 1895, Stein 1896) considered Kant's preference for militia armies as obsolete, during and after World War I several authors, such as Kobler (1917), argued that both standing armies and conscription should be abolished. In Germany, the interpretations of Kant's treatise in the late 20th century were influenced by the critiques of armament policies and dynamics by contemporary peace research (Senghaas 1972).

In the 1930's, the British meteorologist Lewis F. Richardson (1960a) developed the theorem of an 'action-reaction process' of armaments where fear was referred to as a major motivating force for military build-up. This action-reaction theorem was later challenged by peace researchers in the 1970's (Senghaas 1972a; Buzan 1983: 207-209) who argued that the arms process is to a large extent domestically driven, and that threat perceptions and the action-reaction theorem were used to legitimate decisions to develop and procure armaments that were driven by military interests, national economic interests in profits, and local economic interests to maintain jobs and a technological impulse (Brauch 1977, 1990a).

40.3.2 Conceptualization of the Security Dilemma by Herz (1950)

Without any reference to Kant or Richardson, John Herz (1950, 1959) coined the term of a *security dilemma* with which he referred to the propensity of countries "to acquire more and more power to escape the impact of power of others," a tendency that has resulted in a vicious circle of mutual arms build-up. Herbert Butterfield (1950, 1950a, 1951, 1952) referred to it as a "predicament of Hobbesian fear" or as the "Hobbesian" dilemma.

Herz disagreed with the thesis that mutual suspicion and the security dilemma have resulted in a continual race for power and armaments, and in unending wars. Herz (1959, ²1962, ³1966: 12) saw the newness in the 'nuclear age' as a revolutionary process of weapons innovation (fission, fusion weapons, jet aircraft, rockets and missiles with nuclear warheads). Herz (1966: 19) pointed to the "apparent absence of an effective defence against the new weapon," and to nuclear developments that make military superiority obsolete, that have resulted in a vicious cir-

cle where armed forces with ever more nuclear weapons produce less and less security. As a consequence of the progressing penetrability of the state, its vulnerability against nuclear attacks has increased. Herz (1996: 231) defined 'security dilemma' as

a social constellation in which units of power (such as states or nations in international relations) find themselves whenever they exist side by side without higher authority that might impose standards of behaviour upon them and thus protect them from attacking each other. In such a condition, a feeling of insecurity, deriving from mutual suspicion and mutual fear, compels these units to compete for ever more power in order to find more security, an effort which proves self-defeating because complete security remains ultimately unobtainable. I believe that this dilemma, and not such (possibly additional) factors as 'aggressiveness', or desire to acquire the wealth of others, or general depravity of human nature, constitutes the basic cause of what is commonly referred to as the 'urge for power' and resulting 'power politics'.

Herz argued that this "fundamental social constellation" leads to "a mutual suspicion and a mutual dilemma of 'kill or perish', of attacking or running the risk of being destroyed." He refers to a social condition of men's "uncertainty and anxiety on his neighbours' intentions" that drives people in a situation of international anarchy to acquire more power to escape the superior power of others. Contrary to Butterfield (1950, 1952), Herz (1966: 235) argued that this situation did not lead to a permanent race for power, armaments and preventive wars due to different mitigation strategies, such as "commonly accepted standards of behaviour and 'law' [that] provide for mitigation of the fears and distrusts which the dilemma provoked," or security systems, like the balance of power (1815-1914) or systems of collective security of the League of Nations and the United Nations. Herz' security dilemma concept refers to the subjective level of security, to fears and concerns about encirclement, imperialism, world conquest that often had tragic implications "that mutual fear of what initially may never have existed may subsequently bring about exactly that which is feared most: actual 'encirclement'. Thus bipolarity has given the security dilemma its utmost poignancy."

During the Cold War, the security dilemma became most compelling "in the sphere of armaments" where "no moral, religious, humanitarian, economic, or other considerations could prevail against the brutal impact of a 'they or us'" (Herz 1966: 242). As a preventive war to achieve world government in the nuclear age is not feasible, and the means (mutual

annihilation in nuclear war) would destroy the end (survival), Herz concludes that the aim must be mutual accommodation in the Grotian tradition. Herz developed several mitigation options, some of which have become obsolete with the end of the Cold War. Herz's concept builds on Kant's third preliminary article. In a review of this concept Bruce Russett (1993: 822) states:

The security dilemma operates only under particular conditions of international relations. It stems primarily from leaders' perceptions of the military circumstances, specifically whether the offence has substantial advantages over the defence and whether defensive capabilities can be distinguished from offensive ones.

Russett (1993: 822) argued that

neither threats nor concessions are likely to ease a security dilemma. Threats will enhance the adversary's sense of insecurity; concessions will probably enhance one's own. Changes of strategic postures and weapons procurement in favour of the defence can help, as can better means to monitor the adversary's intentions and capabilities - if the adversary likewise has largely defensive aims.

Alan Collins (1995: 11-15) pointed to "four characteristics of a security dilemma: uncertainty of intentions, no appropriate policies, decrease in the security of others, and decrease on the security of all". Jervis (1976: 66) wrote that "the unintended and undesired consequences of actions meant to be defensive constitutes the 'security dilemma'," while Wheeler and Booth (1992) labelled them a "security paradox" and they considered "insecurity as the central characteristic of the security dilemma" (Ralph 2001: 17-19). In Jervis' view "the security dilemma cannot be abolished, it can only be ameliorated" (Jervis 1982: 361), while Wheeler and Booth (1992: 29) claim that "the theory of security communities and the practice of international politics among liberal-democratic states suggests that the security dilemma can be escaped, even in a setting of sovereign states."

Collins (1997: 1) referred to controversies on this concept whether it exists at all or is a pure academic construct; or whether the outcome was the result of an accurate assessment of the situation. For Collins (1997: 1) "the security dilemma arises when states inadvertently create insecurity in one another as they seek to gain security." He further argues that the security dilemma is "part of the action-reaction explanation of an arms race" (Wheeler/Booth 1992: 55) but that both concepts are not synonymous. Collins stated (1997: 4) that the security dilemma has not disappeared with the end of the Cold War. For Alexan-

der Wendt (1995: 77) "security dilemmas are not acts of God: they are effects of practice. This does not mean that once created they can necessarily be escaped (they are, after all, 'dilemmas'), but it puts the causal locus in the right place." Collins (1997: 11) distinguishes among five definitions of this dilemma:

decrease in the security of others; decrease in the security of all; uncertainty of intention; no appropriate policies; required insecurity. The first four relate to one another and form a coherent explanation of a traditional security dilemma.

After an extensive review of the first four definitions in the international relations literature, Collins (1997: 23) summarized three characteristic features of the concept: a) "the participants must have benign intent [where] neither actually intends to initiate an attack," b) "the unresolvable uncertainty that statesmen face when trying to determine the intentions of other states;" and c) "the options available to the statesmen while in the security dilemma." Thus, according to the traditional definition "the security dilemma should be seen as representing a process in which state actions, far from increasing security, actually fuel their own insecurity" (Collins 1997: 24). Jack Snyder (1985: 153) defined a security dilemma as "a situation in which each state believed that its security required the insecurity of others."

Collins discusses this fifth definition in light of his three criteria of "benign intent, irresolvable uncertainty, and self-defeating or paradoxical policies" for two types of state-induced security dilemmas: revisionist/revolutionary and militaristic status quo. In his interpretation, a security dilemma does not occur "where malign intent exists" (1997: 41), and he further concludes that "in addition to the anarchical system creating the security dilemma, a security dilemma can also arise from state action" (Collins 1997: 42). Within International Relations (IR) it has remained controversial whether the security dilemma can be escaped and whether it has done so in Europe with the end of the Cold War.

40.3.3 Debate on Security Dilemma since End of Cold War

With the end of the Cold War the 'poignant bipolarity' disappeared, what eased the security dilemma in Europe as did other mitigation strategies during the East-West conflict, such as arms control and disarmament agreements, and confidence and security building measures.

With the global turn of 1989/1990 and the events of 11 September 2001, the perception of security threats, challenges, vulnerabilities, and risks has changed, as has the conceptualization of security and of the security dilemma that has differed among analysts and policy-makers in Europe and in the United States (Czempiel 2002), but also among governments and security elites in Arab countries (Selim 2003), in Turkey (Aydin 2003), and in Israel (Kam 2003).

Wheeler and Booth (1992: 54) argued that with the emerging post Cold War security community “peace is predictable; the security dilemma has been escaped.” Collins (1997: 233–235) noted “that the process of mitigation begun by Gorbachev has slowed significantly, and the uncertainty of intent caused by suspicion and mistrust has grown steadily” with the Russian opposition to NATO enlargement.

Czempiel (2002: 21) argues that both structural realists (Waltz) and classical neo-realists have made the security dilemma the central theorem of their theory of international politics. For Czempiel (2002: 31) the security dilemma is no objective result of analysis but a societal and group determined phenomenon that is created by self, world, and enemy images in the tradition of the political culture of the respective country that may reflect both ethnocentrism and ideological fundamentalism. In Czempiel’s interpretation, the security dilemma is no exogenously existing factor in an anarchic international system, but the result of “deliberate choices of particular governments” (Wheeler/Booth 1992: 43). For the constructivists the security dilemma is a socially constructed concept and a phenomenon that is also influenced by respective domestic politics (Wendt 1992: 402, 1995: 71–81).

In his critical review, Jason Ralph (2001: vi) argues that “the concept of the security dilemma has been used by the discipline of Strategic Studies to explain why security competition is an inherent feature of the international system.” He proposed to redefine the concept “to account for the social and political contingency of reality and thereby reveal the immanent possibility of mitigating uncertainty between states and even constructing security communities.” While he does not deny the existence of security dilemmas, he challenges the realist view “that security dilemmas are a structural feature of anarchy.”

In his conclusions, Ralph (2001: 176–195) argued that at the centre of the classical definition of the security dilemma “are unwarranted ontological and epistemological assumptions,” and that the concept used by traditional security studies is “intrinsically conservative” and that it “can only be mitigated by co-

operation by statist elites”. To transcend this traditional concept of a security dilemma, Ralph suggested focusing on the societal level, and especially on the individual, but he failed to reconceptualize this dilemma from a human security perspective.

Both Czempiel’s and Ralph’s criticisms of the use of the security dilemma concept by realist schools challenges the concept as an ahistoric theorem derived from the uncertainty of international anarchy. Czempiel redefines the concept as the product of domestic politics, while Ralph argues that it should focus on the societal or human level. Their arguments reflect the horizontal widening and vertical deepening of the security concept since 1989.

The security dilemma focuses on inter-state relations in an anarchic world. Its major referent object has thus been the nation state or military alliances consisting of nation states. Thus, this concept has been used during and after the Cold War primarily for a narrow political and military state-centred security concept.

40.4 Survival Dilemma

The new concept of a ‘survival dilemma’ differs from the state-centred narrow ‘security dilemma’, it is wider in its focus by linking a widened and deepened security concept that includes the economic, societal, and environmental dimensions, and the human being and humankind as referent objects with the two new concepts of development and the environment or the linkage concept of sustainable development.

After a definition of the ‘survival’ concept, the question will be discussed with regard to survival for whom and against what? (40.4.1), before the survival dilemma will be introduced as a Grotian concept for dealing with non-military environmental challenges, vulnerabilities and risks (40.4.2), and as a people-centred or human security concept (40.4.3).

40.4.1 Survival for Whom Against What?

In contemporary general usage, the ‘survival’ concept implies: “1. the state of continuing to live or exist: ... *Our disregard for the environment threatens the long-term survival of the planet.* [fight for survival = struggle or work in order to continue to exist] ... 2. survival of the fittest: a situation in which only the strongest and most successful people or things continue to exist. 3. a survival from: *especially BrE* something that

has continued to exist from a much earlier period, especially when similar things have disappeared; relic.”³

The New Encyclopaedia Britannica (Vol. 11: 1998: 414–415) refers to two concepts of ‘survival’ in cultural anthropology as “a cultural phenomenon that originates under one set of conditions and persists in a period when those conditions no longer obtain,” and “survival training” as “teaching people to survive in the wilderness, using essentially Stone Age skills.”

Influenced by Charles Darwin’s (1859, 2006) ‘natural selection’ and Herbert Spencer (1864) the ‘survival of the fittest’ is used in biology “as a shorthand for a concept relating to competition for survival or predominance,” that has become a metaphor, not generally used by biologists, who prefer to use the phrase ‘natural selection’.⁴

Thayer (2004) in his *Darwin and International Relations: On the Evolutionary Origins of War and Ethnic Conflict* linked theories of human social behaviour to evolutionary biology as a basis “for both ‘realist’ theories of international relations and ‘rational choice’ approaches throughout the social sciences”. He applies an

3 *Learning Dictionary* defines survival as “1. the state of surviving ...; 2. a custom. Belief etc. that remains from earlier times: *This custom is a survival from the 13th century*” (Kirkpatrick 1980: 759): *Webster’s Unabridged Dictionary* defined survival as: “1. a living beyond the life of or continuing longer than another person, thing or event; an outliving; the act, state, or fact of surviving. 2. something that survives, as a habit, usage, or belief remaining from ancient times” (McKechnie 1983: 1837). *The Concise Oxford Dictionary* gives this definition of survival: “1. surviving (of the fittest, process or result of natural selection); kit, emergency rations etc. carried by airmen. 2. person or thing that has remained as a relic of an earlier time” (Sykes 1985: 1075). *The New Collins Concise English Dictionary* defines survival as: “1. a person or thing that survives, such as a custom. 2a. the act or fact of surviving or condition of having survived, b. *survival kit*.” (McLeod 1985: 1175). *The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*, 2005, vol. 2: 3127 defines survival as the “1. action or fact to live after some event; 2. a thing that continues to exist after the cessation of something else, or of other things of a kind; a surviving remnant; a surviving custom, observation etc.”

4 For a discussion of Darwin’s concepts and a detailed biography see: “Darwin”, in: *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Vol. 16: 1998: 977–981); for a discussion of the theories of human evolution, see at: *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Vol. 18: 1998: 803–883) and for a brief discussion of the concept: ‘survival of the fittest’ on the web, see at: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Survival_of_the_fittest>.

interactionist approach of biologists to the phenomena of war as a consequence of both ecology and human nature. Thayer tests the theory by exploring warfare and inter-group violence prior to the emergence of the modern nation state, with a special emphasis on conflicts in ‘stateless societies’. This discussion ... expands the database for theoretical consideration to many human societies whose experiences provide context and challenge for a generalized theory of international relations ... Thayer shows how war, ethnocentrism, and ethnic conflict can be understood as responses to varied configurations of environmental and demographic factors that need to be considered in a broader, interdisciplinary framework (Master 2004).

The German sociologist Hillmann (1994: 885–886, 1997) coined the concept of a ‘survival society’ as a “constructing task of a visionary sociology” (Hillmann 1993). Such a ‘survival society’ should be established as a new type of society with a global extension whose culture, structure, institutions, actions, and development processes are directed at the longer-term guarantee of the survival of humankind and of its living nature. The cultural basis of the survival society is determined by an ecologically based worldview, and a value system that gives highest priority to a guarantee for survival besides the protection of human dignity and of a free societal order. In Hillmann’s view this requires overcoming the present *affluent* and *risk society* (Beck 1992, 1999, 2007), and its resulting environmental crises. This presupposes a global environmental movement that relies on all societal strata, a permanent elucidation and enlightenment with a high acceptance of environmental norms and policies.

Hillmann (1998: 125ff.) argues that the establishment of a survival society would require a fundamental shift (as fundamental as the emergence of the agricultural and industrial society). This presupposes a multi- and interdisciplinary cooperation of sociologists, social psychologists, ecologists, philosophers, political scientists, economists, and futurologists to analyse the preconditions and possibilities for protecting the survival of humankind. This survival society would require a new value system consisting of terminal values (survival, human dignity, protection of nature, peace, health, tolerance, freedom, justice, solidarity, welfare, and responsibility for future generations), as well as instrumental values (readiness to learn, work and yearning for success, creativity, and readiness to take risks, flexibility, mobility, initiative, self discipline, reliability, exactness, efficiency, modesty, thriftiness, public spirit, cooperation, involvement, participation, and courage of one’s convictions).

The *Interaction Council*, an organization of former heads of governments and states, has used the 'survival' concept in many official reports, e.g. by a High-level Expert Group on "*The interrelated problems of environment, population and development*" chaired by former Japanese Prime Minister Mr. Takeo Fukuda on 2 and 3 December 1985 in Tokyo who stated that the new global environmental challenges "cannot be dealt with through national action alone. Effective international cooperation is a prerequisite for *human survival*". In *The Search for Global Order* (D'Orville 1993) the InterAction Council pointed to the new dangers in the post Cold War era:

Although the old order is gone; a coherently structured new order offering a predictable framework for international intercourse is not yet in place. ... The new era is inconceivable without a redefinition of the inter-relationship between national and global interests, without new institutions, mechanisms and instruments.

The high-level group concluded that leaders must "realize that ultimately no facet of national security can be protected any longer without the assurance of global security in the widest sense." And in their "terms of reference" they noted: "The population explosion plus the greenhouse effect, coupled with other environmental degradation, are likely to cause massive migration flows, in the main from tropical and sub-tropical regions towards more moderate regions, or in other words towards highly developed countries. All these trends endanger the *survival of humankind* (D'Orville 1993: 39-40)." In June 2003, the Interaction Council (1993) called for collective action for sustainable development noting that

12. ... a world in which some states are rich and growing in affluence, and others are marginalized, is unsustainable. The lure of wealthy countries to people of poor countries is irresistible and will continue unless the causes of poverty are addressed by richer nations. International economic refugee movements lead to tensions among states and races. Global environmental degradation adds to the stress created by population pressure. Given the relationship in some developing countries between *environmental insecurity and political instability*, leaders of industrialized states should regard global environmental protection as essential on both moral and pragmatic grounds, and many environmental problems are insoluble without collective action.

In *Fighting for Survival*, Michael Renner (1997) analysed the transformation of security by focusing on "environmental decline, social conflict and the new age of insecurity," and he suggested for the security in the 21st century "a human security policy" that would require "enhancing international peace capacity," a

"human security budget" and "a global partnership for human security," but he did not conceptualize 'survival', the key term of his analysis.

The focus of the 'survival dilemma' is neither the 'survival of the fittest' nor a 'survival society', but rather the dilemma that often confronts the poor, the environmentally and socially highly vulnerable people with several unpleasant choices in response to both war, hazards, disasters, and complex emergencies that fundamentally challenge the survival in their traditional livelihoods. The key question is who is to survive: states or human beings and against what: wars, hazards, and disasters on the background of the changing perception of emerging new security concerns in the 'anthropocene' (Crutzen/Stoermer 2000; Crutzen 2002; Clark/Crutzen/Schelnhuber 2005, Oswald/Brauch/Dalby 2008). Next the two facets of a 'survival dilemma' of states in an anarchic international system and of human beings and humankind will be discussed.

40.4.2 Environmental and Climate Change and Security

Since the early 21st century climate change has increasingly been perceived as a threat to 'national', 'international', and 'human security'. Climate change has gradually been securitized in government reports and in statements of government officials in the United Kingdom, in Germany (BMU 2002; Brauch 2002, 2003e, 2004, 2006a; WBGU 2007, 2007a, 2007b, 2008), and in the US (Schwartz/Randall 2003, 2004; Purvis/Busby 2004; O'Keefe 2005; CNA 2007).

On 9 January 2004, David King, the UK Government's chief scientific adviser was quoted as saying that climate change is a far greater threat to the world than international terrorism.⁵ In February 2004, John Reid MP, then British Secretary of State for Defence and later Home Secretary, argued that climate change may spark conflict between nations. He forecasted that violence and political conflict would become more likely in the next 20 to 30 years with climate change, he listed among the major threats in future

5 See: Goklany and King: "Climate Change and Malaria", in: *Science*, 1 October 2004: 55-57; BBC (2007): "Global Warming 'Biggest Threat'", at: <<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/sci/tech/3381425.stm>>; see also BBC: "Scientist urges US climate help" on 10 March 2004, at: <<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/sci/tech/3498830.stm>> and on 31 March 2004, at: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk_politics/3584679.stm>.

decades, including terrorism, demographic changes, and global energy demand.

As we look beyond the next decade, we see uncertainty growing; uncertainty about the geopolitical and human consequences of climate change. ... Impacts such as flooding, melting permafrost and desertification could lead to loss of agricultural land, poisoning of water supplies and destruction of economic infrastructure. ... More than 300 million people in Africa currently lack access to safe water; climate change will worsen this dire situation.⁶

John Ashton, a Special Representative for Climate Change of UK Foreign Secretary Beckett, said on 24 January 2007: "There is every reason to believe that as the 21st century unfolds, the security story will be bound together with climate change."⁷ He concluded: "Climate change is a security issue because if we don't deal with it, people will die and states will fail." In his view defence and security planners must face a paradox when assessing their responses to the problem. Most security threats in today's world are amenable to some extent to a "hard power" or conventional reaction, he said, and demand will rise for such responses to climate change-related security problems. "But there is no hard power solution to climate change – you cannot force your neighbour to change its carbon emissions at the barrel of a gun."⁸ Sir Crispin Tickell (2003), the former UK Permanent Representative to the UN, highlighted the environmental factors behind societal collapse. Professor John Mitchell, the chief scientist at the UK Met Office, forecasted that the coming decades will see a 30 per cent increase in severe drought and that Africa will experience increased desertification, water stress, and disease.

Besides the UK, other nations have begun to assess the security implication of climate change. In 2002, the German Ministry for the Environment, Nature Conservation, and Nuclear Safety published a commissioned report on climate change and conflicts which raised the question whether climate change im-

pacts can increase conflict potentials (BMU 2002; Brauch 2002). In June 2007, the German Advisory Council on Global Change (WBGU 2007b, 2008) released a study on *World in Transition – Climate Change as a Security Risk*. The German Military Staff College (Führungsakademie) is including climate change issues in its longer-term security scenarios until 2040 (chap. 72 by Jopp/Kaestner; Brauch 2006a).

In spring 2004 an internal report by Randall and Schwartz (2004; Brauch 2004c) for the US Department of Defense on the impact of Abrupt Climate Change on US national security was leaked to the press. Gilman, Randall, and Schwartz (2007) discussed the Impacts of Climate Change on US national security as did a report by the US Center of Naval Analysis (CNA 2007) on 16 April 2007. This study addressed three questions: a) on the conditions climate change is likely to produce globally that represent security risks for the US; b) how may they affect the US national security interests; and c) what actions should the US launch to address its national security consequences. The study concluded that the predicted consequences of climate change include: "extreme weather events, drought, flooding, sea level rise, retreating glaciers, habitat shifts, and the increased spread of life-threatening diseases," that may add "new hostile and stressing factors" and that have the potential "to create sustained natural and humanitarian disasters" whose consequences "will likely foster political instability where societal demands exceed the capacity of governments to cope" and it "will add to the tensions even in stable regions of the world." The CNA's Military Advisory Board drew five policy recommendations from its analysis:

1. The national security consequences of climate change should be fully integrated into national security and national defense strategies.
2. The US should commit to a stronger national and international role to help stabilize climate change at levels that will avoid significant disruption to global security and stability.
3. The US should commit to global partnerships that help less developed nations build the capacity and resiliency to better manage climate impacts.
4. The Department of Defense should enhance its operational capability by accelerating the adoption of improved business processes and innovative technologies that result in improved US combat power through energy efficiency.
5. The Department of Defense should conduct an assessment of the impact on US military installations worldwide of rising sea levels, extreme

6 See: Ben Russell and Nigel Morris: "Armed forces are put on standby to tackle threat of wars over water", in: *Independent*, 28 February 2006, at: <<http://news.independent.co.uk/environment/article348196.ece>>.

7 Quoted in: Ben Vogel (2007): "Climate change creates security challenge 'more complex than Cold War'", in: *Janes.com*, at: <http://www.janes.com/security/international_security/news/misc/janes070130_I_n.shtml>.

8 Quoted by Chris Littlecott (2007): "Climate Change: The Global Security Impact" 5 February, at: <<http://www.e3g.org/index.php/programmes/climate-articles/climate-change-the-global-security-impact/>>.

Table 40.1: Matrix of Possible Climate Change and Security Interactions over Time. **Source:** Policy Memorandum: *Climate Change and Human Security*, 15 April 2007. Written permission by group's coordinator Ben Wisner was received.

	Direct impact		Indirect Consequences				Slow-onset
	Water	Food	Health	Mega-projects	Disasters	Biofuel	Sea level
Short term (2007-2020)	Local conflict over water	Failure to meet MDGs	Failure to meet MDGs	Long history of development-induced displacement from 1950's	Nation states begin to lose credibility due to inability to prevent large disasters	Isolated food – fuel competition and price spikes	Small number of displacements
Medium term (2021-2050)	Increased local and some international conflict over water	Significant displacement due to famine	Interacts with food production problems	Displacement of rural poor due to CDM, large scale dams, other state based mitigation and adaptation projects	Significant political unrest due to failure of DRR and inadequate recovery in many countries	Food-fuel competition increases and biodiversity erosion	Increasing displacement and national/ international tension
Long term (2051-2100)	Major international conflict over water	Major displacement and political upheaval	Major displacement due to epidemics	Major urban upheaval and other political fallout from mega-project displacement	Major upheaval with international implications due to unattended weather catastrophes	Major discontent due to food-fuel competition	Major international tensions due to population displacement
All of these processes strongly interact with each other							

weather events and other projected climate change impacts over the next 30 to 40 years.

Climate change also poses severe security impacts for human security and its referent objects: human beings and humankind. From a human security perspective, climate change has been addressed by the GECHS programme of IHDP in June 2005⁹ and it is the focus of the Greek Presidency of the Human Security Network (2007–2008).¹⁰

A 'Policy Memorandum' on '*Climate Change and Human Security*'¹¹ released on the eve of the first debate of the UN Security Council on climate change on

17 April 2007, pointed to manifold impacts for international, national, and human security for selected direct, indirect, and slow-onset linkages.

Some effects are already evident and will become very clear in the short run (2007–2020). They will increase and others will manifest themselves in the medium term (2021–2050); whilst in the long run (2051–2100), they will all be active and interacting strongly with other major trends. Africa is very likely to suffer very damaging impacts and has the least resources for coping and adapting to these stresses.

New studies confirm that Africa is one of the most vulnerable continents to climate variability and change

9 On 21–23 June 2005, *The Global Environmental Change and Human Security* (GECHS) project of IHDP organized a workshop in Oslo on 'climate change and human security'; at: <<http://www.cicero.uio.no/humsec/>>; papers at: http://www.cicero.uio.no/humsec/list_participants.html>. Six papers have been published in a special issue on "Climate Change and Human Security", of: *Erde*, 137, 3: 155–270.

10 See the Greek concept paper on: "Human Security and the Climate Change Impact on Vulnerable Groups" of 8 May 2007, at: <<http://www.humansecuritynetwork.org/docs/2007-ministerial-meeting-04-greek%20paper.doc>>.

11 See the memorandum written by: Wisner, Fordham, Kelman, Rose Johnston, Simon, Lavell, Brauch, Oswald Spring, Wilches-Chaux, Moench and Weiner (2007).

because of multiple stresses and low adaptive capacity. Some adaptation to current climate variability is taking place, however, this may be insufficient for future changes in climate (IPCC 2007c: 10).

Livelihood security (Bohle 2008) and other aspects of human security interact with 'hard' security issues because of the national and regional upheavals that climate stress may put on livelihood systems already vulnerable and incapable of adapting.¹² The rural and urban poor are already under stress, and for some groups such as women-headed households in Africa, adaptation to climate-induced stress will be very difficult indeed. Some major climate changes may actually occur rapidly.

On 17 April 2007 the UN Security Council for the first time addressed climate change as a security issue. The British initiative during its Security Council presidency to put climate change on its agenda for 17 April 2007 has been a recent attempt to 'securitize' climate change.¹³ In her opening statement, UK Foreign Secretary Margaret Beckett stressed that "what makes wars start - fights over water, changing patterns of rainfall, fights over food production, land use. There are few greater potential threats."¹⁴ She argued that "an unstable climate will exacerbate some of the core drivers of conflict, such as migratory pressures and competition for resources." Japan's Ambassador Kenzo Oshima said that "it is clear that climate change can pose threats to national security ... [and] in the foreseeable future climate change may well create conditions or induce circumstances that could precipitate or aggravate international conflicts."

However, the representatives of China, Russia, Qatar, Indonesia, and South Africa argued that "the Security Council was not the place to take concrete action." While Pakistan opposed the debate, Peru, Panama, Papua New Guinea, and small island states agreed with the UK. For UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon "projected changes in the earth's climate are thus not only an environmental concern. ... Issues of energy and climate change can have implications for peace and security."¹⁵

The climate change issue has been discussed at the G-8 meetings in August 2005 in Gleneagles¹⁶ in the UK and in June 2007 in Heiligendamm in Germany where the heads of states and/or governments of the G 8 agreed ... "in setting a global goal for emissions reductions" that they will "consider seriously the decisions made by the European Union, Canada and Japan which include at least a halving of global emission by 2050¹⁷." In a joint statement of the German G 8 presidency with the heads of states and/or governments of Brazil, China, India, Mexico and South Africa, the goal of fighting climate change was endorsed, including the "crucial role of economic incentives," investments in "climate friendly investments in large scale", and improved means of adaptation for developing countries "with enhanced technology cooperation and financing."

A high-level meeting on climate change of the UN General Assembly was scheduled for September 2007, prior to the COP13/MOP3 meeting in Bali on 3-14 December 2007, and a possible summit on climate change in 2008 was discussed.

UNDP will also take up the relationship between human development and climate change in its *Human Development Report 2007* (HDR) in November, suggesting that climate change poses major obstacles to progress in meeting MDGs and maintaining progress raising the HDI: "There is a clear and present danger that climate change will roll back human development for a large section of humanity, undermining international cooperation aimed at achieving the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in the process."¹⁸

12 On the definition of "vulnerability" at the scale of household livelihoods and its linkage with macro-scale processes, see Wisner/Blaikie/Cannon/Davis (2004).

13 "Press Conference by Security Council President, 4 April 2007", at: <http://www.un.org/News/briefings/docs//2007/070404_Parry.doc.htm>.

14 Bloomberg news: "UN attacks climate change as threat to peace", in: *International Herald Tribune*, 18 April 2007: 2.

15 UN Security Council, SC/9000, 5663rd meeting, 17 April 2007: "Security Council holds first-ever debate on impact of Climate change on peace, security, hearing 50 speakers", at: <<http://un.org/news/press/docs/2007/sc9000.doc.htm>>; Reuters: "UN Council Hits Impasse over Debate on Warming", in: *New York Times*, 18 April 2007; Edith M. Lederer. "Security Council Tackles Climate Change", in: *Washington Post*, 18 April 2007.

16 At the G8 meeting in Gleneagles the *Gleneagles Plan of Action* on "Climate Change, Clean Energy and Sustainable Development" was approved, at: <http://www.fc.gov.uk/Files/kfile/PostG8_Gleneagles_CCCChangePlanofAction.pdf>.

17 For the documents of the G 8 Meeting in Heiligendamm, Germany on 8 June 2007 see at: <<http://www.g-8.de/Webs/G8/EN/G8Summit/SummitDocuments/summit-documents.html>> and the 'chair's conclusions', at: <http://www.g-8.de/nsc_true/Content/EN/Artikel/_g8-summit/anlagen/chairs-summary,templateId=raw,property=publicationFile.pdf/chairs-summary>.

Global environmental and climate change, as well as hydro-meteorological hazards, affect primarily the individual or humankind whose perception of 'insecurity' therefore change. Climate change has become a new objective security danger and – in many parts of the world – a new subjective security concern. Anthropogenic climate change and its two key features of temperature increase and sea level rise, as well as weather-induced hydro-meteorological hazards, pose manifold new threats, challenges, vulnerabilities, and risks for the security on the earth, for nation states, as well as for human beings and humankind (table 40.2).

For many of the poor, marginalized, and highly environmentally and socially vulnerable people, climate change poses a new 'survival dilemma' that differs fundamentally from the state-centred 'security dilemma' in international relations and security studies.

40.4.3 The Survival Dilemma as a State-centred Concept

A key goal of the United Nations has been "to maintain international peace and security" and the security and survival of its member states, its territory, people, and system of rule. Thus, the referent object of security policy is both the state and its people, but also the international community and humankind. With the end of the Cold War the climate-induced threats, challenges, vulnerabilities, and risks that pose security dangers and concerns have emerged.

While in Europe the 'security dilemma' has been largely escaped, in many other parts of the world it still prevails. While the Security Council was originally constrained to deal with inter-state conflicts as threats to the peace, its practice since 1990 has gradually changed (chap. 35 by Bothe) to include intra-state conflicts and genocide as 'threats to the peace, breaches of peace, or acts of aggression'. In February 1999, the UNSC for the first time took up human security and in April 2007 it addressed climate change. The UNGA asked Mexico and Switzerland to propose how environmental protection could be enhanced within the UN system.¹⁹

Thus, the survival of whom not any longer refers only to states or their peoples but increasingly also to

human beings, societal and ethnic groups, as well as to international society and humankind. The survival against what refers not any longer only against the threats posed by other states, but also by the own state, by warlords, organized crime, and increasingly also by environmental factors triggered by global environmental change among them climate change, water scarcity, drought, and the impacts of increasingly human-induced natural hazards (tables 40.2, 40.3).

This author has argued that while the last three global orders (1815–1989) were primarily based on power categories legitimized in terms of the *security dilemma*, the emerging new global challenges of the 21st century (Renner 1997: 25–6) may require a new international order based on a Grotian *survival dilemma* (Brauch 1996, 2000a) that may necessitate additional multilateral cooperation on international security (arms control, terrorism) and environmental regimes (climate, desertification, water), in international and supranational organizations. Thus, the zero-sum games of many realist approaches in the Hobbesian tradition of the 19th and 20th centuries must be replaced – from a Grotian or Kantian perspective – by non-zero-sum games where all major players should aim at the creation of conditions for the survival of humankind (Axelrod 1984).

Brauch (2000a: 281–318) argued that the root causes of global environmental change could become "severe challenges for the survival of governments", and he stated that the environmental conditions for human life may be fundamentally challenged as a result of a complex process of incremental change caused by soil erosion and desertification leading to more frequent and intensive droughts and water scarcity and lack of food that will force people to migrate, what sometimes may lead to violent conflicts.

The severe droughts in the Sahel zone in the 1960's and 1980's put the survivability of this region at risk and have contributed to several failed states (e.g. Somalia). A complex interaction among environmental, societal, and political factors occurred that resulted in several Sahel countries engaging in violent conflicts (Mainguet 1994, 2003; Mensching 1990; Garenne 1994: 167–86; WBGU 2007a, 2007b, 2008). The Mediterranean region will be extremely volatile to the interaction of long-term non-military challenges that cannot be solved by military means neither domestically (repression) nor internationally (intervention). The challenge of survivability will increase the pressure for migration while Northern efforts to contain it may intensify the problems of governability in the

18 UNDP, 2007: Human Development Reports, at: <<http://hdr.undp.org/>>; see also: UNDP/UNEP/World Bank/ADB/AfDB/GTZ/DFID/OECD/EC (2003).

19 "UNO-Sicherheitsrat soll Umweltfragen beachten. Klimawandel birgt laut britischer Studie Sicherheitsrisiken", in: *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 18 April 2007: 4.

Table 40.2: Security threats, challenges, vulnerabilities, and risks posed by climate change, specifically by temperature increase and sea level rise. **Source:** Brauch 2005a: 64; reprinted with permission by UNU-EHS.

Environmental causes, stressors, effects and natural hazards pose	Natural and economic factors		Societal impact factors (exposure)	
	Substantial threats for	Challenges affecting	Vulnerabilities for	Risks for
	Security objects (for what or whom?)			
Climate change – temperature increase (creeping, long-term)	– human health – agriculture (yield decline) – biodiversity – desertification	– tourism – food security – fisheries – government action – economic action	– infectious diseases – damage to crops – natural systems – water scarcity – forest fires	– human populations – the poor, old people and children due to heatwaves
Climate change – sea level rise (creeping, long-term)	– small island states – marine ecosystems, – indigenous communities, – industry, energy	– deltas – coastal zones – marine, freshwater ecosystems	– coastal cities, habitats, infrastructure, jobs – cities, homes, jobs	– livelihood – poor people, – insurance, – financial services
Abrupt climate change – e.g. cooling in Central and Northern Europe, in North America (USA)	– countries and people in Northern Europe, benefiting from Gulf Stream	– livelihood – survival	– agriculture – habitat – people	– human life and animals, property – forced migration of people
Climate change – extreme weather events: storms (hurricanes, cyclones, winter storms)	– habitat, technical infrastructure, transportation, etc	– forests (health of trees) – food security	– coastal ecosystems – forests, settlements – electricity transmission	– human life and property – insurance – financial services
Climate change – extreme weather events: floods	– habitat, technical infrastructure, and people	– vulnerable, flood-prone areas	– persons living in flood-prone areas	– human life and property
Climate change – extreme weather events: drought	– availability of water and food, survival of people	– decreased crop yield and water quality and quantity	– arid and semi-arid zones, agriculture – forests (tree health)	– human life and animals, property
Soil erosion, desertification, drought	– water scarcity – agriculture – habitats	– food security – human livelihood (forced migration)	– livelihoods – rural areas – specific crops	– people and livestock in rural areas – people in slums
Deforestation	– landscape, cities, habitat	– water availability	– landslides	– informal housing (slums)
Water scarcity and degradation	– agriculture, food security, people	– econ. behaviour – human health	– poor in slums	– old people, children, poor
Forced Migration	– resident population, clash on water and food	– overgrazing on marginal soils, – environment	– fragile ecosystems – people on the move	– migrants and their animals

South (El-Hinnawi, 1985; Myers, 1993: 752–61, 1995; Brauch 1997, 1998; 2003, 2006a, 2006b, 2007d).

This and other new global challenges may require in the 21st century new forms of *global governance* (Commission on Global Governance 1995; Diehl

1997) and new international institutions (regimes and organizations) that may be influenced more by the intellectual traditions of Grotius and Kant. These new challenges require a new international order that necessitate additional multilateral cooperation in inter-

national regimes (climate, desertification), international (UN, OSCE) and supranational organizations (EU). Thus, the zero-sum games of the 19th and 20th centuries may be replaced by non-zero-sum games where all major players aim at the creation of conditions for the survival of humankind (Axelrod 1984).

If such a “*survival dilemma* is more than an idealist construct of good intentions, effective mechanisms for an efficient implementation of adopted norms and goals and a comprehensive verification regime for effective sanctions against violators are needed” (Brauch 2000a: 286). This poses for these non-military global challenges the question of a legitimate use of force. Thus, earth policy (*Erdpolitik*) requires an increase in the effectiveness of international organizations, which is a fundamental reform of the United Nations system (von Weizsäcker 1993; Brauch 1996; Rechkemmer 2005). However, with the many unresolved national, ethnic, and religious conflicts around the globe, distrust and arms competition still prevail in many regions. Thus, the *security dilemma* has not been overcome.

But in the 21st century simultaneously new global and regional challenges will grow in intensity beyond the coping capacity of most states that will be the first victims. Here *survivability* requires the gradual realization of “*sustainable development*”, especially of an agricultural policy within environmental constraints. This *survival dilemma* implies for many ecologically sensitive and conflict-prone regions, as for example the Mediterranean (Brauch 2003), a mutual effort to define and to address present and future *root causes* that could lead to new conflicts and environmental victims (Williams 1998). Such policies require a widening of the scope and an increase in the competence and effectiveness of multilateral international organizations and regimes both in the security and environmental realm.

40.4.4 The Survival Dilemma as a Human-centred Concept

The most likely implication of the ‘threats, challenges, vulnerabilities, and risks’ posed by global environmental and climate change for small island states may be a ‘survival dilemma’ (Brauch 2000a, 2004, 2005a: 69) confronting the poor and highly vulnerable population with unattractive alternatives: to stay at home and be exposed to an increasing number of and more intensive tropical hurricanes and cyclones, or to be forced to migrate from the Caribbean to North America, and from the small islands in the Indian and

Pacific Ocean to countries that offer their families better prospects for survival and economic well-being. In other regions and circumstances the survival option may be further reduced:

- To stay at home, to suffer from hunger, and, as the worst alternative to, die;
- To wait for governmental help and to survive in bad conditions;
- To migrate and to face elsewhere conflicts for water, land, food and jobs; or
- To migrate from the villages to urban slums with a low quality of life in a dangerous environment with the lack of jobs;
- To separate, with the young and the men emigrating where there are jobs and prospects for a better life, and the women, children, and the old staying at home and living from the remittances of emigrated family members;
- Or to develop local resilience, adaptation, and coping mechanisms, as well as survival strategies (Oswald 1991, 2007b).

In contemporary English the terms ‘survival’ and ‘dilemma’ are imprecise, and the concepts of a ‘survival society’ or a ‘survival dilemma’ have so far not rigorously been defined as a social science concept for the analysis of global environmental change, its extreme and fatal outcomes and potential violent societal repercussions. What is the *dilemma* about and what are the choices for whom? Whose *survival* is at stake: of humankind, the state, an own ethnic group, of the family or an individual? What is the *referent* of such a ‘survival dilemma’: international anarchy, the nation state, society, the own ethnic or religious group, clan, village, family or the individual? What are the *reasons* that necessitate a choice between *survival* or forced migration or even *death* (decline, disintegration)? Are they socially or environmentally driven, or both?

A dilemma requires a choice between two often unattractive options, e.g. between *survival* or death of an individual, or loss of his/her home and livelihood. Thus, first of all the *survival of the individual human being* is at stake, but also of the dwellers on marginal land or in vulnerable housing. Often the poor as well as minority ethnic or religious groups or clans with limited capabilities for adaptation and mitigation are among the first victims of hazards and disasters partly caused by human- and nature-induced global environmental change.

But in ecologically sensitive arid and semi-arid regions, as in the Sahel and in other deserts in the global sunbelt, but also in earthquake-prone regions, the

Table 40.3: Expanded Concepts of Survival and Security

Whose survival?	Referent (actor)	Dilemma or choices	Cause	Outcome	Security concept
Individual	family	Starve or leave the home to next city or humanitarian camp	Poverty, natural hazards/disasters	Internal displacement, urbanization, migration. conflict	Human security
Family			Societal and environmental vulnerability		
Village, tribe/ clan	Ethnic and religious group	Protest or leave and fight for water	Systems of rule and forms of governance, government decisions,	State failure, rapid assistance or repression	Societal security
Province	State	Assist or repress			Economic and military
Government		Fall or stay in power			
Region (e.g. Sahel)	Regional organization (OAS, AU, ECOWAS)	Do nothing, ignore or respond and prepare (adaptation and mitigation)	Extreme weather events (drought and desertification)	Migration or forms of violence and conflict	Political. economic, military
Mankind	United Nations, states, NGOs etc.	Ignore or adapt, mitigate, enhance resilience	Climate change, desertification, hydrological cycle	Major catastrophe	Human and global security

survival of individuals, tribes, regional or national governments in failed or disintegrated states is at stake (Somalia, Afghanistan). Global environmental change and especially climate change can also become an additional challenge to humankind, but its impacts will be unequal due to the different degrees of societal (poor vs. rich) and environmental (tropical, subtropical vs. moderate regions) vulnerability. Rapid population growth increases the demand for water, food and housing, and contributes to rapid urbanization that has negative repercussions on the environment (pollution of soil, water, air, table 40.3).

A *survival dilemma* exists if the livelihood of human beings (individuals, families, clans, tribes or ethnic or religious groups) is severely challenged by the extreme or fatal outcomes of global environmental change (hydro-meteorological hazards due to extreme weather events) and by extreme poverty. The *survival dilemma* is the highest where poverty is high and the adaptive and mitigation capacity and resilience is low (*high societal vulnerability*), and where the probability and impact of natural disasters is most severe (*high environmental vulnerability*).

Initially, the referent for the *survival dilemma* is the family and the ethnic and religious group (e.g. tribe or clan), but also the state. If the impact of a severe drought results in a major famine (as was the case in the Sahel during the 1980's), then the states and the sub-regional, regional, and global organizations, as well as nongovernmental aid organizations, become a major referent. The referent for major causes of glo-

bal environmental change: climate change, desertification, and either water scarcity or flooding is the international community (states, regional and universal organizations, and regimes).

The *survival dilemma* confronts its victims with a vicious circle (stay and starve or leave and lose own identity) that requires fundamental and difficult choices by the people (individuals, families, tribes, clans) in the affected regions, primarily in the developing countries, that often imply to leave their home, tribe, clan, to lose their livelihood and identity, and to give up their inherited customs and culture. The *survival dilemma* poses a major challenge to the individual and the society in states and regions where there is a high personal and societal vulnerability due to poverty, and a high environmental vulnerability due to extreme weather events and natural hazards, where the impact is high, but the resilience is low.

Until recently, this *survival dilemma* has hardly been a concern for strategists in industrialized countries because in their countries the societal vulnerability is relatively low and even in case of a high environmental vulnerability the resources and coping capacities exist to reduce human fatalities. For example, in 2002 the worst flood in Germany for more than a century caused 10 billion euros in damages but less than 100 fatalities, while a flash flood that hit Algiers in November 2001 caused economic damages of 300 million euros but more than 920 fatalities (Brauch 2003d). On 29 August 2005, Hurricane Katrina caused 1,833 reported deaths, affected about

500,000 people, and caused an estimated economic damage of 125 billion US dollars.²⁰ All three floods in the US, Algeria, and Germany confronted many victims with a survival dilemma, however the specific impact on persons and economic damage differed, as did the specific 'survival dilemma' the hazard victims had to face and cope with.

While the *security dilemma* confronts the state and its national security elites and decision-makers with tough strategic choices, the *survival dilemma* initially confronts the individual victim and his family, community, ethnic or religious group with tough choices that affect the future of their community and society. While military considerations and means are crucial to cope with the *security dilemma*, they are in most cases irrelevant for coping with the *survival dilemma*.

While the *security dilemma* is closely linked with a narrow political and military security concept, and is often associated with Hobbesian or Grotian security perspectives, the *survival dilemma* is primarily linked with *human* and *environmental security* concepts, and with Grotian and Kantian security worldviews as well as with Neomalthusian and equity-oriented distributionist environmental standpoints, and less with optimistic Cornucopian perspectives. While the *security dilemma* has been in the centre of the *classical security agenda* since ancient times and since the modern territorial state emerged in the Westphalian order, the *survival dilemma* addresses the *new agenda* where solutions become more urgent during the 21st century and where the old and still dominant Machiavellian and Hobbesian mindset of strategists is bound to fail. The *survival dilemma* requires a combined mitigation strategy that aims at "peace with the environment" and "development with security", or a combination of sustainable peace with sustainable development (chap. 3 by Brauch, chap. 5 by Oswald).

40.5 From a Survival Dilemma to Survival Strategies

The political strategies for coping with the 'security' and the 'survival dilemma' differ in the post Cold War era, taking the specific geopolitical context and status of socio-economic development of states and regions into account.

Efforts to cope with the 'security dilemma' of states require national, regional or international multi-lateral diplomatic initiatives to deal with the perceived threats by other states through cooperative efforts to address the structural root causes that may cause, contribute to or trigger conflicts within and between states, to resolve conflicts and to prevent that they escalate into violence as well as to prevent that natural hazards turn into complex emergencies.

Initiatives to cope with the manifold political, societal, economic and environmental threats, challenges, vulnerabilities, and risks – most of a non-military nature – that cause, contribute to, intensify or trigger a 'survival dilemma' for states, e.g. drought-stricken regions, and the human beings forced to leave their homes and livelihoods, require different coping strategies. Where the enemy is 'us', the consumers of fossil fuels, it is impossible to use the military to deter or to combat that threat, rather, the tools provided by international development and environment policies aiming at sustainable development and peace are needed. As these new security dangers are of a global or regional transboundary nature, only inter- and transnational coping strategies involving the states but also the societies and the national and transnational business communities will enable humankind to adapt to and mitigate against these security concerns.

While top-down initiatives to relieve or overcome the 'survival dilemma' of the most affected poor, marginalized, socially and environmentally vulnerable with the least capability to adapt and mitigate are necessary, they nevertheless have often failed. They must be complemented by bottom-up survival strategies that involve and empower these people in actively creating new livelihoods instead of waiting solely for relief aid in refugee camps. Such 'survival strategies' of individuals and of the marginalized poor in urban centres have been successfully developed. These initiatives that rely on the dignity and ingenuity of the affected victims need encouragement, national, trans- and international support (Oswald 1991, 2007b)²¹.

20 See as the source: EM-DAT: The OFDA/CRED International Disaster Database, <www.em-dat.net>; Université catholique de Louvain - Brussels - Belgium; created on 6 July 2007.

21 Oswald (1991, 2007b) analysed in detail the survival strategies of poor women in Mexico City during the late 1980's and early 1990's.

41 The Changing Agenda of Military Security

Barry Buzan

41.1 Introduction

This chapter looks at the changing agenda of military security through the analytical lens of securitization theory (Buzan/Wæver/de Wilde 1998; Wæver/Buzan/de Wilde 2008). Its concern is not to construct some objective assessment of what military threats actually were during a given period, but to survey what was successfully socially constructed as a threat, and how the main patterns of this construction in the military sector have changed. Securitization is when something is successfully constructed as an existential threat to a valued referent object, and that construction is then used to support exceptional measures in response. Attempts at securitization may have widespread success and be quite durable (e.g. the communist/Soviet threat in the West after 1947), or they may have limited success (the recent U.S. attempt to construct Iraq as a threat), or even fail (the erosion of support for the Vietnam War in the U.S.). Desecuritization is when something previously accepted as a threat is no longer constructed as one (e.g. the ending of the Cold War). Looked at in this theoretical perspective, what is surprising is just how sharply and frequently the main patterns of securitization in the military sector have changed in recent decades.

It is worth noting that, contrary to the traditionalist position, not everything in the military sector is necessarily about security. Since the early 1990's, most Western European states have not faced much in the way of existential military threats. But they maintain substantial armed forces and often use those forces in roles that have more to do with political and economic relations than with military ones. If Danish, British or Japanese troops participate in peacekeeping operations (PKOs) in Asia or Africa, this has nothing to do with existential threats to those countries, and everything to do with the normal politics of their international roles. For states living in security communities, such as those in the EU, rather substantial parts of their military activities may

fall into the political rather than the security sphere. European forces serving in parts of former Yugoslavia are hardly related at all to traditional conceptions of German or Italian national security, but are serving a political function within a larger project to bring the Balkans into the EU. This delinking of the military from national security functions is much more pronounced in Europe (and increasingly Japan), than it is in the U.S., and constitutes part of the *Venus versus Mars* characterization that some writers see as increasingly, and deeply, differentiating Europe from the U.S. (Kagan 2002, 2003).

When securitization is focused on external threats, military security is primarily about the two-level interplay between the actual armed offensive and defensive capabilities of actors on the one hand and their perceptions of each other's capabilities and intentions on the other. It thus includes everything from war at one end of the spectrum, through military rivalry, to arms control and disarmament. Crude forms of realist theory notwithstanding, there is no absolute correlation between the existence of external military capability and its securitization. The literature on democracy and peace, for example, builds on the idea that democratic states do not fear each other's military capabilities (e.g. Doyle 1986; Oneal/Russett 1999; Chan 1997; Cohen 1994). Desecuritization is possible even in the presence of separate military capabilities.

But separate military capabilities do create the potential for securitization. When elites and populations begin to treat the armed capabilities of other states as threatening, inter-state relations generate the classic military security dilemma involving on the one hand the proliferation of military technologies, arms racing, and the interplay of national policies for defence and deterrence, and on the other the array of policies aimed at muting the security dilemma, such as arms control, arms reduction, nonoffensive defence, and at times alliances (Jervis 1978; Buzan/Herring 1998; Møller 1991). This logic remains true when some or

all of the actors concerned are not states. Once military relations become securitized, this agenda is heavily shaped by the instruments of force possessed by the actors concerned, their strategies for using those instruments, and the pace and direction of changes in relative capability. The military agenda then has its own distinctive logic and technological imperative, but it does not operate in isolation. The entire interplay of military capabilities between states is deeply conditioned by political relations, and the same is true where states and nonstate actors face each other.

In order to trace the changeability of the military agenda over the past few decades, the rest of this chapter will examine the dominant patterns of securitization within and across four distinct periods: the classical European great power era ending in 1945, the Cold War, the post-Cold War period, and post September 11 2001. These periodizations are fairly standard within Realist thinking about international relations. The first three represent shifts in polarity – from several, to two, to one great power – and the last one a seeming benchmark representing a change from state to non-state actors as the main source of threat. I will argue that these periodizations can also be supported by significant changes in the patterns of securitization. These patterns can also be tracked across a spectrum from macro to micro, with some securitizations bidding to structure relations globally, others operating mainly locally, and yet others arrayed in between on the middle levels (often regional). Taking this approach enables one to look more easily at the way in which dominant securitizations are contested, at how they rise and fall, and at how securitizations at different levels (and across different eras of securitization) interact with each other.

41.2 The European Classical Great Power Era 1648 to 1945

During this era of classical balance of power, by far the dominant pattern of securitization was that of the great powers against each other. By the end of the nineteenth century, almost all of the rest of the world was under the direct or indirect colonial control of the European powers, the U.S., and Japan, which meant that for Africa, the Middle East, and South and Southeast Asia, the regional level was largely overlaid. Only in South America (from the early nineteenth century) and Northeast Asia (late nineteenth century) were independent regional military security dynamics beginning to operate. The European bal-

ance of power was a region in one sense, but because of the extent of European empires, and the global dominance of the European great powers, it was also in another sense the world. The local level was active mainly in the form of colonial wars, where the metropolitan powers sought to extend or consolidate their control against local resistance. When these local conflicts occurred at the meeting points of great power spheres of influence, as in the ‘Great Game’ between Britain and Russia in South and Southwest Asia, they could and did play into great power securitizations. But in this era, local resistance to colonialism was mainly a local affair, with little sign of any generalized or coordinated securitization within the periphery of anti-colonialism as such.

A feature of this era was that war amongst the great powers was a key institution of international society (Bull 1977: 184–99) and was therefore both legitimate and expected. This meant, at least until after the First World War, that, apart from pacifists, there was not much securitization of war as such, though there was, of course, instrumental opposition to particular wars. The primacy of national identity, often with racist and social Darwinist foundations, provided a robust support for war. It also meant that the relatively autonomous logic of military threats and vulnerabilities was always near to the surface. The classic military securitizations leading up to the First World War provide exemplary cases of this dynamic, with the British counting German battleships (and battleship production capacities), and the French, Germans, and Russians calculating the size and mobilization rates of their armies. Arms competitions and races were typical features of this era, as were alliances.

What is striking in retrospect about this era in contrast to later ones is the absence or only weak presence of much attempt to construct universalist macro-securitizations. Great power rivalries generated mainly particularist securitizations that were global only in the sense that they had global effects (on alliances, on colonies), but not in the sense that they attempted to construct a globally accepted securitization. The main candidate for a universalist referent object was the balance of power when understood as an institution of international society aimed at collective maintenance of a pluralist political structure, and opposition to attempts at world hegemony or world empire. The fortunes of the balance of power as a referent object were prone to considerable fluctuation, with some high points (the Concert of Europe during the nineteenth century, the collective security

provisions in the League of Nations after the First World War), and some low ones (the run-ups to the First and Second World Wars).

Ideology is an obvious key variable in considering the issue of universalist securitizations, though by no means a determining one. In a monarchist balance of power world such as eighteenth century Europe, the only universalizing pressure was collective fear of losing independence to a hegemon. From the French Revolution onwards, ideology became available as a way of constructing wider securitizations (initially republican versus monarchist), and this aspect certainly played into some nineteenth century alliance-making. In retrospect, one might have expected ideology, especially fear of fascism, to have played a greater role in shaping the securitizations of the 1930's. That it mainly did not has something to do with the ideological tripolarity of that time, with liberal-democracy, fascism, and communism all in play and all deeply ambivalent about which 'Other' was the most threatening.

41.3 The Cold War

The Cold War represented a sharp break from this classical pattern of securitization. Some things carried through. War remained an ever-present possibility amongst the great powers, and with decolonization gained more possibilities among the newly independent states at the regional level. Because strong patterns of enmity took root early, the autonomous dynamic of military insecurity also remained as clear between the U.S. and the Soviet Union as it was between Britain and Germany during their pre-First World War naval race. Only the core weapons changed, with the superpowers counting each other's nuclear warheads, bombers, and missiles, as well as army divisions and fleets. The big difference after 1945 was in the rise of universalist modes of securitization aimed (quite successfully) at transcending the particularist positions of great power balancing and local resistance, and imposing instead ideologically defined securitizations that invited (and in part compelled) the whole world to take sides in a zero-sum game about the social future of humankind.

Four big material and political shifts underpinned the changes in the levels and patterns of securitization that differentiated the Cold War from the classical great power era.

- First was the change in power structure from multipolar to bipolar. As has been much ob-

served, this created a relatively rigid structure in which balancing became mostly internal within the two superpowers, alliances became long-term and institutionalized, and the dynamics of rivalry became concentrated mainly around a single axis (Waltz 1979).

- Second, and closely complementing the bipolar distribution of power, was the ideological bipolarization between the two universalist visions of the human future that had triumphed over fascism: liberal democracy and communism. The fact that the two triumphant superpowers represented such opposed universalist ideologies made the securitization of their military relations extremely easy.
- Third was the invention of nuclear weapons and their rapid adoption as the defining standard of military power. Since nuclear weapons were a new, and initially rather crude, technology, they also made the early decades of the Cold War hostage to an intense process of competitive technological development. Rapid changes in technology could and sometimes did seem to offer one side or the other incentive to mount a pre-emptive attack, and this problem provided a major component of military securitization between East and West during the Cold War.
- Fourth was the process of decolonization that was broadly coterminous with the Cold War, and at many points bound up with it, and which by the late 1960's left most of Africa and Asia populated by independent states. Decolonization, however, did not prevent the extensive securitization of third world affairs by both superpowers as part of their global rivalry. Indeed, the military and ideological imperatives of containment and counter-containment meant that many parts of the third world functioned as prizes in the superpower rivalry, measuring how well or badly each of them was doing in pursuing its claim to own the future of humankind.

The patterns of securitization that unfolded around these four shifts can be usefully viewed in terms of levels. At the global level, much more happened than just a narrowing down of the classical great power balancing to two superpowers. Although there was an element of classical balancing in the mutual securitizations of the U.S. and the Soviet Union, there was a distinctive departure in the move up to a universalist framing for securitization. No longer was it just about the fate of one great power (or set of great powers) in relation to another, but it was phrased as being

about the fate of humankind as a whole: would the future of industrial civilization be set by communist or liberal-democratic ideology? As an act of securitization, this universalist framing was remarkably successful, and represents the first globalization of securitization. It came to be broadly believed across most of North America, Western Europe, Japan and Australia, and provided a crucial foundation for building a coherent, stable, and quite deeply institutionalized, U.S.-led Western bloc. Its counterpart similarly provided the foundations for the Soviet bloc, and for a time even kept the Soviet Union and China together.

Many elites in the third world countries were prepared to align themselves with the Cold War, some out of belief, others out of instrumental calculation. Even the non-aligned played their part in universalizing the Cold War securitization by carving out their political niche within it. Realists would see this universalization of the dominant securitization as a simple function of U.S. and Soviet power, but I would argue that it has more to do with the domestic character of the two superpowers with each seeing itself as representing a universal truth. Bipolarity without ideological bipolarization would have been less intense, and in the light of liberal-democratic peace theory it is interesting to ask what the securitization of Cold War bipolarity would have looked like if both the U.S. and the Soviet Union had been liberal democracies – or if there would have been any military securitization at all (Buzan 2004b).

The move up to a universalist framing for securitization was most successfully represented by the superpower rivalry, but there were two other successful securitizations of a global character. One of these was the securitization of nuclear weapons particularly, and the danger of war inherent in the superpower confrontation more generally. This built on foundations laid by the First World War, after which there were real fears that another world war fought with aircraft and poison gases would destroy European civilization. This has elsewhere been set up as the *defence dilemma*, in which fear of war begins to outweigh the classical *security dilemma* fear of defeat (Buzan 1991: 270–93). In the event, the Second World War did not realize this fear, but it did generate nuclear weapons, and these made the defence dilemma an immediate and realistic concern, marked in the West by such slogans as “better Red than dead”.

The securitization of nuclear weapons was a counterpoint to the securitization of the other side embodied in deterrence theory, the two coming together at crucial points such as the Cuban missile

crisis of 1962. Compared to the dominant securitization pattern of the Cold War, securitization of nuclear weapons was much less widely held. Its main form was oppositional civil society groups within Western states, and the transnational networks that they built. But it nevertheless represented a durable and in some ways influential position with an active global following. At the interstate level, it was paralleled by the significant and fairly successful moves to establish an international regime against the proliferation of nuclear weapons. Nonproliferation also represented efforts by the two superpowers to maintain their status and military dominance, but genuine fear that the spread of such weapons would increase the chance of their being used was also a significant factor (Buzan/Herring 1998: 53–71). Combined with the Cold War securitization and the technological drivers of deterrence, fear of nuclear weapons underlined the high salience of the military sector throughout the Cold War.

The other successful global securitization was the anti-colonial movement, which not only made the securitization against foreign rule coordinated on a worldwide basis, but also quite quickly delegitimized colonialism as a valid use of military power (Keene 2002), thereby making obsolete what had been one of the central institutions of international society (Holsti 2004: 239–74). This success played a huge role in opening up the independent dynamics of regional security which had largely been suppressed during the colonial era. This is a story told in detail elsewhere (Buzan/Wæver 2003). In many regions (most obviously the Middle East, South Asia, and Southeast Asia) decolonization generated conflict formations where local patterns of securitization (e.g. Arab-Israel, India-Pakistan, ASEAN-Vietnam) interplayed with the global level securitization of the Cold War. This interplay between the newly liberated regional processes of securitization, and the newly universalized securitization at the global level, was in many ways the other main Cold War story in the military sector. This story generated most of the hot wars during these decades, and linked to the nuclear confrontation through the fear that rival local interventions could escalate to direct superpower confrontation. At the same time, Western Europe embarked on a unique process of desecuritization, constructing its own past as its feared “Other” and in the EU, building the institutions of an advanced security community.

Decolonization also opened up the local level. As more and more countries achieved independence,

the emphasis at the local level shifted away from opposition to foreign rule, and towards domestic insurgencies against the new indigenous rulers. Many third world countries featured such insurgencies, and these often got caught up in the higher levels of securitization, both regional and global.

41.4 Post-Cold War

The ending of the Cold War was a massive act of desecuritization that brought to an end two of the defining features of the Cold War. The unravelling of communism terminated ideological bipolarization, and the unravelling of the Soviet Union did the same for the bipolar power structure. The combined effect of this was to cause the intense universalist securitization of the Cold War to evaporate, leaving nothing comparable in its place. For a decade, the military sector moved into the background as the prime sector for securitization. So profound was this shift that it even undermined one of the longstanding continuities linking the classical era and the Cold War: that war among the great powers was considered a real possibility. From around 1990 onwards, all but the most extreme realists moved to the understanding that while wars in the periphery would remain possible, even likely, wars amongst the great powers had become highly improbable (Goldgeier/McFaul 1992; Singer/Wildavsky 1993). Oddly, under these conditions the U.S. maintained a huge military budget, which quickly became larger than the combined expenditures of the next dozen military powers. So while the classical and Cold War pattern of intense inter-state competition in military technology became very muted at the global level (though not at the regional one), the U.S. nonetheless continued to throw money at the leading edge of military technology even though it had no competitor.

With the rollback of the threat of nuclear war, much of the steam also went out of the counter-securitization to the Cold War from civil society. Nuclear weapons, and the fear that they would be used in a great power war, largely ceased to be a prominent matter of public concern, though on the state level there was not much change from the Cold War in the degree of commitment to prevent, or at least slow down, the spread of nuclear weapons and the technology to make them.

The post-Cold War period, then, was marked by an absence of successful macro-securitizations in the military sector, and at least at the global level, a sharp

drop in the salience of the military sector. At the regional level, many of the post-colonial securitizations continued as before (most notably in Africa, the Middle East, and South Asia), albeit with a unipolar, rather than a bipolar, pattern of intervention from above. Some regions, most notably Southeast Asia, and more briefly Southern Africa, underwent significant desecuritizations. Following the implosion of the Soviet Union, a final round of decolonization transformed Europe and created a new region in the former Soviet sphere (Buzan/Wæver 2003). There was widespread acceptance that the power structure was now unipolar, and as the decade progressed, a growing realization that this would be a durable rather than a transitory condition, notwithstanding the rapid growth in China's economy and its relative empowerment by the demise of the Soviet Union.

While there were significant Western military interventions in the Former Republic of Yugoslavia and against Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, these represented specific and quite local securitizations, almost like the colonial wars of old, only with the great power rivalry largely removed. There was much debate in the West about the legality, practicality, and morality of using military force in pursuit of human rights (Roberts 1993, 1996; Wheeler 2000), and a rather patchy record of practice, with disasters in Somalia and Rwanda. In the U.S., Washington seemed to be experiencing a threat deficit, and there was a long string of attempted securitizations in what looked like an effort to find a replacement for the Soviet Union as a focus for U.S. foreign and military policy. Japan came into focus as a peer competitor (though not mainly in a military sense), but then gave way to a rising China once the Japanese economy went into stagnation. Huntington's (1993, 1996) famous 'clash of civilizations' thesis was a clear attempt to securitize Islam and East Asia as rivals to American power and values. Eventually, this process deteriorated to the point where a massively armed U.S. could find nothing better to securitize than a handful of 'rogue state' - Iran, Iraq, and North Korea - whose main crime was refusing to kow-tow to American interests. None of these attempts really took root, however, and during the 1990's the most successful macro-securitizations were in other sectors: economic and societal particularly. Except for the continuous possibility of a clash between the U.S. and China over Taiwan, the great powers had little fear of war amongst themselves, and little interest (except the U.S.) in military competition. Huge U.S. military spending seemed to represent the elevation to referent object status of its posi-

tion as the sole-superpower, with high-tech military power as the key to differentiating the U.S. from any potential challenger.

At the local level the main development was a rising number of domestic insurgencies and/or civil wars, including: Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Bosnia, Burundi, Chad, Colombia, Congo, Georgia, Indonesia, Lebanon, Liberia, Macedonia, Nepal, Philippines, Peru, Russia, Rwanda, Serbia, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Tajikistan, and Turkey. This was accompanied by concern amongst the powers over the problem of failed states tearing holes in the fabric of international society, a scenario captured powerfully by Robert Kaplan (1994; de Wilde 1995; Buzan/Wæver 2003: esp. 219–53) in which failed states open the way for gangs, clans, tribes and mafias. For the peoples involved in such situations military (in)security becomes a paramount feature of daily life, which takes on many features of a Hobbesian anarchy. Such political failures are extremely difficult and costly to remedy from outside, and they can gain support from the internationally organized mafias that are the dark side of increasing economic liberalization. Both criminals and terrorists can make good use of areas that lack effective state control.

This concern about failed states could be seen as part of a wider process in which increasing liberalization (often discussed as ‘globalization’) weakens state structures everywhere, pushing individuals toward more “tribalist” forms of association, and raising the prominence of non-state actors as wielders of military capability (Horsman/Marshall 1995; Van Creveld 1993, 1999; Cerny 2000). But for the most part the great powers during this period were not much interested in intervening in the Third World. The U.S.-led invasion of Iraq in the early 1990’s did not turn out to be a model for the ‘new world order’, but an exception against the rule that, in line both with their domestic political dispositions and the continuing legitimacy of anti-colonialism, the great powers were reluctant to use force abroad unless the situation involved an immediate threat to their core interests.

41.5 Post September 11

The al-Qaeda attacks on the U.S. on 11 September 2001 brought the post-Cold War period to an abrupt end, and triggered another substantial shift in the military agenda. Most obviously, September 11 solved the threat deficit problem for the U.S., with the WoT providing a dominant securitization around which

U.S. foreign policy could be organized. It also exposed the universalizing propensities seen in the Cold War, though now under unipolarity more clearly exemplifying what might be thought of as the American way of securitization. It is a well-recognized feature of American exceptionalism that the U.S. polity sees itself as owning, or at least representing, the future of humankind, and as therefore having the right and the duty to speak and act for humankind (Buzan 2004b: 153–82). A propensity to appeal to principles and U.S. interests as if they were universal is thus deeply embedded in American political life, giving the country’s security policy an unusually moralistic and Manichean tone. This propensity came across very clearly in President Bush’s much quoted ultimatum to the rest of international society than in the WoT “Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists”¹. It is also clear in his statement that: ‘our responsibility to history is already clear: to answer these attacks and rid the world of evil.’ (Bush 2002: 5).

Although it is too early to judge the durability of this shift in the military agenda, it certainly represents a radical departure from the previous situation. In some ways it reasserted the traditional security primacy of the military sector, and even brought war back to centre stage. It revived the willingness of the powers to intervene at the regional and local levels in pursuit of WoT objectives, a willingness dramatically expressed in president Bush’s “axis of evil” speech pointing the finger at Iraq, Iran, and North Korea. It also underlined the concern about failed states that had built up during the 1990’s. But the WoT was not war as previously understood, and although the U.S. seemed determined to take a primarily military approach to it, it was far from clear that the main action would be in traditional military form. In a general sense, the WoT has so far been a rather successful macro-securitization.

NATO invoked article 5 for the first time, and Japan, Russia, China and India have all accepted it (the latter three all with their own particular “terrorist” problems in mind). That al-Qaeda and its ideology are a threat to civilization, is widely accepted outside the Islamic world, and also within the Islamic world, though there opinion is divided as to whether or not this is a good and legitimate thing. The U.S.-led war against the Taleban and al-Qaeda in Afghanistan shortly after September 11 was widely supported at the time, and NATO is still playing the leading role

1 See: BBC News, 25 August 2002, at: < <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/americas/2212647.stm> >.

in the (so far not very successful) attempt to stabilize and rebuild that country. The WoT has also breathed new life into the ongoing securitization of nuclear weapons (and WMD more generally), though now with the twist that the main fear is of WMD falling into the hands of terrorists. In addition, it has created a substantial consensus on the need to improve “homeland security”, most conspicuously in the U.S., but also in many other states. The homeland security agenda is mostly not military in a strict sense, involving mainly an increase of the state’s rights and powers to increase surveillance over everything from trade and finance, to individual travel and civil liberties.

One interesting sub-theme to this overall pattern is the moves taken by many Western leaders to stop the general securitization of the WoT from taking the form predicted by Huntington, of a clash of civilizations between the Islamic world and the West. There were certainly political constituencies on both sides that would have welcomed such an outcome (most obviously al-Qaeda itself), and it could easily have happened by accident given the prominence of Islamists in “terrorist” attacks not just in the U.S. and the Middle East, but also in Russia, Indonesia, India, Kenya, and Spain. The idea that “all terrorists are Islamists” had to be countered by the strong assertion that this did not mean that all followers of Islam were therefore terrorists. Preventing the WoT’s securitization from spilling over to the Islamic world as a whole was crucial to any political hope of isolating the extremists from the community of the faithful in whose name they claimed to speak and act. This desecuritizing counter-move is an ongoing feature of the WoT, and has so far been reasonably successful.

Yet while the WoT has been generally successful as a durable macro-securitization, U.S. policy has resulted in major controversies over some of the particular securitizations attempted within the WoT. The most obvious, widespread, and deepest dispute of this kind has been over the invasion of Iraq. The U.S. and British governments attempted to justify the invasion by linking Saddam Hussein’s regime to both terrorists and WMD. This securitizing move was successful within the U.S., but vigorously contested in many other places, resulting in major and damaging splits in both the EU and NATO. The ill-prepared occupation that followed the successful blitzkrieg against Iraq only deepened the splits with many opponents of the war agreeing with Allin’s (2004: 652) assessment that “Iraq was probably the war that bin Laden wanted the United States to fight”, and that it

was both a tactical and strategic blunder of epic proportions in relation to the problem of global terrorism represented by al Qaeda. Whether or not the quagmire in Iraq will blunt the willingness to intervene expressed in the “axis of evil” speech remains to be seen. Linked to this was Israel’s attempt to link its own war against the Arabs to America’s WoT. This move was largely successful in the U.S., where it increased the already strong U.S. tilt towards Israel, and largely rejected everywhere else (where Israel’s problems were seen to be largely of its own making because of its expansionist settlements policy). As with Iraq, this particular securitization divided the U.S. from many of its allies in the WoT generally, and so weakened the consensus of the overall securitization of the WoT.

The WoT pushed into the background, but did not eliminate, other, more traditionally state-centric, U.S. securitizations. The National Security Strategy of 2002 pointedly reasserted the U.S. intention to retain military superiority over all others: “We must build and maintain our defences beyond challenge ... Our forces will be strong enough to dissuade potential adversaries from pursuing a military build-up in hopes of surpassing, or equalling, the power of the United States” (Bush 2002: 29–30).

41.6 Conclusion

The WoT, and more broadly the globalization of securitization discussed above, point strongly to a move away from classical, state-centric frameworks for securitization and towards a much more mixed set of actors and referent objects for the military security agenda: not just states, but also nonstate actors representing both the civil and uncivil sides of society. In this expanded domain, there are four distinct structures of violence (Buzan 2003a):

- *State vs. state.* The traditional concern of Westphalian international relations about the disorders of a second order form of anarchy in which sovereign states play balance of power and regularly end up at war with each other. This concern has declined overall with the end of the Cold War and the rise of a zone of democratic peace at the core of the international system. It still remains active in the periphery, especially in the Middle East and Asia, where increasing numbers of states are equipped with weapons of mass destruction. Whether it will become active in the form of military threats from the periphery to the core

remains to be seen, but the potential is indicated by the willingness of the U.S. to securitize North Korea, Iraq, and Iran.

- *State vs. uncivil society.* This is the traditional Hobbesian agenda where the state is the solution to civil disorder typical of primary anarchy. The state protects its citizens against each other by creating a legal framework and enforcing a monopoly of legitimate violence against warlords, terrorists, organized crime, and whatever uncivil elements seek to disrupt the peace or deploy force against the citizenry. But under globalization a wider dimension gets added. The openness of a liberalized economy provides opportunities for transnational criminals and terrorists and extremists of all sorts to operate on a global scale. As a consequence, the traditional Hobbesian domestic security agenda gets pushed up to the international level, becoming a problem for international society against global uncivil society. This is largely the structure of the WoT, and along with the fear of WMD can be conjured into an argument for world government (Wendt 2003).
- *State vs. civil society.* This is the core concern of those who see the state more as an agent of repression, and a vehicle for elite interests, than as a Hobbesian ring holder. In the present international system it exposes a large agenda of state elites abusing their political primacy and their control of police, law, and military, to suppress civil society in pursuit of their own interests, whether self-enrichment or hanging on to power. Of the many current examples one might note the military junta in Burma; Robert Mugabe's reign of terror in Zimbabwe; the North's wars against the south and the west in Sudan; the regime of dynastic communism in North Korea, the massacre of Tutsis in Rwanda; and the Indonesian attempt to prevent the secession of East Timor. Such repression becomes a concern both for international society and for global civil society elements such as the human rights movement.
- *Civil vs. uncivil society.* This is where the state more or less ceases to exist, thereby removing the previous three options and leaving the civil and uncivil aspects of society in an unmediated "state of nature" relationship with each other and the rest of the world. This is most easily illustrated by the uncivil wars and failed states common in Africa, where, as in Congo, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Somalia, and Angola, the state structures fail, leaving various warlords, "big men" and suchlike, to

battle out their territorial and political claims. Some of these will claim to be the state, but in practice control only part of its territory and exercise few if any of its functions. State failure poses problems for international society in how to react politically to the holes torn in its fabric. It poses problems for global civil society in terms of how to deal with humanitarian and human rights consequences of chaos. It poses opportunities for global uncivil society in terms of providing safe-havens for all sorts of illegal and/or anti-social activities.

42 Political Security, an Uncertain Concept with Expanding Concerns

Thomaz Guedes da Costa

42.1 Introduction¹

The absence of *political security* as a key concept in social science encyclopaedias makes a (re)conceptualization of the term not easy.² Although the concept is widely used in the rhetoric of decision-makers or in compilations of a variety of subjects on security problems, political security is not an unequivocal label.³

One major global source from the UN system, the Human Development Report 1994 of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) uses *political security* as one of seven main categories of threats to *human security*.⁴ This report was produced

after the collapse of the Soviet Union and during a new wave of democratization in Central and South America, Eastern Europe, and a few African countries, notably in Southern Africa. The UNDP definition narrowed the scope to mainly observing the sub-categories of human rights and the repression of citizens by military regimes. Using data from Amnesty International, UNDP (1994: 32) pointed out that “political repression, systematic torture, ill treatment or disappearance [of individuals] was still practiced in 110 countries.” The report also called attention to widespread political unrest in countries that resulted in detention or imprisonment by authorities. Finally, it briefly referred to abuses of government control over ideas and information and to the priority of some regimes in spending to enable the military to repress their people. This definition is not sufficient for guiding empirical research and to close the triangle with the richness of solid arguments for valid, general clarifying conclusions.

In light of developments since the end of the Cold War, the UNDP report (1994) reflects a very narrow definition of *political security* if the new global security challenges are included that have since emerged. Thus, for defining the concept, I asked some of my students: “What is political security?” Asking this question to a particular class of students, I thought, would be a great opportunity to identify the various connotations of the term, since the group represented a sample of outstanding professionals, military and civilian officials, as well as journalists, academics, and political advisors in national security affairs, at that moment undertaking graduate-level education. In the continuation of their public service or private careers, I was certain that they would be familiar with reports such as the UNDP’s human security study.

1 The author is a political scientist and educator. The ideas expressed here do not necessarily reflect those of the National Defense University, Department of Defense of the United States, or of any other organization with which he is associated.

2 The author uses the classical assertion that “security, in an objective sense, measures the absence of threats to acquired values, in a subjective sense, the absence of fear that such values will be attacked,” by Wolfers (1962a): 150. Buzan and Kelstrup (1991: 4) pose that *political security* “concerns the organizational stability of states systems of government and the ideologies that give them legitimacy.” Although this definition is an important and rich component of the conceptualization of human security, due to the ambiguity of terms it lacks rigor for academic reproduction of the concept thereafter. For an excellent review of the concept of security (and all the adjectives needed to establish context), see Möller, Björn (2000): *The Concept of Security: The Pros and Cons of Expansion and Contraction* (Copenhagen: Copenhagen Peace Research Institute), at: <<http://www.ciaonet.org/wps/mob01/#note0>>. In his professional experience, the author consults literature in Portuguese and Spanish. In both languages, reflecting the Ibero-American political culture and discourse, the verbatim translation does not correspond to the concept.

3 For a wide range of issues and country reviews, from international border disputes and arms control to drug trafficking; see: Carpenter and Wiencek (1996).

4 The seven categories of human security are: economic, food, health, environment, personal, community, and political, see: UNDP (1994: 22-40).

I gave the students a sheet of paper with the question, “What is political security?” I instructed them to select and record any four ideas that came to their minds related to the concept. But immediately upon reading the sentence, the barrage of questions began: What do you mean? Is it at the individual or at the national level? What should I consider? Can you give an example? Their moaning and body language signalled to me that they had encountered a significant amount of frustration and were struggling with the task. I was not essentially concerned with the validity of the test in and of itself. I was trying to assure myself that I was not the only one who was finding it difficult to clarify and to think of the concept as a valid brick in the political analysis construct.

After collecting and tabulating the answers, I concluded that there were two general convergences of ideas. One was the notion that a degree of participation by all in legitimate decision-making processes of a society, under and protected by the rules of stable laws, would result in *political security* (a dependent variable in a desired state of affairs). Another convergence pointed out by the students indicated that there was a broad scope of governing activities, or features, to be considered as associated with the concept, from voting and separation of powers to the accountability of elected individuals and bureaucrats; from the protection of human rights and government stability to access to economic benefits.

It is obvious that democracy, or the installation of democratic regimes, is a component of political security, if security is defined as a state of affairs to be achieved for the benefit of the individual and groups. On the one hand, the UNDP concept did not explicitly integrate democracy as a component of *political security*. Thus, the question remains of the value and breadth needed for a conceptual evaluation of the term. I assume that others are contributing with reflections on social, societal, and state security under other labels.

The issue of democracy in the Westphalian State is central to the notion of security as well as to elevating the legitimacy of a regulated international system. Many scholars in political science address the concerns on democracy and security in different fashions, beyond the public opinion polls that report on the satisfaction of newly democratized regimes (Adams 2003; Burkhart/Lewis-Beck 1994; Campbell 2003; Gutmann 2003; Inglehart 2003; Lipset/Lakin 2004). Therefore, while recognizing the importance of the evolution of democratization or of experiences both during the transition to and retrocession from

democratic regimes; this aspect will not be discussed in this chapter. Rather, this chapter points to new elements that are shaping political concerns and that demand further understanding. Democracy remains a relevant and integral part, even if a considerable degree of academic rigor is needed (Putman 1993; Norris 1999).

The doubts of the students correlate with the insipid use of the concept in the social sciences. This gave me a certain degree of cognitive comfort – I was not alone in my uncertainty about the meaning of the concept, as I struggled for substance to reveal its connotation with valid applicability. The experiment with my students provided me with additional evidence to add to the search through library catalogues and compendia, that the term *political security* does not avail itself of a clear operational definition. The concept broadly indicates the relevance or the richness of the phenomena hidden behind the label, especially if it can serve as an all-inclusive category of problems related to security, such as inter-state conflict, drug trafficking, civil war, etc. Seeking for rigor and striving to exclude the core of this subject, I assume that *political security* addresses the nature of government, the set of relationships between individual and groups on the one hand, and the state on the other, for the exercise of rights and obligations in the distribution of power. While many approaches could illustrate these elements, I prefer to manoeuvre the juxtaposition of rigor with thematic relevance. Retaining the focus of attention to human rights abuse in non-democratic governments, the following discussion addresses the novelty of a drive for the universal application of judicial norms and the protection of individuals. In addition, it points out that new challenges to the state beyond politics, as seen until the end of the Cold War, such as those posed by technology advances that have given rise to the virtual world of the Internet and other issues of privacy, may be the cornerstone of understanding and for shaping policy under the term *political security*.

42.2 In Search for the Application of Universal Rule of Law

If human rights, as presented in the UNDP report, is at the core of *political security*, and if this relevance remains unchanged, then some related features should be included. For instance, genocide and rendition⁵ are two new dominant topics of political security that need clarification. They are additional com-

ponents that do not minimize the significance of human rights protection as observed during the Cold War. The massacres and the ethnic clashes in several civil wars in Africa, as well as the growing consequences of terrorism and state response, both prior and after the attacks of 9/11, including those observed in Southeast Asia, in the Caucasus, or in the jungles of Colombia, have confronted populations and governments with new insecurities in national and global politics.

How governments and polities respond to human rights violations remains a general concern (Ishay 2004). The evidence is provided in periodic reports of the United Nations evaluating the state-of-the-art, with many indications of continuing violations, as well as improvements in how governments and international regimes are enhancing the observance of codes and declarations and supporting changes in political attitudes. Nevertheless, the notion is new that the spread of democracy in the internal politics of countries and the evolution of international regimes are forming a shared set of values that are increasingly being observed and protected by transnational initiatives. In many cases, these universal appeals also clash with the efforts of actors in protecting the prerogative of sovereignty. The uncertainties in dealing with genocide, international trials, and rendition are illustrative for some of the contents in the conceptual evolution of *political security*.

“Never again” has been repeated frequently in the shadow of conflicts or civil wars. Ethnic, tribal, religious, and national cleavages, intertwined with violence, crimes, and atrocities, are resulting in thousands of collective murders, especially in Africa (Migdal 2005; Dunn 2003). Eventually, the hesitant international community did intervene in the conflicts to save thousands of victims in Bosnia, Sierra Leone, Rwanda, and the Sudan. The understanding of these atrocities is not simply clouded by a lack of information, but also by the complexity of economic, social, environmental, and health conditions involved in each case. Genocide may again be a vivid revelation of *political security*, with legacies of doubts on international responsibility in the applicability of values, norms, and the commitment of foreign intervention, as well as fears of recurring violence (Dallaire

2005). Ethnic and religious divisions will not necessarily result in this type of violence, but there are uncertainties. In terms of human rights and wellbeing, the shocking development of this political violence in the post-Cold War period may have been exacerbated by the failure of national authorities associated with a greater fragmentation and insecurity in social, ethnic, or religious disputes. Thus, what gives substance to the concept of *political security* provides an expansion in scope to a subject that deserves more attention.

With regard to combating terrorism, there are many political and legal concerns as governments try to reduce the vulnerability of countries with preventive, defensive, and offensive strategies against organized groups. In such a conflict, an underlying preoccupation, in particular, addresses the risks of political and human rights, as legal boundaries are challenged by needs or practices. Decisions and measures taken by authorities may cause a violation or abuse of detainees and prisoners as governments seek information to prevent attacks or dismantle groups and networks of accomplices. Conceptually, both oversight of authorities and academic research will function as a source of logic and legitimacy for establishing the boundaries of legality. In the era of the “war on terror”, the doubts on measures and the allegations and concerns with government abuse revive similar struggles of the past, when, for instance, human and political rights violations and protection were a significant issue under the military dictatorship that dominated Latin America and in many countries during Asia’s dirty wars. The concept of *political security*, both from the perspective of governing authorities and the population subjected to violence, as well as from the standpoint of groups that use terrorist tactics, is confronted with the same phenomena that occurred prior to and after the Cold War. At first glance, the concept seems unchanged. What has expanded is the debate about the legitimacy (and legality) of States to act with questionable logic in ethical terms, especially in the environment of the dominance of the rule of law and democracy (Etzioni 2005; Strasser 2004). But the conceptualization does not appear to differ significantly.

The effort for the universal application of accountability for human rights violations has evolved, including developing of new instruments that could respond to the challenge of atrocities, such as genocide, terrorism, or mass murder in political conflicts. A main illustrative development has been the Rome Statute (signed in 1998, entered into force in 2002)

5 Rendition is the act of a country arresting an individual in one country and bringing the person to justice (in the country ordering the arrest) without a court process taking place in the country where he or she was seized.

and the creation of the International Criminal Court (ICC). The Rome Statute influences the shaping of political conduct and the use of force, and aims to pursue individuals accused of crimes against humanity, including war crimes, genocide, and other crimes of aggression. This new international institution will investigate and persecute the criminal responsibility of individuals involved in violence and abuse, as representatives of states. As the ICC reinforces the international regime to protect human rights, it functions also as a fall-back to bring forth the accountability of individuals where countries are either unable or unwilling to conduct a legal prosecution. These are clearly intended for universal applicability. In terms of consolidating an international regime, the ICC seemed to be a substantive instrument. Nevertheless, a major controversy evolved when the United States withdrew from the convention, fearing that the Statute did not have sufficient safeguards against politically-motivated investigations and prosecutions. Other reasons for the American pull-out referred to the ICC's claims of jurisdiction over nationals of non-party states and what appeared to be a lack of supervision over the UN Security Council.⁶

Another variation on the applicability of this transnational arm of justice refers to a legal process (or actions without judicial ruling) against individuals somewhat protected by the extra-territoriality of their residence (or newly acquired citizenship). In many cases, criminals have received such protection. The most famous case is that of Ronald Biggs, involved in the Great Train Robbery in Britain in the 1960's, who remained free in Brazil until his voluntary return to England. In other cases, corrupt officials have been able to hide their money overseas or even flee to other countries with their accounts. The question to ask is not if this kind of disjunction between the individual and the rule of law has evolved, but rather, if the acceptability of such behaviour is still prevalent. A case in point was the change in the universal applicability of law in 1999, when Spanish courts sought to extradite former Chilean President Augusto Pinochet on charges of genocide. Spain also has begun penal processes against several Argentinians accused of human rights violations during the military regime that took over the country in the late 1970's. Other former high officials have found their past actions

subject to allegations of wrongdoing in other countries. As a partial conclusion to this topic, one has a sense that a strong wave of shared international values is slowly transforming attitudes and reinforcing the value of international law and agreements to seek justice.

The global war on terror, waged by the United States and its allies, has also advanced other challenges to the contents of *political security* in terms of what matters for individuals and their transnational movements. One aspect is the applicability of the Law of Armed Conflict in the war against terrorism. Exercising self-defence under Article 51 of the UN Charter, detainees captured overseas have been held without conviction in a court of law to prevent them from re-entering combat. The United States has determined that the Geneva Convention is not the instrument guiding the treatment of these prisoners. Although Washington argues that humanitarian treatment is provided to the detainees, legal challenges in the United States and overseas will expand and further redefine this segment of *political security*, both from the perspective of countries seeking their own, and of those individuals accused of terrorism for their acts or associations.

Another innovative instrument in the effort of transnational investigation and the capture of terrorist suspects is the United Nations Security Council committee established pursuant to resolution 1267 (1999), concerning Al-Qaeda and the Taliban. This is the first instrument that guides UN members to direct their efforts against individuals, groups, and supporting entities, not countries, suspected of terrorism. Again, this decision reinforces the attention on non-government actors as part of the concept of *political security*.

Another aspect pushing the concept of *political security* in relation to individuals, and not just countries, is that of rendition.⁷ Rendition is the act of a country arresting an individual in one country and bringing the person to justice (in the country ordering the arrest) without a court process taking place in the country where he or she was seized. It could be interpreted as a way to avoid or to short-cut legal impediments in cases where extradition treaties do not exist between the two countries. Another charac-

6 On the position of the U.S. Government, see: U.S. Department of State, Bureau of Political-Military Affairs: *Fact Sheet*, Washington, DC, 30 July 2003; at: <<http://www.state.gov/t/pm/rls/fs/23428.htm>>.

7 On the controversies and legal fragility, see: Spencer Ackerman: "Suspect Policy", in: *New Republican* (14 March 2005), 232,9: 14; David Ignatius: "Rendition Realities", in: *The Washington Post* (9 March 2005): A21.

teristic of rendition could be a government also transferring a defendant to another country without legal formalities. One could also include in this variation of the concept the transfer of a detainee to another country for interrogation and investigation without legal process. As Daniel Byman points out, "There is more than one side to the rendition story."⁸ Central to the problem is the situation where countries and justice systems do not achieve a level of judicial collaboration that can meet the political demands of respective constituencies. Therefore, unilateral action substitutes for collaboration in the search for justice, even if there are risks of violating sovereignty or of eventual challenges by third parties or detainees in the sense of demanding a legal review and reparation at some point in the future.⁹

42.3 Failed States

The use of the term *failed states* provokes one to think of *political security* under the notion that there are increasing geographic areas without legitimate, internationally recognized political authority, or weak public governance that results in an authoritative ruling that does not resemble formal, effective government structures. As a consequence, this failure can be associated with the issues of abuses to the human and political rights of individuals, along with unchecked violence and conflicts. This perspective certainly incorporates many points already discussed above.

From the governance perspective, Jean-Germain Gros (1996: 456) suggests that the conceptualization of *failed states* has in its essence the inability or unwillingness of public authorities "to carry out their

end of what Hobbes long ago called the social contract" and to deliver public services on a wide range of issues related to welfare. Failed states as a new aspect of *political security* may include many countries, to varying degrees that are unable to provide the minimum conditions for the economic survival of their population.¹⁰ "Distension zones" or "liberated areas" have been characterized, both geographically and politically, as territories without formal government authorities or public services. Typically, many urban areas, such as the "favelas" of Rio de Janeiro, cities in Africa, or rural lands, such as the border areas between Pakistan and Afghanistan or guerrilla-run valleys in Colombia, are localities where insurgents or organized crime rule are beyond justice and adjudicating of conflict.

Besides the notion of *failed states*, there is also a *selective governance failure*. Unlike the direct link that one may make between *failed states* and *un-governed spaces*, *weak governance* abandons the geographic assumption and surges by the systematic corruption that selectively encroaches into many governments and judicial systems.¹¹ In *weak governance*

8 Daniel Byman: "Reject the Abuses, Retain the Tactics", in: *The Washington Post* (17 April 2005): BoI. at: <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A58301-2005-Apr16_2.html>.

9 For an official view that the U.S. Government is acting without legal instruments in measures to combat terrorism, see the opening statement of Attorney General, Alberto R. Gonzales, to the U.S. Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, Hearing, Washington, DC, 27 April 2005; at: <<http://www.usdoj.gov/ag/testimony/2005/042705senatetestimony.htm>>. For an updated reference see the Global Forum Policy collection of articles on failed states at <<http://www.globalpolicy.org/nations/sovereign/failedindex.htm>>. An additional source, for data from 1955 to 2002, is found in the State Failure Task Force Report at <<http://www.cidcm.umd.edu/in-scr/stfail>>.

10 For a survey of failure issues, normative propositions, and efforts to rescue countries, see: Bilgin/Morton (2002: 55-80); Fukuyama (2004: 17-32); Mallaby (2004); Thomas (2003a: 205-32); Zeleza/McConnaughay (2004); Rotberg (2002: 127).

11 "Ungoverned space" is a term initially used by the United States Government, see the statement by Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld at the Defense Ministerial in Santiago, 19 November 2002 (at: <<http://ciponline.org/colombia/02111904.htm>>). It is defined as "geographic areas where governments do not exercise effective control." Its important is to reveal that "Terrorist groups and narco-traffickers use these areas as sanctuaries to train, plan, and organize, relatively free from interference. There are numerous 'ungoverned spaces' around the world, such as the western provinces of Pakistan, portions of the southern Philippines, Indonesia, Chechnya, rural areas of Burma, several areas in Africa, and areas in South America. Ungoverned spaces include densely populated cities where terrorists can congregate and prepare for operations with relative impunity. I believe these areas will play an increasingly important role in the War on Terrorism as Al-Qaeda, its associated groups and other terrorist organizations use these areas as bases for operations." Citations from: *Current and Projected National Security Threats to the United States*, Vice Admiral Lowell E. Jacoby, U.S. Navy, Director, Defense Intelligence Agency, Statement for the Record, U.S. Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, 24 February 2004 (at: <<http://www.iwar.org.uk/homesecc/resources/threats-2004/jacoby.htm>>).

situations, states provide many services and may geographically control the population by authority. But, due to incapacity of means, corruption, or incompetence, it does not act against organized groups, which results in a parallel system of social and political command. In many places, the confrontation between these pockets of friction between the illegitimate/illegal ruling authority and the legitimate authority creates *sink holes of illegality*, or spaces or hubs where individuals involved in illicit or unlawful political activities use corruption to transition from one dimension to another, by transferring resources, changing identities, seeking refuge or plainly disappearing from the pursuit of legitimate authorities. In Eastern Europe and Central Asia, after the collapse of the Soviet Empire, as well as in Latin America, organized crime clung to individuals or structures in government in order to exercise influence and power to advance facilitation and the turning of a blind eye toward illicit economic and trafficking activities. Although many political systems have subsisted with organized crime, the coercion of expanded violence, especially in urban areas, is the novelty that impacts the *political insecurity* of many that may not have experienced it as such before. The addition of perennial anomic violence of individual criminals, organized crime, and illegal vigilantes results in societies where the fear of violence dominates the effort to combat crime. Some countries are lesser *failed states* than others, but many are examples of *weak governance* when organized crime and gangs persist in their illicit activities, and the sense of insecurity is real. As an example, the ‘*maras*’ or organized gangs of Central America, extend their activities, not just in Honduras and El Salvador, but from California to the suburbs of Washington, DC.

If corruption is a perennial characteristic in weakening governments, then the quest to understand the consequences of *failed states* or those with selective weak governance seems to be as important to learn about as the reasons why states fail in the first time and what can be done to rescue, or build them to achieve stable, legitimate governance. Here, the conceptualization of *political security* may induce some contradictions. Is one to assume that until the wave of democracy promotion of the 1980’s, totalitarian regimes, dictatorships, and feudal rulers were the reason to negate *failed states*? After the Cold War, with the drive towards democracy and collapse of dictatorships, as well as the expansion of global markets, one observes a surge in the impact of “ungoverned spaces” in many regions. There is no clear evidence

about causal relationships regarding the emergence of these areas; in fact, they may have been ungoverned before. Nevertheless, the non-existence or the collapse of law and government, and the widespread surge of rebellions, violence, sink holes, and anarchy in societies promoted a shift in the rhetoric from concerns with *weak governance* to a system-wide impact of *failed states*. The concern is not just with the promotion of development but to pay attention to those under the stress of failing.¹²

While from the conceptual point of view, one can affirm that weak states have not disappeared, the empirical test of current political fragility of countries seeking to establish standing democracies or in transition to democracy still causes weak state recognition, even if under a different label other than stressed. In Latin America for instance, Peru, Paraguay, Bolivia, and Venezuela are examples of states where national debates and confrontation reveals unsettled conflicts regarding constitutional ruling. As in many African and Asian states, the meta-rules – the rules about how to change the rules – are not accepted by all. This condition in a democratic advance can be a reason of weakening in the state and authorities. In addition, many developing countries have economies so fragile and under stress that their viability to secure minimum living conditions threatens their own existence as political entities, as recognized up to the end of the Cold War (Simpson 2004).

42.4 Ungoverned Privacy and Sense of Political Insecurity

I would like to argue that the concept of political security might also have evolved in the direction of integrating other elements that will be shown as different in this new century. For several reasons – from the globalization of markets, mobility of the labour force, and faster and larger volumes of data communication through the Internet, to the need to identify terrorists, criminals and their associates – individuals are increasingly vulnerable and at risk of suffering unwarned intrusion into their privacy for reasons of politics or financial fraud.

12 The World Bank has set the “Task Force on Low Income Countries Under Stress”; see at: <<http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/PROJECTS/STRATEGIES/EXTLICUS/0,,menuPK:511784~pagePK:64171540~piPK:64171528~theSitePK:511778,00.html>>.

With digital communication the world is experiencing different forms of commerce today that demands an exchange of identifying information and authorization for transactions. These characteristics have increased the risk of misuse or misrepresentation of one's identity for fraudulent endeavours, when most systems lack secure control and remedial measures. Furthermore, the campaigns and efforts in the war on terror and organized crime have expanded the possibilities for the misuse of data and abuse against individual interests with the intrusion into the privacy and the lives of citizens. Under absent, outdated and confusing regulations and new practices, *political security* also now means the resulting conditions that can provide a new degree of protection of individual data and preferences in the marketplace and in politics from non-authorized intrusion.

This new equation is not restricted to the geographic space of one's country. With expanding transnational communications, and the establishment of communities of knowledge, markets and culture, the exchange of information has opened up new questions regarding regulation, management, and oversight. The degree of control, protection, and effectiveness in the accessibility to and utilization of such data vary from country to country, with a variety of local and national standards and expectations. Furthermore, this problem is not restricted to private or public transactions. For instance, governance and public security, with preventive and offensive strategies and measures in combating terrorism and illegal activities, have also produced situations where the need for government intelligence clashes with the need for the protection of individual identity and preferences.

If countries were formerly prone to eavesdropping on each other during the classical struggles of the Westphalian international system, individuals now must be concerned about the "big brother" consequences of government actions, and that of non-state actors that may use their public-held records and information for fraud or extortion (Radden Keefe 2005; Bamford 2001; O'Harrow Jr. 2005). The explosion of global communication with the use of the digitalization of data, instantaneous communication, the Internet, cellular phones, compact data processors, genetic mapping and other forms of identification and processing of information has changed the processes, the value, and the forms of verifying personal, institutional, commercial, corporate, government, and public information. Both the government's

need to know in enforcing law and the enduring belief that the individual right to privacy is one of the main principles in democratic societies are challenged by the abusive or illegal intrusiveness of storage sites or data flows.

The control and protection of identity, the confidentiality of individual health and financial records, and the recording and dissemination of individual consumer preferences, religious beliefs, political support, sexual preferences, financial situation, or cultural values are at the centre of public concern, as non-authorized access and misuse of information increasingly takes place at the speed of the Internet.¹³ Besides the legal infringements of identity theft, at issue is the civil responsibility of entities that store or direct the traffic of information about individuals and entities. National regulation and the compatibility of international norms create gaps for negligence or incompetence that facilitate misuse and increase the probability that individuals may be at risk of suffering financial losses, defamation, or discrimination.

In terms of privacy and intrusion by the state, many other technological advances are permitting the expansion of 'transpondering' - a situation when an individual leaves behind a trace of his or her identify for others to control their whereabouts and choices made. In the 1970's, the development of electronics provided equipment that airplanes could carry onboard - a transponder - to signal their position to the ground using radio frequencies, in routine air traffic control and in emergencies. This system increased its accuracy and reliability with the passing of time and with new possibilities permitted by global positioning systems. With new technological advances, there are similar "transponder effects" tracking individuals. Along with fingerprints, individuals can leave traces of their DNA on utensils or in rooms from their blood, sweat, hair, skin, hairbrush, or tears. Individuals can even provide samples to law enforcement databanks as an advanced mode of identifying or eliminating suspects from a crime scene.¹⁴ Recording and recognition by sensors of biometric data can tell the identity and location of individuals; if one

13 See: Brian Fonseca and Dennis Fisher: "Data Theft Reveals Storage Flaws", in: *eWeek*, 22, 10 (7 March 2005): 12; Frank Hayes: "Speaking, Frankly", in: *Computerworld*, 29,12 (21 March 2005): 58; Mark Maremont, "New Privacy Leak: Some Mutual Funds Reveal Client's Data", in: *Wall Street Journal - Eastern Edition*, 245,57 (23 March 2005): A1.

14 "Your DNA in Their Hands", in: *New Scientist*, 186, 2494 (9 April 2005): 3.

adds a chip to communicate with a global positioning system, movement monitoring is added.¹⁵

Another transponder, RFID (radio frequency identification device), tracks the transit of goods everywhere, as it serves the logistical functions in production and service, or consumer choices.¹⁶ RFID can eventually correlate product and object information with customers and users. This direct association of an object with individuals permits the generation of information about preferences, choices, and habits. Digital presence and processing take place in many ways, some of them with increasing pervasiveness.¹⁷ Credit card purchase records, clientele listings, or “cookies” from sites visited through the Internet produce traces of where individuals have been physically, where they have surfed the web, or have assigned a consumer preference through contact with other individuals or institutions, including what one is researching in a library.¹⁸

For democracies striving to provide political security, the regulation of information management is a major challenge, since the protection of this ‘commodity’ demands a review, not just of legislation and regulations, but a new debate (and certainly conflicts) over the ‘spirit of the law’ in terms of public goods, private, corporate, and individual rights, civil rights, property rights, etc. The search for preventive measures and for restoring the confidence and reputation of those who found their identity violated by unauthorized access must yield adjusted national regulation and international regimes to provide a renewed sense of ‘security’. Building this trust in the uncertainty of these new transaction modes is essential for securing democratic rule and the protection of each and every individual in a political society.¹⁹

15 Anne Sandra: “Watch Out for Spies with Friendly Faces”, in: *PC World*, 23,4 (Apr 2005): 39. In terms of biometrics, automatic identification can even reach the point of having transponders implanted in individuals, see: Katina Michael and M.G. Michael: “Microchipping People”, in: *Quadrant*, 49,3 (Mar 2005): 22.

16 Laurie Sullivan: “Europe Tries on RFID”, in: *InformationWeek*, 1029 (7 March 2005): 36; Eric Chabrow: “Homeland Security to Test RFID at Borders”, in: *InformationWeek*, 1024 (31 January 2005): 26. For the signs of consumer concern with this technology, see “Things to Ponder”, in: *Computerworld*, 39,6 (7 February 2005): 36.

17 Johann Cas: “Privacy in the Pervasive Computing Environment – A Contradiction in Terms?”, in: *IEEE Technology & Society Magazine*, 24,1 (Spring 2005): 24.

18 See: Jennifer Burek Pierce: “The Scoop on Patron Privacy”, in: *American Libraries*, 36,2 (February 2005): 30.

42.5 Conclusion

This chapter explored the re-conceptualization of *political security*. It departed with the fragility of a concept that is not widely used or accepted in social studies. The analysis limited its development to tracing the relevance of phenomena associated with those that would refer directly to individuals and their relationships to politics in search of democratic development. It also assumed that the relevance of democratization, the protection of human and political rights, and the rule of law have not diminished or weakened their presence in the core of the concept. The analytical effort was not to find or clarify the meaning of political security. Nevertheless, it points to new contending issues of individuals and groups liberties and rights, which come under the concern of the polity, that thinkers may wish to include under the concept.

From human rights abuse by government authorities to the omission, negligence or incompetence of governments to provide for the rule of law, one observes a clear expansion in the concept of *political security*, in the spirit of the UNDP’s 1994 Report, as the point of departure for this reflection. If at one point the individual found himself opposed by the State in the search for rights in the political game, now both the absence and the intrusion of the State have added complexity to the concept of political security. The lack of governance of geographic areas, the weaknesses of governance under the pressures of corruption, and unregulated governance in protecting the privacy of individuals in the digital world project new realms and challenges to insecurity. As globalization challenges the structures of governments, new relationship causes new sense of threat to individuals’ welfare and engagement in defending their interests. In many ways, the instruments of the State seem to be deficient in providing for the sense of physical and psychological security in the spaces of human relations of all kinds. Is political security a valid concept for guiding the discovery and consolidation of knowledge for social science? Perhaps not, if one wishes to trace the rigor and applicability in the academic concerns to expand knowledge to result in ever increasing awareness for policy proposals and the search for truth. Is political security a relevant concept for gathering concerns in the political action? It seems it will always be current, even with its imprecision, because thinkers know it when they feel it.

19 On privacy issues, see: Peter H. Lewis: “Kiss Privacy Goodbye”, in: *Fortune*, 151,1 (10 January 2005): 55.

43 Economic Security

Czeslaw Mesjasz

43.1 Introduction

Broadening and deepening interpretations of the concept of security has brought about theoretical implications, which in many instances also translate into policy-making. Fuzzy or simplified interpretations, sometimes without any logical rigour, frequently lead to situations when scholars and policy-makers use the utterances of 'adjective security', but their interpretations are of very limited theoretical and practical applicability.

An idea of economic security is especially difficult to grasp, both in theory and in policy-making. On the one hand it is always seen as closely interlinked with other security sectors. On the other, however, it is commonly agreed that it is pointless to search for any economically secure reference object since a certain degree of insecurity is an inherent attribute of almost any market-related activities.

Attempts to define economic security in a more detailed manner differ from similar efforts in other security sectors. The reasons for differences are four-fold.

- *Firstly*, insecurity in economic activities must not always be viewed as negative. Competition at all levels of societal hierarchy creates insecurity, but at the same time it is the source of dynamics, and as such may not be *a priori* negatively assessed.
- *Secondly*, such ideas as economic aspects of military security, economics of defence and the like, not always can be directly linked with the concept of economic security. They remain outside of this study although they cannot be completely neglected.
- *Thirdly*, the broadened concept of security implicitly refers to dependence of economic activities and security in other sectors.¹
- *Fourthly*, after the introduction of the concept of economic security into *International Relations* (IR), and into related areas, security studies, and peace research, discussions about that sector have

been extended from state-oriented economic security to the level of individuals, e.g. conditions of living as an essential component of human security.

These determinants of specificity of economic security have been already intensively discussed elsewhere (Luciani 1989; Kapstein 1991; Cable 1995; Buzan/Wæver/de Wilde 1998; Kahler 2003; Nesadurai 2005). However, the discourse on economic security cannot be focused solely on macroeconomic and institutional issues, but must also include systemic interpretations of circumstances in which economic security is considered. Such attributes of security as threat, risk, vulnerability, securitization and the like, must be analysed with the use of ideas drawn from systems thinking and from more advanced analytical apparatus of economic theory drawn both from macroeconomics and microeconomics (chap. 2 and 71 by Mesjasz),

Similarly as elsewhere in this book, the utterance 'economic security' and its meaning is treated with a deeper semantic reflection resulting from a discussion on widening and deepening of the meaning of security. This is reflected in an assumption that economic security is not just another fancy buzzword useful in policy-making, in the media and in propaganda, but attention is paid to the question: what is extraordinary in the circumstances described with the notion 'economic security'.

The aim of the chapter is to show how the discourse on economic security can be put in a broader

1 Traditional collection of security sectors can be supplemented with information security covering a very broad area, beginning from security of computer systems and data transfers, and ending with political, social, economic, and military consequences of disruptions of information systems in the world scale - see Ross Anderson, Economics and Security Resource Page, <http://www.cl.cam.ac.uk/~rja14/econsec.html>, 20 May 2007.

framework of contemporary economic theory and of systemic aspects of security developed in other parts of this book (chap. 1, 3 by Brauch; chap. 2 by Mesjasz).

The chapter is designed as an introduction to the study of the links between economic security, modern economic theory, and systems approach in security discourse. In addition the size and scope of the chapter imposed obvious necessity for selection. Therefore several topics such as economic causes and consequences of wars and conflicts, defence economics, economic security and sustainable development, economic security and ethics, links between economic security and other security sectors, are left for further considerations.

In the first part (43.2) a conceptual clarification of concepts associated with economic security is presented. Challenges of securitization in the economic sector are depicted in 43.3. Main areas of theoretical discussion on economic security are surveyed in 43.4. The last part focuses on the impact of globalization on theory and policy relating to economic security.

43.2 Economic Security: Approaches and Definitions

43.2.1 Security and Economic Aspects of Human Activity: Conceptual Clarification

Deepening and broadening interpretations of security can be viewed as adding adjectives to that utterance and creating various kinds of 'adjective security'. Therefore the discussion on deepening and broadening can be reduced to the considerations of a new meaning of utterance – security + adjective. The sense of security in various contexts has been thoroughly discussed in this book. This specific 'linguistic' approach has been also helpful in better understanding of security as a frozen metaphor (chap. 2 by Mesjasz).

Due to difficulties with interpretations of the adjective 'economic', a brief semantic reflection can also be useful in deeper comprehending the concept of economic security. In that case several questions concerning the use of the utterance 'economic security' are arising. First and foremost, the terms 'economy', 'economics', and 'economic' can be used with reference to human activities and intellectual efforts helping to understand those activities. Additionally, it must be also remembered that 'economic' has two meanings.

In the first general sense, 'economic' refers to the human activities related to the production, distribution, exchange, and consumption of goods and services. Subsequently, economic may mean almost any aspect of those activities. Linking security with unusual threatening circumstance, it may be thus concluded that economic security should embody all cases in which extraordinary situations emerge in the above human activities and in their context.

As it is stressed in many writings on economic security, dynamics of all the above 'economic' processes, perhaps with the exception of consumption, is dependent on an inherent risk and situations which are not usual, e.g. acceleration of a country's economic development, a success of a new export expansion or of a new product, or a failure of an established company caused by a managerial error.

This observation leads to another conclusion that economic security must have different interpretations for production, exchange, distribution, and for consumption. It also has another sense in finance where risk is openly viewed as an indispensable component. An insufficient level of consumption of basic goods can be directly linked to economic security of individuals, understood as guaranteed provision of a certain level of goods and services, and to the widely discussed idea of human security.

Economy viewed in this sense is inseparable from civilization's history and social organization, and from the Earth's geography and ecology. Thus, economic security is closely linked with other security sectors through mutual relations in which it is frequently difficult or impossible to distinguish causal links.

The second meaning of the adjective 'economic' is deriving from the sciences of 'economy' and 'economics'. In a historic perspective it was initially *Political Economy* and later *International Political Economy*, which linked security issues with economic activities at the state and international levels.

The term economics was proposed as to reflect on a more scientific understanding of the discipline. In such an approach economics is commonly understood as the scientific study of the choices made by individuals and societies with regard to the alternative uses of scarce resources which are employed to satisfy needs. From the point of view of normative security considerations the divide into positive economics ('what is') and normative economics ('what ought to be') is of a special importance.

If economics as science is involved in the discourse on security, two situations should be borne in mind. The first, when general normative economic

considerations are taken into account with such categories as utility, rationality, efficiency, optimization, etc. In this case, security threats may emerge when some of those criteria are not fulfilled. In the second situation, economic mathematical models are applied in solving specific problems which can be associated with security, conflicts, threats, etc. (Hirshleifer 1997, 2001).

43.2.2 The Concept of Security and Economic Thinking .

It is difficult to trace all direct and indirect references to economic security in the history of the development of economic theory. Usually, since the onset of the contemporary discussions on economic security, the interpretations of economic security ideas are made *ex post*.

Two levels of analysis can be distinguished. *First*, the global, the state, and inter-state level, where economy is treated as a factor determining state security, and the impact of state security on economic prosperity is taken into account in economic considerations. At the *second* level, development of economic theory is confronted with economic security of non-state social entities (institutions, regions, companies, individuals).

In the area of state-oriented economic security, the main challenge has been defined by Buzan (1991: 230): "The idea of economic security is located in the unresolved and highly political debates ... concerning the nature of the relationship between the political structure of anarchy and the economic structure of the market."

In a more advanced language this relationship can be reduced to the issues of governance – politics vs. market forces, and furthermore, to the relationship between pure economic rationality and security-oriented rationality of state leaders². Although the first scientific reference to economic security is usually associated with Aristotle, the genuine practical and theoretical problems in that area emerged in the 17th and 18th centuries.

In mercantilism and neo-mercantilism politics goes as the first. Trade is the source of wealth and economic security is viewed as an indispensable part of 'national' security, although this term has not been

used until the 1940's. Since all countries cannot run trade surpluses simultaneously, widespread pursuit of mercantilist policies tends to produce an unstable and conflict-ridden international trading system.

In a broadly defined liberalism, the economy obtains priority since the free market is treated as the foundation of economic order. Intervention of the state should be limited, and it only provides law and politico-military security necessary to guard and to facilitate the functioning of market mechanisms within countries and on the international scale.

The socialist interpretation of economic security mixes both above approaches. Economy is a dominant factor determining social and political relations. The state should protect the weak against the strong, and protect the 'national' economic interests against external interference.

The collapse of the Soviet empire has finally contributed to recognition of the dominance of liberal economic ideology. More recently, this has also been proven by the economic development in China and India, although in both cases the political infrastructure for economic prosperity is different. In China a non-democratic system gives ground for an aggressive but partly state-controlled free market, while in India the liberalization of the economy is supported by political democracy. Of course, this tendency is hampered by symptoms of economic nationalism and temptations for state interventionism, but an overwhelming trend towards economic liberalization and dominance of market mechanisms is evident.

Under such circumstances, the basic challenge is associated with the consequences of the potentially unlimited 'marketization' of social relations which was described by Karl Polanyi (1944) as a nightmare where all social values will be subdued to market values. Buzan/Wæver/de Wilde (1988: 99) make an observation that it is often difficult to securitize economic issues from the more general political contest between liberal and nationalist approaches to economic policy. This observation seems somewhat misleading. The opposition between the liberal economic approach versus economic nationalism does not seem appropriate in this case. The contradiction is determined by the patterns of governance, i.e. the opposition of the free market vs. the intervention by influential actors, not always the states.

The dichotomy of fundamentals of economic security – state intervention vs. market forces or mercantilism and economic nationalism vs. economic liberalism, has been recently enhanced at an advanced theoretical level. Liberal, or as Joseph Stiglitz states,

2 In the realist school of political economy the inter-state wars can be analysed with the conceptual apparatus drawn from economic theory – utility and rational choice (Bueno de Mesquita/Lalman 1992).

conservative understanding of markets as spontaneously emerging in result of pursuit of self-interest controlled by an invisible hand is contested by the application of new ideas of economic theory. Stiglitz (2006: xiv) puts it as follows:

In this conservative view, economics is about efficiency, and issues of equity ... should be left to politics. Today, the intellectual defence of market fundamentalism has largely disappeared. My research on the economics of information showed that whenever information is imperfect, in particular when there are information asymmetries - where some individuals know something that others do not (in other words, always) - the reason that the invisible hand seems invisible is that it is not there. Without appropriate government regulation and intervention, markets do not lead to economic efficiency.

A technical explanation of information asymmetry can help in better understanding its role in contemporary economic theory, and eventually in economic security discourse.

In a traditional approach in economic theory, it was assumed that all parts of transaction had access to the same information, or can easily, and without any additional costs, obtain that information.³ It was proven that such an assumption was too simple and superficial. A more realist assumption is that in transactions and subsequently in bargaining (negotiation), information is not distributed equally and information asymmetry affects the process before commencement and after completion.

Information asymmetry occurs when one party to a transaction has more or better information than the other party. This information is called private and usually it refers to aspects critical to reaching agreement, such as a party's reservation price.

Information asymmetry was introduced by Arrow (1963) and later developed by Akerlof (1970) in his influential pioneering work "The Market for Lemons", and Rothschild and Stiglitz (1976). It may result both from imperfect and incomplete information.

Asymmetry of information may occur before the transaction is accomplished, in the moment of signing a contract - a situation *ex ante* and after the transaction (contract signed) - a situation *ex post*. In the *ex ante* situation (hidden information) the main consequence is adverse selection, while moral hazard may appear after the transaction (*ex post*) (hidden action).

In adverse selection models the ignorant party lacks information while negotiating an agreed understanding of or contract to the transaction, whereas in a moral hazard the ignorant party lacks information about performance of the agreed-upon transaction or lacks the ability to retaliate to a breach of the agreement.

An example of a moral hazard is when people are more likely to behave recklessly if insured, either because the insurer cannot observe this behaviour or cannot effectively retaliate against it, for example by failing to renew the insurance. An example of adverse selection is when people who are high risk are more likely to buy insurance, because the insurance company cannot effectively discriminate against them, usually due to a lack of information about the particular individual's risk, but also sometimes by force of law or other constraints.

Acceptance of the phenomenon of asymmetric information in economics and in finance allows for a more realistic description of uncertainty and risk. What is even more important, the existence of asymmetric information contributes to the development of various mechanisms of gathering additional information before contracting, and mechanisms of monitoring after contracting. In security-related disputes on the dilemma of free market vs. state intervention, necessity for monitoring by non-market mechanisms to some extent favours various forms of limitations of the free market. The opinions of Stiglitz are not isolated. In other considerations on the issues related to economic security, e.g. financial stability, information asymmetry is also regarded as a source of explanation of disturbances on financial markets (Mishkin 1999, 2000).

Under such circumstances the discussion on economic security cannot be focused solely on the improvement of market mechanisms and their protection. Economic security is strongly politicized, and the above intellectual arguments of Stiglitz add new impulses to the dispute - pure market vs. intervention by non-market institutions - not necessarily states. This observation can be extended since the politicization of securitization in the economic sector can also be projected to the dilemma of globalization vs. alternatives ('alter-globalization'). In this case the following ideological economic security-related issues are taken into account:

- liberal economic approach and alternative ideas, mainly various trends labelled as non-orthodox economics and heterodox economics;

3 Due to the scope of this chapter any discussion of the sense of information and communication in negotiation is left to further considerations.

- liberal economic ideology and sustainable economic growth;
- consequences of globalization;
- globalization and distribution of wealth across regions, countries, and individuals (poverty, social polarization);
- challenges of economic and political governance (international corporations, international economic and financial institutions, states, transnational institutions, NGOs);
- corporate governance and management – shareholders wealth versus socially-oriented company.

Functioning of the market system, with or without any external intervention, is associated with the following potential threats to economic security at the international and national level:

- vulnerabilities and threats resulting from dependence on supplies of natural resources;
- threats of overall instability of world trade, and the financial markets (system) in particular (unpredicted and/or unpredictable economic crises of various scale and scope);
- revival of protectionism and economic nationalism;
- military security and economics (political economy of defence, defence economics),
- economic security and security in other sectors;
- the impact of market mechanisms upon well-being of groups and individuals (human security).

The above ‘classical’ or almost classical issues should be supplemented with theoretical considerations linked with the securitization of economic mechanisms. In this case, the following issues have to be considered:

- threats, risk, vulnerabilities;
- prediction and anticipation of threats;
- securitization, desecuritization, marketization, and economic security;
- crisis management at various levels of the market hierarchy.

43.3 Challenges of Securitization in the Discourse on Economic Security

43.3.1 Economic Security and Stability of Market Conditions

Under the influence of universalization of interpretation of security, economic security is becoming another very broad idea embodying almost all aspects of life of individuals and various social collectivities. As is shown in preceding parts of this chapter, economic security can be associated with a very wide scope of issues, beginning from the very existence of the state and ending with decent standards of living of citizens.

Discussion of securitization in the economic sector requires providing an answer to the question which has been already put in several parts of this book. What are the reasons causing that some aspects of social life which have existed for centuries – poverty, economic misfortunes resulting from wars and conflicts, or even some well-known market imperfections and externalities associated with state intervention, can be labelled as related to economic security. Maintaining an approach in which the use of the notion security is a result of the process of securitization requires a further elucidation in the case of economic security.

As discussed elsewhere (e.g. chap: 41 by Buzan; chap. 2 and 44 by Wæver; chap. 1, 3, 22 and 40 by Brauch), in all uses of the concept of security a common denominator can be found allowing to introduce threats, risks etc. and subsequently, extraordinary actions. This common denominator can be depicted with the core security concept in chapter 2. Application of the term ‘security’ without any reference to the extraordinary character of the situation would make the use of the term security almost purposeless, and can be treated solely as a linguistic abuse.

It is underlined in most writings on economic security that in some cases an extraordinary character of the situation is an inherent aspect of the context, e.g. risk for the companies, or even for the state when the shape of the state’s economic policy is taken into account.

Therefore in securitization in the economic sector first and foremost the standards allowing treating a given situation as unusual should be described in a more precise way. Securitization of the situation of individuals seems simpler – insufficient level of fulfilling the needs measured by an actual potential of the world economy, or local economy. In the case of

other areas of economic activity, the extraordinary circumstances must be a subject of greater attention when the utterance 'security' is used in the language of description and analysis.

Securitization in the economic sector requires two levels of analysis. The first one includes the entire systemic (political, social, economic, and cultural) context of economic activities of various actors – institutions and individuals. The second level of analysis, obviously to some extent associated with the first one, is focused on threats and vulnerabilities which can be associated with all actors (objects of reference).

At the overall systemic level security is usually identified with stability of functioning of the market, in spite of its ideological and political interpretations. The concept of stability, taken from systems thinking, requires further attention since this term is probably one of most frequently used and abused concepts of security theory. For the use in defining economic security Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde (1998: 107) proposes the following definition:

... the key issue is stability in the global traffic of goods, money, services and people. Stability means changes occur only within known limits – that is, that the misfortunes of individual actors or relations does not trigger damaging chain reaction that threaten the system. 'Known limits' can be interpreted as socially accepted risk of economic enterprise or as calculated risk.

The above definition of stability put in systemic terms provides only an explanation of 'known limits' and a kind of resilience of a system which cannot be threatened by a chain reaction caused by a failure of its single element. It is obvious that such a definition is too superficial, but knowing the limits of defining stability of social systems (Mesjasz 1999a), it seems more reasonable not to look for a single definition of stability but to study how the market mechanisms operate at all levels.

The first challenge which is emerging is whether the already described dichotomy – market vs. intervention and its impact on 'stability' of functioning of the market, which is politicized, can be also securitized. In such case securitization can concern three levels.

At the *first*, doctrinal level, theoretical 'scientific' considerations of a free market vs. a market with intervention, which are already politicized, can be securitized as well. Attempts to limit the free market mechanism resulting from theoretical considerations can be perceived as creating threats to the very foundations of all activities, not only the economic ones. In this case two kinds of more rigorous considerations have to be taken into account. The first one resulting from

more descriptive economic approaches (Polanyi 1944), and the second one, promoted recently by Stiglitz (2006: xii) who uses the neoclassical (orthodox) economic theory and the concept of information asymmetry to put in doubt the 'liberal' interpretation of the market, or as he calls it, "market fundamentalism: ... My earlier academic work on the consequences of imperfect and limited information and imperfect competition led me to an awareness of the limitations of markets."

The *second* level of politicization, and subsequently securitization, concerns the ideological dispute – intervention vs. free market, that is not based on rigorous academic reasoning but only on experiences built upon historic examples and comparisons, like for example, are the US financial markets truly liberal? Do the rich countries truly support free and fair trade? At this level of discourse two issues are raised – an old issue of the scope of intervention by the state and a new issue, intervention by trans-governmental international organizations lifting barriers of the free market mechanisms, e. g. World Trade Organizations (WTO) or organizations creating regimes imposing limits onto free market operations, e.g. opposition of the EU to genetically modified food.

At the two above levels patterns of securitization can derive from politicization. For example, increasing the level of state intervention may result in internal and external criticism, and in the emergence of interpretations ('securitizing moves') in which such a step could be viewed by internal/external actors/observers as creating threats to that particular state. A similar situation may occur if a group of states, e.g. implementation of protective measures which can be perceived by the others as a threat to economic security, both of those states and of their partners.

The *third* level of the securitizing discourse of economic activities is directly linked to a smooth functioning of the market mechanisms at all stages of economic activities – extraction, manufacturing, allocation, and consumption. At this level a 'securitization dilemma' typical for economic security is clearly visible. On the one hand, the market creates uncertainty for competing institutions. On the other, main actors, and especially companies, call for a certain degree of 'stability', translated usually into absence of crises, predictability, etc.

Bearing in mind the above considerations, a new proposal for securitization at the systemic level can be proposed. In addition to the search for vaguely defined stability of the market environment, praised by liberal doctrine, which can be interpreted as securiti-

zation of various forms of disturbances of the functioning of the market mechanisms, a new issue of securitization can be defined in a more comprehensive way.

In such a case not only the disturbances of the market mechanisms are a subject of securitization, but also the patterns of eliminating those disturbances. If it is agreed that orthodox market mechanisms are not a universal solution, then depending on circumstances a political decision which can be securitized must be made – either to limit the intervention, or to increase its scope. Obviously all that depends on the circumstances, but it gives a new inspiration for securitization in the economic sector.

In more simple terms, it means that securitization relates to the dilemma – what is more secure for the economic situation at the systemic level, or at a country level. Is it better to have more intervention (state and/or non-state), or to leave all to spontaneous market forces. It can be also associated, although it is not identical, with the public vs. private dilemma.

The above overall determinants of securitization moves relating to the context of economic activities can be translated into risks, threats, and vulnerabilities which have to be precisely identified in each situation.

43.3.2 The Core Concept of Economic Security

Due to its universal character, the core concept of security presented in chapter 2 above can also be applied in the discourse on economic security. All elements included in that scheme can be found in typical circumstances, when economic security is a result of securitization (of a ‘securitizing move’).

It can be modified and developed into a more extended form including possible systemic aspects of economic security. As an introduction some specific features of economic security objects and context are outlined below:

1. Reference object:

- social entity (subsystem) and individual as an element of a system: global economic system, country, international economic/financial institutions, companies, public institutions, individuals;
- levels of security: survival of a country, company, individual, development and growth, conditions of living of collectivities and individuals.

2. Disturbance (threat, risk):

- unexpected and unusual disturbance undermining either the normal functioning of a system, an

organization or an individual; in the latter case the disturbance not necessarily means total collapse, but a threat to the already achieved level of development or standards of living;

- securitization of social phenomena interpreted as risks: main obstacle – identification of difference between acceptable (non-securitized) and unacceptable risks in reference to all market-oriented activities of an organization or individual.

3. Vulnerabilities:

- vulnerability as a systemic property which can be involved in securitization with economic criteria: vulnerability in extraction, manufacturing, trade (allocation), and possibilities of consumption;
- vulnerability as a result of inefficient governance and/or management, risks, and dangers.

4. Prediction (identification) of threat (risk, danger):

- classical economic approach to risk and uncertainty;
- subjective approaches to risk;
- threat, risk, and uncertainty, and methods and limits of their prediction and anticipation;
- known threat (risk, danger): known consequences and unknown consequences;
- social and political barriers of prediction and anticipation.

5. Actions:

- prevention, pre-emption, securitization, desecuritization: dilemma uncontrolled market vs. various scopes of intervention;
- negligence – either conscious liberalism (*laissez faire*), negligence resulting from incompetence or from unlimited greed leading to crises.

6. Structural aspects of security of social systems:

- links between economic and military, political, environmental, societal and informational sectors of security (relations between sectors);
- links between security of elements and economic security of collectivities (security of individuals and of collectivities).

7. Attributes of a ‘secure’ reference object (system of reference objects):

- minimization of uncertainty, continuity, survival, increased capabilities of prediction;

- fulfilment of needs of individuals and collectivities at a specifically determined level (free from (what level of?) fear and free from (what level of?) want);
- stability at the systemic level as synonymous to a desired status with predictable future states which should allow for anticipatory (pre-emptive) actions.

43.4 Economic Security: Main Areas of the Theoretical Discourse

The term security appears in economic considerations in various contexts and with various meanings. The typology of areas of theoretical discourse, including definitions of economic security proposed below, derives from the following assumptions:

- reference to a widening and deepening of the concept of security;
- securitization as the factor determining the emergence of security concerns;
- reference to the 'core' security concept - developed in chapter 2 above.

Due to the size and scope of this chapter, several topics such as economic causes and consequences of wars and conflicts, defence economics, economic security and sustainable development, economic security and ethics, and links between economic security and other security sectors are left for further considerations.

43.4.1 Economic Security of a Country or State

Economic activities of any kind of actors (reference objects), and country/state security are linked in a threefold way. *Firstly*, a pure economic security relates to threats to economy which may endanger prosperity and functioning of a country. *Secondly*, a prosperous economy is treated as a background for military power, and *thirdly*, military efforts (military spending, involvement in wars and conflicts) may endanger a secure functioning of a country.

The first group of interpretations and definitions of economic security is linked to state security and prosperity. Economic instruments have long been part of the toolkit of statecraft, a means to influence other states and their policies (Hirschman 1980; Baldwin 1985). Economic security in a traditional view was security from manipulation by other governments that wielded these instruments. Insecurity was vulnerability to other states. Economic interdependence was

viewed with wariness, particularly among developing countries, because it risked an increase in such vulnerability (Kahler 2003).

Economic security as a part of state security thinking is a common idea in contemporary policy. Several examples can be quoted. In the USA, in 1952 the Materials Policy Commission, headed by William Paley, issued the report which laid ground for establishing *Resources for the Future* (RFF) as a non-profit corporation to carry out research on reserves available in the US. In its report direct links between security and economic development were presented:

First, we share the belief of the American people in the principle of Growth. Granting that we cannot find any absolute reason for this belief, we admit that to our Western minds it seems preferable to any opposite, which to us implies stagnation and decay. ... Second, we believe in private enterprise as the most efficacious way of performing industrial tasks in the US. With this belief, a belief in the spur of the profit motive and what is called 'the price system' obviously goes hand in hand. ... Third, ... security and economic growth for the United States and the rest of the free world must be the essential aim of any policy worth the name (*Resources for Freedom* 1972: 3).

State institutions usually link economic security with prosperity and increasing standards of living. In an official document of the Canadian Security Intelligence Service (2002) "Economic security is the maintenance of those conditions necessary to encourage sustained long-term relative improvements in labour and capital productivity and thus a high and rising standard of living for a nation's citizens, including the maintenance of a fair, secure and dynamic business environment conducive to innovation, domestic and foreign investment and sustainable economic growth. This is a broad goal sought by all governments."

Economic security of a country or state could also be narrowed to protection against economic espionage, as in the US Economic Security Act of 1 February 1996.

43.4.2 Systemic Definitions of Economic Security

Systemic definitions of economic security refer predominantly to the context of economic activities, including the functioning of market mechanisms, availability of resources, and the levels of consumption. Considerations on economic security by the 'Copenhagen school' do not include any universally accepted definition of economic security. They concentrate predominantly upon a smooth functioning of the mar-

ket at the global and local level. Buzan (1991: 19–20) states that:

economic security concerns access to the resources, finances and markets necessary to sustain acceptable levels of welfare and state power. ... The economic sector is about relationships of trade, production, and finance (Buzan/Wæver/de Wilde 1998: 7).

Contemporary discourse on economic security centres on concerns about instability and inequality (Buzan/Wæver/de Wilde 1998: 97).

Drawing on theoretical insights from International Political Economy, Development Economics and Economic Sociology, Nesadurai (2005) proposed an alternative conceptualization of economic security defined as ensuring a low probability of damage to a set of three key economic values: (a) streams of income and consumption necessary for minimal human/family needs; (b) market integrity; and (c) distributive equity.

Nesadurai does not reject neo-realist-based frameworks that emphasize the securing of national economic power. Instead, she supports calls for an open-ended or eclectic approach to conceptualizing economic security, a methodological stand that acknowledges that a range of understandings, concerns, and responses to the problem of economic security exist depending on the historical, political, and social contexts of states and their societies, as well as the strategic environment in which they find themselves.

Systemic challenges of economic security have gained in importance in the process of globalization, and will be discussed below along with links between economic security and globalization.

43.4.3 Economic Security of Individuals

Another group of definitions of economic security refers directly to the living conditions of various social groups and individuals, and to the protection against poverty. These interpretations of economic security are close to the traditional concept of social security and to human security. These definitions reflect the emphasis put on the standards of living of individuals.

Economic security refers to an assured and stable standard of living that provides individuals and families with the necessary level of resources to participate economically, politically, socially, culturally, and with dignity in their communities. Security goes beyond mere physical survival to encompass a level of resources that promotes social inclusion (Economic Security Project 2005).

The *International Labour Organization* (ILO) and its Social Security Department (2006) have proposed an 'economic security index'. It is proposed as the com-

bination of securities that make up economic security, and that this constitutes a decent work environment. It contains a series of eight security indexes, one for each of the seven forms of security and one which is a synthesis of all these seven particular indexes: i) labour market security, ii) employment protection security, iii) job security, iv) skills security, v) work security, vi) representation security, and vii) income security. In addition an 'old age pension security index' has been calculated to take into account the income security of the elderly.

Economic security treated as fulfilment of basic human needs is regarded as an indispensable element of human security. Using the UNDP's 1994 Human Development Report definition of human security, economic security can be defined as a state requiring an assured basic income for individuals – usually from productive and remunerative work or, as a last resort, from a publicly financed safety net.

This definition places economic security with other security-related factors influencing the life of individuals – food security, health security, community and political security. The chief metaphor of human security – 'freedom from want' and 'freedom from fear', has been measured as to permit a comparison among countries and to facilitate studies of trends in change. A basic measure of human security: the *Human Development Index* (HDI) is annually published in the Human Development Reports prepared by the United Nations Development Programme.

The Human Development Index was developed in 1990 by Indian Nobel prize winner Amartya Sen, Pakistani economist Mahbub ul Haq, with help from Gustav Ranis of Yale University and Lord Meghnad Desai of the London School of Economics (Anand/Sen 1994). The Human Development Index (HDI) is a comparative measure of life expectancy, literacy, education, and standard of living for countries worldwide. It is a standard means of measuring well-being, especially child welfare. It is used to determine and indicate whether a country is a developed, developing, or underdeveloped country, and also to measure the impact of economic policies on quality of life.

Several other attempts are made to express human security in a more rigorous manner, e.g. the Human Security Report (2005). Economic indicators of economic aspects of life constitute a significant portion of all indicators of human security.

43.4.4 Security and Stability in Finance; Domestic and International

The economic understanding of security including securitization is becoming especially complex in finance, beginning from a corporate level through the state, and ending with the international level. In finance it is risk which is the key factor of dynamics, both in a positive and in a negative sense. The concept of risk is discussed thoroughly in several chapters in the book, so only a few remarks on risk in the financial markets should be made.

In finance risk and prosperity are just two sides of the same coin. What kind of events and processes in finance may be included in the discourse on economic security? At the macro level economic security is identified with the absence of big crises. In the financial literature this desired situation is called 'financial stability'. It is worthwhile to mention that till recently no definition of financial stability has been proposed (Mesjasz/Rogowski 1995; Schinasi 2006).

The paradox goes even further. How is it possible that in finance based on mathematics and rigorous reasoning, vaguely described categories such as financial stability or a 'healthy financial system' has become a foundation for normative considerations? As a consequence of such a situation, financial stability has a limited value not only as a theoretical idea and policy-making concept, but also as an instrument of social communication.

Despite the absence of a definition of financial stability, several institutions are actively involved in developing more or less advanced policy tools at the national and international level which could be instrumental in preventing breakdowns of the financial system.

The Financial Stability Forum was established by the G-7 in April 1999, after the Asian and Russian financial crises, to provide a means for cooperation in the supervision of financial markets among national governments, international financial authorities, regulatory groups, and other experts. The first widely disseminated interpretations of financial stability were proposed by the managers of financial institutions, the BIS, the ECB, the IMF, and the newly established Financial Stability Forum.

The interpretations of financial stability can be divided into the following five groups (Mesjasz/Rogowski 1995):

- stability as absence of instability and crisis;
- explicit and descriptive definitions;
- stability of the financial system;

- international financial stability;
- financial stability as a global public good.

Two recent attempts at defining financial stability should be mentioned. The first one was proposed by Mishkin (1999, 2000), who linked the concept of information asymmetry, already applied by Stiglitz (2006), to the discourse on systemic aspects of economic security. The second attempt is more comprehensive, allowing the identification of major threats for financial stability at the country level and at the international level.

Leaving apart the discussion of stability conducted in the financial literature, it is necessary to remember what the symptoms of a financial crisis are. Catastrophic visions of the world financial markets usually refer to a potential world-scale financial crisis similar to the Great Depression of 1929 which could hypothetically undermine the functioning of the world financial system. In this case the basic dilemma is rather simple to depict but not so easy for making any far-reaching predictions. The more greedy and risky the participants of the financial markets are, the more profits they can gain, but at the same time, the higher is the probability of the collapse of those markets.

There are also local financial crises affecting countries of the regions, as in the second half of the 1990's. In that case the dispute is also polarized according to the views of the market mechanisms.

Such issues as the 'Washington Consensus' adjustment programmes proposed by the IMF and their disadvantages have been a topic of discontent among economists (chap. 25 by Saxe-Fernández). One of the negative characteristics of contemporary local financial crises is that they predominantly affect poorer countries undermining their overall economic security as well as the already low conditions of living of their population. An attempt made by Stiglitz (2006) in his recent book on globalization shows only the directions how to develop new solutions that are helpful in avoiding financial crises (instabilities) at the international level and at the state level.

43.5 Globalization and Economic Security

Globalization defined in various ways and affecting all areas of modern human life, beginning from development and ending with standards of living of individuals, has become one of the hottest issues of discourse concerning all security sectors (Mesjasz 2003). The links between globalization and economic security re-

fer to three intermingled areas: a) the functioning of the globalized market, b) economic security of the states, and c) the influence of globalization on the standards of living.

The opinions on the impact of globalization on each sphere of life all over the world are strongly divided. Globalization is simultaneously viewed as a basic vehicle of development and as a source of numerous misfortunes, especially in the developing countries.

Literature on globalization is abundant and the term by itself has become just another 'buzzword' of world politics, economy, and business.

A synthetic view on advantages and disadvantages of economic globalization has been recently presented by Stiglitz (2006: 9) who has identified five areas of concern:

- unfair rules of the game governing globalization which are designed to benefit advanced industrial countries, rules which have even impoverished the poorest countries;
- globalization advances material values over other values, such as a concern for the environment, or for life itself;
- globalization has undermined sovereignty and democracy of developing countries and in consequence it limits their ability to improve standards of living of their citizens;
- globalization is not a winning enterprise for all, there are also the losers both in developed and in developing countries;
- globalization is imposing on developing countries solutions which are damaging for them.

In focusing on economic security it is worthwhile to show the phenomena that could be directly linked with economic security and which could be securitized in the social discourse. At the level of the systemic context of economic activities, three issues seem to be most important.

- The *first* one is the answer to the dilemma of the free market vs. the level of interference, not necessarily by the states. As it was already quoted, Stiglitz (2000, 2006) doubted the efficiency of the market by recalling its inherent inefficiencies caused by deficiencies of distribution of information.
- The *second* subject of securitization in a globalized market is trade which, despite all declarations, still favours the developed countries at the cost of the developing world – free trade vs. fair

trade (chap. 25 by Saxe-Fernández and chap. 26 by Oswald).

- The *third* issue of securitization at the level of overall context of economic activities is the functioning of world finance, which is under a strong influence of market-oriented rules – the Washington Consensus, the IMF adjustment policies. Recalling once again Stiglitz, it is also necessary to stress a negative role of the free flow of finance – e.g. the “unfettered flows of speculative capital are extremely risky” (Stiglitz 2006: xiii).

Another threat to economic security resulting from the dilemma of the private sector vs. the public sector at the systemic level and at the state level has been identified by Rodrik (2002):

The soft underbelly of globalization is the imbalance between the national scope of governments and the global nature of markets. A healthy global economic system necessitates a necessarily delicate compromise between these two. Go too much in one direction, and you have protectionism and autarky. Go too much in the other direction, and you have an unstable world economy with little social and political support from those it is supposed to help.

At the level of states, in addition to the consequences of the above potential challenges to economic security, globalization results in increasing interdependence. Two security-related questions can be recalled. The first, traditional one refers to the links between globalization, economic interdependence, and possible inter-state conflicts already discussed in the International Political Economy (Rosecrance 1986; Crawford 1995; Copeland 1996). The second question relates to new characteristics of interdependence that are typical for modern globalization, which include:

- the degree and character of interdependence (chaotic globalization and/or chaotic interdependence);⁴
- disputes over trade liberalization;
- the increasing role of financial interdependence and its positive and negative effects on security of states and of the entire financial system (financial stability).

The general conclusion that emerges from the actual level of economic interdependence shows that un-

4 Although many commentators say we are living in a time of unprecedented global integration, the world economy was actually more integrated at the end of the 19th century. Despite increasing integration in some respects, the contemporary world is in many ways fragmented and lacks coordination (Streeten 2001).

doubtedly it has contributed to a decline or even absence of conflicts among the major powers warring in the past. The number of armed conflicts (wars and civil wars) in developing countries may recently also have declined (Human Security Report 2005).

On the other hand, however, increasing interdependence of countries makes them more vulnerable to remote disturbances in trade and in finance – e.g. due to a contagion effect – and it is rather evident that the weak are more vulnerable. Growing interdependence and interconnectedness is also influencing the functioning of non-state units – of the market, public institutions, and as a consequence, of the standards of living of individuals (Conflict Prevention and Reconstruction Unit 2004).

The impact of globalization on the economic security of individuals is usually linked to ambiguous approaches. On the one hand a positive impact of globalization is claimed by advocates of liberal markets. On the other, such negative phenomena as hegemony of financial gains by the rich, and poverty and its consequences – exclusion, insecurity, and powerlessness – are stressed, especially affecting the developing world. In this case an approach based on security-oriented thinking seems most relevant, especially with regard to the use of the concept of human security and proposals of making improvement of standards of living a key issue of reorienting globalization more towards basic human needs (Stiglitz 2006).

43.6 Conclusions

The aim of this chapter was to argue how the discourse on economic security can be placed in a broader framework of contemporary economic theory and of systemic aspects of security developed elsewhere in this book. The key conclusions of this chapter may be summarized as follows:

1. Contemporary economic theory and systems thinking provide a sufficient conceptual apparatus allowing a better understanding of various approaches and definitions of economic security;
2. Securitization associated with various levels and areas of study is the key issue in defining and understanding economic security. Due to the role of risk in all economic activities, it is always necessary to expose what is extraordinary in any circumstances depicted with the utterance ‘economic security’. Any considerations on economic security in which the issue of extraordinary character of the situation (context, action) is omitted can be treated

solely as a specific void and perhaps abusive linguistic exercise;

3. Economic security plays a special role in the period of globalization when new phenomena in economy and finance affect all areas of social life;
4. The end of the Cold War and subsequent accelerated globalization can also be viewed as one of the causes for an increased role of the concept of human security which has strong links with economic aspects of the living of individuals, especially in developing countries.

Further research on economic security should consider the following issues:

1. The meaning of securitization in the economic sector;
2. Specificity of the links between risks, threats, and vulnerabilities in the economic sector;
3. Security at all levels of finance – international, domestic, corporate.
4. Relations between economic security and security in other sectors with a special emphasis on human security.

44 The Changing Agenda of Societal Security

Ole Wæver

44.1 Introduction

Security dynamics have some shared features irrespective of their referent object or 'sector', and 'different kinds of security' often interact so that one actor's fear for military security triggers countermeasures that make another state worried about its economic security, which in turn triggers countermeasures that let a security dilemma loose operating across 'kinds' of security. For these two reasons, it is useful to study economic security, military security, political security, environmental security and other forms together, side by side. But there are also significant differences between, for instance security against military threats and against migration (when viewed as a threat), or between economic security and environmental security. This makes it useful to look systematically at the security of what might be called 'sectors' (economic, military, etc) and draw out the particularities regarding what are the main objects defended, who typically acts in this sector, and not least, what dynamics of security and insecurity are characteristic of this sector. One instance of such examination is to look at security issues cast in terms of 'identity' – fear for the survival of culture, community, nation, and (with some qualifications) also gender and religion, fears often related to immigration or rivalling identities seen as undermining one's own. These issues are here addressed under the heading of 'societal security' and the chapter examines the particular features of this kind of security issues, recent and current trends in this sector, and the recurrent question of this book about the interrelationship between events, processes, and changing conceptualizations.¹

This chapter presents the status and trends in the societal sector of security as seen through securitization theory (Wæver 1995; Buzan/Wæver/de Wilde 1998; Wæver/Buzan/de Wilde 2008) briefly presented in the chapter by Buzan (in this volume)². The first part discusses the concept of 'societal security', its definition, and relationship to traditional state

security (44.2). The next parts present the main issues that make up the agenda of societal security (44.3), discuss gender and religion as closely related issues that could either merit a part each of their own or be discussed within the context of societal security, but with attention to their peculiar features that are not comprehended well by fully subsuming them under 'standard' societal security logic (44.4). The chapter finally assesses trends in the societal sector – the effects of the end of the Cold War and of 9-11 respectively, as well as the prospects for both the relative importance of and the main dynamics within this sector (44.5) before it offers some conclusions (44.6).

44.2 The Concept of Societal Security

'National security' has been the established key concept for the entire area of security affairs, but, paradoxically, there has been little reflection on *the nation* as a security unit. The focus has been on the political, institutional unit – the state – and accordingly on the political and military sectors. If one zooms in on the nation, another sector enters the picture – the societal one. Societal security is closely related to, but nonetheless distinct from, political security, which is about the organizational stability of states, systems of government, and the ideologies that give governments and states their legitimacy. Societal security is defined as the *defence of an identity* against a perceived threat, or more precisely, the *defence of a community against a perceived threat to its identity*.

1 Major parts of the present chapter are made up of a much abbreviated version of a chapter in: Wæver/Buzan/de Wilde 2008. Permission has been granted by Lynne Rienner Publishers. For meticulous work on the references the author is grateful to Simon Sylvest Wæver. The novel parts of the present chapter compared to the one in Wæver/Buzan/de Wilde 2008 are mostly due to the proficient prodding by the lead editor and an anonymous referee.

Only rarely are state and societal boundaries coterminous. This provides a first motive for taking societal security seriously (for example, in thinking about the security of the Kurds), and to limit oneself to state security effectively means to repress and misunderstand the security concerns of stateless people and minorities. Second, even the state and society 'of the same people' are two different things – and when they are referent objects for security, they generate two different logics. For instance, 'Serb security' raises different demands dependent on whether defined as the security of the Serb state or the – in this case more expansive – notion of the Serbian nation or people as found across several states and sometimes more in historical links than current presence. Even in the rare cases where geographical boundaries of state and nation largely coincide, a securitization in terms of the nation has implications different from one in terms of the state, because they are part of different language games and therefore different instructions appear compelling. If phrased as a threat to identity, a reply

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- 2 Definition: Securitization is the discursive and political process through which an intersubjective understanding is constructed within a political community to treat something as an existential threat to a valued referent object, and to enable a call for urgent and exceptional measures to deal with the threat. Other central concepts in the theory are 'referent object' (that which is deemed threatened and holds a general claim on 'having to survive', e.g. the state, the environment or liberal values), 'securitizing actor' (the one who makes the claim – speech act – of pointing to an existential threat to this referent object and thereby legitimizing extraordinary measures, often but not necessarily to be carried out by the actor itself), and 'audience' (those who have to be convinced in order for the speech act to be successful in the sense of opening the door to extraordinary measures, otherwise not available). The central idea of the theory is, that it is not up to analysts to try to settle the 'what is security?' question – widening to include the environment or narrowing to only military security – but more usefully one can study this as an open, empirical, political and historical question: who manages to securitize what under what conditions and how? And not least: what are the effects of this? How does the politics of a given issue change when it shifts from being a normal political issue to becoming ascribed the urgency, priority and drama of 'a matter of security'. Much of the elaboration of this theory (Wæver/Buzan/Kelstrup/Lemaitre 1993; Buzan/Wæver/de Wilde 1998; Wæver/Buzan/de Wilde 2008) has taken place through exploring the particular dynamics and characteristics of security within the different 'sectors' of security: economic, environmental, political, military and – as in this chapter – societal.

in areas like language policy, educational reform or cultural endeavours is meaningful, whereas this will seem absurd if the threat is seen through the lens of state sovereignty. Third, other identity-based groups not related to nations or nation-like communities – such as racially defined minorities within a multi-cultural state and subcultures defined in terms of life style – make claims about threats to survival and act upon these. Fourth, identity groups can form as a derivative from security concerns that are originally formed in other terms, i.e. not in defence of identity but say religion (more on this in the next sub-section) or originated in one of the other sectors as for instance economic actors who generate a community feeling based on action originally in terms of economic security. This fourth way to societal security starts outside the sector but takes on a separate dynamic of societal security, the third is societal in nature but not nation-based and the two first are about nations, either because they are geographically conflicting with the state map, or because societal dynamics have distinct effects even when the societal units parallel states.

State is based on fixed territory and formal membership, whereas societal integration is a much more varied phenomenon – occurring at both smaller and larger scales and sometimes even transcending the spatial dimension altogether. Society is about identity, the self-conception of communities and of individuals identifying themselves as members of a community. These identities are distinct from, although often entangled with, the explicitly political organizations concerned with government.

The rise of societal security within security studies had intra-scientific roots in the general turn towards identity, culture, and constructivism and extra-scientifically in the post-Cold War prominence of ethnic conflicts (especially in Europe) that presented security studies with the embarrassment of lacking categories for the issues that all non-specialists would assume the experts could pronounce about (Lapid/Kratochwil 1996). Not least the wars in former Yugoslavia and the widespread fear of 'ethnic conflicts' in various part of the post-Soviet world conditioned the elaboration and exploration of the concept by the 'Copenhagen School' (Wæver/Buzan/Kelstrup/Lemaitre 1993) as well as related efforts within other security theories (Posen 1993; Panic 1998; McSweeney 1999).

The organizing concept in the societal sector is identity. Societal insecurity exists when communities of whatever kind define a development or potentiality as a threat to their survival as a community. The *defi-*

nition is not in terms of nations. By definition, societal security is about large, self-sustaining identity groups capable of reproducing themselves independently from the state; what these are empirically varies in both time and place. In contemporary Europe (for which the concept was originally elaborated; see Wæver/Buzan/Kelstrup/Lemaitre 1993), these groups are mainly national, but in other regions religious or racial groups have equal relevance. The concept could also be understood as ‘identity security’.

Societal security is not the same as *social* security. Social security is about individuals and is largely economic. Societal security is about collectives and their identity. Empirical links will often exist when the social conditions for individual life influence processes of collective identification (Wæver/Buzan/Kelstrup/Lemaitre 1993, ch. 2; Kelstrup 2000). The concept of *societal security*, however, refers not to this individual level and mainly economic phenomena but to the level of collective identities and action taken to defend such ‘we identities’.

To ‘defend’ an identity is a paradoxical business. Identities are ever-changing and processual, never stable and objective. But when they are securitized, they become constructed as given, primordial and deep – you defend some *thing* (Wæver 1997, 1998; Buzan/Wæver 1997). It is not an analytical error of the concept of societal security to treat identities as fixed and ‘thing like’ (McSweeney 1996) – it is a (dangerous) feature of actors’ practice when they defend identities, i.e. when they conduct societal security policies.³ Similarly, we all have multiple identities (Buzan/Kelstrup/Lemaitre/Tromer/Wæver 1990: 56–57; 220–223) but in instances of securitization, the situation gets defined in terms of totalizing identity constructs. ‘Who am I?’ will usually get a number of different answers depending on the situation and context: carpenter, fa-

ther, husband, from ‘this village’, FC Bayern München fan, model train enthusiast, Bavarian or German, the different answers will come naturally in different situations. When national identity is the one that most often has motivated collective killings and other radical action, this derives on the one hand from its role the last 200 years as source of political authority, and on the other hand from the slightly younger (romanticist) link between nation, culture, and meaning. The former makes national identity more consequential than other identities, because it is widely assumed that you can build political super-structures on top of it, in ways you do not with other identities, and the latter is seen as crucial to individual identity, because culture is widely seen as ultimately national and culture is simultaneously understood as a system of codes through which you interpret and make meaning, and therefore national identity is in contrast to other identities not only content but also context, not only an object but (through the dominant view of culture) the framework in which everything else is understood (Wæver/Buzan/Kelstrup/Lemaitre 1993: 27–40). Therefore, national identity most easily becomes securitized and in such conflictual situations, this will tend to subsume all other identities.

Identity is in some sense basically an individual level concept, and this is one more reason some analysts will be wary of an approach focused on (the defence of) collective identity. However, it is important to be careful and precise in the specification of the relationship between individual and collective identity. Some critics see the focus on collective identity – again – as reification and possibly a mystification of something ultimately about individuals. Theories from social psychology can help to explain *why* humans generally have an inclination to divide the world into categories and maximize self-esteem through privileging one’s own group (Theiler 2003; Kinnvall 2004). While I think it is actually here that the risk is highest of naturalizing identity and making it an almost biological need (where in contrast, one can actually study the genealogy of ‘identity’ and see that the idea of individuals and communities holding ‘identity’ is not a constant one, but has been accentuated strongly during the 20th century and especially the post-War period), this individual level argument is generally a helpful addition to the theory of societal security. It supplies a kind of underpinning, an explanation of why identity dynamics operate in the first instance. But, this does not mean that one should take a second step of basing the explanation of specific cases of societal security in individual level dynamics. To explain

3 In addition to the sources referenced in the text (most importantly the 1998 and 2007 books by Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde), useful introductions to the theory, especially for those with more difficult access to these publications, can be found on the web at <http://polforsk.dk/download/securitytheory2006/homepage> (notably the paper “Securitization: Taking Stock of a Research Programme”). It is therefore wrong to accuse the concept or theory of societal security of reification – it *studies* reification. To do this helps exactly to fight and de-naturalize reification. When it is shown how something *is made to* function as a thing, this implies that it *is not inherently* so, and the possibility of acting differently is defended. The ‘thing’ approach is therefore not theoretical reification but the contrary, the precondition for de-reification.

e.g. nationalist movements or defence of a particular faith or group identity from individual level processes would be reductionist and underestimate the emergent properties at the level of society. To simplify slightly: individual level dynamics explain the 'quantitative' dimension of how prone a group is to *some* form of identity politics. The more social dislocation, status change, and individual insecurity, the more likely is politicization or securitization of identity. But this does not explain what kind of identity politics applies, in what name, and thereby in what political direction (radicalization to the right, to the left, religious, nationalist, secessionist, etc) it goes. The *qualitative* question, of which identity gets played, can only be understood by analysing the universe of interrelated collective categories at the social level. A political, discursive analysis can therefore never be replaced by social psychological explanation.

The primacy of the individual is however correct in the important sense, that one should in all identity analysis avoid the image of the collective existing and individuals being in the collective as the elements that sum up to the whole. The main dynamics have to do with the way *the collective is in the individual*: Collective identity gets into play politically, because of moves at the level of politics, but this is ultimately only possible because individuals usually crave individual identity, and collective categories help to answer questions at the individual level. Who am I? That individual level question can be answered with the help of collective categories like 'a Russian', 'a Muslim' or 'a woman'. Thus, the collective is in the individual, and collective identities are only real and effective to the extent that they do work at this level - they do not exist as such as actual 'identities' collectively where all Russians, Muslims or women share some distinctive social feature making them 'identical'.

44.3 The Societal Security Agenda

The societal security agenda has been set by different actors in different eras and regions. The most common issues that have been viewed as threats to societal security are outlined here:

1. *Migration* - X people are being overrun or diluted by influxes of Y people; the X community will not be what it used to be, because others will make up the population; X identity is being changed by a shift in the composition of the population (e.g.

Chinese migration into Tibet, Russian migration into Latvia).

2. *Horizontal competition* - although it is still X people living here, they will change their ways because of the overriding cultural and linguistic influence from neighbouring culture Y (e.g. Canadian fears of Americanization).
3. *Vertical competition* - people will stop seeing themselves as X , because there is either an integrating project (e.g. Yugoslavia, the EU) or a secessionist-'regionalist' project (e.g. Quebec, Catalonia, Kurdistan) that pulls them toward either wider or narrower identities. Whereas one of these projects is centripetal and the other centrifugal, they are both instances of vertical competition in the sense that the struggle is over how wide the circles should be drawn or rather - since there are always numerous concentric circles of identity - to which to give the main emphasis.

Vertical and horizontal competition is not always easy to separate. Seen from Latvia for instance, the supra national project of the Soviet Union was seen as Russian horizontal competition. In Quebec, you can horizontally focus on the cultural competition from Anglophone Canada, or if the political carriers of cultural influence are emphasized you can see the threat as more vertical, i.e. from Canada as an inclusive project. Globalization raises the horizontal/vertical issue in its starkest form by presenting a universalism, which many nevertheless view as Western or US particularism.

4. A possible fourth issue is *depopulation*, whether by plague, war, famine, natural catastrophe, or policies of extermination.

Depopulation threatens identity by threatening its carriers, but it is not specifically a part of the societal sector's logic of identity, except primarily in cases where extermination policies are motivated by the desire to eliminate an identity or a group, as in the Holocaust or policies of ethnic cleansing. In other situations like plague, famine or war not intentionally aimed at the killing of civilians, the collective survival of an identity category might actually be threatened, but this is unlikely to be the immediate focus, or the way of interpreting the death of individuals. When losing one's life, the loss of identity will not normally be the main lens, unless death happens in combination with a perceived rivalry from another identity as in the three first issues. Most people will worry more about losing their life than about the risk that their disappearance contributes to the disappearance of the identity of the

collective. That is unless their life is threatened *because of* the effect on the collective identity, which means: because there is some sort of extermination policy in action. Ironically, less dramatic – i.e. more gradual – negative developments in demographics are more likely to be cast as a collective security problem (because they are not overlaid by the issue of individual survival), and therefore do not need an external ‘aggressor’ to become securitized. Birth rates have been a worry either because they are comparatively lower than relevant ‘competitors’ (France turn of the last century; Japan, Russia, and Europe today), which was seen as a military security problem in the past and today primarily as an economic and possibly political security problem, or because they threaten to upset socio-economic stability and produce either difficulties of upholding social security schemes (potentially securitized as economic security) or creating pressure for increased immigration (exacerbating societal security concerns; see Lutz 2007 on demographics). History exhibits many cases of combined threats, especially where imperial policies aim at changing the ethnic balance through a combination of military campaign, migration-in, pushing for migration-out, some killings, and competing identities for instance Pakistan in Baluchistan, China in Tibet and Singkiang, Indonesia in Papua, Saddam’s Iraq in Kurdistan.

It is easy to imagine forms of societal security problems that lack the clear focal threat of each of the four issues. A confluence of developments could lead to the dissolution of a community with for instance the gradual giving up of the language (more on language death later) and/or emigration, and this could happen without getting securitized if this development was not attributed to any distinct actor or social process – the x-people, globalization, neo-liberal competition, or some other ‘threat’. This is a central reason why identity should not be objectified as something given and normally not threatened and defended, so that articulation of threats correlates objectively with the probability of a culture disappearing or changing (Wæver 1997: 328). Cultures and identities can disappear without this being securitized (and securitization can contribute to the production or reproduction of an identity), so the main forms of societal security are those issues that are most easily articulated in terms of existential threat and necessary defence, and these happen to be the four above.

Although analytically distinct, in practice these four types of threats to identity can easily be combined. They can also be placed on a spectrum running from intentional, programmatic, and political at one

end to unintended and structural at the other. Migration, for example, is an old human story. People may make individual decisions to move for reasons varying from economic opportunity to environmental pressure to religious freedom. But they may also move as part of a political programme to homogenize the population of the state, as in the Sinification of Tibet and the Russification of Central Asia and the Baltic states. Horizontal competition may simply reflect the unintended effects of interplay between large, dynamic cultures on the one hand and small, anachronistic ones on the other. But it can also become intentional, as in the remaking of occupied enemies (e.g. the Americanization of Japan and Germany) and in the increasing role of ‘cultural barriers’ in contemporary trade policy, where countries invoke traditions to justify protectionism and the exporter therefore tries to weaken the status of these cultural particularities. Most visibly in the case of Japanese-US relations, an interesting dynamic occurs at the boundary of the economic and societal sectors, where Japanese distinctiveness is used as an argument in trade disputes (to defend against import of rice with reference to health, skis for safety connected to different snow, etc.), while on the other side US arguments about how one must organize to produce truly fair trade come very close to a demand for everybody to adopt a US socioeconomic and cultural model (Pape 1998; Baldwin 2000). Vertical competition is more likely to be found at the intentional end of the spectrum.

Integration projects, whether democratic or imperial, that seek to shape a common culture to match the state may attempt to control some or all of the *machineries of cultural reproduction* (e.g. schools, churches, language rights). In more repressive instances, minorities may lose the ability to reproduce their cultures because the majority uses the state to structure educational, media, and other systems to favour the majority culture. Thus, some types of societal security issues are fought in the hearts and minds of individuals, whereas others are expressed in struggles over more tangible matters that influence identity. In the first case, the threat is about conversion – people start to think of themselves as something else. In the second, political decisions will influence identity, such as using migration or political structures to compromise the reproduction of a culture that lacks control of the institutions required for cultural reproduction. Societal security issues are always ultimately about identity; in some cases, the medium in which they are fought is also identity (horizontal and vertical

competition), whereas in others it is not (migration, infrastructure of reproduction).

Society can be defended against such threats in two ways: through activities carried out by the community itself or by trying to move the issue to the political (and potentially the military) sector by having the threat placed on the state agenda. At the state level, the threat of immigration, for example, can be addressed through legislation and border controls. State-oriented responses are fairly common, which makes the societal sector difficult to analyse because it often merges gradually with the political sector. Especially, some of the most important and intense cases of conflicts with societal roots, ethnic wars, by definition *end up* in other sectors, first political then military.

In some cases, however, the decision in and on behalf of societies is to handle what is perceived as identity threats through non-state means. For example, an increasing exposure to foreign influence (globalization) can be met by increased cultural efforts, a more self-centred reflection on culture as part of national identity, and maybe increased attention to the protection and preservation of the national language. While state (or sub-state) policies will often be a part of this, a policy of 'cultural self-defence' also has a strong element of leaving the battle to cultural actors in civil society, and to increased self-reflection in the media and society about 'our identity' ('What is Danishness?' etc.; Wæver/Buzan/Kelstrup/Lemaitre 1993: 70). Thus, the instrument of protection against a foreign culture is ultimately not the quintessential state one of force or exclusion, but the one of cultural efforts only partly defined by the support systems provided by the state. Society can conduct security policy through non-state institutions or by cultural praxis as such.

The choice of whether to see societal threats as a task for society itself, as one for an existing state or as an argument for gaining or regaining statehood, can have a decisive impact on regional dynamics. In our terminology, that choice can be seen as a question of what actor to turn to and whether to forge close ties between the societal and political sectors. We have shown in a previous analysis of Europe how a strong link between these two sectors and thus remobilization of the state on identity issues would constitute a major threat to European integration, whereas - probably counter-intuitively - a more separate securitization in terms of societal security could be more compatible with further integration - which, in turn, stimulates this increasing differentiation of society from state (Wæver/Buzan/Kelstrup/Lemaitre 1993,

chap. 4; Wæver 1998). To build political unity with cultural differences is easier the more culture and politics are seen as separable. Today, a vision of European political integration with national cultural differences competes with one where culture and identity are closely connected and the relationship between Europe and nation-states comes closer to being zero-sum.

Different societies have different vulnerabilities depending upon how their identity is constructed. If one's identity is based on separateness, on being remote and alone, even a very small admixture of foreigners will be seen as problematic (e.g. in Finland). Nations that control a state but only with a small numeric margin (e.g. Latvia, Macedonia) or only through repression of a majority (e.g. Serbs in Kosovo until 1999) will be vulnerable to an influx or superior fertility rate of the competing population (e.g. Russians in Latvia, Albanians in Macedonia and Kosovo). If national identity is tied to specific cultural habits, a homogenizing 'global' culture, such as the US-Western imperialism of Coca-Cola and McDonalds, will be threatening (e.g. Bhutan, Iran, Saudi Arabia). If language is central to national identity, the contemporary global victory of English combined with an increasing interpenetration of societies will be problematic (e.g. France). If a state-nation is built on the integration of a number of ethnic groups with mobilizable histories of distinct national lives, a general spread of nationalism and ideas of self-determination can be fatal (e.g. the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, the United Kingdom, India, Nigeria, South Africa); if a state-nation is built on a melting-pot ideology of different groups blending into one new group, the existing national identity will be vulnerable to a reassertion of racial and cultural distinctiveness and incommensurability (e.g. multiculturalism in the United States).⁴ If the nation is tied closely to the state, it will be more vulnerable to a process of supra-national political integration (e.g. Denmark, France) than will be the case if the nation has a tradition of operating independent of the state and of having multiple political layers simultaneously (e.g. Germany). Some - typically 'small' - nations have deeply institutionalized worries about their continued existence in contrast to nations like

4 The term *state-nation* is used differently by different authors, but it is commonly taken to refer to nations being constructed by the states - cases in which state comes 'before' nation - in contrast to at least the self-understanding of the classical nation-states, in which nation was assumed to come first (Buzan 1991: 73-74).

the Americans that cannot image that they will not own the future. Conversely, some larger nations like, again, the US (or an emerging European identity) might be marred by continuing doubts about its ultimate basis and exact definition and thus need to re-assert for instance self-other mechanisms of self-definition (Campbell 1992), whereas smaller nations take their roots and delineation more for given, but worry about their capacity to uphold it. This makes for different (perceived) vulnerabilities and thus different inclinations to securitize different kinds of threats.

44.4 Gender and Religion: Societal Security as Strong Secondary Dynamic

A set-up with a given set of sectors – such as the five in ‘the framework book’ (Buzan/Wæver/ de Wilde 1998; Wæver/Buzan/deWilde 2007) and in this book – is inconclusive; the world does not divide neatly into five distinct, complementary and comprehensive dynamics. It is an empirically contingent observation that these five are the most important today, that a division this way works reasonably well, and that they each have distinct dynamics. Still, there are candidates for additional sectors, and the three best cases can be made for gender, religion, and what might be called ‘functional security’ (vital societal support systems and infrastructure; Sundelius 2005; Boin/Ekengren/Rhinard 2005; see chap. by Ekengren in this volume). The latter can be dealt with under political security (Wæver/Buzan/deWilde 2007: ch. 7), whereas the two first will be covered in the present chapter despite the fact that they are not fully explained by the dynamics distinctive of societal security. Both gender and religion have distinct features and core concerns that are sufficiently original that they could in principle be defined as separate sectors (see Johansen 2000 for gender and religion by Laustsen/Wæver 2000; Sloth 2003; Madsen/Ottesen 2003; Kjølberg 2003; Sheikh 2005). However, they also generate societal sector dynamics as a secondary and often more powerful feature, and therefore we will cover these proto-sectors under the societal heading in the present case. In this section, we will explain the distinct dynamics that include non-societal dynamics (i.e. not driven by direct reference to collective identity) and in the subsection on ‘the logic of threats and vulnerabilities’, their dynamics will be further explored in relation to individual identity.

44.4.1 Religion

Religious communities can be the referent object for societal security, because they are important self-sustaining we-identities, collectivities, groups. To varying degrees religions even have institutional structures, including formalized authority and rule-making, and thus become in some respects state-like and thereby relevant in the political sector too. However, to focus on these group-related features runs the risk of missing the distinctly religious about religion. When security action is taken on behalf of a religion, a threat is presented as endangering the survival not of the community in the first instance, but the survival of the *faith* (Laustsen/Wæver 2000).⁵ What differs is the basic question of what is at stake, what it is that is deemed threatened. This has consequences for the logic of threats and counter-moves, the rationality of different moves, and thus the likelihood of success for one or another securitizing move.

A conspicuous example is the phenomenon of suicide bombers. As noted by David C. Rapoport (2002), “‘suicide bombing’ was the most striking and deadly tactical innovation” in the distinct fourth wave in the history of terrorism, the religious one that started in the 1980’s. Although the technique was adopted by secular groups – most notably the Tamil Tigers – it is characteristic of religious groups, which

5 To define religion is a controversial and problematic affair, because the generic concept of religion evolved out of secularizing Protestantism (Asad 1993, 2003). Religion had not been a distinct category in most societies, but interwoven with social and political affairs. The emerging modern state claimed sovereignty and cultivated a secular rationality and subjectivity, where ‘religion’ was removed from the public sphere and located inside people as a subjective matter of personal faith. The history and sociology of religion has gradually become aware of and self-critical about the way conceptualizations of ‘religion’ in general operated through a Western, Christian prism interpreting and labelling practices in other parts of the world in problematic ways with a concept of ‘religion’. For the present purposes it is fortunately not necessary to present an intensive definition that captures the essence or inner structure of religion, only a minimalist, formal definition according to which we see securitization as religion-related if it involves ideas of human communication or interaction with supernatural beings or objects – either because actors defend practices related to such assumptions, or because they fight other groups on the understanding that these other groups are religious in the sense of acting on the basis of some conception of super-natural beings.

makes quite a lot of sense. Suicide is easier to fit rationally into a means-ends calculation, if the frame of reference is other-worldly rather than this-worldly (Bloom 2005: 98; Elster 2005: 242–247; Hafez 2006).

This seemingly pedantic distinction (between religious security as defence of faith and the defence of the religious community) is important for both theory and practice, not least because of the nature of so-called ‘fundamentalism’. The study of fundamentalisms (across all major religions) has discovered some crucial common and distinct features (Marty/Appleby 1995; Riesebrøt 1998; Juergensmeyer 2000; Almond/Appleby/Sivan 2003), and what is defended is not the community as community, but a threat to faith. The religious community is often a large one in terms of adherents, and the concern of the fundamentalist is typically not about the quantitative continuity of the religion at large, or the possibility to be able to declare oneself as Christian or Moslem in general, as is the case of outright persecutions of religion and the ensuing defensive measures, often of a more moderate nature. The worry by the fundamentalist is typically that the *true* version of the religion is diluted not least by (alleged) members of the community. So the community as such survives, but it happens to be going astray! This is particularly important, because ‘fundamentalism’ to a large extent *is* security action. A striking similarity among fundamentalisms across religions is how their proponents define the situation as so threatening that mere traditionalism will not do – the attack on faith is so serious, that it amounts to treason to take only religious counter-measures (Marty/Appleby 1995; Juergensmeyer 2000; Wæver 2004a, 2007; Sheikh 2005). The strongest means have to be adopted for defence, and therefore fundamentalism typically becomes an amalgam of modernity and alleged traditionalism. Also, the argument of fundamentalist groups typically involves an element of distinguishing between the large group of misguided adherents to the faith, and the necessity of dramatic action to save the true version (Marty/Appleby 1995; Almond/Appleby/Sivan 2003). Thus, it is clear that a strong logic of *securitization* is involved, but it is not with reference to the community and its identity – it is about defending faith. However, it is equally clear that when an actual conflict gets rolling, dynamics similar to those of societal (and military) security issues will start to operate, groups will act in terms of ‘us’ and ‘them’, protect members against the threat from enemies, and worry about the coherence of the social group. To emphasize only this element would amount to yet another version of functionalist theory of reli-

gion. Religious practice *entails* the formation of social groups, of a community of believers, but this is not what is religious about religion – it is an effect, not the essence of religion – and to study *only* the societal security dynamics would reduce religion to community and exclude the transcendental element. Religious security practices are thus societal *and* something more.

It is also important to distinguish ‘the other way round’ – not to mislabel ethnic conflicts as religious. With the increased attention to religion, some might see the conflicts in former Yugoslavia as instances of religious conflict. True, Croats are mostly Catholics, Serbs Orthodox and Bosniaks and Kosovo-Albanians Muslims. Given how hard it otherwise is to distinguish Croats, Serbs and Bosniaks – where only now the different states try to cultivate distinct languages (versions of what used to be Serbo-Croat) – it is tempting to say that the conflicts were over religion. This, however, would be misleading. People rarely said: you have to die because you have the wrong faith, or more distinctly because I want to defend or spread the true faith. No, they said you have to die because you are a Serb/Croat/Bosniak, and I know what you people are up to, because you already killed my people before in history – and by the way, I can see that you are a Serb/Croat/Bosniak from your religious practice. Thus, religion served here as an *ethnic marker* rather than as an issue in its own right. (For the opposite interpretation, see Goody 2001. In the case of Kosovo, a predominantly ethnic conflict had distinct elements of fighting for religion as such; Duizings 2000).

This example points us towards a way to scrutinize religious security concerns in the present context. In each instance, one might perform the thought experiment: if we treat this as an ethnic conflict, with the logic of identity groups, would that explain it fully, or is something left out?

In conclusion, there is a distinct dynamic associated with religion, making it a kind of proto-sector (possibly the strongest candidate for an additional sector, but in cases of conflict, the typical dynamics of societal security (see the following sections) are triggered, and religious security will almost always be *also* societal security, and often even *mainly* societal. Therefore, we treat it as part of the societal sector in this chapter, but with a caveat for drawing the not-strictly identity driven dynamics into this chapter too.

44.4.2 Gender

Gender, the other main example of an also-but-not-only-societal category, has a different relation to the

societal sector. Where religion has distinct features related to a different referent object (faith), but also follows societal logic (as a social community), gender is intermingled with societal sector dynamics in more complex and indirect ways.

The first form of importance of gender is 'normal' societal security that is as social group. For gender to register as societal security in this form, action has to be taken in the defence of a 'we' that is defined in gender terms. This does happen, but not too often for a number of reasons. The first is that the relationship between men and women is usually not purely confrontational and external. Within the ordinary binary code of man/woman it is not immediately plausible to construct the relationship in terms of mortal threat, because the predominant understanding of the sexes defines them as mutually dependent. Problems usually do not get defined through an understanding where 'men' are out to eradicate either physically 'women' or socially the category of 'women'. Therefore, securitization tends to become available only when this traditional understanding of gender is replaced by a more nuanced one, either through inclusion of other forms of sexuality, where – as we will see below – homosexuals is the centre of much securitization⁶, or when 'men' and 'women' are viewed in terms of competing gender roles. In the latter case, what is threatened is a specific way to be a woman or non-hegemonic forms of masculinity (Connell 1995).

The few examples where gender gets articulated as referent object in a close-to-standard societal way, i.e. as a threatened group, include first of all Brownmiller style feminism where 'men' are more or less depicted as a collective threat to 'women', e.g. rape "is a conscious process of intimidation by which *all men* keep *all women* in a state of fear" (Brownmiller 1975: 15). The other main example is homosexuals, where securitization goes both ways. Homosexuals feel threatened – and homosexuals/homosexuality is depicted as a threat to society, decency, faith or nature in probably a majority of societies in the world today.

To notice that gender relatively rarely operates as a social group in its own right in this direct societal security manner is not to deny that gender is an important structuration of society, and crucial for understanding power relations and social dynamics. Only, the first question in a securitization analysis is to ask what security action is on behalf of or in the name of.

Gender is important in international affairs because of its mediating role, as a way to construct other community categories. This is among the most powerful gender effects in international relations in general.

Most well documented is how conceptions of nations – both in general and the particular one – are deeply coloured by gendered metaphors and ideals (Yuval-Davis 1997). This operates not only at the abstract level of 'motherland', 'fatherland' and so forth, but also more concretely by implicating gendered subjectivities in the constitution of the state system (Elshtain 1987; Enloe 2000) – crucial roles of soldiers, innocent civilians to be protected, diplomats, diplomats' wives, statesmen, etc., are performed in ways that simultaneously function for the individuals as part of their gender production. Therefore, when a threat is articulated against the nation, this will lead to different demands on men and women – e.g. 'hero mother' medals for large families and decreased tolerance for pacifist men.

Often power relations related to gender are at stake in securitizations, but this is articulated in other terms. If patriarchy is threatened, this is hardly the way a defence will be phrased. Often, security action will use tradition and religion (cf. Riesebröt 1998). Religious traditionalism especially in the Middle East obviously helps to justify male privileges, and it is a plausible explanation for its increasing political mobilization, that the globalization of Western values threat-

6 Within security studies, the concept of gender security is occasionally widened through special attention to particularly vulnerable groups like small children and old people, drawn into the gender category through the linkage that these are typically attended to and cared for by women. This is a slightly odd way to include basically social and age defined issues as gender. The definition of gender in the context of the present chapter is the social or cultural categories categorizing individuals as male, female or some third, fourth or fifth category placed in-between or beyond these categories. As conventionally practised, gender is used in contrast to biological sex to emphasize the social roles and identities at play in a given society. When I mention the classical dichotomous male/female categorization in the text, this is not meant as a limitation of the analytical framework, only a discussion of those cases where a society enforces this categorization. Characteristically for the discursive approach of securitization theory, definitions of e.g. security, society, nation, religion and gender are minimalist and open (in some sense formal or structural), because it is not the task of theory to prescribe correct terminology but to analyse the politics being enacted through different conceptualizations, and therefore the framework shall be open to investigating such variation. The 'definitions' are needed only to know what to 'file' under what heading, not to inject additional import into each term and anchor specific interpretations or connections within the definitions.

ens to upset local relations of power and privilege between the sexes. Another example is homosexuals who are depicted as a great threat which helps to defend the dominant masculinity or rather: build it through defence against this Other (Connell 1995). Also here, the issue is not presented clearly in terms of gender security. What is threatened? 'The family!' As with the centrality of 'gay marriage' in the US election 2004 action will be taken in the name of these identity categories or religion, although much of what is at stake relates to gender. Often, there is more gender talk in the threats than in the alleged referent objects ('gay marriage threatens the family' and 'feminism attacks our traditional life style').

The potential for articulating threats in terms of *class* is to a large extent parallel to gender. It has been difficult to depict total and mortal threats, because the classes are defined relationally, and in most people's view are different, competing segments of a joint operation. Therefore, class is mostly experienced as a structural bias, as relations of power that distributes rewards and risks unevenly, but not as a security issue at the collective level. Communists tried to mobilize according to class but largely failed in this. There might be more potential for securitization in the currently emerging global divide between a post-national cosmopolitan class of 'symbolic analysts' and unskilled segments, who with some justification can fear to be seen as collectively dispensable and no longer covered by national(ist) solidarity. After fading from fashion for a while, the issue of class under globalized conditions needs to be re-visited from a securitization angle.

44.5 Changes and Trends

The referent objects in the societal sector proper are whatever larger groups carry the loyalties and devotion of subjects in a form and to a degree that can create a socially powerful argument that this 'we' is threatened. In the societal sector, this 'we' has to be seen as threatened *as to its identity*. Historically, such referent objects have been rather narrow. For most people, they have been local or family based: the village, a clan, a region (in the local rather than international sense), or a city-state. In some eras, these objects were closely tied to political structures (city-states, clans, and the like). In others, political loyalties operated distinct from societal forms, as in classical empires in which political loyalties were to kings or

emperors, and people's 'we' loyalties were mainly tied to families and religion.

In the present world system, the most important referent objects in the societal sector are tribes, clans, nations (and nation-like ethnic units, which others call minorities, as well as non-contiguous ethnic politics around diasporas), civilizations, religions, and race.

The end of the Cold War propelled ethno-national security issues onto the general security agenda. A combination of weakened political structures and individual insecurity in society made securitization in societal/identity terms comparatively easy. This became during the 1990's self-reinforcing as the press and others came to see the world in ethnic categories. For instance, there was a spill-over from (the depiction of) conflicts in 'Eastern Europe' to problems for European integration in Western Europe. Ethno-nationalism gradually lost some of its hegemonic hold on the world political imagination towards the end of the 1990's, partly as a product of its obviously disastrous political effects.

The terrorist attacks in the USA on 11 September 2001 amongst other things sent a slowly maturing image of religious conflicts into general prominence. Wrongly, this is often interpreted as 'religious war' (or 'clash of civilizations'), i.e. as religion against religion, whereas the structure of most conflicts around religion are religious politics vs. the secular state (Jürgensmeyer 1993; Wæver 2007). Religious referent objects are likely to remain central for many years to come, often intermingling with ethnic and national(ist) policies as in Iraq and Palestine.

The effects of first the end of the Cold War, then of 11 September 2001 have been strong in relation to migration. Here, economic and societal dynamics intersect, because mobility is generally assumed in a capitalist context to maximize collective gains, but on the other hand is often the most tangible and emotionally powerful trigger of societal security concerns. Christopher Rudolph (2003) has investigated this more systematically in terms of three dimensions of security: geopolitical interests, material production, and internal security. Among the partly counter-intuitive but ultimately convincing elements of this interaction is a tendency toward open migration policies in situations of external threat, where economic maximization is needed to counter a geopolitical threat, and rally-around-the-flag dynamics reduces the focus on internal differences. This thesis is confirmed by the changes both in Europe and the US from Cold War to post-Cold War policies. The increased concern about migration in the 1990's was strictly societal, i.e. as a

threat to identity and economic worries by less-privileged groups. These were mostly driven ‘from below’ and reactions to the impression of increased immigration. Therefore, policy changes were aimed first of all at producing an image of ‘regaining control’ over borders. Due to the continued economic (and even material sources of security) related need for at least some forms of openness, it is important that “states need to *appear* responsive, not necessarily to *be* responsive” (Rudolph 2003: 613; as shown by Andreas 2000). Actual policy revisions in the 1990’s largely fit this interpretation – not much actual reduction of numbers, but appearance of toughness and control, acting at the most symbolic points. This “out of sight, out of mind” policy was “politically successful during the 1990’s”, but it was “challenged after 9/11” (Rudolph 2003: 615). Effective control of migration achieved a new kind of security importance, and especially internal and external (or societal and military) security was linked differently. The policy of decreased visibility of migration suddenly turned into a need for visibility, for transparency and actual control. The likely effect will be increased monitoring and surveillance in general, but legitimized by the need to follow migrants and other dangerous elements.

A research project led by Jef Huysmans and Thomas Diez currently investigates the changes in securitization of migration in selected European countries under the impact of terrorism since 2001. Among the preliminary findings (Diez 2006; Huysmans/Buonfino 2006) are, that in the UK a re-articulation of migration as closely linked to anti-terrorism has largely come and gone – it peaked in the period immediately after 11 September 2001 but did not return even after the London bombings in July 2005.

Only during the brief period in 2001 (when the Anti-Terrorism, Crime and Security Act was passed), an immigration/terror link was phrased in securitization terms and demanding extraordinary and exceptional measures – a debate conducted often around the theme of a trade-off between security and liberty (Huysmans/Buonfino 2006). After this, the framing was less a ‘politics of exception’ and more in line with a ‘politics of unease’ (as emphasized in general by the ‘Paris School’, Bigo 2002a, 2006), which is more technocratic and focuses on governmental technologies like ID-cards. Dramatic links between migrants and terror are generally resisted and warned against, but governmental practices and technologies which are aimed at specific ‘dangerous’ groups are introduced. In Germany, in contrast, a quite dramatic securitization of migration is built up by extending previous dis-

courses along classical societal security lines – threat to identity (always with good resonance in Germany due to the nature of the national conception) – into a new form of danger from migrants, this time linked to terrorism and undemocratic practices (Diez 2006). In the German case, the politics of exception prevails over politics of unease, and migrants are securitized. Still, in line with the pre-9/11 practices (Andreas 1999), the actual policies do not change much, and tightening is largely symbolic when it comes to overall aggregate migration policies. The main changes happen in relation to select groups. Instead of justifying a general rationale for exceptional measures in accordance with the logic of ‘state of emergency’ or ‘exceptionalism’ – or a general securitization of immigration – which could lead to a general tightening or even total exclusion or expulsion of immigrants, a focus on terrorism as such has justified increased surveillance, biometric identification, and infringement of rights for specific targeted groups. This has led some writers on ‘emergency measures’ to conclude that what has been developed is “an emergency regime that operates alongside the normal one” (Ferejohn/Pasquino 2004: 228; Macleod 2006; Boswell 2006).

Migration operates most intensely as intraregional and neighbouring region dynamics, as in the flow of Hispanics into the United States and concerns in Western Europe about immigration from North Africa, the Middle East and the former Soviet empire. But long-distance migration also exists and it has as a rough trend been growing over the last two decades (Schuerkens 2005; Castels/Miller 2003). Some echoes former colonial overlay, such as patterns of intercontinental migration into erstwhile metropolises (e.g. South Asia and the Caribbean to Britain, North Africa to France, Indonesia to the Netherlands). But much long-distance migration simply responds to patterns of economic incentive, as in South and Southeast Asian migrations to the Gulf and Latin American and Chinese migration to the United States, to which is added the generally increasing flow of political refugees. (Most refugees in the world are to be found in their own or neighbouring countries and the number coming to especially Europe has gone down compared to the 1990’s, but the general pattern still seems to be upwards as a general, long-term trend (Castels/Miller 2003).

This raises the question, to what extent the societal sector is global, regional or local. Just as military threats – other things being equal – travel more easily over short than over long distances, there is also a spatial dimension to the societal sector. It is easier to mi-

grate over a short distance than over a long one, and for cultural impulses to travel to neighbours than to faraway places. Competing ideas of who 'we' are will usually be regional in the sense that the same person can be seen as Hindu, Indian, or South Asian or as European, British, and Scottish but only with some difficulty as Swede, Australian, and Muslim and not likely as simultaneously Russian, Latin American, and Buddhist.

Regional dynamics are therefore strong, but some globalizing trends and factors are important too. Interregional migrants and interregional cultural, religious, and civilizational competition is important. Globalization exerts a worldwide pressure, especially where it is perceived as Westernization, and the results vary between cultural homogenization, reactions against it, and a huge spectrum of mixed accommodations and hybridizations (Berger 2002, 2005). Only as a special case does globalization become the explicit terms of securitization – either as defence *against* globalization by anti-globalization activists or leftist parties notably in Latin America, or as a defence *of* globalization and especially of the ability of one's own country to accommodate to the rules of competition under globalization, which then makes the anti-globalization/anti-liberalization forces a problem, and potentially even a security problem, if one sees the risk of 'missing the train' in sufficiently dramatic terms (Buzan/Wæver 2003: 322, 464f). These cases of securitization directly in terms of globalization are usually political and economic sector phenomena, while in the societal sector, globalization operates mostly as a more underlying unsettling force. In some cases, actors almost posit globalization as the threat (as in the case of some traditionalist and fundamentalist ethno-cultural or religious movements), but they will typically conceptualize the threat as 'Americanization' or 'Westernization' (or 'decadence'). As a general pressure conditioning or aggravating societal security concerns, globalization has a number of effects, but probably the most important is the one put forward by Arjun Appadurai in *Fear of Small Numbers* (2006): The prevalence of 'large-scale, culturally motivated violence' during the period of 'high globalization' is a product of the cultural dimension of globalization. Social uncertainty and doubts increase, categories get blurred, flows traverse boundaries, and the dominant idea of the homogeneous nation-state becomes more and more desperate. Violence serves to create certainty and is often driven by aspirations for cultural purification or worries about the vulnerability of majority status in a world where everybody is be-

coming global minorities. Globalization, thus, is one important 'real world' development that has influenced the amount and form of conflicts in the societal security sector, and it has influenced scholarship and security conceptualizations in a number of ways (too complex to go deeply into here⁷), of which the most important probably is, that state-centric conceptions are no longer seen as exhaustive. In a world presumed to be made up of homogeneous and closed states as the sole actors, it seemed meaningful to concentrate security studies on state security and the main state-to-state threats (military ones being the most prominent), but if the world no longer can be fitted into such categories, because of flows, leaks, and overlapping actors of many kinds, it follows that security studies starts to take other referent objects serious, leading to among other things 'societal security'. Probably, globalization should be added as a third to the two main 'events' that this book looks for the conceptual and theoretical effects of: end of the Cold War and 9-II.

In relation to the question pursued throughout this book about the interaction between political events and practices on the one hand and academic conceptualizations on the other hand, it is clear that the 1990's generally was marked by an increasing attention to 'identity' in both spheres. This parallelism and general *Zeitgeist* makes it mandatory to avoid an easy conclusion about identity oriented theories 'following' or 'mirroring' real-world developments. Equally important is the possibility that a discursive valorization and often reification of 'identity' contributed to a channelling of social processes through 'identity patterns' and made the world more 'identity driven'. This is an important reason to be wary of theoretical approaches that reify 'identity' and treat it as a given and simple basic substratum of human reality (as the theory and concept of societal security is often – wrongly – accused of doing). One should observe instead how human complexity *becomes* organized around the defence of allegedly endangered 'identities' and how the ever-changing landscapes of identities become conceived exactly through such processes of securitization in terms of objects and origins. The

7 The literature on 'risk' and 'risk society' is one noticeable place, where scholars explore possible ways to let globalization more fundamentally set the terms for (post-)security studies. New conceptualizations might be in the making, which derive from globalization and 9/II, but it is too early to say what status these will gain within security studies and political practice.

very idea that people have (collective) and that this is important, indeed crucial, became more powerful in the 1990's than it had been in e.g. the 1970's with their predominance of socio-economic interpretations or the cultural revolutions of the 1960's. The study of 'societal security' - and more generally the inclusion of culture, identity, and ethnicity into security studies under various names - during the 1990's, consequently has to be interpreted very carefully as a complex balancing act that simultaneously tries to assist in the interpretation and handling of this increasing 'identity making' of the world, and on the other hand is part of this process. Similarly, the turn towards 'religion' in the first decade of the 21st century should be introduced into security studies with equal caution, where religion should not become reified or vilified as a particular, static thing with specific essential attributes and consequences, while on the other hand security studies should be flexible and innovative enough to develop its conceptual apparatus so that it is attentive to changes in referent object, actors, dynamics, processes, and conflict pattern that relate to the increasing invocation of religion as the object of conflict.

44.6 Conclusion

Societal security dynamics are strong in all parts of the world, and they are often at the root of particularly vicious conflicts, which among other things stem from the inherently paradoxical nature of any project aimed at 'securing' an identity. Identity is an impossible human longing that tends to trigger self-destructive political projects, when one tries to defend it. Often the insecurity becomes self-propelling by becoming the object of increased attention and worry. Therefore, the political agenda of dealing with societal security has to be - even more than the other sectors - about prevention and pre-emption, about managing identity constellations so that panic reactions are not triggered, because once unleashed, these security dynamics are hard to alleviate (Wæver 1997: 306-46, 1998). Normal politics in the societal sectors is to live with change and complexity, but whenever securitized, one defends a frozen and allegedly stable identity, and sometimes the only way to de-escalate a conflict is then to reaffirm this ultimately unviable project in order to make it stable enough to (dare to) change.

Among the different forms of societal security dynamic, there is probably a partial shift from a predominantly ethno-national format to an increased atten-

tion to religion in some parts of the world. This raises important theoretical and conceptual challenges, because religion is only partly a 'normal' societal security object, i.e. another form of community, it also entails distinct forms of security action aimed at defending faith as such (i.e. vertical, not horizontal loyalties).

45 Environmental Security Deconstructed

Jaap H. de Wilde

45.1 Introduction

The basic logic of the environmental security discourse is that humankind is living beyond the carrying capacity of the earth's local, regional, and global ecosystems. Essence is how to evaluate environmental stress in relation to political stability: is this a matter of ordinary politics or a matter of exceptional politics, i.e. security politics? The debate is dominated by an intriguing paradox: in order to preserve the political-economic and social-cultural structures of local, national, and world societies it is necessary to change them fundamentally, given their un-sustainability. The warning reads that either the structures are changed voluntarily and in a controlled manner, or structural change will be enforced violently and randomly by environmental crises. Much of the debate boils down to the question 'who is to pay a price today to avoid that others have to pay a higher price tomorrow?'

In order to understand this debate it is necessary to distinguish its main components: a) tracing securitizations of risks (45.2); b) tracing referent objects of environmental security (45.3); and c) tracing the development of the security discourse (45.4). It will be concluded that the agenda is too comprehensive, and involves too many clashes of interest to keep a comprehensive environmental security discourse alive. Instead, the concerns have fragmented into issue-specific securitizations (45.5).

45.2 From Risk Assessment to Securitization

Security analysis begins with risk assessment. Whether a risk will be securitized depends on its perception. Risks are hard to define in abstraction (Brauch 2005; Thywissen 2006). They range from being deadly to mere nuisances, can be perceived as exciting (alpinists climbing the Matterhorn), as fact of life (pedestrians crossing crowded streets) or as unacceptable (govern-

ments facing foreign invasions). In the unacceptable cases, a risk is perceived as a threat. Threat is securitized risk. It would be too simple, however, to treat 'risk' as the objective part of the equation, and its perception as the subjective part. Risk analysis itself may focus on 'material facts', like the chance of a natural hazard, but it is embedded in a wider social context (cultivated in Ulrich Beck's (1986, 1992) *Risk Society*). The simple logic of 'Risk = Chance x Damage' has an objective ring to it. Yet, it implies a negative chance for a referent object. Referent objects and (negative) perceptions of chances are socially constructed, i.e. *intersubjective* by nature. The issue of determining referent objects will be discussed below. This section looks at the importance in distinguishing risk assessment from its securitization.

Security is the absence of threat. In a security discourse, however, the word 'security' is used for exactly the opposite purpose: it points at the *presence* of a threat. A risk is securitized, i.e. turned into a *security* issue, rather than merely a political issue. Securitization theory has been launched by Ole Wæver (1993) and further developed in Buzan, Wæver and De Wilde (1998). The approach originates in social constructivist theories, and focuses on the social-political functions of labelling something a security issue. Using the word security dramatizes the risk, and presents it as a threat of supreme urgency. "In theory, any public issue can be located on the spectrum ranging from non-politicized (meaning the state does not deal with it and it is not in any other way made an issue of public debate and decision) through politicized (meaning the issue is part of public policy, requiring government decision and resource allocations or, more rarely, some other form of communal governance) to securitized (meaning the issue is presented as an existential threat, requiring emergency measures and justifying actions outside the normal bounds of political procedure)" (Buzan/Wæver/De Wilde 1998: 23-24). If an issue becomes a security issue, dealing with it legitimates extra-ordinary measures. This makes it a

stronger form of politicization. Politicization merely means that a specific issue enters the political agenda – securitization gives it top priority on that agenda; it defines ‘high politics’ for the actors involved.

This political or even supra-political nature of securitization implies that the ‘securitizing actor’ (someone who pulls attention to specific risk assessments) also presents a *security policy* to answer the threat. Risks that are beyond grasp can hardly be securitized: there is simply nothing one can do. For understanding the fluctuations in the securitization of environmental issues this is quite crucial: Alarming reports about climate change will lose political relevance (and attraction) when they show that action to reverse the trend comes too late anyway. In that case only securitization of its effects makes sense. Securitization therefore triggers two debates: one about the underlying risk assessment, one about the strategic answer to it. These security policies may range from a plea for collective praying to the build-up of a standing army or from putting farmers and fishermen out of their traditional business to the drafting of international treaties. Their societal impact is enormous: state building and nation building – i.e. processes of organizing collective action and identity – is strongly focused on shared threat perceptions. So far, securitization of environmental risks has resulted in a fragmented community only, consisting of green parties, environmental social movements, and NGOs, academic environmentalists and ecologists, and civil servants in environmental organizations (ministries, IGOs).

If a security discourse persists it will result in community-building and institutionalization, often involving enmity/amity patterns with dissenting or competing groups and organizations. A paradox of security discourses is that, in time, they come to dominate politics and social life so strongly that they develop into ordinary politics. Communities and societies are built on security discourses. To add to the complexity: Non-governmental institutionalization intensifies the security discourse as long as they are not hospitalized by elitist pliability, whereas governmental and intergovernmental institutionalization moves ‘the environment’ into the realm of ordinary politics – a process of desecuritization.

Security discourse begins with a securitizing actor. Other participants in the discourse are irrelevant for detecting the discourse even though they are crucial for understanding its proceedings and political consequences. Securitizing actors can be found anywhere, but it is useful to follow the classic divide into public actors (state governments, their departments and rep-

resentatives, intergovernmental organizations, and local level governments) and private actors (political parties, national and transnational NGOs, movements, firms and corporations, scientists, the media, and unorganized individual activists).

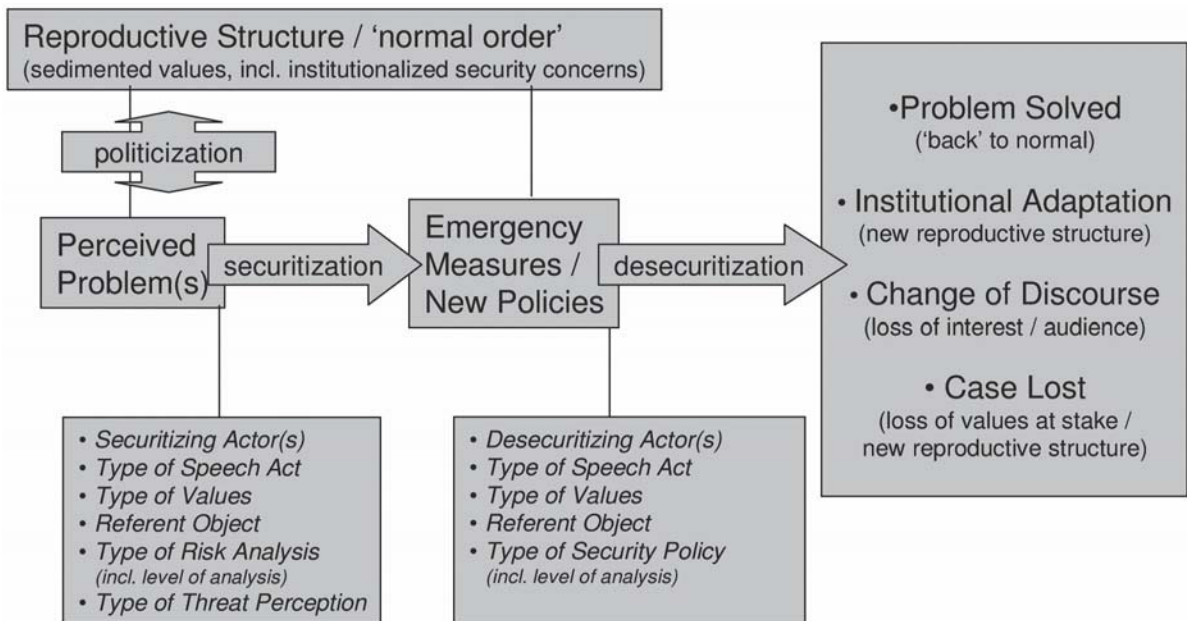
Securitizing moves (i.e. attempts to turn something into a security issue) by private actors differ from those by public actors. The actions by private actors are attempts to pull public attention to the perceived threats – which generally requires media attention. The aim is to change societal and governmental priorities. Securitizing moves by public actors are either legitimizing extra-ordinary measures, for example to cope with specific crises such as droughts or floods, or they are setting priorities among competing issues on the agenda, for example debates about the ‘national interest’ (Deudney 1990).

Public actors have an advantage over private ones – even if the latter profit from transnational mobility. Taxation and societal dominance allow them to set the political agenda and to determine ‘emergency situations’. Public actors can be dominant securitizing actors (e.g., the US government in the early 21st century in its ‘war against terror’), but in general they simply, reflect, and reproduce institutionalized security discourses: the national interest begins and ends in military security, law, and order. ‘Sustainability’ in environmental terms at best functions as a national interest in developing countries to secure foreign funding. In the absence of a public legacy, environmental concerns have to fight for their prominence against vested economic and cultural practices.

Given the lack of direct access for private actors to governmental resources and policy-making, securitizing environmental issues can be a strategy to achieve politicization. The actions by Greenpeace are a good example of getting issues, like whaling, politicized in public discourse. These securitizing moves of activists are directed against Japanese and Norwegian fishing industries, defined by Greenpeace as an existential threat to the future of a species. Whether it is really the whales or the underlying economic and cultural logic that is at stake is not clear from the securitizing move as such. The search for real and symbolic referent objects requires separate attention.

The securitizing actors are also called *lead actors*, since they trigger the discourse. *Lead actors* take the initiative to put environmental issues on the policy agendas of governments, international organizations, the media, and firms. In addition, other actors who are socially linked to the issues at stake construct the security discourse. These are *functional actors*, i.e. ac-

Figure 45.1: Securitization Theory. **Source:** based on Buzan/Wæver/De Wilde (1998) and Wæver/Buzan/De Wilde (forthcoming).



tors whose behaviour is involved in the issues raised by the securitizing actors. If they directly oppose them, they contribute to the environmental security discourse by adding to its polemic nature: attracting media attention, which intensifies the salience of the issues. Often they cannot escape this role: they have their own existential worries. If they (can afford to) acquiesce in, evade, circumvent or indirectly oppose securitizing moves they are *desecuritizing actors*. Emphasizing competing threats can also be a strategy to counter securitizing moves. In case of a lasting stalemate among securitizing moves a second paradox in security discourses appears: the battle about extraordinary measures becomes ordinary politics. Manifest crises may help to tilt the balance, but in the case of long-term disaster scenarios environmentalists have a hard time to show the urgency of their concerns. And when they are proven right, it is too late (figure 45.1).

If successful, securitization leads to security policies (e.g., emergency measures). Security policies aim to eliminate threats by reducing risks or managing their effects. An existential threat can be defined as an event that would create an emergency situation for or even destroy the referent object of the securitization. Securitization spells out the emergency situation; the subsequent security policy aims at *desecuritization*. This can be defined as an attempt to preserve the status quo or to go back to normal (restore the status quo ante) as soon as possible. Note, however, that

desecuritization can occur also independent of a security policy, due to shifts in the security discourse: even when risk assessments remain unchanged, priorities may change. This seems to be the case in the environmental security discourse.

Institutionalization of security discourses makes these discourses subjects of ordinary politics. Governments and societies develop rules that allocate the means allowed to master emergency situations. Fire brigades, ambulances, police forces, intelligence services, and armies are standard examples of institutions with specific extra-ordinary rights to prevent threats to various referent objects or to limit their effects. But as long as the sirens do not howl, the debates about their place in society (about budgets, personnel, working hours, etc.) are part of ordinary politics. Hence, security organizations and security policies function mainly in the realm of politicization rather than securitization – even though their reports and budgetary claims will be cast in securitizing words.

45.3 Referent Objects of Environmental Security

Whose security and what kind of threats are we talking about? Environmental security is a catchall for a wide variety of issues. In the literature several overlapping key issues reappear.¹ The reason to talk about en-

environmental security is that the process of human civilization involves a manipulation of the rest of nature that in several respects has achieved self-defeating proportions. This is mainly the result of two developments: the explosive growth of the world population and the explosive growth of economic activity, both in the second half of the twentieth century. It is not a problem of humankind's struggle with nature, but a problem of humankind's struggle with the dynamics of its own culture(s) – a civilizational issue, which expresses itself mainly in economic and demographic dimensions, and potentially affects the level of anarchy in world politics.

The basic logic of environmental security is that, in a global perspective, humankind is living beyond the carrying capacity of the earth. The exact meaning of this is disputed, but carrying capacity can be defined as the total patterns of consumption that the earth's natural systems can support without undergoing degradation (Ehrlich 1994). These patterns of consumption involve several variables, such as total population, production modes, and gross per capita consumption levels. In short, *carrying capacity* depends on *numbers*, *technology*, and *lifestyle*. Compare the famous IPAT equation (environmental Impact = Population x Affluence x type of Technology) designed by Paul Ehrlich and John Holdren (1971), which, despite the criticism about its operational value, still catches the three main elements of the environmental security agenda (Chertow 2000). One billion Westerners is enough to tilt the system; some five billion people in low-income economies will do the same. This culminates in the following widest formulation of the environmental agenda:

- *Disruption of ecosystems*. This includes climate change; loss of biodiversity; deforestation, desertification, and other forms of erosion; depletion of the ozone layer; and various forms of pollution.
- *Energy-related problems*. These include the depletion of natural resources, especially fuel wood; various forms of pollution, including management disasters (related in particular to nuclear energy,

oil transportation, and chemical industries); scarcities and uneven distribution.

- *Population-related problems*. These include: population growth and consumption beyond the earth's carrying capacity; epidemics and poor health conditions in general; and social-political uncontrollable migrations, including unmanageable urbanization.
- *Food-related problems*. These include poverty, famines, over-consumption, and diseases related to these extremes; loss of fertile soils and water resources; epidemics and poor health conditions in general; and scarcities and uneven distribution.
- *Economic problems*. These include the protection of unsustainable production modes, societal instability inherent in the growth imperative (which leads to cyclical and hegemonic breakdowns), structural asymmetries and inequity.
- *Violent conflict-related problems*. This includes war-related environmental damage on the one hand and violence related to environmental degradation on the other.

A first feature of this list is that it shows a distinction between threats *to* the environment, leading to securitization of the environment itself, and threats *from* the environment, leading to securitization of the people and societies that depend on it (see for a similar distinction the "Survival hexagon of six resources and social factors" in Brauch 2005: 15). In all cases the environment as such is the explicit referent object in 'environmental security', but in a large part of the debate also another concern figures prominently: the preservation of existing levels of civilization.

Useful in this respect is Barry Buzan's definition, saying that "environmental security concerns the maintenance of the local and the planetary biosphere as the essential support system on which all other human enterprises depend" (Buzan 1991: 19–20). Implicitly, this concern forms also the deeper motive behind many of the 'purely' environmental debates – be it not behind all of them. In particular debates about endangered species, like whales and rhinos, or the protection of the natural beauty, as well as some of the Gaia-ideologies are purely inspired by concern about the environment. Hence, strictly speaking, there are two different referent objects: environment and civilization. But in general, both are mixed-up, with an emphasis on the latter.

The emphasis on 'human enterprise' as the referent object of environmental security is of crucial importance: those of us able to perceive and be concerned about threats (for many a luxury) want to

1 See, e.g., the agenda presented in MacNeill/Winsemius/Yakushiji (1991: 131), Böge (1992); Brauch (2005: 64), and on websites of organizations like *Earth System Science Partnership*, <<http://www.essp.org>>; Global Environmental Change, <<http://www.gecko.ac.uk>>; and the *Worldwatch Institute*, <<http://www.worldwatch.org>>

continue and improve life as we know it. Despite its appearance, most environmental security debates are *not* about threats to nature, as such - and with good reason so. From a geological point of view there is not even a problem: the earth has been in its place for billions of years, and what is happening on its crust since, say the Industrial Revolution, is rather unimportant. Also for the crust itself a nuclear winter, global warming, a hole in the ozone layer, the disappearance of dinosaurs or the future marginalization of human beings are relatively meaningless events. The ultimate referent object of environmental security is the risk of losing achieved levels of civilization - a return to 'raw anarchy' and forms of societal barbarism - while being able (or having the illusion so) to prevent this.

This focus implies a paradox for primarily the 'West', but also for the 'less developed' world. The paradox is that in order to guarantee future reproduction of the present levels of civilization in terms of wealth, power, and culture, it is necessary to fundamentally change much of the present global structures, in terms of world economy, international system, and cosmopolitan values. How much change and how to achieve it, is at the centre of the politicization and securitization of environmental issues.

At first sight, this debate involves a powerful agenda for the South against the West, and many studies treat it as such.² But on closer look it is far from clear how the poverty-affluence dichotomy can be broken in such a way that this will help to solve environmental problems. Despite all the rhetoric about sustainability much of the debate is still about giving 'developing' countries the chance to copy the 'developed' ones. Third World elites show the way. Making the poor more affluent in the Western sense of the word (by promoting industrialization, oversupply and over-consumption) will merely aggravate the environmental problems caused by affluence. In a world consisting of only the present affluent people (roughly twenty per cent of the world population), most of the ongoing and expected ecological problems would remain the same, both in nature and in scale (Amalric/Banuri 1994).

The economic growth of China is indicative of the environmental problems that result from successful economic development. In the 1990's, the Worldwatch Institute has warned against the enthusiasm over China's economic growth (L. Brown 1995; Smil

1993: 190-194). Rising incomes generally lead to changes in the diet, meaning more consumption of meat, milk and eggs, meaning that more grain is used for animal feed. Meanwhile China's food production capacity is eroding (due to soil exhaustion and land clearance for industrial purposes) and its population is growing (up to 1.6 billion in 2030). Even if new types of 'super rice', leading to a harvest increase of some 20 per cent, are introduced successfully this demand will put tremendous pressure on the international grain and rice markets. Additionally, it is expected that Africa's need for importing grain will rise from 25 million tons now to 250 million tons in 2030. "It will probably not be in the devastation of Somalia, Haiti or Rwanda, but in the booming economy of China that we will see the inevitable collision between expanding human demand for food and the limits of some of Earth's basic systems," Brown concludes. This might be too pessimistic; in many parts of Africa grain production is not yet profitable due to low world market prices. Nevertheless, looking at environmental costs, one line of reasoning argues that "the poor are not the problem, they are the solution" (Adams 1990: 201, quoting R. Chambers).

Yet, making the affluent more poor is, within the existing economic parameters, meaningless too. Its immediate effect would be an even faster deterioration of conditions in the Third World, enhancing the likelihood of negative spill over to political and military conflicts: politically weak states will grow even weaker, and the number of failed states will grow. The causes of population growth will go unsolved, and more people may get trapped in them. The necessity of reducing Western consumption patterns to sustainable proportions is evident according to virtually all specialists, but this involves adjustments of production, supply and demand structures, rather than an impoverishment of lifestyles.

In concepts like sustainable development (WCED 1987) part of this dilemma has been politicized: structural change of both affluent and poor lifestyles is advocated. But what this means is treated rather superficially. Also the report of the Club of Rome by Wouter van Dieren (1995, 1995a) triggers the proper debate without solving it: how to redefine GDP calculations in such a way that environmental degradation is not mistaken for economic growth? 'Human security' is the latest buzz word repeating the same diagnosis without offering the cure (De Wilde 2008). In absence of answers this means that, as long as the North-South polarity in the world economy is in place, concepts like 'global burden sharing', 'common

2 See: WCED 1987; Adams 1990; MacNeill/Winsemius/Yakushiji 1991; Myers 1993, 1993a, 1993b; Williams 1993; Smith/Okoye/de Wilde/Deshingkar 1994; Najam 2003.

security', 'global challenges', and 'human security' are hollow rhetoric in the worst case, and idle attempts to bridge asymmetrical interdependence in the best case.

Environmental problems will bear unevenly across the world: some regions are affected more directly and severely than others. Environmental disaster scenarios boil down to quite different priorities, depending on the geopolitical and social conditions one is in. This is aggravated by the fact that the distribution of 'causes' follows a different pattern than that of the 'effects'. The controversies about the Kyoto protocol, e.g. show the discrepancy between those who will suffer from global warming and those who will suffer from preventive policies. Ultimately the whole international system and the entire world economy may be disrupted, but in the short run the long list of environmental problems is more likely to sharpen the structural cleavage between haves and have-nots, both on a regional basis and within societies, with structural conflict at its territorial and its societal edges.

This shows the importance of paying central attention to the various referent objects in environmental security. The securitizing moves point at an entity that is threatened (referent object 1) but also at an entity that is causing the threat (referent object 2). To preserve the quality of referent object 1, referent object 2 is requested to pay a price. This results in conflict. The environmental security discourse therefore always implies a struggle between groups in society.

This is even so in the case of natural hazards, when it seems to be humankind against nature. Many societies are structurally exposed to recurring extreme natural events, like earthquakes, volcano outbursts, cyclones, floods, droughts, and epidemics. They are vulnerable to them, and much of their history is about this continuous struggle with nature. The risks involved are often explicitly securitized. In the Netherlands 'protection against the sea' is a high-ranking national interest; the same goes for protection against earthquakes and tsunamis in Japan. But, as soon as some form of securitization occurs - when some measure of human responsibility replaces 'fate' or the 'hand of God' - even this group of conflicts tends to develop a human versus human character: following the river floods in the Low Countries in 1995, the debate was about political responsibilities for the dykes: who's to blame, and what to do? In Japan, following the Kobe earthquake early 1995, designers of seismological early warning systems, house building construction techniques, and contingency plans were under fire. In 2005, the flooding of New Orleans stirred opposition against the failing environmental policies

in the Mississippi delta. Moreover, the distinction between natural and man-made hazards is getting blurred.

Therefore, except for cases where people undergo natural hazards without questioning, the logic that environmental security is about 'threats without enemies' (Prins 1993) is misleading. Though it is not about good versus bad guys (as in the cartoon series Captain Planet) the political debate does ultimately focus on specific groups (humans in certain professions and industries) who have to change their behaviour. Not everyone in every society is expected to pay the same price, and enforcement of specific measures is clearly needed. This explains why environmentalists count few captains of industry among their members (retired ones excluded, of course).

The contradiction within environmental security is that in order to secure civilization from environmental threats, much of civilization has to be reformed drastically or even be pulled down. Environmental protection goes far beyond the technological challenge of finding the right solution and implementing it in time; but one can hardly blame specific interest groups for desperately hanging onto the hopes of a techno-fix: their jobs and lives are involved.³

45.4 Development of the Discourse

There are two ways in which the environmental security agenda is being constructed. Roughly speaking they resemble the divide between a traditional natural science approach and a social science approach. The first agenda is a natural science one. The academic discourse is about risk assessments and scenarios (see, e.g. the first two volumes of Munn 2002). The reports are at the basis of the political discourse. Hence there is a tendency to treat scientific facts as material facts rather social ones. It is important to point this out, since other security discourses, most notably the military security discourse, show a reverse order: there is political anxiety about perceived threats, and the academic world responds to this by investigating the grounds for this perception. In the environmental realm alarming reports often preceded the actual hazards. Partly this is the result of the time dimension involved in environmental threats: hazards can occur immediately, but their causes will be located way in the

3 About the fallacy of the techno-fix see: Porter/Brown (1991: 28-29); Myers (1993: 227, 245); Williams (1993: 15); Okoye/Smith (1994: 5-6) and Homer-Dixon (1999).

past. The academic agenda offers a list of environmental problems which already or potentially hamper the evolution of present civilizations and societies.

The second agenda is a political one. At stake here is not whether specific threats to the environment (and thus to the people who depend on it) are real or imaginary, but whether their presumed urgency is a political issue or not. It shows the development of the *cognitive dimension* of environmental security. This dimension is about 'internalizing externalities'; a process of social learning. The political agenda is about: a) the awareness of the issues on the scientific agenda; b) the acceptance of responsibility for dealing with these issues; and c) the political management questions related to them: problems of international cooperation and institutionalization, the effectiveness of unilateral initiatives, distribution of costs and benefits, free-rider dilemmas, and problems of enforcement.⁴

45.4.1 Fatalistic Utopian Literature

Environmental concerns are age-old, but the environmental security discourse as we know it today originated in the late 1950's, in the scientific agenda. Much of the early literature on environmental security misses awareness of the political clashes of interests between the victims of "business as usual" and the victims of structural change (see previous part). This makes them idealistic in political terms: they are based on the presumption that harmful practices are mainly the result of a lack of knowledge; an information gap. These early studies can be labelled the 'global challenges' literature: publications that deal with the problems humanity has in common. They bear holistic overtones, and emphasize the overarching nature of global problems. The message is that these problems ought to render obsolete the political, military, cultural, and economic conflicts that divide the 'members of the human race'. Book titles, like *Spaceship Earth* (Ward 1966), *This Endangered Planet* (Falk 1970), *Living on the Third Planet* (Alfvén/Alfvén 1972), *Mankind at the Turning Point* (Mesarovic/Pestel 1975), *Securing Our Planet* (Carlson/Comstock 1986), *Making Peace with the Planet* (Commoner 1990), *Healing the Planet* (Ehrlich/Ehrlich 1991), or *Ultimate Security* (Myers 1993) are illustrative. Most of the authors have their roots in natural sciences.

The essence of the global challenges literature is simple: because of the huge common challenges for humankind states have to cooperate and forget about their narrow, short-sighted, short-term egocentric interests. It is the automatic expectation of cooperation which turns this type of literature into utopianism. It would be wrong, however, to dismiss its analyses on this ground. The bulk of what the global challenge literature is about is far from utopian; it is closer to being fatalistic. 'Ecological conditions deteriorate seriously, unless ...' is the main message. It would be unfair to judge these warnings only by what is written in the 'unless ...' parts. The true purpose of this literature is to change politics, not to analyse it.

A remarkable aspect of this literature is its top-down nature. The environmental agenda was originally conceived as a global one. Its emergence is not the result of the globalization of local developments but of the discovery of global consequences of seemingly harmless individual or local practices. This contrasts with the development of other security agenda, which evolved out of the gradual globalization of problems that originally had a local character. It took military security, for example, centuries to develop on a global scale. The bulk of the literature argues that, to use the words of Hurrell and Kingsbury (1992: 2), "Humanity is now faced by a range of environmental problems that are global in the strong sense that they affect everyone and can only be effectively managed on the basis of cooperation between all, or at least a very high percentage, of the states of the world: controlling climate change and the emission of greenhouse gases, the protection of the ozone layer, safeguarding biodiversity, protecting special regions such as Antarctica or the Amazon, the management of the sea-bed, and the protection of the high seas are among the principal examples." This sounds good, but it is not true. The concern is global, but most pollution-related problems require first and foremost action by individual highly industrialized states only; protection of Antarctica, except for the hole in the ozone layer, could be left to the seven states that have legal rights there. The Amazon region would be protected best by leaving it alone, a decision that rests essentially with the Brazilian government and a few business enterprises. The global dimension is present, but not as overwhelmingly as is often suggested.

Environmental threats and vulnerabilities are issue specific and seldom universal. Global events seldom have the total character of a potential nuclear winter. Most global events, including climate change and massive migrations, can be compared to events such

4 The overlap between them is obvious: the community who draws up the scientific agenda is also a political actor, and politics and economics are clearly present in academic life.

as the two world wars and the Great Depression: Every corner of the earth is affected but not to the same degree. World War I, for instance, caused more Australian than Swiss casualties, even though Switzerland lies a few hundred kilometres from the main front. Most global environmental crises have similar uneven effects and involvements. This makes it very hard – and utopian – to unite people in face of fatal developments.

45.4.2 Limited Institutionalization

Nevertheless, the global take-off of the environmental security discourse was matched by an institutional response. Universal acceptance of the environment as a *security* concern was acknowledged at the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment (UNCHE or Stockholm Conference) in 1972. The Stockholm Conference was more than a symbolic turning point. Here, the 114 participating states adopted twenty-six broad principles on the management of the global environment, an Action Plan with 109 recommendations, and the United Nations Environmental Programme (UNEP) was initiated. Moreover, “over half of the 140 multilateral environmental treaties that have been adopted since 1921 were concluded since 1973,” Keohane, Haas, and Levy (1993: 6) report. Many countries established ministries of environmental affairs in response to UNCHE.

Close to this event was the appearance, in 1972, of *Limits to Growth*, the first report of the Club of Rome. It signalled the progressive scarcity of natural resources, and the presumed political vulnerability of the North over against the South. Publications like Rachel Carson’s *Silent Spring* (1962) formed another trace that made a public impact. Carson made a strong case against uncontrolled use of synthetic pesticides. Global non-governmental organizations were then also formed, such as *Friends of the Earth* (1969) and *Greenpeace* (1972).

Another trace comes from the debate on nuclear energy and nuclear weapons. The Limited Test Ban Treaty (1963) would have been unthinkable were it not for the clear disasters caused by above ground testing. Studies on a nuclear winter, and accidents in nuclear power stations made people think – including many ambitious nuclear physicists.

In this process of *politicization* and *securitization* it makes sense to distinguish *Silent Spring*-type and *Chernobyl*-type lessons – the first referring to rational risk assessments, the latter to dramatic disasters (De Wilde 1994). The dissemination of scientific insights

(*Silent Spring* lessons) and media coverage of man-made disasters (*Chernobyl* lessons) are the two main forces behind environmental awareness. There *are* *Chernobyl*’s, *Bhopal*’s and *Exxon*’s *Valdez*, and there *are* scientific studies that spell out the risks.

Nevertheless, the obvious did not happen. One would expect that the environmental security discourse would gain strength over the years, culminating in a greening of politics and structural change in economic practices. This is not the case. After the initial excitement in the 1970’s and the subsequent institutionalization of environmental concerns, public and political attention decreased. At the end of the Cold War and in the early 1990’s there was a revival of the interest, but this was mainly due to concerns in military circles about their future mission. In the late 1990’s and especially since 9/11, the military lost their interest. In the antiglobalist movements the original environmental concerns are very much alive, but mainly as an aspect of their overall aversion of the dominant power structures.

45.5 Conclusion

In theory, one explanation for the declining interest in the environmental security discourse could be successful treatment of the issues – which is the best route to *desecuritization*. But the scientific agenda has hardly changed since the 1970’s. Some of the analyses proved wrong, but even if say 20 per cent of the present disaster scenarios come true, coming generations will be born in harsh circumstances worldwide.

A better explanation is that the overall agenda simply is unmanageable. The kind and scale of change necessary to alter the economic and demographical roots of environmental risks are probably beyond the world society’s capacity – merely anarchical ‘solutions’ (catch as catch can) are to be expected. The immediate price of sophisticated action is too high to stand a chance in politics.

Instead and perhaps as a result, the environmental security discourse has fragmented into issue-specific concerns. The man-made contribution to natural hazards is discussed each time a hurricane hits the land or when an earthquake destroys the housing of millions. Accidents with oil tankers and in chemical industries lead to new *Chernobyl*-type lessons time and again. But comprehensive global programmes to deal with the risk scenarios and their structural underpinnings are unlikely to leave the drawing tables.

Part VII Institutional Security Concepts Revisited for the 21st Century

Chapter 46 Human Security and the UN Security Council

Jürgen Dedring

Chapter 47 Evolution of the United Nations Security Concept: Role of the High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges, and Change

*Sebastian von Einsiedel, Heiko Nitzschke
and Tarun Chhabra*

Chapter 48 Security, Development and UN Coordination

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46 Human Security and the UN Security Council

Jürgen Deding

46.1 Introduction

The UN Security Council (UNSC) is the principal organ under the UN Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security. Since 1945 the UNSC has taken up inter-state items in fulfilment of its mandated task. During the cold war only the UNSC rarely turned to matters focusing on the well-being of individuals rather than on political communities. Between 1945 and 1990 this practice was fully in line with the predominant orientation of international politics as practised by the principal foes and their allies. Since 1990 multilateralism experienced a sea change. The increase in internal conflicts resulted in a shift in the agendas of global and regional organs, primarily of the UNSC, but also of the UN General Assembly (UNGA).¹

With growing interdependence where the market economy, modern technological progress, information and media developments, and mass migration flows have changed the world, an irreversible rise of individual concerns has set in. This change also was reflected in the shift of the UNSC towards aspects of individual human security, such as human rights and humanitarian concerns. Thus, human security has become an integral part of the UNSC's contemporary agenda.

While this historic change became evident in the late 1990's, the term 'human security' was introduced with the Human Development Report of 1994.² Its ready acceptance by some policymakers in the Western World left its terminological and conceptual validity unresolved. The discrepancy between analytical

weakness and policy relevance remains. This will be reviewed for the prevailing theoretical positions. The scholarly debate on 'human security' did not abandon a meaningful policy norm. This chapter focuses on how the 'human security' concept was introduced into the UNSC work. Special attention will be paid to a Canadian initiative and to the response of the UNSC and of UN members. 'Human security' concerns in UNSC debates will be analysed, illustrating the transformation of an idea into a practical policy guideline for UN operations.

After a brief review on the 'human security' concept (50.2), a Canadian initiative in the UNSC during 1999 and 2000 is studied that resulted in setting up the *Human Security Network* (50.3) and led the UNSC to adopting the 'Protection of Civilians in Armed Conflict' as a new agenda item. While this did not lead to a paradigm shift, the UNSC has significantly changed direction.

46.2 The Origins of the Human Security Concept

Growing scholarly attention to the 'human security' concept has brought much ambiguity (Paris 2001). But there is little disagreement on the genesis of this norm. Several descriptive accounts (Bajpai 2000: 9–17) have analysed its origins within the UNDP (see chap. by Kaul). Mahbub ul Haq, the principal author of the *Human Development Report* of 1994, introduced 'human security', thus shaping the direction of subsequent reports. Ul Haq suggested that human security would be achieved through development, not through arms. This multilateral credo has shaped the instruments of global governance in recent years.

The Canadian Foreign Minister Lloyd Axworthy (2001) called for a new foreign policy paradigm after the cold war emphasizing protection of individuals. Accordingly, "human security means freedom from pervasive threats to people's rights, safety or lives."

1 On the conceptual security debate since 1990 see i.a.: Cousins/Kumar/Wermester (2001); Hammerstad (2000); Hurrell (1999); Patman (1999); Rothschild (1995); Terriff/Croft/James/Morgan (1999); Tuchman Mathews (1989); Väyrynen (1999).

2 On the human security debate see i.a.: *Human Security Network News Bulletin* (2001ff.); Newman/Richmond, (2001); Tehranian (1999); UNDP 1993, 1994, 2001.

Canada formulated five foreign policy priorities for advancing human security:

1. *Protection of civilians*, concerned with building international will and strengthening norms and capacity to reduce the human costs of armed conflict.
2. *Peace support operations*, concerned with building UN capacities and addressing the demanding and increasingly complex requirements for deployment of skilled personnel to these missions.
3. *Conflict prevention*, concerned with strengthening the capacity of the international community to prevent or resolve conflict, and building local indigenous capacity to manage conflict without violence.
4. *Governance and accountability*, concerned with fostering improved accountability of public and private sector institutions in terms of established norms of democracy and human rights.
5. *Public safety*, concerned with building international expertise, capacities and instruments to counter the growing threats posed by the rise of transnational organized crime.³

The Government of Japan proposed a broader concept: "Human security may be defined as the preservation and protection of the life and dignity of individual human beings. Japan holds the view, as do many other countries, that human security can be ensured only when the individual is confident of a life free of fear and free of want."⁴ Japan emphasizes

'human security' from the perspective of strengthening efforts to cope with threats to human lives, livelihoods and dignity, such as poverty, environmental degradation, illicit drugs, transnational organized crime, infectious diseases, e.g. HIV/AIDS, the outflow of refugees and anti-personnel land mines, and has taken various initiatives in this context. To ensure 'human freedom and potential', a range of issues needs to be addressed from the perspective of 'human security' of individuals, requiring cooperation among the various actors in the international community, including governments, international organizations and civil society.⁵

Between these two positions, the definition of the *Human Security Network* foreshadows central concern with human security matters in the UNSC:

A humane world where people can live in security and dignity, free from poverty and despair, is still a dream for many and should be enjoyed by all. In such a world, every individual would be guaranteed freedom from fear and freedom from want, with an equal opportunity to fully develop their human potential. In essence, human security means freedom from pervasive threats to people's rights, their safety or even their lives.⁶

While Canada focuses on 'freedom from fear', the Japanese and Network's norms include both 'freedom from fear' and 'freedom from want'. These definitions are policy-oriented and do not claim theoretical or terminological purity. For the debates in the UNSC, priority is given to the policy debate.

From an academic perspective Bajpai suggested: "Human security relates to the protection of the individual's personal safety and freedom from direct and indirect threats of violence. The promotion of human development and good governance, and when necessary, the collective use of sanctions and force are central to managing human security..." (Bajpai 2000: 1-4). For Chen (1995: 139): "The term human security focuses the concept of security on human survival, well-being and freedom.... Human security is conceptualized as the objective - the ultimate end - of all security concerns." Graham and Poku (2000: 17) argued: "Rather than viewing security as being concerned with 'individuals qua citizens' (that is, toward their states), our approach views security as being concerned with 'individuals qua persons'. ... Human security is concerned with transcending the dominant paradigmatic orthodoxy that views critical concerns of migration - recognitions (i.e. citizenship), basic needs (i.e. sustenance), protection (i.e. refugee status), or human rights (legal standing) - as problems of inter-state politics and consequently beyond the realm of the ethical and moral." King and Murray (2001/2002: 585) introduced a simple, rigorous and measurable definition of human security: namely the number of years of future life spent outside a state of 'generalized poverty'. Their suggestion for a parsimonious set of domains for measuring human security would be income,

3 See Canada, Foreign Ministry, at: <<http://www.dfait.gc.ca/foreignp/humansecurity/menu-e>>, and McRae/Hubert (2001).

4 Yukio Takasu: "Toward Effective Cross-Sectorial Partnership to Ensure Human Security in a Globalised World", at: <http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/human_secu/speech0006.html>, see Shinoda (2007).

5 Government of Japan, Ministry of Foreign Affairs: *Diplomatic Bluebook 1999*, Chap. 2, Sec. 3; at <www.mofa.go.jp>, see also Japan, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2000, 2000a, 2000b, 2000c).

6 See the Human Security Network's homepage, at: <<http://www.humansecuritynetwork.org/menu-e.asp>>.

health, education, political freedom, and democracy (King/Murray 2001/2002: 598). Their list of subjects embraces much of the basic needs catalogue.

From a medical background, Leaning and Arie (2000: 37) argued: "Human security is an underlying condition for sustainable development. It results from the social, psychological, economic, and political aspects of human life that in times of acute crisis or chronic deprivation protect the survival of individuals, support individual and group capacities to attain minimally adequate standards of living, and promote constructive group attachment and continuity through time." MacLean opined: "Human security recognizes that an individual's personal protection and preservation comes not just from the safeguarding of the state as a political unit, but also from access to individual welfare and quality of life. Human security, in short, involves the security of the individual in their personal surroundings, their community, and in their environment."⁷ Suhrke (1999) argued: "Whether the threat is economic or physical violence, immediate protective measures are necessary if longer-term investments to improve conditions can be relevant at all. It follows that the core of human insecurity can be seen as extreme vulnerability. The central task of a policy inspired by human security concerns would therefore be to protect those who are most vulnerable. ... Those exposed to immediate physical threats to life or deprivation of life-sustaining resources are extremely vulnerable. ... Other persons can be placed in equally life-threatening positions for reasons of deep poverty or natural disasters." Caroline Thomas (2000: 6-7) narrowed its key components and offered her concept of human security stating:

1. Human security describes a condition of existence in which basic material needs are met, and in which human dignity, including meaningful participation in the life of the community, can be realized. Such human security is indivisible; it cannot be pursued by one group at the expense of another.
2. While material sufficiency lies at the core of human security, in addition the concept encom-

passes non-material dimensions to form a qualitative whole... The pursuit of human security must have at its core the satisfaction of basic material needs of all mankind. At the most basic level, food, shelter, education, and health care are essential for the survival of human beings... The qualitative aspect of human security is about the achievement of human dignity incorporating personal autonomy, control over one's life, and unhindered participation in the life of the community. Human security is oriented towards an active and substantive notion of democracy, one that ensures the opportunity of all for participation in the decisions that affect their lives. Therefore it is engaged directly with discussions of democracy at all levels, from the local to the global (Thomas 1991: 3; 1991: 267-289; 2002: 113-131).

Many academic authors reflect the range and ambiguity of concepts employed without arriving at crucial commonalities. Recent writings discuss human security in a wider context, trying to measure the state of human security (Paris 2001; Bilgin 2003: 203-222; Pathania 2003; Rubin 2001).

Suhrke (1999) focused the attention on insecurity and what should be on the active agenda from local to global levels. Her list of extremely vulnerable persons: victims of war and internal conflict; those who live close to the subsistence level and thus are structurally positioned at the edge of socioeconomic disaster; and victims of natural disasters, assists in establishing parameters for effective international aid. Such criteria are eminently useful for international organizations that have been searching for guidelines for appropriate multilateral assistance.

With the UNDP 1994 Report seven dimensions (economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community, political) of human security were established, based on the premise that the end of the cold war shifted the traditional 'national security' thinking to a 'human-centred' emphasis. "Human security is a child who did not die, a disease that did not spread, a job that was not cut, an ethnic tension that did not explode in violence, a dissident who was not silenced. Human security is not a concern with weapons - it is a concern with human life and dignity" (UNDP 1994: 22).

Under "global human security", the UNDP (1994: 34-37) report listed as threats to human security: a) unchecked population growth; b) disparities in economic opportunities; c) excessive international migration; d) environmental degradation; e) drug production and trafficking; and f) international terrorism.

7 See: George MacLean: "Comparison of human security definitions", at: <http://66.249.93.104/search?q=cache:irfWJj3M-zYJ:www.globalgrn.org/featured/comparison_definitions.pdf+MacLean,+Human+security&chl=en>; MacLean: "The Changing Perception of Human Security: Coordinating National and Multilateral Responses!", at: <http://www.unac.org/en/link_learn/canada/security/perception.asp>.

'Human security' is comprehensive, salient, and urgent, embracing both 'freedom from want' and 'freedom from fear'. The 'human security' concept of the UNDP does not claim a special theoretical status but has sought to address the policy implications of serving the purposes of 'human security' in the practical world of global and regional governance.

46.3 Canada in the UN Security Council

Canada promoted 'human security' during 1999 and 2000 as a non-permanent member in the UNSC (McRae/Hubert 2001) by demonstrating its relevance for practical international politics. The notion of human security had been largely alien to the traditional practices of the UNSC where the principles of sovereignty and territorial integrity were paramount, overshadowing the impact of human rights. It was only in the late 1990's that the work of the UNSC had begun to shift noticeably toward a more humanistic perspective. In UNSC meetings in 1997 and 1998, concerns about the protection for humanitarian assistance to refugees and other civilians in conflict situations had occupied the attention of its members. On 21 May 1997, the UNHCR spokesman addressing the UNSC on behalf of Mrs. Sadako Ogata, then UN High Commissioner for Refugees, pointed to the "interface between human security on the one hand, and national and international security on the other" (S/PV. 3778, p. 5).

In their agenda-setting of 'human security' Canadian policy-makers saw the most effective lever for catching the attention of the other UNSC members regarding the protection of civilians in situations of armed conflict. This initiative could clearly be tied to the responsibilities of the Council and to the more inclusive definitions of 'threats to international peace and security' shaping the Council's work since the early 1990's (McRae/Hubert 2001; Lloyd Axworthy 2001; Goldberg/Hubert 2001).

Since the 1990's, the UNSC had increasingly dealt with humanitarian crises. The impact of non-military sources of instability had been acknowledged in its declaration of 31 January 1992, establishing the link to the Council's core mandate. Most operations in the subsequent years had humanitarian ramifications, such as in Northern Iraq, Cambodia, Somalia, Rwanda, Bosnia, or Haiti. The failures in Rwanda, Bosnia, Eastern Zaire, and the paralysis over the Kosovo crisis depict the UNSC's uneven response to

delivering humanitarian assistance incapable of ensuring physical safety of the affected people.

During its two-year mandate, Canada's strategy combined a case-by-case approach with a thematic one. This was enacted by seeking 'operational entry points' for promoting human security in the Council's numerous decisions on key security issues, peacekeeping mandates, and sanctions regimes. Canada also advanced a comprehensive approach to human security through its thematic initiative on the protection of civilians in armed conflict. This proposal was presented in February 1999 to the other Council members and to humanitarian agencies in preparation of the first Canadian UNSC presidency. The item "Protection of Civilians in Armed Conflict" offered an umbrella for several concerns to Canada, including the humanitarian impact of economic sanctions, children and armed conflict, strengthening peacekeeping mandates, and peacebuilding and conflict prevention, while building on existing UNSC activity. It was Canada's purpose to shift the Council's attention away from humanitarian assistance to the legal and physical protection of civilians in violent conflicts.

On 12 February 1999, the Canadian UN delegation scheduled a public debate on 'Protection of Civilians in Armed Conflict' chaired by the Canadian Foreign Minister Lloyd Axworthy as UNSC president (Goldberg/Hubert 2001) with the goal that the UNSC should request the Secretary-General to prepare a report with concrete policy proposals. As part of careful preparation, Canadian diplomats carried out necessary consultations to gain active support of fellow diplomats, senior secretariat and agency officials, in particular also of the Secretary-General and his immediate aides.⁸ The theme introduced by the Canadians on 21 January 1999 at the 3968th UNSC meeting under agenda item 'Promoting peace and security: Humanitarian activities relevant to the Security Council' (UN S/PV.3968: 13-14), was taken up by Axworthy and then further elaborated by Mr. Sommaruga, the president of the ICRC, Ms. Bellamy, Executive Director of UNICEF, and Mr. Olara Otunnu, the SG's Representative on Children and Armed Conflict (UN S/PV.3977: 2-11). They endorsed the Canadian view that the UNSC should take up this matter of humanitarian protection for the victims of armed conflicts. They made detailed proposals for the imple-

8 See the 3977th meeting of the UNSC on 12 February 1999, especially the opening words by Axworthy as UNSC president and his statement as Representative of Canada, S/PV.3977, pp. 30-33.

mentation of this protection function and of what the UNSC could do to advance this urgent relief agenda.

The direct link between the protection item and the norm of human security was spelled out at the 3977th meeting by the Representative of Slovenia who pointed to human security understood not in legal but physical terms as the basic aim of UN humanitarian action, and referred to the initiative of like-minded states, headed by Canada and Norway, which was determined to give full meaning and specific practical expression to the concept of 'human security' (UN S/PV.3977: 11-13). Minister Axworthy spoke at the end as representative of Canada and outlined his Government's conception for effective physical protection by the UNSC of the weakest victims at risk in conflict zones. He appealed to UNSC members to support the Canadian Government in its endeavour and underlined that the protection of individuals should be a primary consideration in the UNSC operations. He reminded the Council that the protection of all citizens was the fundamental public good the state should provide. The responsibility of the Council to protect civilians was therefore compelling from a human security perspective, in fulfilling the Council's own mandate (UN S/PV.3977: 31-32).

In the afternoon of 12 February 1999, the UNSC adopted a presidential statement that offered a summary of its agreed views and requested the Secretary-General to submit a detailed report with recommendations to the Council by September 1999 on civilians in situations of armed conflict.⁹ Reflecting the consensus of all Council members, the statement deplored the growing civilian toll of armed conflict, the large-scale human suffering inflicted upon innocent people, especially children, condemned the deliberate targeting by combatants of civilians in zones of conflict, and appealed to all states and political forces to ensure full compliance with the relevant legal norms inscribed in the Geneva Conventions and other statutes of humanitarian law.

The strong support by UN members became evident in the public meeting of the UNSC on 22 February 1999, allowing non-Council members to state their views on the new agenda item (UN S/PV. 3980; S/PV. 3980/Resumption 1). During this meeting twenty-three delegations acclaimed the Canadian initiative. Several delegations used the term 'human security' and its role in recent endeavours to maximize the UNSC's effectiveness in its crucial peace and security

function applied to internal conflicts and civil wars. Norway, Japan, South Korea, the Dominican Republic and Azerbaijan¹⁰ noted a worldwide spread of the new paradigm, clearly related to the norm proposed by Canada. The main exception was a statement by the representative of Japan who proposed a broader understanding of human security while emphasizing its importance. He argued that human security should be ensured against menaces threatening the survival, daily life, and dignity of human beings. Japan joined in endorsing the significance of measures to protect civilians in conflict situations. Other delegates viewed its application as including the physical dimensions of protection and not merely a legal or political connotation.

The only dissenting voice came from the Indian delegate who remarked that civilians had always been targets of armed conflict even before the era of colonialism, and that this pattern had never changed. He recalled the cataclysmic horrors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and urged the international community to address the burning question of outlawing the use of nuclear weapons. In view of the close link between international events and media attention, the protection of civilians had become an excuse for asserting political will and waging war. Legitimate concern for the well-being of civilians should not serve as a cover for intervention by powerful states (S/PV/3980: 16-19).

The opening debate offered many useful ideas for preparation of the draft report by the UN Secretary-General. Canada and partner delegations interacted with the secretariat during the months when the report was prepared. Many SG reports are issued every year, but this document was carefully prepared and constituted a courageous move by the Office of the Secretary-General. The report issued on 8 September 1999 (S/1999/957) submitted forty recommendations ranging from traditional diplomatic and political initiatives to more innovative peacekeeping and enforcement measures. Its central theme was the urgency to create a 'climate of compliance' with existing legal norms, already in place but still lacking adherence. These principles in international human rights, humanitarian law, and refugee law required only few additions relating to the specific needs of the internally displaced persons, war-affected children, and humanitarian personnel.

9 UN S/PV. 3978. The presidential statement was issued as UNSC document S/PRST/1999/6.

10 UN S/PV. 3980, Norway, pp. 7-8; Japan, pp. 10-11; Republic of Korea, pp. 20-22; Dominican Republic, pp. 24-26; S/PV. 3980/Resumption 1, Azerbaijan, pp. 2-3.

The recommendations focused on improving UN conflict prevention mechanisms emphasizing preventive peacekeeping deployments; sanctions should be carefully applied to minimize humanitarian impact, and the illegal trafficking in small arms should be stopped. Other proposals addressed measures to improve the ability of UN peacekeepers to protect affected civilian populations. Hate media should be curbed, and adequate training for troops in humanitarian law and human rights should be offered. The civilian and humanitarian character of refugee camps should be ensured, and safe corridors and humanitarian zones could be potentially helpful for the protection of civilians in armed conflict.

The last recommendations were most controversial. Criteria were introduced for when and how to intervene militarily in promoting humanitarian objectives. Five criteria were suggested: i) the scope of the breaches; ii) the inability of local authorities to protect affected populations; iii) the exhaustion of alternative mechanisms; iv) the ability of the UNSC to monitor the actions undertaken; and v) the need to guarantee proportionality in the use of force.

Important debates in the last fifteen years illustrate why these proposals would disturb many developing and small states looking with great misgivings at the juggernaut of military force ready to be deployed at will by the main military powers. Much of what the Indian delegate had invoked already at the 3980th meeting mirrored perfectly the deep scepticism in the Third World regarding acceptance of the report's farsighted proposals. Substantial opposition emerged in subsequent months.

During its 4046th meeting on 16 and 17 September 1999 the UNSC discussed the SG report in an open debate. Its special nature was demonstrated by the active engagement of the Secretary-General at the outset of the debate and in the declaration by the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, Mrs. Mary Robinson (UN S/PV.4046: 4-6). The Secretary-General stated that the essence of the UN's work was "to establish human security where it is no longer present, where it is under threat or where it never existed" and called this task the UN's humanitarian imperative. He further proposed a UNSC mechanism to seek advice on specific issues dealing with legal protection, prevention of conflicts, and physical protection.

Mrs. Robinson highlighted the massive violations of international humanitarian law and international human rights law, and underlined the UNSC obligation to act, referring to the process leading to the independence of East Timor. Sharing the SG's view-

point, she pointed out that human security had become synonymous with international security and that it could be guaranteed through respect for all fundamental rights. It was up to the UNSC to enforce accountability for war crimes and put an end to impunity. She urged the Council to develop an enforceable mechanism for the protection of civilians in armed conflict, ensuring for them respect, dignity, and human rights.

Canada shared the concerns spelled out by the SG trying to enhance human security and looked to the UNSC as paramount actor in this area. The Canadian delegation emphasized that the protection of civilians must be a primary imperative for collective international action. It wanted to realize many specific suggestions. Such concerted action could bring an end to the culture of impunity employing legal and political means.

While the representative of Slovenia echoed the Canadian emphasis on human security, the remaining debate dwelt mostly on normative and operational aspects of a new energetic promotion of civilian protection in violent conflicts. Besides the public meetings of the UNSC, informal consultations took place, sorting out which of the Secretary-General's proposals should be accepted, postponed, or possibly rejected completely. This multi-track dialogue led to a draft resolution on the SG report and its follow-up. Many non-Council member states returned to the second great debate and expressed their views on the normative importance of the agenda item and the potential implementation by the UNSC itself and by the Secretary-General.

The conduct of these general public debates gained in frequency in the late 1990's and restored the Council's standing as a central forum in which to entertain ways and means to use the tools of the Charter in the maintenance of international peace.

On 17 September 1999, the UNSC unanimously adopted an amended Canadian draft resolution 1265 (1999) that responded to the SG report's recommendations which focused on legal protection, but without prejudicing further consideration by the Council. Although traditional concerns about inviolability of state sovereignty had been raised, they were mitigated by the acknowledgement of atrocious events in Sierra Leone and Kosovo, the ongoing crisis in East Timor, and the impending issuance of reports about the UN's failure in Rwanda in 1994 and in Srebrenica in 1995. The resolution still put the UNSC on record regarding its commitment to respond where "civilians

are being targeted or humanitarian assistance to civilians is being deliberately obstructed”.

This first push to put a core aspect of human security on the UNSC agenda and to obtain an accord on pursuing the matter actively in the future was a limited victory for the Canadian initiators. When the Canadian tenure on the UNSC ended in December 2000, the item “Protection of Civilians in Armed Conflict” had gained a firm place on the Council’s agenda. Whether the human security concept had been accepted by the UNSC and the wider UN membership cannot yet be assessed. The norm of human security has found much acclaim among UN members, but much traditional resistance remains against raising this norm to the rank of fundamental Charter values. This mixed record is traceable in other UNSC debates on humanitarian and human rights matters. But the UNSC has been very open in listening to the new arguments and in translating acceptable parts of those initiatives into actionable features in the UNSC’s peace and security armour.

Canada has provided an excellent account of its 1999 operation ‘human security’. They show the manifold endeavours to maintain the focus on the civilian protection item and ensure tracking UN actions in this respect through formal and informal mechanisms, including an informal working group set up in December 1999 tasked with reviewing the SG report’s recommendations and reporting to the Council on further action during Canada’s presidency in April 2000. To express the undiminished commitment of the Canadian Government, Foreign Minister Axworthy presided over the UNSC on 19 April 2000, reviewed the whole process, and concluded with the adoption of the Canadian draft resolution. The follow-up was extremely contentious, although the record of the 4130th meeting does not reflect this. The issue of legal protection was eventually taken up by the General Assembly, whereas the theme of physical protection was developed in the Canadian UNSC draft resolution. Due to disputes on sovereignty in relation to human rights and humanitarian access in earlier UNSC discussions on humanitarian action, the outcome was uncertain. But the Canadian draft was unanimously adopted as resolution 1296 (2000), reaffirming the commitments of resolution 1265 (1999), thus assuring strengthening procedures for effective civilian protection by the UNSC (S/RES/1296 (2000)).

46.4 Security Council’s Focus on Human Security Concerns

To place the civilian protection campaign into a wider context of global political and social changes, a ‘*Human Security Network*’ was set up by Canada and Norway as principal partners prior to the UN campaign. This network emerged during the negotiation of the Antipersonnel Landmines Convention, which was signed in Ottawa in December 1997. Foreign Ministers Axworthy and Vollebæk agreed to apply this success to other international issues. Vollebæk invited Axworthy to a retreat in Bergen in May 1998 that resulted in the so-called *Lysøen Declaration for a joint Partnership for Action*. In the opening section “Norway and Canada share common values and approaches to foreign policy. With the evolution of international affairs, particularly with regard to emerging *human security* issues, we have agreed to establish a framework for consultation and concerted action.” (italics JD) Among the shared objectives were: a) enhancing human security; b) promoting human rights; c) strengthening humanitarian law; d) preventing conflict; and e) fostering democracy and good governance. To achieve these objectives, both agreed to establish a framework for cooperation, including: 1) ministerial meetings to review progress, set priorities and impart direction; 2) bilateral teams to develop and implement joint ministerial initiatives; 3) meetings in Norway and Canada or at international bodies. The declaration ended with a ‘partnership agenda’ on these issues: Landmines, International Criminal Court, human rights, international humanitarian law, gender dimensions in peace-building, small arms proliferation, children in armed conflict, including child soldiers, child labour, and Arctic and Northern cooperation.

For Canadian officials the *Lysøen Declaration* reveals: “an entire agenda emerging around the idea of human security, rather than a disparate set of issues”. Minister Axworthy launched a diplomatic process he labelled ‘the Humanitarian Eight or H-8’, juxtaposed it with the G-8, and compared the different agendas for both groups. The efforts to attract other states succeeded and brought about a geographically balanced group comprising Austria, Ireland, Switzerland, Thailand, the Netherlands, Slovenia, Jordan, Chile, and South Africa as an observer. This partnership was formalized in Bergen, Norway in May 1999 with the establishment of the ‘Human Security Network’. The network established viable relations with international NGOs and collaborated in global and regional meet-

ings, including the UN system. This network closely followed the developments in the UNSC on 'human security' and civilian protection (McRae/Hubert 2001: 231-235).

Since late 2000, the UNSC has debated the 'Protection of Civilians in Armed Conflict' on numerous occasions, and several new reports were issued by the Secretary General on related aspects. The achievements will be summarized below resulting in changed procedures of UN agencies.

The next step came with the SG's report of 30 March 2001 on the protection of civilians in armed conflict (S/2001/331). He mentioned the civilians caught in armed conflicts and in need of protection and assistance. He felt that the breach of human rights and widespread impunity for cruelty and brutality had not been reduced. He reminded the UNSC of the large percentage of civilians among war victims and stressed that they were a target of irregular forces in intra-state wars. Given the discrepancy between commitments in the UN Millennium Declaration (GA res. 55/2) and the lack of implementation, the SG suggested that UN members should create a culture of protection.

Protection constituted a major task for governments although they have to rely on non-governmental groups for assistance in these crises. But the primary responsibility for the protection of civilians rests with governments (GA res. 46/182 of 19 December 1991), whereas armed groups were directly obligated, according to the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and common international humanitarian law, to protect civilians in armed conflict. Protection efforts must be directed towards the individual rather than the security interests of the state, whose principal task was ensuring the security of its population.

The SG reviewed measures to enhance protection and recommended action dealing with a) prosecutions of violations of international criminal law; b) access to vulnerable populations; c) separation of civilians and armed elements; and d) media and information in conflict situations. The report suggested review processes on the implementation of previous recommendations. Two annexes presented recommendations and an accounting of their implementation.

On 23 April 2001 the UNSC discussed the SG report (UN S/PV.4312; S/PV. 4312/Resumption 1). While the Canadian initiative stressed 'human security' concerns with the protection of civilians, the diplomatic representatives dealt only with the SG report and refrained from exploring the wider context. The UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, Mary

Robinson, emphasized many human rights and humanitarian law provisions and clarified questions on suitable tools to deal with the impunity problem. (UN S/PV.4312: 4-7). Norway suggested that the international fight against impunity would have to contact also armed groups, a major factor in the violation of international legal norms. The British Representative focused on procedural and operational details in line with reasoning introduced by the SG emphasizing need for coordination and the regional context (UN S/PV.4312: Res. 1: 39-40). Mr. Oshima, the USG for Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), stressed the fundamental humanitarian principles that were negatively affected in many emergency situations. He mentioned organizational measures instructing OCHA and the humanitarian field operations to improve their own efforts (S/PV.4312/Res. 1: 2-3).

The Canadian representative emphasized the linkage between human security and the protection of civilians in armed conflict, underlining that the safety of people had moved from the periphery of the Council's preoccupations to its centre. He noted the inclusion of specific civilian protection provisions in the mandates of three peacekeeping operations. He mentioned the Canadian sponsorship of an international independent commission to examine the issue of humanitarian intervention and state sovereignty, hoping that this body would synthesize the irreconcilable principles. Existing recommendations in resolution 1296 (2000) needed implementation. He requested from the SG observations on the protection of civilians in armed conflict in his regular reports to the Council. Another SG report should be requested, and the annual audit idea proposed by the representative of Singapore could also be implemented (S/PV.4312/Res. 1: 4-5). Thus, Canada was decisive for the promotion of this cause in the UNSC.

While endorsing the SG report and its recommendations, the Japanese representative reminded the UNSC that Japan had favoured a wider concept of human security entailing the protection of the life and dignity of peoples, and considered poverty and environmental degradation, terrorism and infectious diseases, such as HIV/AIDS, as falling within the meaning of human security (S/PV.4312/Res. 1: 6-7).

The representative of Korea noted that UNSC activities had previously addressed the protection of humanitarian assistance to refugees, and that human security was intricately linked to international peace and security. Human security concerns engaged not only the UNSC but also other UN organs, i.e. the GA and ECOSOC, and some ECOSOC entities dealt with

root causes of conflict often related to poverty, through the promotion of economic growth, poverty eradication, sustainable development, good governance, and democracy (S/PV.4312/Res. 1: 9–10).

Despite Canada's admonition that the UNSC should show its commitment by another formal resolution, the meeting ended with a statement by the UNSC president from the UK that the Council would decide in informal consultations on the follow-up. This reticence was not welcomed by many non-Council delegations and outside actors. However, the introduction of the new agenda item on civilian protection had been fully integrated into the very extensive political agenda of the UNSC. This may be taken as a sign of the UNSC's ability to become aware of changing political circumstances and to redirect its own list of priorities. Subsequently, the UNSC president from Bangladesh contacted the SG on 21 June 2001¹¹ seeking further advice of the SG in the Council's consideration of his report of 30 March 2001. The Council suggested that the report should be transmitted as an official document to the GA. Furthermore, the Council proposed:

1. The recommendations on the protection of civilians contained in the first SG report (S/1999/957) should be reorganized by the secretariat into different groups to clarify responsibilities, enhance cooperation, and facilitate their implementation by the Council. The recommendations in the second report (S/2001/331) should be reorganized based on SC resolutions 1265 (1999) and 1296 (2000), taking into account the different responsibilities and mandates of UN organs and the need to further strengthen coordination among UN organizations to facilitate future deliberation by the UNSC.
2. The UNSC encouraged the SG to ensure closer cooperation between OCHA and DPKO to facilitate consideration of civilian protection needs in the design, planning, and implementation of peacekeeping operations.
3. To facilitate, whenever appropriate, UNSC consideration of issues relating to protection of civilians in its deliberations on the establishment, change or closing of peacekeeping mandates, an aide-memoire listing the relevant issues should be prepared in cooperation with the UNSC.
4. The Council members would welcome a briefing by the secretariat on these initiatives by November

2001 to finalize them as soon as possible thereafter. Expert-level seminars were also suggested to ensure the necessary interaction between Council and secretariat. The Council members requested the SG to present a report by November 2002 on the status of implementation of the relevant recommendations regarding the protection of civilians in armed conflict, and any other matter he wished to bring to the Council's attention on this subject matter.

With this letter the UNSC gave detailed instructions on what it wanted from the SG. It demanded two major submissions, an aide-memoire in November 2001 and a full report in November 2002, thus establishing a long-term schedule for its own consideration of the agenda item. It was furthermore notable that in the UNSC letter a desire for close Council-secretariat collaboration was expressed and instructions were directly issued to two secretariat units, OCHA and DPKO, for improvements in their collaboration. Such instructions are quite unusual, as the UNSC has always respected the official rank and status of the SG as Head of the UN Secretariat. The UNSC committed itself thereby to a prolonged consideration of the civilian protection question.

On 21 November 2001, Mr. Oshima, USG for Humanitarian Affairs and Emergency Relief Coordinator, presented the requested briefing to the Council highlighting i.a. the issue of humanitarian access to vulnerable populations; the special protection needs of women and children; safety, protection and security in camps for internally displaced persons; engagement with armed groups for access negotiations; civil and military relations in the delivery of humanitarian aid; separation of civilians and combatants in camps for internally displaced persons and refugees; and the security and safety of humanitarian personnel. In the reorganization of the 54 recommendations of the SG reports, the secretariat had developed a matrix on all proposals and had consulted with other offices and the UNSC. On the aide-memoire, a checklist to ensure that the civilian protection concerns were systematically considered in establishing, changing or closing peacekeeping mandates, OCHA worked closely with DPKO and humanitarian and human rights agencies. The secretariat had prepared a list of issues for the Council's consideration and had sent the draft informally to interested member states for comment. An expert-level discussion with SC members could be organized to review the aide-memoire in January or February 2002. On the closer coordination between OCHA and DPKO, the SG welcomed the idea of a

11 The letter was issued as UNSC document S/2001/614.

team composed of both units to facilitate due consideration of issues on the protection of civilians in the design, planning, and implementation of peacekeeping operations. OCHA was developing a strategic paper for the attention of the members of the Executive Committee on Humanitarian Affairs and the Inter-Agency Standing Committee for further development and action. Mr. Oshima committed his office to providing within a few months additional information on the status of these initiatives (S/PV. 4424: 2-4).

The representative of Singapore asked whether the efforts on the protection of civilians, children, and women had made a difference on the ground and requested concrete information on trends. He also suggested that the recommendations in four agenda items before the Council be clustered. He raised the issue of how the norms created by the Council could be applied to non-state actors without coercion. For him, this raised the whole problem of the humanitarian intervention (S/PV.4424: 4-5). The UNSC president reaffirmed the direct link between the protection of civilians in armed conflict and the Council mandate to maintain international peace and security, and stressed the follow-up on this question (S/PV. 4424: 13).

The dialogue resumed on 15 March 2002 with an update by Mr. Oshima. Reviewing field situations in Palestine, the Sudan, Angola, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea, and the Democratic Republic of Congo, he stressed how seriously endangered civilians were in these locations. He pointed to the completion of the aide-memoire and provided details on close inter-departmental and inter-agency collaboration on issues shared in terms of mandates and ongoing activities (S/PV.4492: 2-5). The UNSC president from Norway emphasized the focus on the protection of civilians as part of the Council's peace work, and noted more than 40 references in previous SC resolutions and presidential statements reflecting the enormous progress made in the issue of civilian protection and the tremendous work still to be done (S/PV.4492: 19-20).

In the next UNSC meeting (S/PV.4493), the president read a statement (S/PRST/2002/6) in which the UNSC reaffirmed its concern for the hardships borne by civilians during armed conflict and recognized the impact this had on durable peace, reconciliation and development, and underlining the importance of taking measures aimed at conflict prevention and resolution. The UNSC adopted the aide-memoire in the annex to the presidential statement (S/PV.4493) with thirteen objectives (S/PRST/2002/6/

Annex), including critical human security issues in violent conflict. It put civilian protection into the centre of the UNSC's Charter-based work on peace and security.

On 26 November 2002 the SG submitted his third report on the protection of civilians in armed conflict (S/2002/1300) that reviewed the progress since 1999. All parties assimilated the thinking on human security into the vocabulary of the UNSC and its partners in most field operations under UN auspices. The report equipped the Council members with the tools necessary to carry the process further. Placing escalating human casualties due to armed conflict and many other known ills as background to his arguments, the SG presented a highly structured account of the state of affairs challenging the UNSC and its partners, and removed all excuses for the Council collectively or for individual members to shirk their responsibility towards human survival and well-being.

The SG stressed the changing environment for the protection of civilians, arguing that the durability of peace was dependent on a commitment to protect civilians from its inception. The report outlined practical measures in three key areas relating to transitional peace processes. The SG called for a collective will to address new threats to civilian protection posed by commercial exploitation of conflicts, by sexual exploitation of civilians in conflict, and by the global threat of terrorism.

The SG warmly recommended several practical initiatives that should guide the UN in its daily work on civilian protection. Regional workshops could help in identifying threats to regional peace and security. The Council should consider adopting and using the aide-memoire to develop frameworks and more structured approaches to the protection of civilians by UN country teams in conflict areas. He recalled the review of new tools in a UNSC workshop on 18 July 2002 on the Mano River region in the DRC. Such reviews should be undertaken periodically to improve key mandates and resolutions where the protection of civilians remained an important challenge.

In the annex to the SG report, a draft 'roadmap' was set out in response to UNSC requests in resolutions 1265 (1999) and 1296 (2000). It contained a tabulation of the recommendations along the action-oriented themes of the aide-memoire. Further work was scheduled in early 2003 to make the instrument more useful for the work of the UNSC itself as well as numerous partners in and outside the UN system. This involved concrete steps taken by ECOSOC suggesting to member states participation in workshops

on the protection of civilians. These workshops introduced fundamental concepts concerning civilian protection, provided participants with experience in using diagnostic tools, and brought a regional perspective to the security threats and the protection of civilians.

On 10 December 2002 the UNSC (S/PV.4660; S/PV.4660/Res. 1) discussed this report on the Human Rights Day with the Secretary-General. He complimented the Council for formulating within less than three years a conceptual framework, and he added that the knowledge gained should be translated from policy to implementation. Given the huge number of civilians in conflict situations, the protection needs did not end with a ceasefire, but must extend into the post-conflict period to build an effective peace. He related this work on protecting civilian victims to the fundamental aim of the UN, namely to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war (S/PV.4660: 1).

The USG for Humanitarian Affairs, Mr. Oshima, shared with the Council members a detailed action-oriented overview of the recent activities within the secretariat and with associated outside partners creating a toolbox for political organs and international personnel. He measured the progress in conceptual and programming work against the unacceptably high toll in human life and livelihood, and spelt out the dire need for protection and assistance in crisis situations around the world. He mentioned that Norway had taken the lead in establishing a support group of member states to create a broader support base for the protection of civilians in armed conflict, and praised this step in burden-sharing between the membership and the secretariat. He saw as the three core tasks of the agenda of protection of civilians, to advocate, to educate, and to implement, and he promised that his office would report on further progress (S/PV.4660: 1-6).

The head of the ICRC commented on the field reports put forward by the SG and his aide. Mr. Gnaediger agreed with the SG's three reports and pointed out that the ICRC attested the suffering of civilian populations who were frequently the prime targets of violent conflicts. This suffering included acts of genocide, ethnic cleansing, indiscriminate attacks by regular armies or other armed elements, terrorist acts, starving populations, women falling victim to sexual violence, child soldiers, families separated without any news of their loved ones, and forced disappearances. Such situations were the subject of international humanitarian law, one of its pillars was the protection of civilian populations. The main task was not

the formulation of new legal principles but instead a concerted international effort to reach full compliance with existing conventions (S/PV.4660: 6-8).

In the subsequent debate, many non-Council members addressed the UNSC, some pointing to the core link between the protection of civilians and human security. The statement by Austria for the Human Security Network was endorsed by Norway, Canada, Chile, Ireland, and Switzerland associated itself with the Austrian statement (S/PV.4660: 8-10, 13-15; S/PV.4660/Res. 1: 7-13).

The Austrian representative argued that the protection of civilians was at the core of the Network's endeavours to ensure the security and the rights of the individual. The group aimed at concrete actions to make the world a place where everybody could live in security and dignity, free from fear and want, with equal opportunities to develop their human potential. These efforts were directly related to what the SG had termed the humanitarian imperative. The reality diverged dramatically from this powerful vision. But the Network joined the SG in embracing the goal of a culture of protection within and beyond the UN. Austria proposed to raise the awareness of all parties in conflict, including non-state actors, of their responsibilities and of relevant legal norms. Regarding displacement of populations, the Austrian delegate pointed to the ongoing work of the GA and the Commission on Human Rights to formulate legal norms in support of protection and assistance to internally displaced persons, building upon the crucial efforts of the SG's representative on Internally Displaced Persons. The members of the Network shared the view that sustainable peace could only be achieved on the foundation of an effective and fair administration of justice ensuring accountability for past grave human rights violations, and welcomed the entry into force of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, an important contribution to ending impunity. For the Network, Austria pledged to promote the protection of civilians in armed conflict as an indispensable foundation for peace, security, and stability (S/PV.4660/Res. 1: 16-18).

On 20 December 2002 the UNSC held a brief evening meeting (S/PV.4679) where the president read a consensus statement of the Council (S/PRST/2002/41). It summarized the main points of the previous debate and put the Council and its members on record in support of fundamental norms and values of civilian protection and to what they committed themselves, individually and as a collective, to do in situations constituting a massive and immediate threat to

civilian populations. The UNSC strongly endorsed the urgency to improve the protection of refugees and internally displaced persons, and to maintain the security and civilian character of camps for these groups in flight. The Council requested another SG report by June 2004 and invited the secretariat to continue its oral briefings every six months to report on progress with the roadmap (S/2002/1300).

With the deliberations of the 4660th meeting and thereafter, a process had reached an important milestone in the evolution from an idea to a central norm in the Council's work. The next occasion where the protection of civilians in armed conflict was put on the UNSC agenda was during an interlude. Nobody questioned any more the salience of the concept, although differences have remained on the understanding of 'human security' as a new paradigm and the civilian protection item as the core of that basic norm.

On 20 June 2003 Mr. Oshima, the USG for Humanitarian Affairs, updated the Council members on new activities and bid farewell as his tenure was ending. The president of the UNSC honoured the USG, while Mr. Oshima offered an overview on the conceptualization and follow-up work carried out in his office: He warmly endorsed the movement towards the culture of protection, the goal coined by the SG (S/PV.4777: 3-8).

A new phase of the Council's involvement with the issue was reflected in the strong recommendation by the UK representative who favoured 'mainstreaming' these issues into the focus of the UNSC (S/PV.4777: 9-10). The near-unanimous appreciation by the Council members of the steady efforts and results by Mr. Oshima's office shaped the atmosphere of his farewell. Speaking for the Human Security Network, Chile stressed that protecting civilians was at the heart of UN credibility. Its purpose was to change the focus of security, from state-centred, to emphasize its human dimension. For his delegation, the concept of human security was directly related to the humanitarian efforts outlined by Mr. Oshima (S/PV.4777: 14-15). The meeting concluded without any formal UNSC action.

On 28 May 2004 the SG submitted his fourth report on the protection of civilians in armed conflict (S/2004/431). Recalling the tenth anniversary of the 1994 Rwanda genocide and the fifth anniversary of his initiating the agenda on the protection of civilians in armed conflict, the SG acknowledged these important milestones which compelled the world to assess the collective achievements in the protection of vulnerable civilian populations, but they also warranted

sober reflection on shortfalls in the new endeavours. Raising the spectre of current armed conflicts in the Darfur region, in Cote d'Ivoire, Iraq, and Nepal, not to mention the transition situations in Afghanistan, the Congo and Liberia, the SG expressed his dismay that a prevailing culture of impunity continued to spur cycles of violence and criminality in many conflict zones. In response to these harsh new realities, the international community had been galvanized to intensify efforts to protect these civilians under threat and to eliminate impunity.

The report had been organized following the ten-point platform adopted by the UNSC on 15 December 2003. It presented suggestions to improve performance in the following protection areas: the deliberate targeting of civilians, sexual and other forms of violence, the recruitment and use of child soldiers, and ensuring humanitarian access to facilitate the delivery of assistance and the safety of UN and associated personnel.

In his report the SG reviewed the performance on protection and continuing shortfalls since the last reports. He stated that the public international order had been under strain, and stressed that fundamental human rights had to be respected, especially in times of war and fear. Mentioning new perils, including excesses in counter-terrorism and new actors in armed conflict, he warned that accountability and responsibility had become diffuse, and emphasized that acceptance and implicit support by the civilian community was required for effective humanitarian assistance.

The SG's report was taken up by the UNSC on 14 June 2004 and on 14 December 2004, giving many non-SC representatives an opportunity to join the debate. Both sessions reflected the semi-annual schedule for periodic reviews and enabled the UNSC to dialogue with the new USG for Humanitarian Affairs, Mr. Jan Egeland, who introduced the SG report conveying to the UNSC the hope for a new resolution on this subject. The USG declared that the commitment of the UNSC to protect civilians in armed conflict was needed, since progress in the protection of civilians would remain insufficient and the establishment of a culture of protection a distant goal as long as civilians continued to constitute the majority of victims in armed conflicts. The extensive deliberations in June and December 2004 displayed solid support in the UNSC and among member states for increased efforts to augment needed support for endangered civilian populations in armed conflict.

The December review resulted in a forceful presidential statement (S/PRST/2004/46), in which the UNSC reaffirmed its condemnation of violence against civilians in situations of armed conflict. The statement called for a further report of the SG on the item by 28 November 2005, including information on the implementation of SC resolutions previously adopted, as well as additional recommendations to further improve the protection of civilians in armed conflict.

The UNSC reviewed this agenda item on 21 June 2005 during the French presidency. The tone was set by the grim sentiments of the UN USG for Humanitarian Affairs and Emergency Relief Coordinator, Mr. Jan Egeland, who argued that the trend for civilians in many armed conflicts was negative and that a tremendous effort was required to change the direction on this humanitarian emergency (S/PV.5209, 2-6). This was reflected in the presidential statement (S/PRST/2005/25), condemning the deliberate targeting of civilians or other protected persons in armed conflict, and calling on all parties to end such practices; it expressed its concerns on the use of sexual violence as a weapon of war. The UNSC announced to take further action "including ... a possible resolution".

The sequence on the protection of civilians in armed conflict has strengthened the Council's policy-making posture. Opening the Council to important humanitarian organizations and UN offices and agencies constitutes a tremendous step forward. Getting involved in informal sessions with secretariat staff and joining in deliberation and drafting strengthens the bonds between the different elements on the multilateral stage and improves its outcomes. Drafting help becomes more focused and sensitive to the political needs of Council members and presents opportunities to open up to more substantive help from UN officials and staff, thus lowering the barriers between senior diplomats and international staff. The Council has become a more efficient decision-maker while improving transparency and thereby remaining well connected with member states and numerous regional groupings with an interest in UN policy-making. The outcome of these efforts for the promotion of the civilian protection agenda item was remarkable as all participants praised the close collaboration and its effects on the issue and on the Council's standing.

46.5 Conclusion

The review of the UNSC treatment of protection of civilians in armed conflict has brought some clarity on the policy notion of 'human security' as promoted by Canada, Japan and other states and intergovernmental organizations, compared to a carefully defined theoretical term meeting the standards of scholarly examination. The prevailing mix of different understandings cannot yet be settled by some definitive analysis of a philosopher or social scientist. To reject the notion is neither desirable nor necessary. The review of current uses of the term 'human security' has exposed a major dichotomy between one group which prefers a narrow meaning of 'personal' and 'group security', and another group that uses human security in a wider context comprising all threats to human well-being. The tension between 'freedom of fear' and 'freedom of want' should be resolved.

The Canadian undertaking to publish annually all data on threats to human security,¹² while excluding massive data on the huge gap of inequality in the global system and the immense poverty afflicting the majority of the world population, is in itself a debatable restriction.¹³ For a global perspective of the contemporary world, it is absolutely essential to depict the human community in its painful division between the 'haves' and the 'have-nots'.

The scope of human misery is often reproduced in annual reports of the UN system and of many NGOs. Only a global perspective will be sufficient to expose the level of inequality and injustice and recommend measures to remedy this dreadful situation. The 'human security' concepts in the UNDP terminology, in Caroline Thomas' writings, and as defined by the Japanese Government, include the human misery component. Undoubtedly human survival is the prime factor of 'human security'. If critics claim that the concept is

12 See the annual *Human Security Report* by the Liu Institute for Global Issues at the University of British Columbia. Its definition of 'human security' comprises the protection of communities and individuals from internal violence, as well as the defence of borders against external threats, i.e. it refers to 'freedom from fear' (Mack 2003). On the first Human Security Report of October 2005, see at: <http://www.humansecurityreport.info/>, and for a free download see at: <http://www.humansecurityreport.info/index.php?option=content&task=view&cid=28&Itemid=63>.

13 For the media response to the first report see at: <http://www.humansecurityreport.info/index.php?option=content&task=view&cid=34&Itemid=69>.

not viable because there are no clear empirical measures for that state of affairs, it may be argued that such stringent criteria need not be met by a policy norm.

This chapter has focused on a policy standard that will allow operational decisions to be taken and to be carried out as instructed. The Canadian initiative of reducing the paradigm debate to a practical guide for relevant political action in crisis-ridden locations globally has fully succeeded. Had the sponsor insisted on an absolute standard, the pragmatic actors in the UNSC forum would have refused joining such a futile engagement. Since the shift to human security is presented as a paradigm shift, the shift to pragmatic goals emerges from an absolute departure point. The developments from 1999 to 2005 in the UNSC made it possible that new difficulties on the protection front would be taken up more quickly.

In December 2005, one can identify three major strands of international involvement coming together and joining the principal platform of the UNSC legitimacy and mandate. The main trend is the development reviewed above, namely the transformation of the new international human security concept into a concrete policy norm revolving around a key concern, the threat by armed conflict against civilians. The second strand is represented by the intergovernmental *Human Security Network* that has played a significant role in garnering the increased responsibility and impact of the UN system as a central pillar of global governance. The third strand that ultimately has provided critical support for the relevance of the issue of

civilian protection in armed conflict on the global agenda is the December 2004 report of the *High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change*, which discusses 'Protecting Civilians' in detail and offers several policy recommendations to support UN recommendations and actions in this area. Its judgement on the timeliness of the new policy norm offers a last building block completing the global acceptance of the 'human security' norm and its operational application.

With all the reservations about the current role of the UN and the UNSC, this case study of how the Council was challenged to take up a new and difficult task going far beyond the range of the cold war period and how it managed to rise to the level of practical policies and effective decisions in many emergencies while establishing a new dimension in its widening agenda for a world in turmoil, is convincing evidence of the impressive vitality and dynamic of the Council. The specific examples of the Council's flexibility and openness have been assessed. Also the contributions by numerous member states, many of them serving on a non-permanent basis, must be noted. Several members of the informal *Human Security Network* have been involved in the UNSC work. The new evidence furthermore strengthens the viewpoint that initiative and guidance in the UNSC often come from non-permanent members. This condition in the working of the Council serves as reaffirmation of the continuing viability of the instrument of the UNSC for purposes relating to peace and security, including the central obligation to ensure the security of the individual in the changing world of today and tomorrow.

Box 46.1: UN documents and materials cited in this chapter

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 S/PV. 4046, 16 September 1999
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 S/PV. 4660, Resumption I, 10 December 2002
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S/RES/1265 (1999) Res.1265 (1999) adopted at 4046th
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Important internet sources on this debate in the UNSC
OCHA: <<http://ochaonline.un.org/webpage.asp?Site=civilians>>.

UNSC: <<http://www.un.org/documents/scres.htm>>.

IRIN Web Special on Civilian Protection in Armed Conflict: <<http://www.irinnews.org/webspecials/civilprotect/default.asp>>.

47 Evolution of the United Nations Security Concept: Role of the High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges, and Change

Sebastian von Einsiedel, Heiko Nitzschke and Tarun Chhabra

47.1 Introduction¹

Over the past decades, the concept of 'security' has evolved significantly in academic and policy discourse. Traditionally, discussion of national, international, and collective security focused primarily on military threats to the integrity of states. Since the end of the Cold War, the concept of security has broadened to include non-military threats to states as well as non-military and military threats to groups and individuals. The latter came to be known as 'human security', a concept with little analytic precision but nevertheless discernible impact on advocacy and policy formulation (see chapter by Dedring in this volume).

This chapter focuses on the evolution of the concept of security at the United Nations.² Specifically, it traces the role of the UN in initiating and sustaining this evolution, and in reacting to new developments in a post-Cold War security environment. Section 47.2 argues that although human security concerns feature prominently in the UN Charter, the policy and institutional architecture created in the aftermath of the Second World War was naturally framed in politico-military terms and based on a traditional understanding of state sovereignty.

Section 47.3 highlights how the end of the Cold War confronted the UN with a range of new challenges and opportunities and dramatically altered the role of the organization in peace and security. First, UN engagement in civil wars and post-conflict peacebuilding broadened the understanding of threats to

international peace to encompass socio-economic factors. The UN dichotomized but stressed linkages between so-called 'hard' security threats such as armed conflict, terrorism, and weapons of mass destruction, and 'soft' threats, such as poverty, infectious disease, and environmental degradation. Second, the focus of security policy and discourse, particularly in the UN Security Council, shifted from the integrity of the state to the protection and well-being of groups and individuals within states. This shift was mirrored in academic and policy circles of the 'human security' concept. The inevitable implication was a qualification of sovereignty, including the concept of a 'responsibility to protect'.

However, the UN never achieved consensus around a sound doctrinal framework for its range of activities in a post-Cold War security environment. In the UN Secretariat and among member states, different visions of the UN's new role in peace and security have coexisted uneasily, hampering effective approaches to new threats and challenges.

Section 47.4 argues that the UN's failure to produce such a consensus is rooted in dramatically divergent understandings of what constitutes a threat to peace and security among its member states. The UN has remained torn between concepts of human security and state security. UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan, in a September 2003 speech before the General Assembly, focused on the need for an overarching framework to guide UN work in the area of peace and security. He established the *High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges, and Change* to address this question through research and consultations within the UN community and beyond.

Section 47.5 shows how the subsequent release of the Panel's report in December 2004 triggered an intense debate on the UN's role in international peace and security. While public interest in the report focused on its recommendations for reform of the Security Council, the primary and most noteworthy ambi-

1 The views expressed in this article do not necessarily reflect the views of the United Nations Secretariat or the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The authors would like to thank Dr. Catherine Guicherd, Sir Adam Roberts, and Dr. Peter Wittig for their valuable comments on an earlier version of this text.

2 If not specified, the term 'United Nations' refers to the UN Secretariat and member states as one entity.

tion of the Panel was to propose a new and comprehensive vision of collective security which attempts to reconcile concepts of 'state' and 'human security'.

As highlighted in section 47.6 this new security concept was adopted by the Secretary-General in his own report, *In larger freedom*, and has enjoyed significant rhetorical support among member states. However, states have faltered in translating this abstract endorsement into concrete and meaningful agreement. This is hardly an unfamiliar pattern. As Mats Berdal has pointed out, "the discussion of how to conceive of security is not merely academic." It goes to the heart of how the UN sets priorities and allocates resources— in essence, its purpose and mission (Berdal 2004: 95).

47.2 Collective Security, the UN Charter and the Cold War Era

Traditionally, the primary unit of analysis in international relations is the state. 'Security' is thus perceived as 'national security', concerned with military threats to the territorial integrity and political independence of a state. Collective security entails commitment by participating states to consider military aggression against one member as aggression against all, and, in the event, to respond collectively against the aggressor.³

This understanding of collective security is at the core of the UN Charter. Conceived by the Allies during the Second World War, and founded in its immediate aftermath, the UN's main purpose was to prevent another world war. To that end, member states commit themselves in Art. 1(1) of the UN Charter to "take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace." The Charter does not contain the term 'collective security'; in the words of Michael Howard, "it smelled of the failures of the 1930's" (Howard 2003: 64). But the concept is nevertheless firmly enshrined in chapters I, V, and VII of the Charter. As the primary UN organ concerned with the maintenance of international peace and security, the Security Council can invoke the collective coercive measures of Chapter VII when it determines the existence of a threat to international peace and security.

3 For a brief discussion of collective security and its differentiation from balance of power and alliances, see: Betts 1992.

The Charter also contains core elements of the contemporary 'human security' concept that are noteworthy in their breadth and ambition. In clear contrast to the preamble of the 1919 Charter of the League of Nations, which is addressed to the "High Contracting Parties" (i.e. the League's member states), the preamble of the UN Charter starts with the sentence: "We the peoples of the United Nations".⁴ Unlike the League Covenant, the UN Charter also emphasizes human rights and the dignity and worth of the human person. The framers of the UN Charter were prescient in insisting that true peace is dependent on economic and social development. Indeed, Franklin Delano Roosevelt argued in 1941 that global peace would prevail only if four intrinsically interlinked 'freedoms' were achieved in parallel: freedom of speech and expression, freedom of religion, freedom from want, and freedom from fear.⁵ This interdependence between development and security is also reflected in Article 55⁶ of the Charter as well as in the establishment of the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) as a principal organ, with Article 65 providing for its cooperation with the Security Council.

Nevertheless, despite rhetoric and nods, what today is called 'human security' was rendered fundamentally ancillary to state security. The Cold War security environment, characterized by superpower confrontation, sustained and reinforced a focus on military threats. This was starkly manifested in the nuclear doctrines of mutually assured destruction. The state-centric outlook was further strengthened by the robust assertion of sovereignty by dozens of new states emerging from decolonization. To this day,

4 On the history of the UN Charter see; Russell (1950); Grewe (1994); for an analysis of the use and legal interpretations of the 'security' concepts used in the UN Charter see: Simma 2002; on 'international security', see: Verosta (1971); Wolfrum (2002); on 'collective security', see: Delbrück (1982); Doehring (1991);

5 President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, "State of the Union Address to Congress", 6 January 1941, at: <<http://www.libertynet.org/~edcivic/fdr.html>>.

6 Article 55 reads: "With a view to the creation of conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations ... the United Nations shall promote: a. higher standards of living, full employment, and conditions of economic and social progress and development; b. solutions of international economic, social, health, and related problems; and international cultural and educational cooperation; and c. universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion."

many of these states remain the most vocal proponents of non-interference in internal affairs.

At the same time, the dynamics of the Cold War ensured collective security would not operate as intended by the framers of the UN Charter. Before 1989, the Security Council authorized military action under chapter VII only in one instance (in 1950, to reverse a North Korean invasion into South Korea), and only then because the Soviet Union boycotted the Security Council. Although many internal violent conflicts erupted during this period, they were widely seen as proxy wars. UN intervention – with the notable exception of the UN mission to Congo in the early 1960's – was ruled out by either the United States or the Soviet Union.

47.3 End of Cold War: A New Security Environment

The end of the Cold War gave collective security a new, if brief, lease on life. The decisive Security Council response to the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in 1991 inspired grand invocations of a 'new world order' in which the UN could finally fulfil its promised role as guardian of international peace and security. With the existential threat of nuclear war significantly reduced, debate about the ultimate objectives of state security flourished. Greater attention was given to the notion that the ultimate objective of state security is to promote the well-being of groups and individuals within states. The understanding of what constitutes a threat to international peace and security was broadened to include socio-economic threats to states.⁷ The *Human Development Report 1994* (UNDP 1994), which defined 'human security', argued that:

(t)he concept [of security] has for too long been interpreted narrowly: as security of territory from external aggression, or as protection of national interests in foreign policy or as global security from the threat of nuclear holocaust. It has been related more to nation states than to people. ... Forgotten were the legitimate concerns of ordinary people who sought security in their daily lives. For many of them security symbolized protection from the threat of disease, hunger, unemployment, crime, social conflict, political repression and environmental hazards (UNDP 1994: 22).

This advent of 'human security' in scholarly and policy discourse had important implications. Most notably,

7 On the changing perceptions and use of the concepts of 'peace and security' as well as 'collective security' in recent legal literature see Weiss/Forsythe/Coate 2004.

the principle of state sovereignty has been increasingly qualified, evidenced by a decade of UN interventions in cases that not long ago would have been considered strictly 'internal affairs'

Violent state implosion, bloody civil wars, humanitarian catastrophes including genocide and ethnic cleansing, nuclear proliferation, and, ultimately, the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001, cast the relevance of collective security into doubt. However, the broadening of the security concept continued, even if by default rather than by design. The UN played a central if unwitting role in instigating and sanctioning this conceptual shift, and in reacting to policy changes among its member states. Yet development and consensus around doctrine always lagged behind changes in practice, and much of the new UN role in peace and security remained controversial.

47.3.1 Changes in the Understanding of Threats and their Interrelationship

In the late 1970's and early 1980's, an increasing number of academics called for a new security paradigm and argued for a broadening of the definition of security to include non-military threats (Brown 1977; Ullman 1983; Buzan 1983, 1991; Gurr 1985; Westing 1986). Soon after the collapse of the Soviet Union, many other scholars had followed their lead (Pirages 1991; Myers 1993). Prominently among those, Jessica Tuchman Mathews endorsed "broadening [the] definition of national security to include resource, environmental and demographic issues" (Tuchman Mathews 1989: 162). Sceptics, particularly those in 'classic' security studies, argued that expanding the concept of security would risk diluting, if not depleting, its analytical utility (Deudney 1990; Dalby 1992a; Freedman 1998a).

Nevertheless, a wider notion of what constitutes a threat to 'national security' continued to make slow inroads. The national security strategies of the United States in the 1990's and NATO's subsequent strategic concepts, for instance, placed increasing emphasis on issues such as instabilities arising from acute socio-economic challenges, ethnic rivalries, environmental degradation, drug trade, and refugees (NATO 1991; White House 1991).

For the UN, the main impetus came through increased involvement in internal conflicts. In the early 1990's, the UN played a key role in bringing protracted conflicts in Namibia, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Cambodia, and Mozambique to an end.

Against this background, then UN Secretary-General, Boutros Boutros-Ghali was asked by the Security Council to help define the role of the UN in a new security environment. Advocating an “integrated approach to human security,” the resulting *Agenda for Peace* stresses that “[t]he sources of conflict and war are pervasive and deep. To reach them will require our utmost effort to enhance respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, to promote sustainable economic and social development for wider prosperity, to alleviate distress and to curtail the existence and use of massively destructive weapons” (United Nations 1992: paras. 16,5). The *Agenda* identifies poverty, environmental degradation, disease, and organized crime as root causes of violent conflicts (United Nations 1992: para. 13), although this assertion was not supported by any analysis (Mack/Furlong 2004: 3). The report came at a time when member states and the Secretariat were reluctant to address socio-economic issues in the context of conflict, “for fear of being accused of interfering in the internal affairs of member states” (Mack/Furlong 2004: 3).

Subsequent years, however, made clear that ending civil wars and bringing peace to post-conflict countries was a far greater and longer-term challenge than the early success of the 1990's had suggested. The release of the *Agenda for Peace* was followed by severe setbacks for UN peacekeeping and peace-building, most prominently in the Balkans, Angola, and Rwanda. ‘Failing’ or ‘failed’ states became of increasing concern, first for humanitarian reasons, as evidenced in the intervention in Somalia, and later for fear of regional destabilization, as seen in the turmoils engulfing much of the Great Lakes Region and Western Africa (Zartman 1995).

It became increasingly evident that bringing lasting peace to post-conflict societies required addressing a host of socio-economic factors, first and foremost among them the immense challenge of demobilizing, disarming, and reintegrating former combatants. Partly as a result of this understanding came a dramatic increase in both number and complexity of UN-led and -authorized peace operations. What started in the 1950's as lightly armed blue helmets as a buffer between state armies observing armistices or peace agreements (ONUC, the 1960–64 UN Operation in Congo being an important exception), became increasingly ‘complex’ or ‘multidimensional’, and the UN found itself tasked with the economic and political reconstruction of war-torn states. In Kosovo (UNMIK) and East Timor (UNTAET), the UN effectively took over the function of the state (Chesterman

2004). By the end of the 1990's, ‘state-building’ had become the new mantra for some in the UN community, and an anathema for others.

Advancing research on the underlying causes of violent conflict suggested that in order to prevent conflict, such complex matters as the equitable distribution of extractable resources, poverty alleviation, and youth employment would need to be addressed (Collier/Elliott/Hegre/Hoeffler/Reynal-Querol/Sambanis 2003: 53–88). As a result, towards the end of the 1990's the UN formally adopted – at least rhetorically – a policy of ‘structural prevention’, to address the underlying socio-economic causes of armed conflict (Mack/Furlong 2004: 9–10). Developing world countries welcomed an increasing focus on socio-economic threats to peace. However, they did not subscribe to the interference into internal matters that came with it.

During the 1990's, the Security Council, too, proved increasingly willing to interpret dangers to international peace and security more broadly. It repeatedly turned its attention to socio-economic issues and their interrelationship to security. The Council adopted resolutions on, inter alia, the illicit flow of small arms and light weapons to Africa (SCR 1209, 19 November 1998), civilians in armed conflict (SCR 1296, 19 April 2000), HIV/AIDS (SCR 1308, 17 July 2000) and gender in post-conflict peace-building (SCR 1325, 31 October 2000). However, this change in Council deliberations was not driven by any new formal doctrine or procedures. Instead, many non-permanent members tended to use their two-year tenure on the Council in order to spotlight non-traditional security threats (see Dedring above on Canada's role). In spite of critics who argued that the Council had become a ‘theme park’, the trend has proved enduring.

The terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001 reinforced the expansion of the Council's agenda, but in new directions. On 12 September, the Council passed Res. 1368, condemning the attacks and recognizing “the inherent and collective right of self-defence in accordance with the charter.” For the first time, the Security Council invoked Art. 51 against an attack from a non-state entity, al-Qaeda. While growing attention had been given to so-called ‘soft’ security threats, 11 September encouraged the Council to be more proactive in addressing new ‘hard’ threats: particularly, international terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) to terrorist groups (in particular with SCRs 1373 and 1540, which imposed binding obligations on all 191 UN member states to take concrete steps to prevent terrorism and

access by non-state actors to WMD). Furthermore, 'state failure' came to be seen as a threat to peace not only in its humanitarian and regional dimensions, but also because failed states could – as demonstrated by al-Qaeda in Sudan and Afghanistan – serve as bases to shelter and train terrorist recruits (Rotberg 2003).

Yet these developments obscured the fact that the UN had still not developed a sound doctrine or consensus on how to address a panoply of new challenges. In the aftermath of the 2003 Iraq war, this failure yielded a searing indictment of the UN's effectiveness – even its relevance – in the post-Cold War era.

47.3.2 Advent of Human Security

In parallel with the broadening of the security concept to include non-military threats against states, the focus of security policy and discourse shifted from the integrity of the state to the protection and well-being of groups and individuals. This shift in emphasis was at first the result of the relative prominence civil wars assumed after the end of the Cold War, and the humanitarian catastrophes that inevitably followed suit. It was reinforced by the role of non-state actors in terrorism and weapons proliferation.

International attention to the security of individuals was also a function of the expanding influence of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in world politics, particularly in the realm of human rights and humanitarian affairs (Risse-Kappen 1995; Tuchman Mathews 1997). Often organized in loosely-structured "policy networks", NGOs increasingly participated in global agenda-setting and became regular participants in policy deliberations (Reinicke/Deng/Benner/Witte 2000; Florini 2001). By exploiting rapid growth in media and information technology, NGOs became effective in steering world attention to the plight of civilians suffering under brutal regimes and armed conflict (Keck/Sikkink 1998).

Focus on the individual as victim was accompanied by focus on the individual as perpetrator, reflected in what Anne-Marie Slaughter has termed the progressive "individualization of international law", that is "the process by which we have taken the black box of the state and made it gradually transparent to focus on individuals rather than states as unitary political entities" (Slaughter 2003: 815). This development is most striking in the development of international criminal law in the course of the last fifteen years – the major milestones of which are the establishment by the Security Council of the International Tribunals on

Rwanda and Yugoslavia and the more recent creation of the International Criminal Court.

The end of superpower patronage in developing countries also permitted previously taboo issues to come to the development agenda. Human rights, corruption, democracy, and rule of law became part of mainstream development discourse, programmes and, most importantly, aid conditionality. The World Bank (1992a), the IMF (1997) and UNDP (1997) have become major proponents of this good governance paradigm. The focus of development policy shifted from macroeconomic growth to the role of the state and public institutions in guaranteeing the well-being of their citizens (Sen 1999). This 'people-focused' approach to development was best captured by the term 'human development', which was popularized by the UNDP *Human Development Report*. Against this backdrop, the development and humanitarian communities also advocated 'human security' as the security equivalent to human development.

Attempts to conceptualize human security and its implications for the international community became a veritable cottage industry. One leading author claims with some justification that "[e]xisting definitions of human security tend to be extraordinarily expansive and vague, encompassing everything from physical security to psychological well-being, which provides policy-makers with little guidance in the prioritization of competing policy goals and academics with little sense of what, exactly, is to be studied" (Paris 2001: 88). An important outcome, however, was the growing acknowledgement of the interrelationship between security and development. It is in its broad definition, writes Peter Uvin, "that human security amounts to a re-conceptualization of the development enterprise, with 'freedom from fear' and 'freedom from want' becoming two inseparable faces of the same coin" (Uvin 2002: 18; see also in this volume). Other influential actors, however, saw human security confined not only to non-military threats. The Canadians⁸ and Norwegian governments, in particular, focused on military/violent threats to groups and individuals. In stressing the 'human dimension of security', both countries are sponsors of the Human Security Network (Fuentes 2007), an international policy network comprised of academics, policy-makers, and NGO practitioners, to advance their foreign and development policy goals: ban of anti-personnel

8 Within the Canadian government, the driving force behind the human security approach was former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Lloyd Axworthy (2001a).

mines, control of small arms and light weapons, and advancement of the International Criminal Court. While core aspects of human security are not new – and are already contained in the UN Charter – the concept found traction with member states, and thus came to significantly influence the UN agenda.

47.3.3 Qualification of Sovereignty and the Responsibility to Protect

In the course of the 1990's this shift of attention to the well-being of the individual created inevitable tension between the traditional cornerstones of the UN: collective security, sovereignty, and non-interference. In his *Agenda for Peace*, the Secretary-General acknowledged that a new security environment forced the UN to look inside states. Reiterating that “[r]espect for [the state’s] fundamental sovereignty and integrity are crucial to any common international progress”, he cautions that “[t]he time of absolute and exclusive sovereignty, however, has passed: its theory was never matched by reality” (United Nations 1992: para 17).

Among the main drivers to qualify sovereignty was the Security Council. With a broadened understanding of ‘threats to peace’, the Council increasingly invoked collective security measures under Chapter VII of the UN Charter in response to developments that had traditionally fallen outside the realm of collective action (Chesterman 2001). The first such case was Resolution 688 of 5 April 1991, in which the Council implicitly invoked Chapter VII, stating that massive cross-border flows of Kurdish refugees from northern Iraq posed a threat to international peace and security in the region.⁹ Other instances of Chapter VII action in response to largely internal developments include the 1992–1993 intervention during a humanitarian catastrophe in Somalia, the UN’s efforts from 1992–1995 to end the civil war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the authorization of a multinational force in 1994 to restore the democratically elected regime of President Aristide in Haiti, and the mandate for Italian-led operation ‘Alba’ in 1997 to stabilize the situation in Albania, where the state had been dissolving into chaos.

The UN’s expanded role in peace and security was accepted only reluctantly by many member states, in particular by the developing world. The states were highly critical of UN interference, in the name of in-

ternational peace and security, in what had traditionally been internal matters. ‘Humanitarian intervention’ and the limits of sovereignty remained highly controversial issues in the Security Council, often inducing paralysis rather than action vis-à-vis armed conflicts and humanitarian crises.

The failure of the Security Council in 1994 to prevent genocide in Rwanda highlighted that states with the military capacities to intervene maintained a narrow conception of security, tied to a circumscribed nation of their national interests. However, the watershed event was the 1999 Kosovo war. NATO’s bombing campaign against Serbia, in the absence of a Security Council authorization, was hugely controversial not only among UN member states but also among international lawyers and humanitarian experts (Chesterman 2001; Weiss 2004). When the Secretary-General, in his speech before the General Assembly that same year, welcomed the “developing international norm in favour of intervention to protect civilians from wholesale slaughter,”¹⁰ the reaction among many countries from the G-77 was cool if not hostile. This highlighted the urgent need to establish consensus on this question and to provide intellectual underpinning.

An answer to the key question, “when is it right to fight?” was attempted in an influential report, commissioned by the Canadian government in 2000. *The Responsibility to Protect* interprets sovereignty not just as a shield against outside interference but also as an obligation of states to shield their respective populations from humanitarian disasters. If states fail to live up to this responsibility, it shifts to the international community, including, in the last instance, a responsibility to intervene (ICISS 2001: para 4.20). The emerging norm of a ‘responsibility to protect’ has subsequently been acknowledged – at least rhetorically – by many policy-makers, as exemplified by President Clinton’s speech at the 2000 UN Millennium Summit stressing the need to “find ways to protect *people* as well as *borders*” (Clinton 2000).¹¹ Nevertheless, the willingness of the Security Council to bypass the principle of non-intervention and mandate action under Chapter VII of the UN Charter continued to material-

9 The question whether SCR 688 is indeed a Chapter VII resolution is debated among international lawyers. See Chesterman 2001: 124–133 and 196–201.

10 UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan, Speech before the UN General Assembly, 20 September 1999, UN Doc. A/54/PV.4; available at: <<http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N99/858/23/PDF/N9985823.pdf?OpenElement>>.

11 Speech on 6 September 2000, available at: <<http://www.un.org/millennium/webcast/statements/usa.htm>>.

ize only in cases of near or total state collapse and humanitarian catastrophes

47.3.4 Collective Security in Crisis

Despite agreement that traditional security concepts did not adequately capture the breadth and nature of contemporary threats, human security as a concept remained too fuzzy to translate into operational policy. Apart from the larger question on how to reconcile 'state' and 'human' security, the UN never developed a concept of how to position itself vis-à-vis the challenges of counterterrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. The Security Council actively addressed these issues after 9/11, but its responses remained ad hoc, and the Secretariat offered little leadership.

There was a growing sense that collective security was yet again in crisis. Bringing the simmering crisis to a boiling point was the US-led invasion of Iraq, which led some governments and observers to declare the irrelevance of the United Nations. Supporters of the invasion lamented an inability of the UN to enforce its own resolutions and address today's most salient threats. Opponents of the invasion criticized the United Nations for failing to prevent the US from waging what they saw as an illegal war (Malone 2006).

However, the shared sense of crisis went well beyond the question of whether international rules guiding the use of force are still adequate for today's security threats. Indeed, many countries and peoples question whether a multilateral system shaped in the aftermath of World War II is still adequate for addressing their twenty-first century security concerns. Partly, this reflects the inability of the UN to assemble a comprehensive doctrinal framework underpinning its role in international peace and security after the Cold War. Fundamental questions – such as: What are the world's most pressing threats to international peace and security? What are the basic frameworks for addressing these threats? What are the responsibilities of states in addressing these threats? How should we interpret state sovereignty in today's world? – remain highly controversial at the United Nations.

Against this background Kofi Annan told the General Assembly in September 2003 that the UN should analyse, self-critically, how to address 'new and old' threats more effectively and announced the creation of a *High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges, and Change*, a blue ribbon commission of sixteen eminent persons from all six continents,¹² many of them

former prime ministers and foreign ministers, to undertake this task.

47.4 UN High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change: Towards a New Security Consensus?

On 2 December 2004, the High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges, and Change submitted its report, *A more secure world: our shared responsibility*, to the UN Secretary-General. While much of the public interest focused on its recommendations for reform of the Security Council, its primary ambition was to propose a comprehensive vision of collective security that effectively and equitably addresses the most pressing security concerns of all regions. The Panel's terms of reference asked it to:

- a.) Examine today's global threats and provide an analysis of future challenges to international peace and security. Whilst there may continue to exist a diversity of perception on the relative importance of the various threats facing particular Member States on an individual basis, it is important to find an appropriate balance at a global level and

12 *Anand Panyarachun* (Thailand), former Prime Minister; *Robert Badinter* (France), former Minister of Justice; *Joao Clemente Baena Soares* (Brazil), former Secretary-General of the Organization of American States; *Gro Harlem Brundtland* (Norway), former Prime Minister, former Director-General of the World Health Organization; *Mary Chinery-Hesse* (Ghana), Vice-Chairman, National Development Planning Commission of Ghana, former Deputy Director-General, International Labour Organization; *Gareth Evans* (Australia), President of the International Crisis Group, former Minister for Foreign Affairs; *David Hannay* (United Kingdom), former Permanent Representative of the UK to the UN and UK Special Envoy to Cyprus; *Enrique Iglesias* (Uruguay), President of the Inter-American Development Bank; *Amre Moussa* (Egypt), Secretary-General of the League of Arab States; *Satish Nambiar* (India), former Lt. General in the Indian Army, Force Commander of UNPROFOR; *Sadako Ogata* (Japan), former United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees; *Yevgenii Primakov* (Russia), former Prime Minister; *Qian Qichen* (China), former Vice Prime Minister, Minister for Foreign Affairs; *Nafis Sadik* (Pakistan), former Executive Director of the United Nations Population Fund; *Salim Ahmed Salim* (United Republic of Tanzania), former Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity; and *Brent Scowcroft* (United States), Lt. General in the United States Air Force, former US National Security Adviser.

to understand the connections between different threats.

- b.) Identify clearly the contribution that collective action can make in addressing these challenges.
- c.) Recommend the changes necessary to ensure effective collective action, including but not limited to a review of the principal organs of the United Nations (UN Secretary-General 2003b).

47.4.1 Defining the Threats

At the outset of its work in December 2003, the Panel's main challenge was thus to determine how broadly to interpret 'threats and challenges to international peace and security'. In his September 2003 speech, the Secretary-General referred to 'hard' and 'soft' threats - with the latter denoting "the persistence of extreme poverty, the disparity of income between and within societies, and the spread of infectious diseases, or climate change and environmental degradation" (UN Secretary-General 2003a). The Panel's terms of reference gave the Panel considerable freedom, noting that "The Panel's work is confined to the field of peace and security, broadly interpreted. That is, it should extend its analysis and recommendations to other issues and institutions, including economic and social, to the extent that they have a direct bearing on future threats to peace and security" (UN Secretary-General 2003b).

After dozens of consultations with government and civil society representatives from all over the world, the Panel members soon realized that perceptions of what constitutes a threat to one's peace and security diverge dramatically across regions - even more so than many of them had anticipated. The major fault line in threat perceptions ran between what has been termed "the perhaps most basic and fundamental division of international life" (Kingsbury/Roberts 2003: 55), namely the gap between poor countries in the developing world and rich countries in the industrialized world. In simple terms, western and industrialized countries seem to see the nexus of terrorism and weapons of mass destruction as threats requiring the most urgent attention. Many within the global South tend to downplay the threat of nuclear terrorism as one that affects only the United States, or even as a fiction fabricated by hawkish policy-makers in Washington. Many of these countries from the global South tend to see socio-economic challenges, such as poverty and infectious diseases - phenomena that are often categorized in the industrialized world as development challenges rather than security threats - as

the most imminent and pressing threats, based on the sheer number of people killed each year by them.

Agreement on what constitutes a threat to peace and security is one of the basic prerequisites of collective action. Understanding that the first step would be a mutual acknowledgement of threats - whether real or perceived - the High-level Panel defined a threat to peace and security broadly as "[a]ny event or process that leads to large-scale death or lessening of life chances and undermine States as the basic unit of the international system" (United Nations 2004: 2). This definition captures both traditional state-centred security threats as well as grave threats to human security (as threats in their own right and not only as 'root causes'), while excluding a number of social ills - such as smoking, suicides, and car accidents - that cause large scale death every year, yet are widely agreed not to be security threats.

Based on this definition the Panel identified six 'threat clusters': 1) socio-economic threats, including poverty, infectious diseases, and environmental degradation; 2) classic inter-state wars; 3) intrastate violence, including civil wars and genocide; 4) weapons of mass destruction; 5) terrorism; and 6) organized crime.

47.4.2 Bridging Collective and Human Security

Simply proposing an all-encompassing definition would not lead to a new security concept nor bridge the divide in threat perceptions. The Panel considered three paradigms for collective action: one argument emphasizes the moral imperative of collective action; a second puts forward the case for a "grand bargain" between the North and the South; and a third emphasizes the interconnectedness of threats and the self-interest of all nations in addressing all threats collectively.

According to the moral imperative, the industrialized world could not watch idly as three million people die each year of HIV/AIDS. Similarly, the failure of the Security Council and/or troop-contributing countries to prevent the slaughter of 800,000 Tutsis and moderate Hutus in Rwanda in 1994 is cited most often as a moral failure. While the moral argument is strong in many cases, it clearly would not be sufficient alone to underpin a comprehensive security concept for the United Nations. The moral imperative is mostly invoked to pressure the industrialized world to address security threats in the global South and is rarely invoked to ask for sacrifices from the developing world to address security concerns of the North.

While moral considerations have certainly influenced foreign policy decisions of powerful UN member states, costly interventions will in most cases be decided based on more restrictive considerations of 'national interest'.

According to a second argument, the gap in threat perceptions could best be bridged by a 'grand bargain' between the industrialized world and the global South. The grand bargain has in common with the moral imperative that it does not presuppose that addressing each other's threats collectively is in all states' self-interest. Otherwise, no bargain would be needed. However, the grand bargain idea implies that security threats are more efficiently addressed in a cooperative framework. In abstract terms, the bargain would thus entail 'cooperation in exchange for cooperation'. More specifically, the core of this bargain could see the 'West' to receive the support from other member states for equipping the collective security system with the 'teeth' to effectively address threats emerging from WMD proliferation and terrorism. In return, the industrialized world would commit to address poverty and infectious diseases through drastic increases in development aid and more equitable trade agreements in key commodities like agriculture and textiles. While the possibility of a grand bargain was intensely discussed within the High-level Panel and initially enjoyed some popularity among the New York diplomatic community, it was ultimately rejected by the Panel members as the main thrust of their report, primarily because the third argument seemed sufficiently strong.

This third argument for a new concept of collective security, and the one the Panel put forward, is based on its analysis of the interconnectedness and transnational impact of today's threats. This argument – if indeed true – suggests that states should address other's threats out of sheer self-interest.

47.4.3 Interconnections, Systemic Effects, and Limits of Self-protection

Indeed, the Panel found abundant evidence that threats today are more interconnected than ever before and, through porous borders and global economic interdependence, often tend to have transnational impact. Such interconnections go well beyond the link between weak or failed states and terrorism that has been invoked repeatedly in the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks. The World Bank has calculated that around 10 million additional people might have been thrown into extreme poverty¹³ (Collier/ Hegre/Hoef-

fler/Reynal-Querol/Sambanis 2003: 3) as a result of the global economic downturn that followed the 9/11 attack. Any terrorist attack against a major western city involving weapons of mass destruction would produce economic ripple effects of a much greater scale. Similarly, through international air travel, Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS) spread from an isolated province in China to produce more than 8,000 cases and 30 countries in three months, killing almost 700.¹⁴ Organized crime serves as a threat multiplier, contributing to state weakness (by undermining the rule of law), civil conflict (through illicit trade in conflict commodities and small arms), terrorism (through trade in drugs and other illicit products), and the spread of infectious diseases (through heroin trade and human trafficking).

The fact that threats nurture each other and freely cross borders imposes limits on self protection: "No state, no matter how powerful, can by its own efforts alone make itself invulnerable to today's threats. Every state requires the cooperation of other states to make itself secure. ... Thus all states have an interest in forging a new comprehensive collective security system that will commit all of them to act cooperatively in the face of a broad array of threats" (United Nations High-level Panel 2004: paras. 24–28).

47.4.4 States as Frontline Defenders and Sovereignty as Responsibility

A world of interconnected threats also requires that states prevent these threats from emanating within their countries. Adopting and broadening an understanding of 'sovereignty as responsibility', which was popularized by the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, the Panel report argues that sovereignty "carries with it the obligation of a state to protect the welfare of its own peoples and meet its obligations to the wider international community" (para. 29). Sovereignty is thus understood as conditional. In cases where states fail to live up to their responsibility to address the manifestation of such threats, this responsibility shifts to the international community.

However, in many parts of the world, states are incapable and/or negligent in safeguarding the security and basic welfare of their citizens. This does not nec-

13 Defined as a daily income of less than US\$ 1 dollar per day.

14 See timeline at: <<http://www.npr.org/news/specials/sars/timeline.html>>.

essarily imply a need for more coercive action or armed intervention, but rather, the need for placing development at the front line of collective security and establishing a sound doctrine for state-building. Many developing countries party to international conventions and subject to Security Council resolutions which impose complex and costly obligations simply lack the resources and capacities for compliance. Placing development at the centre of collective security is further warranted by many quantitative studies that show a strong correlation between extremely low levels of per capita GDP and the occurrence of civil war.¹⁵

The High-level Panel report lacks a discussion of possible contributions of the United Nations in promoting liberal and democratic values as a means to prevent violent inter- and intrastate conflict. This is somewhat surprising inasmuch as the academic literature suggests that democratic regimes are extremely unlikely to fight wars against each other (Brown/Lynn-Jones/Miller 1996).¹⁶ A number of western governments see democratization in the Arab world as the most promising long-term strategy to prevent future jihadi terrorism. Indeed, the UN itself has been at the forefront of democracy promotion, assisting in the preparation and execution of elections in almost 100 countries over the past 15 years. However, beyond electoral assistance and capacity-building, the UN has failed to develop a broad agenda of democracy-promotion – reflecting the anxieties of non-democratic member states and, among democracies, fiercely contested views about preferred models of democratization and democratic governance. The report of the High-level Panel seems to reflect this state of affairs.

47.4.5 Tackling Terrorism and Weapons of Mass Destruction

In addition to proposing a coherent security concept, the High-level Panel drew the UN's focus to the grave threats of terrorism and weapons of mass destruction. Indeed, in the past the United Nations has not shown any leadership on these issues. The Panel report lamented that the UN had not lived up to its normative potential in delegitimizing terrorism and urged the Secretary-General to put forward a comprehensive counter-terrorism strategy (United Nations High-level Panel 2004: 48–49).¹⁷ The report also warned of a severe crisis for the nuclear non-proliferation regime and made recommendations on how to prevent the risk of its total collapse (United Nations High-level Panel 2004: 42–46).

After the release of the report, some Secretariat officials privately voiced scepticism at the Panel's attempt to raise the UN profile in counter-terrorism and non-proliferation. They argued that asking the Secretariat to develop a louder voice on these issues would divert scarce resources from the UN's core competencies in ending wars and building peace in 'second order conflicts', mostly in Africa. The Panel, agreeing that the main operational role of the UN lay in peacekeeping and peace-building, argued that the UN could not be silent on terrorism, weapons of mass destruction, and great power conflict. David Malone (2006) writes that if the United Nations "resigns itself, or is consigned by the major powers, merely to address often intractable civil wars of a geo-strategically secondary character, then the UN, in the security sphere, will recede to little more than it amounted to during the Cold War years, a far cry from the terms and ambitions of the Charter" (Malone 2006).

The Panel offered a new and comprehensive vision of collective security which was based on a broad notion of security threats, on the interconnectedness of threats, self-interest, and an understanding of sovereignty as responsibility. It also called for a new seriousness in addressing terrorism and weapons of mass destruction.

The Panel's recommendations provide a central role for the UN and its principal organs, but its concept of collective security is in fact much broader. It calls for "collective strategies, collective institutions,

15 A country with a GDP per person of just \$ 250 has a predicted probability of war onset at some point over the next five years of 15%. Doubling per capita income approximately halves the risk of rebellion. See: Collier/Hegre/Hoeffler/Reynal-Querol/Sambanis 2003: 58.

16 The data are more ambivalent as far as internal conflicts are concerned. While there are studies that suggest well-established democracies are less likely to experience civil wars than autocratic societies, this finding does not apply to sub-Saharan Africa (Esty/Goldstone/Gurr/Surko/Unger 1998). Several studies have shown that countries in democratic transition are more likely to experience civil war than democratically or autocratically governed countries (Snyder/Mansfield 1995; Esty et al. 1998).

17 The Secretary-General did implement the panel report's recommendation in his speech at the Club of Madrid summit on 10 March 2005 (UN Secretary-General 2005a)

and a sense of collective responsibility” (United Nations High-level Panel 2004: 1). In particular, the Panel’s recommendations addressing terrorism and weapons of mass destruction underscore the necessity of complementary multilateral, bilateral, and even “plurilateral” action. Given that this vision of collective security differs significantly from the traditional concept of collective security, a debate took place within the Panel on whether to use the term ‘collective security’, or to introduce a new term. Some argued a new term such as ‘cooperative security’ or ‘preventive security’ was necessary “to inspire people to think in a new way” and because ‘collective security’ had a well-established definition which the Panel could not single-handedly alter. ‘Preventive security’, was rejected by several panellists, who argued that this term was 1) too narrow; 2) misleading because the United Nations would necessarily continue to be reactive; and 3) harmful by evoking association with the 2002 US National Security Strategy (NSS), which was widely interpreted as advocating the preventive use of force against emerging threats. Another group did not want to include binding elements of chapter VII under the term ‘cooperative security’ out of fear that lumping them together with the voluntary socio-economic provisions in the charter would weaken the binding nature of Security Council action. Still others were concerned that the introduction of a new concept of security “would require a thorough conceptual examination and enormous efforts if we were to win familiarity and support”. In the end these objections prevailed and panellists decided to maintain the term collective security, redefining it along the way.¹⁸

47.5 Response to the High-level Panel Report

The report of the High-level Panel attracted significantly more attention in the UN community than any previous blue ribbon report.¹⁹ This could be attributed to a number of reasons. First, the report contained recommendations on reform of the Security Council. Second, the Secretary-General frequently alluded to his high expectations for the Panel’s deliber-

ations; the fact that he took on most of the Panel’s recommendations in his own report was equally important. Third, the diversity of the Panel’s members left many observers surprised at their substantive and viable recommendations. Finally, many recommendations in the report were not novel but reiterated the exhortations from previous reports and government proposals, or emphasized breaking deadlock in long-standing debates. Many of the Panel’s recommendations satisfied pre-existing constituencies.

By January 2005, the Secretary-General indicated that he would issue his own report. The release of the High-level Panel report in December 2004, combined with the release of the Millennium Project report (on the Millennium Development Goals) in January 2005, provided an opportunity for the Secretary-General to synthesize two substantive inputs on security and development. The release of these two reports also inspired a call among member states and senior Secretariat officials for the planned high-level review of the Millennium Development Goals preceding the 60th General Assembly to be a more ambitious event, combining security, development, and human rights in a broad agenda of renewal.

After consultations on the Panel and Millennium Project reports in the General Assembly and other fora, the Secretary-General released his report, *In Larger Freedom: toward Security, Development and Human Rights for All*, on 21 March 2005. The report contains four sections: “freedom from want”, drawing on the recommendations of the Millennium Project for achievement of the Millennium Development Goals; “freedom from fear”, endorsing the concept of collective security and other select recommendations from the High-level Panel; “freedom to live in dignity”, incorporating recommendations on human rights, the rule of law and democracy; and “strengthening the UN”, with recommendations on institutional reform, including those of the High-level Panel. The Secretary-General also offered a blueprint of priority recommendations for world leaders to consider at the 2005 World summit, scheduled for September of that year.

The report of the Secretary-General endorses the Panel’s general concept of collective security. Arguing that “we will not enjoy development without security, we will not enjoy security without development, and we will not enjoy either without respect for human rights” (United Nations Secretary-General 2005b: para. 17), it underscores interconnections among threats and interdependence among states – the Panel’s core arguments. However, the term ‘collective

18 The previous paragraph is not based on any published material but on the recollection of two of the authors of the present article who were present during the Panel deliberations.

19 For responses in the political and scientific literature, see: Prins 2005; Einsiedel 2005; Ozgercin/Steinhilber 2005; Fassbender 2005; Berdal 2005.

security' is employed only under the rubric of security, rather than as an encompassing concept for security, development, and human rights. In part, this reflects criticism from developing countries, which faulted the Panel for 'securitizing' its fundamental concerns, that is, addressing development in "a selective manner, focusing only in terms of poverty, infectious diseases and environmental degradation and only insofar as they affect or influence international peace and security" (Neil 2005). Some member states saw in an overarching concept of collective security the oft-cited potential to help mobilize resources for development and human rights. However, to the frustration of many members of the High-level Panel, which was aggressively lobbied to include socio-economic threats in its analysis, much of the developing world seemed unconvinced; conventional wisdom among these states pronounced that such a broad concept of collective security would detract from rather than increase resources for development.

Such reluctance to accept collective security as a broader concept has hindered the Panel's effort to reconcile state and human security. The Secretary-General's report does incorporate three 'freedoms', similar to those frequently articulated by advocates of human security.²⁰ It promotes human security concerns as the ultimate objective for all security concerns, 'broadening' and 'deepening' traditional, state-centric conceptions of security. The Secretary-General's report also follows the Panel's three methods of reconciling 'human' and 'state security', pointing to interconnections among threats, the imperative of international cooperation, and moral argumentation as well. However, the report does not integrate concerns associated with development, security and human rights under one, unified concept of collective security. And while acknowledging that the security of states depends on the security and well-being of sub-state groups, it is less forceful in arguing the inverse: that development and human rights are contingent on state security.

Despite efforts of the Secretary-General to address for reactions to the Panel and Millennium Project reports, criticism of *In Larger Freedom* was scarcely different. Developing countries considered a focus on the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals too narrow. Those countries which considered

the Panel report too heavily focused on the Security Council and other enforcement activity echoed their previous criticisms. Recommendations on human rights and the rule of law, being relatively new, elicited a familiar brand of scepticism.

Potentially enduring trends among country groupings have emerged. African and European states have to some extent demonstrated a shared understanding of appropriate qualifications on national sovereignty, particularly through agreement on humanitarian and peace-building measures. Attitudes on sovereignty within the Asian group (including the Middle East) were more conservative.

Ultimately, states have been content to broaden other states' concept of security, allowing that what impacts them should be of concern to others. Yet most are far less eager to accept the necessary corollary: that they must also deepen their own concept of security, accepting that threats which affect others should concern them and that their own sovereign conduct could be subject to multilateral scrutiny as well.

47.6 The 2005 World Summit Outcome and Beyond

Subsequent negotiations in the General Assembly on a summit declaration reveal a similar pattern. When over 160 heads of state and government convened in New York in September 2005, insistence on the inclusion of numerous country groupings' narrow proposals had expanded from the Secretary-General's original eight page blueprint for decisions by world leaders from to nearly forty pages. Months of intergovernmental negotiations in the UN's ideologically overcharged atmosphere had turned the document into a convoluted assemblage full of generalities. While the document reflects the widely endorsed stress on interlinkages between security, development and human rights, the fact that many of the Secretary-General's recommendations were abandoned in the negotiation process exposed the predominantly rhetorical nature of such endorsement.

Notwithstanding all its shortcomings, the summit's final outcome document nevertheless contains several important agreements reflecting a convergence of international views in a few areas relevant to international peace and security. Most significant is the agreement on a collective "Responsibility to Protect" populations from genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity, and ethnic cleansing. Unsurpris-

20 See: Human Security Network, which calls for "freedom from fear and freedom from want, with an equal opportunity to fully develop their human potential", at: <<http://www.humansecuritynetwork.org/menue-e.asp>>.

ingly, the Security Council's response so far to the mass-killings in Darfur suggests that economic and political interests, and reluctance to commit troops will continue to stand in the way of a consistent and principled application of the Responsibility to Protect. Nevertheless, the endorsement of the principle is important insofar as die-hard "sovereignty hawks" can no longer credibly argue that crimes against humanity are an "internal affair" and therefore outside the scope of Security Council jurisdiction.

Other achievements of the summit include the strong condemnation, by all governments, of terrorism "in all its forms and manifestations, committed by whomever, wherever" and its characterization as a "threat to international peace and security". While in the past, the Secretary-General and the Security Council had repeatedly issued similar condemnations, this was the first time that the General Assembly produced such unconditional language. While this represents a step forward, the Outcome Document conceals continued disagreement among member states on whether violent attacks by groups fighting to end foreign occupation constitutes terrorism.

The most tangible outcome of the summit can be found in several institutional innovations, most significantly the creation of an intergovernmental Peacebuilding Commission. Such a Commission had been proposed by the High-Level Panel to help war-torn countries to move towards sustainable peace. However, at the summit, member states failed to agree on the new body's modalities, reporting relationships and mandate and left it to the General Assembly to negotiate the details. Agreement was finally achieved in late December on an advisory body closely tied to the Security Council, particularly during the immediate post-conflict phase, and more loosely to ECOSOC for economic reconstruction features of peacebuilding strategies.

Several commentators have lamented that the Peacebuilding Commission will not have a conflict prevention mandate, as the High-level panel had suggested. Intergovernmental negotiations have turned an originally good idea into a "Frankenstein's monster" (the Commission's Organizational Committee will have 31 members potentially condemning it to irrelevance), but the focus on prevention is misplaced: 1) Giving an organ so closely tied to the Security Council a preventive mandate would elicit strong fears among many developing countries; 2) The Commission should not be overloaded; 3) Research tells us that fully half of the countries that emerge from civil war relapse into conflict within five years, suggesting

that successful post-conflict reconstruction is the most effective conflict prevention (Collier/Elliot/Hegre/Hoeffler/Reynal-Querol /Sambanis 2004: 103-110).

In addition to significantly increasing the resources available to the office of the UN's High Commissioner for Human Rights (HCHR), the summit also decided on the establishment of a new Human Rights Council to replace the Commission on Human Rights. The old Commission was widely seen as discredited because of notorious human rights violators repeatedly serving on this body - and on occasion even chairing it. As with the Peacebuilding Commission the summit dodged many difficult questions and it was only in March 2006 that agreement was reached in the General Assembly on the Council's membership, its election mechanism, and the scope of its powers. Compared to the original proposal by the Secretary-General, the actual body is significantly weaker. In particular, the fact that members of the Council will be elected by a simple majority of the General Assembly instead of the proposed two-thirds majority might not prove a sufficiently high hurdle to keep out the worst human rights offenders. That the US, initially the council's strongest supporter, voted against the General Assembly Resolution establishing it raises an additional hurdle that the Council has to overcome.

In any case, new bodies do not necessarily reflect fresh agreement on new threats and challenges. Instead, creating new institutions can prove easier than resolving the difficult problems or poor coordination that affect existing ones (Sending in this volume). Positions on key development, security, and human rights proposals have not been approached with a spirit of compromise, or with any new recognition of burgeoning interdependence that require such an approach. The very issue which led the Secretary-General to initiate the reform process in question - perceived disagreement on rules and norms governing the use of force - has remained wholly unaddressed.

The greatest disappointment of the summit outcome document, however, is its failure to even mention the threat posed by weapons of mass destruction. This striking gap was foretold when the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) Review Conference earlier that year ended without the parties having even agreed on an agenda, just ten years after a predecessor conference managed to extend the NPT indefinitely. Worryingly, this unprecedented lack of consensus on the issues of non-proliferation and disarmament emerges at a time when the nuclear non-proliferation regime is

Table 47.1: Peace and Security highlights of the 2005 World Outcome Document: Achievements and Shortfalls

Achievements ^{a)}	Shortfalls and status of implementation as of August 2006
Terrorism	
Clear and unqualified condemnation – by all governments, for the first time – of terrorism “in all its forms and manifestations, committed by whomever, wherever and for whatever purposes.”	In spite of this strong condemnation of terrorism, governments failed to agree on a definition of terrorism.
Strong political push for a comprehensive convention against terrorism within a year.	This dead-line has not been achieved and agreement on outstanding questions remains elusive.
Agreement to fashion a UN strategy to fight terrorism.	The Secretary-General in spring of 2006 has put before the GA a comprehensive counter-terrorism strategy as a basis for discussion. Negotiations among Member States on an intergovernmentally agreed strategy were still ongoing by summer 2006 with no agreement in sight.
Disarmament and Non-Proliferation	
	Because of profound disagreements among member states on the question of disarmament and non-proliferation, the Outcome Document did not contain a single paragraph on this issue.
Use of Force	
Agreement that the right of self-defense laid down in Article 51 of the UN Charter remains valid.	Member States could not agree on whether Art. 51 can be invoked, under certain conditions, in cases of anticipatory self-defense.
Peacebuilding, Peacekeeping, and Peacemaking	
Decision to create a Peacebuilding Commission (PBC) to help countries transition from war to peace, backed by a support office and a standing fund.	The PBC and a support office were up and running by the summer of 2006 with Burundi and Sierra Leone as first test cases. Whether they will succeed in making a difference on the ground remains to be seen. The standing fund is expected to be established in fall of 2006, pending Agreement of the fund’s terms of references.
New standing police capacity for UN peacekeeping operations.	A core capacity for planning and directing police operations is in the process of being set up in the UN Secretariat.
Agreement to strengthen the Secretary-Generals’ capacity for mediation and good offices.	The General Assembly granted the creation of two new posts to form the core of a new mediation support unit within the UN Secretariat.
Responsibility to Protect.	
Acceptance by all governments of a collective international responsibility to protect populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity.	The recent international response to Darfur calls into question the seriousness of the commitment by members of the Security Council “to take timely and decisive collective action (...) when peaceful means prove inadequate and national authorities are manifestly failing to do it.”
Human Rights, Democracy, and the Rule of Law	
Decisive steps to strengthen the UN human rights machinery doubling the budget of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights.	
Agreement to establish a UN Human Rights Council (HRC) within a year to replace the discredited UN Commission on Human Rights.	In late spring 2006 Member States agreed on the institutional framework of a HRC, which convened for the first time in June 2006.

Table 47.1: Peace and Security highlights of the 2005 World Outcome Document: Achievements and Shortfalls

Achievements ^{a)}	Shortfalls and status of implementation as of August 2006
Reaffirmation of Democracy as a universal value and welcome for a new Democracy Fund.	As of June 2006, the Democracy Fund has received contributions of over \$40mil and pledges of another \$9 mil from 17 countries.
Security Council Reform	
	No agreement on reform and expansion of the Security Council

a) Much of this information stems from: United Nations Department for Public Information, “2005 World Summit”, DPI Fact Sheet, September 2005.

challenged as never before by the North Korean withdrawal from the NPT and over Iran’s nuclear program.

In the final analysis, the summit made clear that proposing a broad security consensus to implement a broad set of institutional and policy reforms could be built- all in a ‘big bang’- ultimately failed. Nevertheless, the process forced member states to confront and seriously discuss security issues that would otherwise have never made it on the agenda of the General Assembly. The Peacebuilding Commission and the Human Rights Council might also prove to be important innovations, although only time will tell whether these institutions can fulfil the high hopes invested in them. Maybe most importantly, the High-level Panel process instigated a significant improvement in the relations between Washington, DC and ‘Turtle Bay’, which were at an all time low in late 2004 due to aftershocks of the Iraq crisis and the oil-for-food scandal. Since then, the reform process has led to a remarkable re-engagement of the US administration with the UN Secretariat, reinforcing what looks from the outside like a strategic re-evaluation of the relationship during the 2nd term of the Bush administration. Whether the serious deadlock on the much-expected UN management reform that emerged in April of 2006 will again seriously sour US-UN relations remains to be seen.

47.7 Conclusion

The UN’s policy and institutional architecture for addressing security threats has evolved dramatically since the end of the Cold War. Confronted with a range of new challenges and opportunities, the UN has played an expanding role in addressing civil violence, peacebuilding, countering terrorism, and preventing the proliferation of weapons of mass destruc-

tion. In so doing, the UN has demonstrated an increasing willingness to authorize and undertake military interventions in situations that had traditionally fallen into the orbit of internal affairs, and to call on states in binding resolutions to develop and implement prescribed domestic legislation. Security Council resolutions addressing problems from ethnic cleansing to nuclear proliferation have also focused on non-state actors, be it for their own protection or for their regulation to protect other member states (see chapter by Dedring).

This evolving treatment of security threats has been accompanied by a conceptual shift in the understanding of security. This understanding has more often followed rather than inspired UN action. The post-Cold War agenda of the Security Council has supported the concept of ‘human security’, which insists that safeguarding state security ultimately requires the protection of the security of groups and individuals within the borders of states. In parallel with concurrent trends in UN and state decision-making, this normative evolution has qualified the principle of absolute sovereignty that was for decades considered inextricable from the UN’s original, state-centric concept of ‘collective security’.

Yet remaining contradictions have prevented the UN from identifying a coherent security concept since the end of the Cold War. Reports such as: *An Agenda for Peace* (United Nations 1992) and the *Responsibility to Protect* (ICISS 2001) provided intellectual guidance on certain aspects of the UN’s work in this new environment. However, in the Secretariat and among member states, different visions of the UN’s new role in peace and security have uneasily coexisted, hampering effective approaches to address new threats and challenges.

In the absence of a coherent security concept, the organization has dichotomized ‘hard’ security threats to ‘state security’, such as armed conflict, terrorism,

and weapons of mass destruction, versus 'soft' threats to 'human security', such as poverty, infectious disease, and environmental degradation. Linkages between these threats have been highlighted to various degrees, but were not underscored until the attacks of 11 September. The report of the High-level Panel attempted to describe the nature and extent of those linkages, and to reconcile them with the UN's founding concept of 'collective security'. In arguing that threats to human and state security are a threat to all states, the Panel has reaffirmed the importance of sovereignty to safeguard human security, but it has also qualified sovereignty to reaffirm the objectives of the 'human security' agenda.

However, states' responses to the security concept offered and endorsed by the Panel have evinced only rhetorical support. The failure of the 2005 World Summit to agree on many proposals by the Panel and the Secretary-General reflect a much broader failure to reach consensus on a coherent security concept. States maintain dramatically divergent understandings of what constitutes a threat to peace and security, and, in practice, scepticism on the scope and extent of true interlinkages between these threats.

In the months preceding the World Summit, many observers had argued that such a climate would undermine any attempt at sweeping reform, or worse, foment "an unnecessary crisis" (See Berdal 2005). The Secretary-General himself recognized that risk, noting early in May that "there are times when multilateral forums tend merely to reflect, rather than mend, deep rifts over how to confront the threats we face" (Annan 2005a). The World Summit has consolidated some of the UN's institutional and normative achievements since the end of the Cold War. In so doing, it has also demonstrated, once again, that conceptual shifts usually follow rather than instigate policy evolutions at the UN. But until interlinkages between threats become more evident in practice, and until states' national policy doctrines reflect these more deeply, a new consensus around collective security will remain only an aspiration.

48 Security, Development and UN Coordination

Ole Jacob Sending

48.1 Introduction

Secretary-General Kofi Annan has made it a key objective to reform the United Nations (UN) from a “culture of reaction to a culture of prevention” (Annan 1997). Annan’s reform-initiative is based upon the idea that there is an inherent relationship between development and security, and that investment in development efforts is the most effective way for the UN to fulfil its goal, as stated in the Charter, of “saving coming generations from the scourge of war” (Annan 2001). The question of the prospects for conflict prevention and on the more general relationship between development and security currently receives intense scholarly and political attention.¹ Indeed, an international consensus has emerged on an inherent relationship between development and security, as has been mentioned in the final document of the 2005 World Summit in September 2005, which states that “we recognize that development, peace and security and human rights are interlinked and mutually reinforcing” (UN 2005).²

Given this high-level political consensus on the imperative to invest in conflict prevention, and to address the nexus between development and security, it is important to ask whether and how the UN’s institutional structure has been transformed accordingly. How and to what extent, for example, has the pre-existing institutional set-up of the UN been adjusted to respond to the ‘nexus’ between development and security? This chapter explores this question, pointing to key changes in the thinking on development and

security since the early 1990’s³ (53.2), exploring the emergence of ‘prevention’ as a systemic norm within the UN (53.3) and, analysing efforts within the UN aimed at integrating development and security policy (53.4).

Rather than analysing the UN merely as an arena where states meet to negotiate and formulate policy, the UN is treated as an actor – as a bureaucratic organization comprised of distinct policy fields differentiated by their mandates, forms of expertise and institutionalized, issue-specific interests (Barnett/Finnemore 2005). Within such a perspective, it is possible to combine a focus on how divergent interests of UN member states interact with the conflicting views and interests embedded in the different policy fields that make up the UN.

As shown below, the recognition of the primacy of prevention and of the need to bring development and security policy closer together has yet to materialize in significant institutional changes within the UN. Instead, coordination has emerged as a solution to increased calls for comprehensive, system-wide approaches that deal with the inter-linkages between development and security. This can be explained by the continued existence of deep-seated disagreements between different parts of the UN bureaucracy, where different organizational units jealously guard their turf, and the more fundamental issue of divergent views among UN member states about the proper role of the world organization in global politics.

1 Influential think tanks and research institutes, such as the International Peace Academy, the Center on International Cooperation, NYU and the Social Science Research Council in New York with close links to policy debates within the UN, have research programmes on peacebuilding and conflict prevention.

2 See the Report of the Secretary-General’s High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change (UN 2004); Annan (2005); United Nations (2005): para 9: 2.

3 In this chapter the concepts ‘security’ and ‘development’ are analysed as they are used by official actors and institutions in the UN system. This chapter does not intend to distinguish between different meanings of security, except in those instances where different interpretations of these terms have a bearing on the institutional changes within the UN system. For more detailed analyses of these developments, see above chapters 50 by Dedring, 51 by Einsiedel/Nitzschke/Chhabra and 52 by Kaul.

48.2 Evolution in Security Thinking

The policy-field of security was confronted with a series of new challenges during the course of the 1990's. For one, the cognitive-normative framework of global politics increasingly defined state sovereignty in relative, not absolute terms. And, importantly, the end of superpower rivalry meant that the UN Security Council could play a more active role in global politics. The character of many violent conflicts that reached the UN Security Council were markedly different from those of the cold war era.

Spurred by the end of the cold war, the international community began contemplating how the UN could assume a much stronger role beyond the negotiation (or enforcement) and monitoring of peace agreements. Experiences from El Salvador and Mozambique, from Angola and Cambodia, suggested that a central challenge for the UN would be to formulate policies and strategies that focused on laying the foundations for a peaceful re-building of war-torn societies. This required more holistic approaches, well beyond the mandates and policy tools of UN peace operations. It included efforts aimed at good governance, democratization, social inclusion and poverty eradication.

The challenge for the UN was how to transform the short-term presence of peacekeepers into efforts aimed at societal transformation aiming at building peace, as opposed to providing security. It brought security thinking and practice into closer collaboration with development policy.

Underlying these changes in security thinking was not only the recognition of a new character of violent conflicts to which the UN had to respond. The gradual incorporation within security policy of a concern with human rights, democracy, and justice had much to do with the normative and political changes that took place in the 1990's. Human rights norms assumed a much stronger status. Such norms helped broaden the security-agenda, and it paved the way for the formulation of the 'human security' agenda which infused concerns within security debates about the extent to which the international community could intervene in a sovereign state to protect the security of individuals.⁴

Moreover, problems related to so-called "failed states" and the international structures of sovereign states emerged as a key concern within security policy

(Boutros-Ghali 1992, 1995). This meant, among other things, that efforts aimed at institutional reform - a key element within development policy - became an increasingly important issue in discussions about ways to address violent conflicts. It was in this context that conflict prevention and the contribution of development policy to peacebuilding strategies came to form a central focus of political and scholarly debate during the latter half of the 1990's.

48.3 Emergence of Prevention

Motivated by the different political context, after the end of the cold war, security analysts and peace researchers increasingly focused on intra-state war and the "wider cycle of conflict; the structural and short term causes of conflict..." and "the processes of conflict resolution and the substance of peacebuilding" (Dwan 2002: 98). The research partly addressed the so-called 'root causes' of violent conflict. Both research and advocacy for conflict prevention were triggered or motivated by the perception that the UN and the international community had failed to meet the high hopes for a new international order of peaceful relations in the post-cold war era. As one commentator observed, "the sobering experiences of the United Nations and the world at large in Somalia, Rwanda, and Yugoslavia gave rise from the mid-1990's onwards to the realization that there exists a clear need to reassess the role of the UN and other international entities in conflict prevention and conflict management" (Tanner 2000: 542).

Much literature emerged on the long-term aspects of 'peacebuilding' and the prospects of identifying and addressing the underlying and intermediate causes of conflict (Lund 1996; Chayes/Chayes 1996; Gurr/Davis 1998; Schmeidl/Adelman 1998; Wallenstein 1998). Linked to this policy-driven research were an increasing number of states and NGOs that approached the UN with a comprehensive preventive focus.⁵ When Kofi Annan assumed office as Secretary General in 1997, the momentum for conflict preven-

4 On the evolution of the concept of 'human security', see the chapter by Dedring above.

5 The International Crisis Group, International Alert, and the European Platform for Conflict Prevention and Transformation - a network launched in 1997 of more than 150 organizations advocating conflict prevention - were active in pushing the conflict prevention agenda. Some governments (Canada, the Netherlands, Sweden) supported actors involved in research on and advocacy for conflict prevention (Björkdahl 2002), e.g. the Swedish Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1997).

tion was growing. In his first major report on UN-reform, Annan (1997) called for a “culture of prevention”, and in 2001, he issued a report on the prevention of armed conflict (Annan 2001). For some time the emphasis on early warning and preventive action had been an essential and non-controversial feature of humanitarian work (floods, droughts, earthquake or war). However, the idea that the UN development assistance should be focused on the prevention of armed conflicts within sovereign states was far more controversial (see chapter by Dedring above).

A major input for a comprehensive focus on prevention including the role of development assistance emerged from the Report to the Commission on Global Governance (1995) which asserted that “a root cause of many conflicts is poverty and underdevelopment”, and that “clearly, the best solution to security crises is to remove or alleviate the factors that cause people, groups, and governments to resort to violence” (Commission on Global Governance 1995: 97). This report was instrumental for an increased political attention on the relationship between underdevelopment and security, and thus on the prospects for using development assistance strategically to prevent violent conflict.

Building on an expanding body of literature arguing for the feasibility and cost-effectiveness of conflict prevention, the *Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict* (1997) argued for a comprehensive approach to prevention. Its final report distinguished between ‘operational’ and ‘structural’ prevention. Structural prevention was defined as “strategies to address the root causes of deadly conflict, so as to ensure that crises do not arise in the first place, or that, if they do, they do not recur.”⁶ The report stressed that such strategies would include “meeting people’s basic economic, social, cultural, and humanitarian needs; and rebuilding societies that have been shattered by war or other major crises.” (Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict 1997. Chapter 4, p. 1). In 1998, Kofi Annan used this distinction between “operational” and “structural” prevention, noting that “The United Nation’s structural prevention strategy involves ... preventive disarmament, development and peacebuilding. Guiding and infusing all these efforts is the promotion of human rights, democratization and good governance as the foundation of peace” (Annan 1998; Luck 2002).

The UN Security Council responded to the Secretary-General’s ideas with a statement in November 1999 supporting the goal of a “culture of prevention” and recognized the need for more extensive collaboration between the UN Security Council and ECOSOC, highlighting the importance of a “coordinated international response to economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian problems” (UN Security Council 1999; 2000). Actors in the development community used this new justification for investment in development aid and they rapidly developed a set of policy concepts that addressed the nexus between development and security. The UNDP, for example, transformed its Emergency Response Division on humanitarian crises into a Bureau for Crisis Prevention and Recovery, aiming also at conflict prevention. Similar institutional developments took place in most, if not all, multilateral and bilateral development agencies in this period (Carment/Schnabel 2004, Hampson/Malone 2002).

48.4 The Politics of Coordination

During the cold war, security and development were thoroughly institutionalized as separate ‘policy fields’ with distinct objectives and means of intervention where development concerned North-South relations, while security focused on East-West relations (Lundestad 1999; Duffield 2001). These two policy fields were, moreover, supported by two different social scientific disciplines of “security studies” and “development studies”, which have contributed to a considerable cognitive division of labour (Cooper/Packard 1998, Bilgin/Morton 2002). This feature of the UN system - its organization as ‘pillars’ with distinct mandates, goals and modes of intervention - is crucial for an understanding of current efforts for creating coherence and consistency between development and security nexus. From this background the UN may be treated not only as an arena where states meet, but also as an actor in its own right with a degree of autonomy and insulation from states’ interests.

The UN is an international bureaucratic organization comprised of a host of different departments, funds, programmes and specialized agencies, each with their own mandate, expertise, and organizational culture. As bureaucracies, moreover, these different units of the UN have a not insignificant capacity for agenda-setting in global political debates, but also for engaging in turf battles (Barnett/Finnemore 2005). This forms the background for looking at the types of institutional mechanisms that have been established in

6 Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict (1997), see at: <<http://www.wilsoncenter.org/sub-sites/ccpdc/pubs/rept97/finfr.htm>>, chapter IV: 1.

an effort to ensure that development and security are linked within the UN.

In the past, governments have consistently postponed making major decisions bearing on the organization of the UN system. Even the fundamental problem of overlapping responsibilities has not been faced squarely, let alone addressed....Today, there is agreement on all sides that changes must be far-reaching if the UN development system is to expand effectively and the Third World is to receive the service to which it is entitled (UN 1969: 18).

This quote from the so-called 'Capacity Study' of 1969 is still valid and describes the UN as an organization characterized by a high level of institutional fragmentation, partly due to the political resistance among member states to centralize authority in international organizations, and partly due to turf battles existing in all organizations (Haas 1991).

To get a sense of how the UN has sought to respond to the challenges of bringing development and security policy closer together, it is useful to look at the discrepancy between stated goals and organizational practice in the interrelated fields of conflict prevention and peacebuilding. The UN Secretary-General has provided a definition of peacebuilding that echoes common usage: "actions undertaken at the end of a conflict to consolidate peace and prevent a recurrence of armed confrontation" (Annan 1998: para 63). Peacebuilding thus encompasses a wide range of policy tools at the disposal of the UN. The General Assembly has resolved "to make the United Nations more effective in maintaining peace and security by giving it the resources and tools it needs for conflict prevention, peaceful resolution of disputes, peacekeeping, post-conflict peacebuilding and reconstruction" (UNGA Millennium Declaration, 2000). Similarly, the Secretary-General's report on conflict prevention from 2001 states that: "An effective preventive strategy requires a comprehensive approach that encompasses both short-term and long-term political, diplomatic, humanitarian, human rights, developmental, institutional and other measures taken by the international community" (Annan 2001: 37).

The UN Department of Political Affairs (UNDPA) has been designated as the 'focal point' for conflict prevention within the UN system. It is meant to create system-wide coherence and consistency and to drive the process of infusing the UN with a 'culture of prevention'. It is doubtful whether Björkdahl is correct asserting that "UNDPA ensures mainstreaming of conflict prevention within the United Nations system" (Björkdahl 2004: 390). The reason is that the UNDPA

has few resources to instruct and guide other parts of the UN system, in particular UN development funds and programmes, which have their own board, mandates, budgets, and executives. UNDPA - being part of the UN secretariat, may develop policies in the field of 'operational prevention', but have few, if any, mechanisms by which to instruct those parts of the UN system that are engaged in 'structural prevention', such as UNDP. Meanwhile, the UNDP has established a Bureau of Conflict Prevention and Recovery (BCPR), which focuses on more structurally oriented prevention. The mechanisms in place for bringing together the work of the UNDPA and UNDP, both of which advance distinct interests and perspectives on prevention, fall in the category of 'coordination', which relies exclusively on the goodwill and convergence of interests between the two organizations. Indeed, coordination can be seen as a relatively cost-free organizational solution inasmuch as it keeps existing divisions of labour, authority, and competence in place, while simultaneously seeking to address issues that fall within the area of competence of several organizational units. Anyone who has observed debates about UN reform would recognize that any suggested changes in existing institutional structures generates opposition, as all bureaucratic organizations are adept at engineering support from a sufficient number of member states so as to halt suggestions of fundamental organizational reform (Luck 2003).

The Brahimi Report was replete with calls for more integration at UN headquarters in order to bring the full range of policy tools at the disposal of the UN (humanitarian, developmental, and security) to bear on the challenges of stabilizing, securing and developing fragile and war-torn societies. The report suggested, for example, the establishment of "Integrated Mission Task Forces" (IMTFs) to ensure joint planning and decision-making between relevant parts of the UN. However, the IMTFs were unable to forge an integrated approach. The Stimson Center's review of the implementation of the proposals in the Brahimi Report noted that "These IMTFs, ... have lacked decision authority and recourse to higher level bodies for validation or appeal, serving more as brainstorming and drafting committees" (Durch/Holt/Earle/Shanahan 2003: xix).

The experiences with the IMTFs are indicative of the inflation in coordination mechanisms within the UN. Some headway has been made with the recent attempt to establish "Integrated Missions", giving more authority to the Secretary-General's Special Representative (SRSR) to decide on the UN's different or-

ganizations in the field. The plethora of funds and programmes (UNDP, UNICEF, WHO, WFP etc.) over which the SRSG has some formal authority on the ground, nevertheless have distinct mandates and are accountable to separate executive boards at headquarters level. Against this background, there is little an SRSG can do to forge a genuinely coherent approach. Moreover, development assistance for post-conflict reconstruction is typically funded by voluntary contributions, where donors specify for which purpose their money is to be spent. The lack of integration or centralization at headquarters level thus trickles down to the field. Thus, the UN is characterized by a fragmented mode of operations (Eide et al. 2005; Dahrendorff et al. 2003). As Michele Griffin (2003: 209) has observed, success of coordinated efforts on the ground often hinges on the

relationship between the resident coordinator and the high-level special representative of the Secretary-General (SRSG) – who is usually in charge of the good offices or peacekeeping presence and also officially the lead authority over the whole UN presence on the ground, but who often enjoys little in the way of resources with which to enforce this authority.

Hence, we have case where there is agreement on the need for a coherent and consistent approach, but where there is neither a ‘head piece’ that can control and apply the wide spectrum of policy tools in a genuinely integrated manner, nor funding mechanisms that guarantee that there is funding for all the tasks that all agree must be performed (Dahrendorff et al. 2003; Tschirgi 2004). As one commentator has observed, “[W]hile there is general acceptance of the broad guidelines governing international action in post-conflict reconstruction and peacebuilding, ...relatively little has been done to create the institutional and human resource capacities necessary to effectively plan and implement the civilian components of multi-dimensional peace operations” (Foreman 2004: 2). The inflation of coordination mechanisms thus also extends to the field level, where the time and energy spent on coordination (coordination meetings in particular) is a frequent source of frustration among UN staff. A recent report on UN peacebuilding thus argued that the overall impression was summed up in the comment by an NGO-representative about how “coordination has become an end in itself” (Kaspersen/Sending 2005: 19).

In recognition of the multidimensional character of conflict prevention, the UN “Interdepartmental Framework for Coordination on Early Warning and Preventive Action” is meant to coordinate and ensure

system-wide coherence in the field of conflict prevention, including the sensitive area of early warning.⁷ It has no legal basis of operations, however, as the efforts to establish the UN with a level of ‘intelligence’ capacity has consistently been shut down by member states.⁸ As a consequence of its informal status it cannot make binding decisions for its constituting members, which makes it hard to see how the Framework Team can serve as the system-wide mechanism for ensuring that conflict prevention is infused in all of the UN’s activities.

These examples serve as an indication of how the institutional structure of the UN – both on the inter-governmental and bureaucratic side – are still heavily shaped by the institutional-political separation of development and security that emerged in the formative period of the UN. In this period, development was defined as a technical and apolitical task external to matters of security, as reflected in the different functions and powers of the UN Security Council and the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC). Listing the innovative replies generated by the UN to respond to the challenges of globalization, Ruggie (2003: 317) notes that some “aspects of the UN system remain fundamentally constrained by its constitutional parameters.” He proceeds to observe that the “UN’s work in peace and security, which is shaped by and in turn has an impact on economic issues, still constitutes a largely self-contained domain of activity.”

The dualism between security and development that was established during the UN’s formative years is thus still in place. Thus, there is a significant discrepancy between discourse and practice on the inter-linkages between development and security. As seen above, this fact can partly be attributed to what Barnett and Finnemore, echoing Weber, call the ‘pathologies’ of bureaucracies, but it must also, as we shall see below, be seen in light of deep-seated disagreements between UN member states on the appropriate role of the UN in world politics.

The lack of an institutional home for efforts that lie at the nexus between development and security came up as a key finding in the report of the *High-*

7 Interview with Karin Hammar, Secretariat of the Framework Team, UN, New York, 24 November 2004.

8 Ibid. The so-called “Brahimi Report” on UN peace operations suggested that the UN secretariat should have a capacity for intelligence gathering to be used in the context of planning for and implementing peace operations. This proposal was not supported by a sufficient number of UN member states (Durch/Holt/Earle/Shanahan 2003).

level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change (2004). The panel noted in its report that “Our analysis has identified a key institutional gap: there is no place in the United Nations system explicitly designed to avoid State collapse and the slide to war or to assist countries in their transition from war to peace” (UN 2004: para 261). At the inter-governmental level, the panel referred to the vacuum between the UN Security Council (UNSC) and the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC). While the UNSC provides mandates for peace operations, it does not command the resources and organizations on the development side of the UN that are crucial for peacebuilding. The panel thus proposed that the UN establish an inter-governmental *Peacebuilding Commission*, and a *Peacebuilding Support Office* to serve as the secretariat for the Commission. As envisioned by the High-level Panel, the Commission should be established by, and serve under, the UNSC. One of the core functions of the Commission was to “identify countries which are under stress and risk sliding towards State collapse” (UN 2004: pages).

The High-level Panel’s report formed the basis for the Secretary-General’s consultation with member states as he set out to formulate his proposals for UN reform. These consultations revealed significant resistance to central features of the proposed *Peacebuilding Commission*. In particular, many member states resisted the idea that such an inter-governmental body should have the authority to perform early warning and monitoring functions. This fact can be attributed to diverging interpretations of state sovereignty between UN member states, where some states see early warning and monitoring as an infringement on what falls within ‘domestic jurisdiction’. In his report to member states – entitled *In Larger Freedom*, the Secretary-General had altered significantly the original proposal from the *High-level Panel*. He explicitly stated, “I do not believe that such a body should have an early warning or monitoring function” (Annan 2005: para 115). Moreover, many developing countries also objected to the suggestion that the Commission should be a sub-organ of the UNSC. Thus, the Secretary-General proposed that the Commission should be a sub-organ of both the UNSC and ECOSOC (Annan 2005: para 114–116).

The proposed *Peacebuilding Commission* survived the political negotiations between member states leading up to the High-level Meeting in New

York in September of 2005. The outcome document from this summit asserts that “The Peacebuilding Commission should begin its work no later than 31 December 2005,” a clear signal of UN member states’ commitment to establishing a mechanism to ensure better coherence and consistency in areas where both development and security issues are at stake (UN 2005: 25–26). As originally envisioned, the Commission was to have a certain level of authority to prioritize, disperse funds, and make decisions about issues at the interstices between development and security. Interestingly, the outcome document from the High-level Meeting defines the *Peacebuilding Commission* as an “inter-governmental *advisory body*”. It may be that despite its mere advisory function – of which there are plenty within the UN system – the Commission will be able to forge a more integrated and coherent approach to peacebuilding, not least because members of the UNSC, of the Bretton Woods Institutions, and of troop contributing countries will be represented in the Commission.

48.5 Conclusion

This chapter has analysed the ways in which new insights on the relationship between development and security have yet to be firmly institutionalized in political practice. Coordination has become something of a panacea for efforts to transcend the institutional dualism between development and security. This dynamic provides a clue to an often overlooked feature of international organizations: they are bureaucracies, defined by rules, standards, and certain types of expertise, and have vested interests in perpetuating and expanding ‘their’ definition of, and response to, new challenges. This feature of international organizations exacerbates disagreements between member states, making UN reform an inherently difficult, complex, and slow process.

In essence, the central point is this: the explanation for the focus on ‘coordination’ as a solution to the challenges of the relation between development and security resides in the fact that more and better coordination does not challenge the crucial, but much more difficult, issue of the political and institutional structures within which development and security policy are formulated and implemented.

49 Reconceptualization of Security in the CSCE and OSCE

Monika Wohlfeld

49.1 Introduction

It is significant to note that the concept of security used by the *Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe* (CSCE), since the mid-1990's *Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe* (OSCE), has from the inception of the process in the 1970's been a broad one. The security concept has undergone transformations along with the political changes and realities in the CSCE/OSCE region, but these have been by far more subtle than in other organizations. One major change over time has been that the concept has been turned into an operational approach following the end of the Cold War.

Nevertheless, although at the end of the Cold War the CSCE did not have to radically adjust its understanding and concept of security, with time it did not become the key international or regional organization to address new security threats and challenges. Or to put it differently: while the broad understanding of security of the CSCE gained acceptance, the significance of the CSCE/OSCE as a security framework did not entirely keep pace. This chapter argues that indeed the broad understanding of security of the CSCE/OSCE, combined with the broad membership and consensus rule, was part of the reason why the Organization did not emerge as a key security player.

This chapter focuses on the declaratory and operational understanding of security in the CSCE/OSCE (49.2). It briefly outlines the development of the security concept and the key concepts governing its approach to security and its primary dimensions (49.3), assesses the usefulness of the CSCE's/OSCE's comprehensive approach to security today (49.4), and draws a few conclusions (49.5).

49.2 Changes in the Security Concept of the CSCE/OSCE

In the early 1970's as tensions lessened between the two sides in the Cold War, the preparations for a Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe began. It was proposed that the conference agenda would be divided into three 'baskets': questions relating to security in Europe; cooperation in the fields of economics, of science and technology, and of the environment; cooperation in humanitarian and other fields. These three 'baskets' formed the core of the Helsinki Final Act¹, which was signed by the 35 CSCE Heads of State or Government on 1 August 1975. Today, these 'baskets' are usually referred to as the three 'dimensions' of the OSCE.

In the Helsinki Final Act, the CSCE's then 35 participating states adopted fundamental principles to guide their behaviour among themselves. While other organizations or negotiation frameworks adopted at the time a narrow security perspective, the CSCE participating states have agreed on a ground-breaking common and broad understanding of security, which

1 The Final Act and all CSCE or OSCE documents that followed are not legally but rather politically binding. Thus, the Helsinki Final Act is neither a charter nor a treaty, but still it is a founding document. The CSCE/OSCE commitments are implemented on a voluntary basis. It could be argued, however, that this fact does not detract from the efficacy of decisions, because having been signed at the highest political level, they have an authority that is arguably as strong as any legal statute under international law, and there are no delays or complications resulting from the ratification process. This may encourage quick action when needed. But it is also clear that an organization based on cooperative principles and on politically binding decisions will not have many carrots and sticks to have a quick and effective impact on the behaviour of some participating states, and implementation of such commitments will not be even in all participating states and on all principles.

arguably has in various ways entered the public dialogue and academic discourse since. The reasons for such an agreement were multiple, and they accommodated diverging security and other related interests of the participating states, shaped by Cold War realities. The possibility of linkages among the various issues and baskets became an important asset for the CSCE and later for the OSCE. As Pal Dunay argues, the Helsinki Final Act “broadened the concept of security far beyond the way states and most experts thought about international security at the time” (Dunay 2006: 20).

With the end of the Cold War, as the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia disintegrated, the CSCE/OSCE grew considerably in terms of membership. The CSCE/OSCE was soon also faced with a very different and challenging set of problems than in the past – domestic conflicts, ethnic strife and problems with democratization processes. The end of the Cold War consequently also led to an operationalization and institutionalization of the CSCE/OSCE, which until then had only been a mechanism for political consultations. The secretariat and institutions were developed, and the first field operations (or missions) were dispatched².

Increasingly, small and large projects, funded from the general budget or voluntary additional donations by participating states were carried out in all dimensions of security by institutions and field operations as part of their mandated implementation. Often, these projects were implemented with partner organizations or with NGOs. This reflected the fact that the OSCE is still primarily a political organization and only secondly a project-implementation body. There are other organizations that have better funding or better technical expertise. But it was emphasized that the OSCE could galvanize the political will among participating states, identify key issues, and also function as a platform for cooperation.

Especially after the traumatic experiences of 11 September 2001, the OSCE, whose participating states had earlier agreed to some (rather theoretical) commitments on a range of non-traditional security issues, including combating terrorism, began to focus

much more on practical responses to the so-called ‘new’ threats to security, or transnational threats, and established expert units in the secretariat and institutions to have the appropriate tools to do so. This clearly implied action against terrorism, which was a common interest of the OSCE participating states, but also a number of other activities aimed at countering threats and elaborated jointly by the then 55 participating states in the document “OSCE Strategy to Address Threats to Security and Stability in the Twenty-First Century”.³ This document reflects a common understanding (while differences in emphasis among the now 56 participating states continue to exist) as to what modern security threats were and how to deal with them. It does not, however, provide a clear way of prioritizing and operationalizing responses (Zellner 2005: 23).

While other organizations and frameworks were redefining their approaches to security, adopting broader definitions in the post-Cold War era, the OSCE was considered by some to have the potential to become a key framework for addressing security matters comprehensively. “For most of its history, the OSCE was Moscow’s favorite among European organizations, praised by Gorbachev as a key structure of his ‘all-European house’ and portrayed by Yeltsin as an alternative to NATO enlargement. Russia’s most cherished idea about this all-inclusive body has always been to create a top executive body shaped after the UN Security Council with a few permanent members and veto rights” (Baev 2005: 1).

But the developments described above did not make the OSCE the key international or regional organization in the post-Cold War era (Dunay 2006). Instead, some observers claim that the OSCE is in crisis. According to Gerard Stoudmann (2005: 254) “the OSCE suffers from political marginalization as its role has significantly decreased and as it increasingly competes with more important and more effective actors (EU, NATO).” Others deny that the OSCE may be in danger of losing its relevance, while acknowledging that it could be used better (Kemp, 2004: 261).

Many factors play a role in the potential of the OSCE not being used to its fullest by the participating states. These range from the fact that indeed European countries have developed a multitude of institutions and organizations to address various security issues and the agendas of many of them have become similar to those of the CSCE/OSCE, as well as due to the preferences of those participating states that hap-

2 Missions or field activities are the Organization’s key instrument in all phases of the conflict cycle and in all three dimensions of security. The mandates, size, and activities of the various missions vary, but all have developed both a monitoring and reporting function (implying if necessary also criticizing) and are supporting the host states in implementing OSCE commitments.

3 MC(II).JOUR/2, 2 Dec 2003, Annex 3.

pened to be part of more exclusive organizations and frameworks, to the complexity of crises that followed the end of the Cold War and consequently the need for complex responses, to the sheer financial and human resources needed. But one aspect should not be underestimated: the intrusiveness of the approach to security, which increasingly jarred with some participants in the CSCE/OSCE process.

49.2.1 Key Security Concepts

What were the key security concepts used by the CSCE/OSCE? While the concept of human security was beginning to find a foothold in the policy community, the CSCE/OSCE developed its own understanding of what security is, centred on the notion of comprehensive security. Both of these concepts and their applicability in the CSCE/OSCE are discussed below.

49.2.1.1 Human Security

Although some observers and sometimes even practitioners connected the work of the OSCE with the concept of human security⁴, one will not find many references to that concept in the OSCE's official documents. A notable exception is the "OSCE Strategy to Address Threats to Security and Stability in the Twenty-First Century" adopted by the 2003 Ministerial Council in Maastricht, which as its last sentence states that OSCE participating states "seek the contribution of a strengthened OSCE to meet the threats and challenges facing the whole OSCE area, and to improve human security, thereby making a difference in the life of the individual – the aim of all our efforts."⁵

CSCE/OSCE commitments focus on transparency, cooperation and monitoring on an inter-state level, that is, of defence and possibly foreign policies, but also on an intra-state level, in particular in relation to individual security. Thus, the concept of security the OSCE uses is one that focuses on the individual as much as on the state. However, one could argue that the term human security is somewhat broader than the OSCE's understanding of security, as the latter does not focus on issues such as health care, nutrition, and social issues.

What then is the relationship of the OSCE to the Human Security Network? Although several, but not all, of the states participating in the network are in the OSCE (Canada, Greece, Ireland, the Netherlands, Norway, Slovenia, Switzerland), and the then chair of the network, Foreign Minister Ferrero-Waldner, argued in 2003 that a conceptual link existed⁶, for numerous reasons related to the respective membership and aims, it is difficult to see how it may function in practice (apart from the Network states taking particular interest in human security relevant matters in the context of the OSCE).

49.2.1.2 Comprehensive Security

Thus, while the concept of human security is not widely used in the OSCE, the concept of comprehensive security focuses both on traditional security aspects and on the human dimension, democracy-building, the economic dimension, the environment, and other fields. The OSCE assumes a direct relationship between peace and stability and the development of democratic institutions, the rule of law, respect for human rights and the rights of minority groups, and development of a market economy. From the OSCE's perspective, the protection and promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms, along with economic and environmental cooperation, are as important for the maintenance of peace and stability as politico-security issues, and as such is an integral component of OSCE activities.

The various aspects of security are seen as interconnected and interdependent: security is regarded as indivisible. In the words of the former OSCE Secretary General Höyneck:

In a very general way the target of joint, enhanced efforts on the part of all OSCE states must progressively extend comprehensive security to all parts of the OSCE area... These efforts should address all the dimensions of OSCE values, commitments and activities.... At the same time there will be increasing agreement, that in each of the OSCE's different dimensions the response which it can offer will have a different profile (Höyneck, 2000: 26).

4 See for example the statement to the OSCE Permanent Council by Stephan M. Minikes, US Ambassador to the OSCE, "OSCE and the Human Security Network", 16 January 2003.

5 MC(II).JOUR/2, 2 Dec 2003, Annex 3.

6 Address by H.E. the Austrian Foreign Minister Ms. Benita Ferrero-Waldner at the 431st Meeting of the Permanent Council of the OSCE on the Human Security Network, 16 January 2003.

49.3 Three Security Dimensions

In order to understand the comprehensive concept of security, it is necessary to discuss the three security dimensions of the CSCE's/OSCE's work, define them, present their tools, and assess their potential.

49.3.1 Politico-Military Dimension

Definition. The commitments, activities, and mechanisms associated with this dimension are aimed at enhancing military security by promoting openness, transparency and cooperation among participating states (OSCE 2000: 117). However, the OSCE's conflict resolution efforts, related to so-called 'frozen conflicts' in its region, and some other efforts such as some conflict prevention activities, also belong to this dimension.⁷ According to Zellner:

Traditionally, the term politico-military dimension was exclusively applied to international, inter-state relations and primarily to military matters. ... Since the early 1990's, conflict prevention, crisis management, and post-conflict rehabilitation have been added, although these tasks are not limited to the politico-military dimension. More recently, the term has also been applied to efforts to address transnational threats such as terrorism, organized crime, and trafficking in weapons (Zellner 2005: 7).

Development. Already in the Helsinki Final Act of 1975, its general part on questions related to security in Europe contained a document on confidence-building measures and certain aspects of security and disarmament. Herewith rules on prior notifications of major military manoeuvres, questions relating to disarmament and other considerations were established. A comprehensive agenda for work in this dimension, the *Forum for Security Co-operation* (a negotiation and decision-making body in the politico-military dimension), the support units in the OSCE Secretariat, and the project activities followed in the 1990's.

This dimension involves a) negotiations on arms control, disarmament⁸, and confidence- and security-building⁹; b) regular consultations and intensive cooperation on matters related to security; c) further reduction of the risks of armed conflicts; and d) implementation of agreed measures.¹⁰ In some areas, the

work in this dimension has been truly ground-breaking, such as the *Code of Conduct on politico-military aspects of security* adopted at the 1994 Budapest Summit, which formulates new norms, particularly regarding the role of armed forces in democratic societies. The increasing attention paid by participating states to so-called 'new security threats', including the issue of terrorism, resulted in a practical focus on relevant activities in the politico-military activities, such as the elimination of stocks of Small Arms and Light Weapons, or surplus ammunition.

Tools. *The Forum for Security Co-operation (FSC)* serves uniquely as the decision-making body for the politico-military dimension and a number of OSCE participating states have separate delegations and arrangements drawing on defence ministries in that body. The FSC has its own rotating chairmanship, which unlike the chairmanship of the entire OSCE gives all states the possibility to chair. The OSCE Secretariat's *Conflict Prevention Centre* has a small support structure for the FSC. Furthermore, an *Annual Security Review Conference* with a fairly broad

⁷ The previous OSCE's High Commissioner on National Minorities (HCNM) has once stated that the work of his office is also to be placed in the politico-military dimension, although this may not universally be agreed.

⁸ Most documents and commitments dealing with military aspects of security concern the whole OSCE area and all OSCE participating States. However, some documents of key importance for military security in Europe were adopted by - and are valid for - only some of the OSCE participating states. This is the case of the *Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE)*, and the *Open Skies Treaty*.

⁹ *Confidence- and Security-Building Measures (CSBMs)* are provisions for the exchange and verification of information regarding the participating states' armed forces and military activities, as well as certain mechanisms promoting cooperation among participating states in regard to military matters. See: Brauch, 2000, 2000a.

¹⁰ In the *Helsinki Final Act* of 1975, the participating states agreed to develop confidence-building measures that would "contribute to reducing the dangers of armed conflict and of misunderstanding or miscalculation of military activities which could give rise to apprehension, particularly in a situation where states lack clear and timely information". The *Helsinki Document 1992* established the *Forum for Security Co-operation*, and defined its work. It included the *Programme for Immediate Action*, which mandated the FSC to conduct negotiations regarding: arms control, disarmament and confidence-building; the development of the *Vienna Document 1992*; a regime for the global exchange of military information; and cooperation in non-proliferation, defence conversion, military contacts, regional issues and force planning. See at: <<http://www.osce.org/fsc/mandate>>.

agenda has been taking place since 2003. The OSCE missions have officers devoted to the politico-military dimension (in a large understanding of that dimension), and small and large projects are implemented in the field. The conflict resolution mechanisms which are under the OSCE auspices are not explained any further here, as they do not apply to all participating states, and have restricted and differing formats (OSCE 2000: 87–91).

Assessment. Some argue that since the end of the Cold War, the politico-security dimension has lost in importance, and that this dimension has thus fallen behind the human dimension. Arguably, the time for confidence- and security-building measures and arms control in Europe has not yet passed (Dunay 2006: 37–41). Indeed, a number of OSCE participating states continue to call for a greater engagement of the OSCE in this dimension, especially in large project activities. In some areas such as small arms and light weapons, where the OSCE has developed a groundbreaking document in 2000, surplus ammunition disposal, disposal of rocket fuel and other new and valuable approaches emerged.¹¹ Mechanisms for practical support of participating states in those realms have been developed in the last years.

49.3.2 Human Dimension

Definition. According to the OSCE Handbook, “the term ‘human dimension’ refers to the commitments made by OSCE participating states to ensure full respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, to abide by the rule of law, to promote the principles of democracy and, in this regard, to build, strengthen and protect democratic institutions, as well as to promote tolerance throughout the OSCE area” (OSCE 2000: 101). The term human dimension is also “intended to indicate that the OSCE norms in this field cover a wider area than traditional human rights.”¹²

Development. The human dimension was first conceived as a general political framework to guide the relations of states vis-à-vis their citizens. Later it has included specific politically binding commitments and mechanisms designed to ensure their implementa-

tion.¹³ The OSCE has significantly developed the principle, first articulated in the *1991 Moscow Document*, that “commitments undertaken in the field of the human dimension of the OSCE are matters of direct and legitimate concern to all participating states and do not belong exclusively to the internal affairs of the states concerned.”¹⁴ This notion was vital in defining the OSCE approach to security.

In essence, OSCE states have agreed through their human dimension commitments that pluralistic democracy based on the rule of law is the only system of government suitable to guarantee human right effectively. This explains why the OSCE human dimension has been described as a common pan-European public order (*ordre public*).¹⁵

The application of the human dimension commitments has been controversial in the recent past and often a subject of heated discussion within the OSCE, especially after the “colour revolutions” in several participating states. A number of the increasingly confident new states in Eastern Europe and Central Asia, often subject to criticism by OSCE Missions, Institutions but also fellow participating states, due to the pace and shape of democratization processes and respect for human rights, as well as the transparency of their election processes, began to fight back.

Tools. The main decision-making body in this dimension is the Permanent Council of the 56 participating states. Since 1990, the OSCE has developed institutions and mechanisms to promote respect for these commitments. The main institutions of the human dimension are the *OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights* (ODIHR), originally known as the *Office for Free Elections*, which supports states in practical ways in implementing their human dimension commitments, the *Representative on Freedom of the Media* (RFM), who, by observing relevant media developments, can point to problems in the application of OSCE principles that could lead to tensions and conflicts, and the *High Commissioner on National Minorities*, whose task is to provide early warning and as appropriate early action to address tensions involving national minority issues. A *Human Dimension Implementation Meeting* and related seminars and events are held regularly to assess the implementation of commitments by participating states.

11 OSCE Document on Small Arms and Light Weapons, adopted at the 308th Plenary Meeting of the OSCE Forum for Security Co-operation on 24 November 2000 (see FSC.JOUR/314).

12 OSCE Human Dimension Commitments, Vol 1: Thematic Compilation (second edition), 2005, p. xvi.

13 See the Helsinki Final Act of 1975 and the Concluding Document of the Vienna Follow-up Meeting in 1989.

14 Document of the Moscow Meeting of the Conference on the Human Dimension of the CSCE, Vienna 1991.

15 OSCE Human Dimension Commitments, Vol 1, p. xvii.

NGOs have an important role in this process. Increasingly, the *OSCE Parliamentary Assembly* (PA) is taking a more active role in some areas of the human dimension. Work in the human dimension has increasingly been integrated into the daily activities of OSCE field missions. Human dimension officers work in all field operations.

Assessment. The human dimension has become a core field of activity of the OSCE, with an impressive body of commitments undertaken by the participating states, substantial funds and projects, and structures to support those efforts. The substantial engagement in this dimension has been applauded by some participating states, and increasingly criticized by others. This criticism reflected two concerns, that other dimensions of security did not receive the necessary attention, and that the OSCE efforts in this dimension were not geographically balanced but focused on a few states. The discussion is ongoing.

49.3.3 Economic and Environmental Dimension

Definition. The OSCE's economic dimension aims at "preventing conflicts, encouraging dialogue and cooperation and stimulating post-conflict rehabilitation through economic and environmental activities" (OSCE 2005: 3). The OSCE is in itself not an economic organization, but as part of its comprehensive approach to security, it addresses economic and environmental issues (OSCE 2000: 133).

Development. The inclusion of the economic and environmental basket in the Helsinki Final Act in the 1970's put those issues on an equal standing with the remaining two baskets, although this appreciation was not matched in the operational realm. Attention paid to this matter increased considerably at the end of the Cold War, and is reflected in OSCE documents, and more practical ways of providing assistance were introduced. Along with economic development, the OSCE has also addressed environmental sources of conflict, such as sharing and safeguarding scarce natural resources, providing clean drinking water, preserving biodiversity, and maintaining the quality of the soil. However, there are only few references to environmental security in OSCE documents compared with the focus on economic challenges. The commitments of OSCE participating states related to the environment are subsumed and often overwhelmed by those in the economic sphere, which for a number of OSCE participating states, for example

in Central Asia, remain a substantial source of insecurity.

In the environmental sphere, the *Environment and Security Initiative* (ENVSEC), a framework for cooperation sponsored by the OSCE, UNEP and UNDP, provides analysis and builds capacity both to prevent environmental sources of political conflict and to foster co-operation through resource management. This project is conducted in Central Asia, the Southern Caucasus and the Western Balkans and maps environmental problems and develops concrete follow-up activities addressing environmental hot spots, which can be understood as confidence-building measures across borders (Cheterian 2007). Another example is that of projects encouraging inter-communal and inter-state dialogue and cooperation in water management, which aim to mitigate potential political conflict. Finally, education projects which focus on promoting environmental awareness and advocacy and thus contribute to the building of civil society also belong in this category (see for more information: OSCE 2005).

The events of 11 September 2001 have further emphasized the significance of the economic and environmental dimension for the maintenance of security, and its programmatic work was increased. At the *Maastricht Ministerial Council* meeting in 2003, an "OSCE Strategy Document for the Economic and Environmental Dimension"¹⁶ was adopted that reaffirms the substantive importance of this dimension in the OSCE concept of comprehensive security and cooperation and its role in early warning, conflict prevention, crisis management, and post-conflict rehabilitation. It outlines key priorities and pledges to strengthen the capacity, by enhancing dialogue, improving the review of the implementation of commitments, strengthening the capacity for advice and assistance, and strengthening the capacity to mobilize advice and assistance from other organizations.

Tools. The main decision-making body is the *Permanent Council*. In 2001, an *Economic and Environmental Sub-Committee of the Permanent Council* was established. The review meeting is the Economic and Environmental Forum and its preparatory events also involve NGOs and partner organizations, and focus on specific themes. The main instruments in the economic dimension are the *Co-ordinator of OSCE Economic and Environmental Activities* in the OSCE Secretariat, and the OSCE field missions which in-

16 MC(11).JOUR/2, 2 Dec 2003, Annex I.

creasingly focus on economic and environmental aspects of security, also in their project work. Field officers work in numerous OSCE Missions.

Assessment. The economic and environmental dimension so far lags behind the other two dimensions, despite repeated calls of several participating states, for example from Central Asia, for more support in the area and a better balancing of the dimensions. But the economic and environmental dimension, which is comparatively speaking under-funded and underdeveloped, has recently received a certain boost, in particular with the adoption of the OSCE Strategy Document for the Economic and Environmental Dimension at the Maastricht Ministerial Council in 2003¹⁷. Although the resources and attention devoted to environmental aspects of security are small, the trend is clearly to do more, in cooperation with other specialized organizations, to highlight the dangers, find practical ways of addressing them, and to cooperate in the implementation of such projects with NGOs and specialized organizations and agencies.

The trend for this dimension is positive, with much support from participating states from Eastern Europe and Central Asia, but its development is disappointingly slow, and much has to be done in cooperation with partner organizations to make it truly effective.

49.4 Conclusions

How useful was the broad comprehensive understanding of security for the CSCE/OSCE? Certainly it provided a useful framework for conducting a security dialogue during the Cold War. But following the operationalization of the concept and its arguably all-encompassing application, the concept became much more controversial in the post-Cold War era.

This is a rather interesting observation, given that it appears to be counter-cyclical, with other organizations developing from a much more narrow vision of security to a broad understanding. But the key to this phenomenon is the membership of the CSCE/OSCE – which includes both sides from the Cold War. The participating states are numerous, with the OSCE being the largest regional organization in the world, and they are diverse in their security concerns.

It is an important question whether the division into three dimensions continues to be valid and helpful in the OSCE context. Certainly, the concept of security should be considered as a continuum, and many aspects of security actually have to be seen as cross-dimensional and addressed in such a way. To give an example, trafficking is an issue related to border management and policing, as much as it is related to human rights and social and economic inequalities. In many if not all of the OSCE field operations, numerous activities could be seen as cross-dimensional. In addition, given that some participating states of the OSCE object to an emphasis on human dimension activities, and some states hosting field operations exercise pressure in order to limit such activities, it may be unwise to continue to separate security into the three dimensions.

However, there are more conceptual but also practical reasons why this concept of security dimensions has been maintained. One of those is that the Russian Federation and some other participating states continue to insist on the existence of two decision-making bodies – the *Forum for Security Co-operation*, which addresses classical political-military issues, and the *Permanent Council*, which addresses everything else. But measures designed to bring the work of the FSC and PC closer together have been implemented. Nevertheless, there are different working methods and approaches developed to activities in that dimension. Furthermore, the entire body of OSCE documents is based on such a division. And finally, the mandates and structure of OSCE field operations and institutions also largely corresponds to the security dimensions. Most importantly, those who call for balancing of the dimensions may not be mollified by plainly removing boundaries between them.

The second key question is whether the work in the three dimensions can be adequately balanced. With the emphasis placed on the human dimension, arguably the most intrusive aspect of the OSCE's work, a number of participating states point out in informal discussions and increasingly so also formally that the reality does not live up to the wording of the documents. In fact, the emphasis on the human dimension allegedly results in a certain geographic imbalance much criticized by some states which feel watched and criticized – with many OSCE activities being concentrated on Eastern and South-Eastern Europe, the Caucasus, as well as Central Asia. The counterargument is that there is no need for the OSCE to get involved to address potential or real threats to Eu-

17 OSCE Strategy Document for the Economic and Environmental Dimension. Maastricht Ministerial Council, 2003. http://www1.osce.org/documents/mcs/2003/12/4175_en.pdf

ropean security where there are developed and functioning mechanisms to address them.

Recently, some participating states, especially in Central Asia but also in other OSCE regions "East of Vienna", have been arguing that the economic and politico-security dimensions should be more emphasized. The activities in the economic and environmental dimension may make the involvement of the OSCE in the human dimension more palatable to some states, especially in Eastern Europe and Central Asia, which have a different tradition and possibly also understanding of democracy.

Finally, the politico-security dimension is also undergoing a transformation based on a reassessment of the value and the general conceptual framework of arms control and confidence- and security-building measures (CSBMs) in a post-Cold War world. This transformation has so far emphasized the existing agreements, which build on the notion of a bipolar world, but is adjusting its parameters.

The *Report of the Panel of Eminent Persons* from 2005 calls for a further strengthening of the comprehensive approach and discusses how to address the work in the various dimensions of security¹⁸, with a view to balancing it. But the Panel's paper remains just an input into a larger and ongoing debate.

The debate on the relative strength and relationship between the various dimensions of security continues in the OSCE, and will probably never leave its agenda. The former OSCE Secretary General Höynck has argued in 2000 that "the OSCE has come to understand that there is a certain gap between what its partners in Central Asia perceive as their key security challenge, i.e. international terrorism and related issues, and the core activities of the OSCE" (Höynck 2000: 25). Possibly in response to such concerns, paragraph 14 of the *Istanbul Summit Declaration* from 1999 actually states that all OSCE partners "share the concerns expressed by the participating states in Central Asia regarding international terrorism, violent extremism, organized crime and drug and arms trafficking". Paragraph 34 charges the Permanent Council "to address in greater depth security concerns of the participating states".¹⁹

But it is worth noting on the one hand that the OSCE's comprehensive understanding of security has

been an example for others. In fact, in the post-Cold War era, many organizations have taken on broad elements of the CSCE/OSCE cooperative and comprehensive security approach. Arguably, even the European Union follows cooperative and comprehensive security principles, for example in its relations with candidate states (Wohlfeld 1998). The cooperative and comprehensive approach to security of the CSCE and later the OSCE also generated considerable interest in other regions of the world. This interest has been expressed by countries wishing to become partner states (the OSCE has partners in the Mediterranean and in Asia and corresponding fora for dialogue and cooperation) as well as by regional organizations or frameworks especially in the Mediterranean (Wohlfeld/Abela 2000), in Africa and in Asia. In addition, observers occasionally call for a duplication of the CSCE/OSCE experience in other regions, drawing upon the notion of its comprehensive approach to security.

On the other hand, the fact that the CSCE/OSCE was the only regional security framework whose concept of security was not challenged or overturned by the end of the Cold War did not help it to become a key organization in Europe. Rather, the OSCE's now 56 participating states (with the entry of Montenegro in 2006), although all subscribed to the Moscow principle elaborated above, which makes internal matters of a state of direct concern to all participating states, the perceptions of what really is the focus of the Organization - the state or the individual, and thus also the politico-military and possibly economic-environmental dimensions versus the human dimension - differ considerably. This differing understanding certainly also reflects participating states' differing security realities, and also their membership in other organizations. Instead of moving towards a closer understanding on the matter of what the key security issues are and how to address them, the participating states seem to be drifting apart (Gnesotto 2006: 5). The discussion on the meaning and implementation of the broad and comprehensive approach to security and the correct balance of activities in the three dimensions is an expression of this situation.

18 "Common Purpose: Towards a More Effective OSCE", Final Report and Recommendations of the Panel of Eminent Persons on Strengthening the Effectiveness of the OSCE, 27 June 2005.

19 Istanbul Summit Declaration, Istanbul, November 1999.

50 The Comprehensive Security Concept of the European Union

Rolando Mosca Moschini

50.1 Introduction¹

The chapter addresses the key elements of the *European Security Strategy* (Council of the EU 2003) and its follow-up implementation, including its impact on the crucial area of capability development. It is not a rigorous and exhaustive coverage of official decisions, but rather an illustrative description of the innovative approach the European Union (EU) has taken on security and defence in the early 21st century.

After an overview of the EU organization in the area of security and defence (50.2), the elements of the emerging geo-strategic environment are outlined (50.3) that are instrumental for understanding the *European Security Strategy* (50.4). The review of this strategy (50.5) makes it possible to consider the scope of the problem of military capabilities and their development (50.6) from the innovative perspective of the EU (50.7), and it ends with brief conclusions (50.8).

50.2 Overview of the Organization

The policy and direction of the *European Security and Defence Policy* (ESDP), which is an integral part of the *Common Foreign and Security Policy* (CFSP), are provided by the European Council that is composed of the Heads of State or Government and of the President of the EU Commission. Below is the Council of the European Union, where member states are represented by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, who meet monthly as the *Council for General Affairs and External Relations* (GAERC), and the decision-making body for both the CSFP and ESDP (see chapter by Hintermeier in this volume).

Political control and strategic direction of crisis management operations are provided by the *Political*

and Security Committee (PSC) that consists of ambassadors, who meet twice a week, as permanent representatives from the member states. The PSC monitors the international situation and contributes to the formulation of policies. In a crisis, it plays a central role in defining a coherent EU response and is also responsible for the political control and strategic direction of the military response.

The *European Union Military Committee* (EUMC) is a collegial body composed of the *Chiefs of Defence* (CHODs) of the member states, routinely represented in the Committee by their military representatives. The EUMC is the highest military body within the Council and is coordinated by a permanent chairman. Its mission is to provide the PSC, either on request or on its own initiative, with military advice and recommendations on all military matters. It works on the basis of consensus as the primary forum for military consultation and cooperation among the EU member states in all the fields of common interest, first of all, in those related to the development of structures and capabilities. The identification and prioritization of military requirements are fundamental responsibilities of the CHODs and they also constitute key tasks of the EUMC. As the top body of the EU's military organization, the EUMC has also a leading role and key functions in crisis management situations as well as in operations.

The Committee is supported by the *European Union Military Staff* (EUMS) that consists of approximately 200 men and women seconded by the member states. The EUMS provides military expertise to all Council bodies dealing with the ESDP, but it is also responsible for significant operational tasks. More specifically, the Military Staff has to conduct early warning, situation assessment, and strategic planning, including the identification of national and multinational forces, and to implement policies and decisions as directed by the Military Committee. The EUMS is a Directorate of the General Secretariat of the Council. The Secretariat is the overall staff organization on

1 Comments and considerations contained in this text reflect only the personal views of the author and do not necessarily convey the positions of the EU authorities and bodies concerned.

which all the Council bodies rely in implementing their tasks. These are the key elements of the CFSP and ESDP organization.

How and for which purpose they operate in the present and future world is determined by the *European Security Strategy* and its guiding assumptions.

50.3 Emerging Geo-strategic Environment

In an era of globalization the emerging geo-strategic environment is characterized by both opportunities and risks. *Opportunities* point to the favourable side of globalization resulting from the spread of democracy and market economy, which has reinforced and accelerated overall human development on the planet. *Risks*, as the threatening face of globalization, are generated by a wide range of possible negative events and situations, such as natural and man-made disasters, epidemic diseases, organized crime, proliferation of WMD, state failure, intrastate conflicts, interstate regional conflicts, terrorism, etc. Most of these risks are not new, but in the early 21st century their effects have intensified dynamically and in scale, and their impact on society has dramatically increased.

Globalization relies on new information, communications technologies (ICT), and worldwide means of transportation. Its actors are often transnational entities that are mostly organized in networks. These mechanisms, while promoting and supporting democracy and development, can easily be exploited by threats in a particularly aggressive and pervasive way, or, at least, they can function as powerful amplifiers of natural hazards and man-made disasters.

This is the new geo-strategic environment of the early 21st century within which sovereign states operate. The states are doing their best to use the opportunities and to face the risks produced by transnational entities. They are relying only on their national authority, which is limited by the borders of their physical territories. If a state decides to defend itself by closing its frontiers to globalization, it may possibly prevent some risks but it would remain marginalized from the virtuous circle of global development and prosperity. Therefore, the borders must be kept open, but this implies that both the favourable and threatening faces of globalization, and a portion of the front-line of their harsh confrontation exist inside each state and within its national sovereign space. Hence, the more democratic and open a state is, the more it will profit from the immense opportunities of globa-

lization, but also the more exposed the same state will be to these new global threats. Yet, there is little choice: openness is the only option available in practise, especially for EU member states, which are democracies, strongly interdependent, and already well integrated in the emerging globalized environment. They are 'fully connected' to this new common asset for democracy and prosperity.

Thus, it can be easily concluded that, in this new strategic environment, openness is an absolute must; and cooperation among states for collegial global governance is the only possible option for the future. As all democracies, the EU states have no interest in fighting other states and in keeping them out of the globalized environment, because this would reduce their overall level of 'connectivity' in this environment and the opportunities of development that it produces. On the contrary, the EU states should have the common goal of promoting their own model and, in any case, associate themselves with those states that progressively, through the rules of democracy and free choice, become convinced of the great reciprocal advantage of cooperation. This 'inclusive' approach has a decisive impact on the EU's perspective on security and defence.

The EU's inclusive model associates instead of excluding. A third state is not seen as a potential enemy to be kept out of the common friendly environment and from which it is needed to defend. This is the excluding principle of defence. Security should rather be inclusive. More and more states must be involved in the resolution of common security problems, becoming active parts of a common globalized environment. On these assumptions the *European Security Strategy* (ESS), "A secure Europe in a better world", relies.²

50.4 European Security Strategy

In the effort by the European Security Strategy³, the use of military force in a crisis cannot therefore be aimed at anything like the destruction of the area involved, but it should rather pursue the recovery of the

2 For the official text see at: <<http://ue.eu.int/uedocs/cmsUpload/78367.pdf>>; and for the version of the ISS-EU in Paris, at: <<http://www.iss-eu.org/solana/solanae.pdf>>. For reviews of its implementation see, e.g. *ISIS Europe: European Security Review*, at: <<http://www.isis-europe.org/ftp/Download/ESR%2023-Headline%20Goal%202010.pdf>> and at: <<http://www.isis-europe.org/>>.

3 See the text at: <<http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cmsUpload/78367.pdf>>.

human and material resources to the common patrimony of the global society, so that also these resources can eventually concur, with those already at work in the rest of the planet, to the construction and consolidation of global public goods, like law and order, wealth and stability.

Besides the principle of inclusiveness, the ESS stresses the key factor of leverage due to the strong interdependence between security and development, where a decisive effort can be exercised to stimulate development through security. The essence of this interdependence is as follows: if a certain critical level of security can be achieved through a timely military deployment, then this may not only generate some spontaneous recovery from the crisis but it will also permit and support, across time and space, the deliberate local application of further components of the strategy devoted to institution and economy building, addressing local governance and participation, rule of law, as well as social and economical development. The expected result is a virtuous loop generated by security and development proceeding together (see chapters by Uvin; Katseli; Klingebiel/Roehder in this volume).

From this perspective, security is a precondition for development, while real and lasting security cannot be achieved without development. Development, especially if it is not limited to the single dimension of economic growth, produces security in the long run, but it cannot even be attempted without security. Security comes first, but only as a key component to the overall effort, the 'spearhead' of a more comprehensive multidisciplinary approach, where the military is only one of the several instruments of an integrated synergistic strategy of development. As such a virtuous loop progresses, the military commitment in the area is reduced and replaced by local institutional security structures.

Globalization acts as an accelerator for the spread of democracy and market economy facilitating human development, but it also functions as a threat multiplier working against security. These are key requirements for developing suitable military capabilities and for properly structuring intervention forces.

Another pillar of the ESS is cooperation aiming at an 'effective multilateralism', through which the EU and other international organizations, like the United Nations, NATO, the African Union, ASEAN et al., should work together for the common purpose of stabilizing and improving the global environment. This effective multilateralism should also involve other organizations representing civil society and single 'iso-

lated' states. The cooperation with NATO, with which the EU in 2006 shared 19 member states (with Bulgaria and Romania joining, this will increase to 21), is obviously the most important, especially after the *Berlin plus* agreements, the launch of operation Althea, and the establishment of permanent EU-NATO liaison elements.

Thus, key mechanisms of the ESS are: 'inclusiveness', 'security and development interdependence', 'cooperation' and 'effective multilateralism'. The implementation of the ESS in the emerging geo-strategic scenario does not imply, therefore, defending against a conventional enemy pressing at the borders as during of the Cold War. The EU does not face millions of soldiers with thousands of tanks and aircrafts supported by a huge fleet. Rather, there is a need to neutralize subtle and diffused transnational threats, organized into networks and equipped with unconventional weapons and tactics.

From this perspective, the key guiding principle for EU interventions is 'think globally and act locally.' This implies that the organization of the EU military model must be centred on knowledge, which, in military terms, is produced by the synergistic combination of information, intelligence, planning, and command and control. This will allow the EU to have a constant operational vision of the common globalized environment, in all and each of its aspects, which will permit an early identification of potential areas of crisis and the design of the multidisciplinary strategy most appropriate to tackle the crisis, with a balanced selection, tailoring, timing, and integration of its military and non-military components. Thus, the security model will enable the EU 'to act also before a crisis occurs' or deteriorates and will facilitate, in all cases, rapid response. This key point deserves further thought.

If the EU Member States want to save human lives and money and produce security and development, they must tackle a potential crisis – or an ongoing one – as early as possible, and, hopefully, before the situation deteriorates. That implies a strong requirement for rapidity; it implies rapid response. Thus, from a military perspective, the ESS requires joint and combined forces, perhaps limited in number, but of very high quality and, when necessary, responding to strict readiness requirements. In all cases, these forces should meet the principles of comprehensiveness and therefore be able to effectively operate, fully integrated and synchronized, in multidisciplinary contexts.

An adequate subset of these military assets should be capable of rapid and decisive interventions, either deploying and actuating in a preventive fashion or fighting their way through a deteriorated conflictual environment.

The 'comprehensive effects' the EU countries want to achieve with the ESS can be translated into reality through an innovative multidisciplinary implementation, which takes, nevertheless, fully into account the well-known principle of the 'single set of forces' and that of 'pooling of resources' as well as the need to exploit to the best EU-NATO synergies and all other possible non-military soft and hard means. This new overall concept requires a 'comprehensive basket of capabilities'.

50.5 Military Requirements and Capabilities

For the EU member states the ESS has dictated a new full set of military requirements which have been elaborated into a short-to-medium term objective, the *Headline Goal 2010*. By 2010, while taking into account with flexibility possible developments beyond this time horizon, the member states should be able to respond with rapid, coherent, and decisive action to the whole spectrum of crisis management operations, ranging from humanitarian and rescue missions, to peacekeeping, combat in crisis management, and peace-enforcing, but including also joint disarmament operations, support for third countries in fighting terrorism, and security sector reform. The EU should be able to act before a crisis occurs; preventive engagement can avoid a situation from deteriorating. The EU should retain the capability of conducting concurrent operations, thus sustaining several theatres simultaneously at different levels of engagement.

In accordance with such an innovative approach, a new generation of readily deployable units is emerging: the *Battle Groups*. A Battle Group is a specific form of rapid response capability, an integrated force, with a national or multinational composition, able to conduct complete missions of short duration, from 30 to 120 days, or to be committed as the entry force for operations of a longer timescale. A Battle Group is able to start its mission in the assigned operational theatre within 10 days after the political decision is taken. Battle Groups must be seen as the spearheads of full fledged *Rapid Response packages*, from which they are inseparable. In addition to rapid deployable units, each of these packages includes an appropriate

command and control organization, as well as all necessary force multipliers and enablers, up to the decision-making structure at the political level, with the relevant EU collegial institutions and those of respective member states. Each component of an *EU Rapid Response package* must match adequate requirements and be fully supportive of the *Battle Group*. In particular, as 'the other side of the Battle Group medal', the EU political decision-making system must be able to produce unambiguous and complete direction as quickly as the Battle Group can react. On 1 January 2005, an initial Battle Group capability has been activated and full operational capability will be achieved in 2007.

Among the capabilities the ESS requires, those related to sharing of information, elaboration of knowledge and devotion to planning, command and control, are particularly significant across all chains of command, from the politico-strategic to the tactical level. These capabilities should be given a multidisciplinary configuration, which should be incorporated into proper organizational structures able to translate a strategic concept into an effective operational reality.

Now security operations are not only multinational and inter-organizational (for example EU-NATO, or UN-EU-AU) but they also are multidisciplinary, with the military component being only one of several components of a complex comprehensive effort, involving all kinds of nation-building capabilities. Most of the added value for EU crisis management interventions is produced by the synergies of the different components acting together. But this depends on available capabilities. This was actuated very successfully for the first time in Operation *Althea* in Bosnia Herzegovina, where on 2 December 2004 the EU took over from NATO.⁴

In the central organizational structure of the ESDP, the first nucleus of this emerging EU peculiar multidisciplinary or comprehensive capability is the *Civil-Military Cell*, recently established as a functional component of the EUMS and the appropriate Secretariat *Directorates General* (DGs), and including elements from the Commission under the direction of the Director General of the EUMS. The Cell's main functions consists in civil-military planning at strategic and operational level, in the activation of an *EU Operation Centre*, in qualified augmentation of *Member State Operation Headquarters* (OHQs), and liaison

4 See for details at: <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/cms3_fo/showPage.asp?id=268&clang=EN&mode=g>.

with NATO command and control organization.⁵ This last function offers a significant contribution to the further improvement of the permanent cooperation agreements between the EU and NATO, as defined in 2002 through the so-called *Berlin Plus*.

The Berlin Plus agreement sets the condition, both at political and military level, for the use, in EU-led operations, of NATO common assets and capabilities, preventing unnecessary redundancy and setting the basis for a first form of integration of military structures, in accordance with the principle of the 'single set of forces'. Following the approval of the Berlin Plus agreement, in 2002, cooperation, transparency, and mutual reinforcement between the EU and NATO have been enhanced.

As for the EU Command and Control Organization, the EU concept foresees two levels of military command above the *Service Component Level* (Land, Maritime, and Air) *Headquarters*: the *Operation Headquarters*, located in a member state, and the *Force Headquarters*, deployed in the theatre. Both Headquarters are normally provided by member states, except when the EU works in cooperation with NATO and employs, under the *Berlin Plus* agreements, NATO assets and capabilities, and, in particular, the *Command and Control Organization*, which the Alliance is permanently provided with. This is the case, for instance, of operation 'Althea'. The military line of command is strategically directed by the *Operation Commander*, and, at the political level, by the collegial decisions of the *Political and Security Committee*. The *Military Committee* provides the PSC with its military advice on decisions to be taken.

50.6 Development of Military Capabilities

Since the year 2000, two processes for the development of military capabilities have been launched in a sequence, based respectively on the *Helsinki Headline Goal* and the *Headline Goal 2010*. The results achieved, though very significant, are only the first steps on the long way to build a pool of military capabilities which can match such demanding requirements as those illustrated for an effective implementation of the ESS. The capability problem for the EU is extremely complex, involving political, military, industrial, technical, and financial factors. One of the most

important issues consists in the low efficiency of defence expenditure and in the duplication of structures.⁶

The EU comprises 25 national defence organizations, each with its own institutions. Expenditure in research and technology and procurement are not specialized by member states, since each nation wants to keep, for political reasons, a complete structure of defence to be strategically autonomous, sometimes based on old fashioned territorial concepts. Given the limited budgets available, this ends up in a redundancy of basic military assets and a lack of force multipliers, enablers and, in general, high quality capabilities which are expensive but scarcely politically visible. Problems of capabilities not only deal with defence budgets and organizational structures, but they also depend on the European defence industry and the related market.

The establishment of the *European Defence Agency* will make relevant contribution to the ESDP in the area of military capabilities development. Its mission is to support the member states and the Council in their efforts to improve the EU's defence capabilities in crisis management, and to sustain the ESDP as it stands now and develops in the future. The Agency will work for the development of defence capabilities in the field of crisis management, for the promotion and enhancement of European armaments cooperation, for the strengthening of the *European Defence Technological and Industrial Base* (DTIB), for the creation of an internationally competitive *European Defence Equipment Market* (EDEM), and for the enhancement of *Research and Technology* (R&T).

Considering the issue of capabilities, at least for the near future there will be no European Armed Forces, but military capabilities made available by member states for ESDP operations. In this context, the concept of 'EU integrated forces' implies that the military capabilities of member states should be able to operate - together and with all other non-military components - in a synergistic way to achieve the objectives of the ESS, by using at best the available scarce resources.

The ESS sets the conditions for a concept of integrated capabilities to be implemented both inside the EU organizational context, with the requirements for *jointness*, *multinationality* and *multidisciplinarity*, and *outside the Union*, with the principles of *inclusion*.

5 See for details at: <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/cms3_fo/showPage.asp?id=279&lang=en&mode=g>.

6 See for details at: <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/cms3_fo/showPage.asp?id=437&lang=EN&mode=g>.

siveness, multilateralism and cooperation for security and development. This unique overall systemic approach to capability is peculiar to the EU and paves the way to an innovative and much wider concept of military capability, on which the EUMC, the member states and, of course, the Agency have started to work.

This concept is founded on the idea that an objective is achieved as the result of a synergistic combination of effects, which, in turn, are produced by means, composed of men and materiel, working together in a range of possible ways, under control and guidance of a specific organization, which provides directions according to the collegial will of the member states. A capability, therefore, consists in a specific structured set of personnel, equipment, procedures, and control assets that allows for the production of selected effects, in accordance with the concept described. Such a wide approach also reflects the problems of fragmentation and waste of resources deriving from the existence of so many national defence organizations and industries as well as defence markets. And, of course, the Agency is fully engaged in this very difficult fight for efficiency.

With this, we have entered the problem of quality and integration of capabilities and addressed some of the key principles that inspire the EU policy in its efforts to bridge the gap between strategy implementation and required resources, in a context of declining defence budgets. We said that the requirement is for joint and combined forces, perhaps limited in number, but of high quality and readiness, and capable of rapid, decisive and, if necessary, preventive interventions, in a strictly multidisciplinary context. This led to the innovative concept of integration and the consequent interoperability requirement that goes well beyond military *jointness* and *multinationality*, to embrace *multidisciplinarity* with all other non-military components of the ESS. This new *interoperability* dimension should result in enhanced synergies for the military instrument and help shape forces and assets in the most effective way, according to the overall effects both the EU as a whole and each of the member states want to achieve. Under this innovative approach, the primary force multipliers for concept development, planning, and action on the ground would be constant networking and sharing of a common base of information and knowledge, extended to all military and non-military components contributing to the EU multidisciplinary strategy.

This and any other possible concept of 'integration' are, first of all, political challenges, because they

imply a coherence of will of all participating sovereign states to produce a real common effort. When national will feels unconstrained by foreign policy, as it has been for the past few decades, it runs the risk of being conditioned exclusively by internal politics. International integration is, instead, politically much easier and more effective when it is dictated by needs, as the Cold War period demonstrated. And now this seems again to be the case, as the new globalized environment and its multifaceted challenges for the sovereign state are becoming a common immanent threat.

A concrete effort to foster among member states coherence and synergy through achievements focuses, for the short-medium term, on harmonizing existing member states' capabilities, taking into account that national defence investment programmes are difficult to re-orient. For the longer term, instead, an EU military common vision - the so called Long Term Vision - is being elaborated, addressing future military environment and operations, security requirements, and possible capability profile. This work should also help very much support the EDA Research and Technology programme, with all externalities this can provide, including civilian applications and economical returns, in line with the perspective of Europe as an innovative, knowledge-based, globally competitive economy.

50.7 A Revolution in Security and Defence of the EU?

The very 'revolution in security and defence affairs' is still to come, but it may be not too far away. The origins of this silent revolution go back to the end of the Cold War when the EU member countries started employing the military to build peace and development in cooperative scenarios quite different to war-like situations. For the past two decades or so, a number of crucial economical, political, social, technological geo-strategic factors have emerged, interacting at an ever increasing tempo and scale to produce an extremely high and still rising level of uncontrolled interdependence across the planet. This, in turn, has generated a very complex array of trans-national challenges, which states cannot avoid facing, but no single state alone is able to effectively deal with. It is, therefore, not difficult to predict that a sharp turn in the direction of a more substantial and effective international cooperation is inevitable, first of all on security, as well as on all other fundamental areas of human development. More importantly, international

cooperation is something that every single and all the 'democratic and liberal' entities together across the planet have interest in working towards. And this is exactly what the EU predicates with its European Security Strategy.

In the scenarios of a globalized world in the 21st century, a rapid and robust growth of the EU in the field of security would add a new strong pillar to the global construction and spread of democracy and free-market economy. And this is something that

every existing or emerging global actor, pursuing, either as a nation or as an organization, the values of the Western world, should very much welcome and perhaps even foster. This is particularly true for NATO. NATO and the EU are the two sides of the same coin of the Euro-Atlantic security system. Strengthening of the EU means strengthening NATO, and strengthening the international system for peace and stability.

51 Reconceptualization of External Security in the European Union since 1990

Stefan Hintermeier

51.1 Introduction¹

Since the early 1950's, European integration and security have become two sides of the same coin. From its very beginning, the West European integration process has been a structurally designed peace project. After two world wars, and following the logic of (neo)functional integration concepts (Mitrany 1943; Haas 1958, 1964), the aim was to eliminate the chance of further wars between West European states. Thus, the process of supranational integration was intended to transform the anarchic structure of the West European state system into a "working peace system" (Mitrany 1943). As a consequence, a *security community* has emerged in Western Europe that has durably excluded force as a means of conflict resolution (Adler/Barnett 1998; Deutsch/Burrell/Kann/Lee/Lichterhan/Lindgren/Loewenheim/Van Wageningen 1957). In this sense, the process of West European integration has been a process of "desecuritization" characterized by a "progressive marginalization of mutual security concerns in favour of other issues" (Wæver 1998a: 69).

At the same time, dealing with security or even defence-related issues within the EC framework was considered a taboo until the 1980's (Smith 2004). The EC defined itself as a "civilian power" (Duchêne 1972; see Foreign Ministers of the Nine 1973), not as a security actor. It was not until the 1980's that "important foreign policy questions bearing on the political aspects of security" (Foreign Ministers of the Ten 1981) gradually appeared on the agenda of the European Political Cooperation (EPC) and levelled the path for breaking the taboo to discuss matters of security. Ultimately, this break occurred after the end of the Cold War, and with the Treaty of Maastricht the Common

Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) was established as second pillar of the European Union. Only a few years later, member states created an autonomous military dimension by establishing the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP). Thus, within one decade, the EU has not only become a "security institution" (Kreft 2002; Wæver 2000: 260), but also an international "security actor" (Larsen 2000: 337).

Against this background, this article examines how the conceptualization of external security by the EC/EU has changed due to the transformation of world politics since the late 1980's: Have the global political upheaval of 1989/1990 and the development of the EC/EU to an institution actively engaged in international security lead to a reconceptualization of security by the EU? Can one speak of a broadening and/or deepening of the EU's understanding of security since the early 1990's? If so, in what regard? What were the effects of the 9/11 terrorist attacks in New York and Washington, DC on the European definition of security? And finally: How does the EU conceptualize security today?

In order to answer these questions a "conceptual analysis" (Baldwin 1997: 6) will be conducted on the basis of official EU documents. In a first step four central questions on the basis of social constructivist assumptions will be developed allowing for an analysis of core elements of political security conceptions, that is referent objects, values, threats, and instruments of security. Applying this analytical framework, in a second step the European understanding of security as well as its historical development will be empirically examined. The chapter covers the period between the late 1980's and the adoption of the European Security Strategy in December 2003.

1 For helpful comments on earlier versions of this chapter I thank Hans Günter Brauch, Anthony Seaboyer, as well as two anonymous reviewers.

51.2 “Security Is What Actors Make Of It”: An Analytical Concept For Studying Security Concepts

Starting point for this conceptual analysis of the European understanding of security is the fundamental ontological premise of social constructivist approaches in International Relations stating that reality is socially constructed on the basis of intersubjectively shared norms and ideas (Adler 1997; Fearon/Wendt 2002; Risse 2003b; Wendt 1992, 1999). According to this understanding, security is not just objectively given, but emerges from a process of social and political interaction, in which certain values and social norms, collective identities and cultural traditions play an essential role: Security is “what actors make of it” (Wendt 1992). Therefore, security not only has to be understood as an intersubjective construction, but also depends on a normative core, that can not be simply taken for granted. At the same time, political constructions of security have real world effects, because they guide action of policy-makers, thereby exerting constitutive effects on political order (Dalby 1997; Schneider 2002). Analysing the specific security conceptions of political actors is therefore crucial.

From an analytical point of view, the main challenge in analysing political security *conceptions* is to avail an analytical security *concept* that itself is neutral enough to not define a distinct meaning of security beforehand (Baldwin 1997: 7; Sjursen 2004a: 3; Wæver 2002: 3).² One of the most popular social constructivist approaches to security analysis in recent years – the “*securitization approach*” of the so called *Copenhagen School* (Buzan/Wæver/de Wilde 1998; Buzan 1997; Wæver 2000; see chapter by Buzan in this volume) – has partly been criticized for being based on a specific understanding of security that is closely linked to survival and the absence of existential threats. By applying their approach to different sectors of security (military, environmental, economic, societal, political), scholars of the *Copenhagen School*

examine what actors are successfully able to construct what issues for what referent objects, for what reasons, under what conditions, and with what consequences as ‘existentially threatening’ (‘securitization’).

In contrast, Felix Ciuta points out that not only *security issues*, but also the respective *definitions of security* are actor-specific constructions, that need to be analysed distinctively (Ciuta 2004: 3). Therefore, this chapter will go beyond the mere analysis of threat perceptions and examine the evolution of the EU’s political conceptualization of security more fundamentally. The aim is to gain insights on the distinct meaning that the EU attaches to the term ‘security’. This very understanding of security is what I call the EU’s *security conception*.

In order to analyse the evolution of the EU’s political security conception, an analytical security concept will be applied that David A. Baldwin (1997) has proposed for conceptual security analysis. Baldwin explicitly tries to avoid any specific security-related predefinitions. Rather, his intention is “to identify common conceptual distinctions underlying various conceptions of security” (Baldwin 1997: 5). Starting from a minimal definition of security as a “low probability of damage to acquired values” (Baldwin 1997: 13) he develops seven analytical questions that can be applied to any security conception (Baldwin 1997: 12–18).³ In a similar way, Bjørn Møller (2003: 278–79) distinguishes between six specifications of security.⁴

Following Baldwin (1997) and Møller (2003), this chapter concentrates on four analytical questions: 1) *Security for whom or what?* This question refers to the referent objects of security (e.g. states, societies, individuals). 2) *Security for which values?* This question might for example refer to political sovereignty and territorial integrity (of states), to collective identities (of societies) or to the quality of life, psychological well-being or physical survival (of individuals). 3) *Security from whom or what?* This question raises the issue of threats, dangers, risks, and challenges that are perceived as uncertainties for the respective values of referent objects. 4) *Security by what means and strategies?* Here, particularly political, economic, and

2 As Baldwin points out, concepts “should not preclude empirical investigation by making true ‘by definition’ what should be open to empirical inquiry” (Baldwin 1997: 7). Similarly, Sjursen states that the “purpose is not to provide a substantive concept of security policy, but rather a conceptual frame that enables us to theoretically account for changes to security policy without at the outset determining its normative content” (Sjursen 2004a: 3). Elsewhere Sjursen (2004b: 60) criticizes that many studies would not distinguish between empirical and normative aspects of security.

3 See: Baldwin (1997: 12–18): Security for whom? Security for which values? How much security? From what threats? By what means? At what cost? In what time period?

4 See: Møller (2003: 278–79): Security for whom? Security of what? Security from whom (or what)? Security from what? Security by whom? Security by which means?

military means may be distinguished, as well as reactive and proactive strategies (Daase 2002).

Applying this analytical framework, below core documents will be examined to reconstruct the evolution of the EU's understanding of security since the late 1980's. The intention is to *descriptively characterize* the conceptualization of external security at the level of the European Union. However, the objective is *not to explain* this conceptualization. The security conceptions of member states as well as the domain of internal security will be excluded (see the chapters by Mauter/Parkes and Ekengren in this volume).

51.3 European Union Security Conceptions Since 1990

Any analysis of the European understanding of security and its evolution since the late 1980's is confronted with the problem that the EU had not formulated a clear security conception until 2003. Instead, for a long time, the European security discourse was marked by diversity (Wæver 1998a), "ad hockery" (Politi 1997), "nebulous" or "incomplete" conceptions (Grudzinski/van Ham 1999) and "the tension between the wide and narrow approaches to security supported by the Commission in the first case and the Council in the second" (Churruca Muguruza 2004). Nevertheless, the evolution of the European understanding of security can be traced on the basis of official documents and political statements of central actors and institutions.

51.3.1 Security for Whom or What?

As Baldwin points out, "a concept of security that fails to specify a 'referent object' makes little sense" (Baldwin 1997: 13). Unfortunately, it is precisely the referent object that normally remains unspecified in the European security discourse. Instead, often certain labels are used: "European security" (European Council 2003), "security (...) in Europe"⁵, "security of the Union"⁶, security of Europe (European Council 2003), security of the "continent of Europe" (Santer 1995), "international security"⁷, "global security" (European Council 2003) or simply "our security" (WEU 1987).

5 Treaty on European Union (Maastricht), 1992, Preamble; Consolidated Version of the Treaty on European Union (Amsterdam), 1997, Preamble; Consolidated Version of the Treaty on European Union (Nice), 2001, Preamble.

However, regarding the referent objects, two main trends in the European understanding of security can be identified, that may be labelled 'Europeanization' and 'individualization': Europeanization refers to the fact that the EU itself has been more and more acknowledged as a distinct referent object of security. Individualization means that the individual has gained greater importance as a referent object in the European security discourse as well.

51.3.1.1 Europeanization of Security: The EU as a Primary Referent Object

One of the most characteristic features of the European security understanding consists of the EU itself having become the primary referent object in the institutional security discourse (Larsen 2000: 341). Today, the meaning of European security reaches beyond the mere guarantee of member state security: "Europe is more than the sum of the state-parts and the EU can act on behalf of 'Europe'. Europe does not consist of either the EU with components or member states with an added international organization: both layers are politically real and cannot be reduced to the other" (Wæver 2000: 257). This implies that "European security" no more simply describes a regional cut-out of "international security" in the traditional state-oriented sense (Wæver 1996: 120; 2000: 279).

The social construction of the EU as a referent object comprises two aspects: The first historically reaches back to the beginning of the integration process and refers to the EU as a (peace) 'project'. The second aspect has become relevant after the end of the Cold War and refers to the EU as an international security 'actor'.

The construction of the EU as a (peace) "project" (Buzan/Wæver/de Wilde 1998: 187; Churruca Muguruza 2004: 9; European Commission 2001a) refers to internal aspects, characterizing European integration as a historical achievement having made military conflicts between member states unthinkable (Aggestam

6 Treaty on European Union (Maastricht), 1992, Title V, Art. J.I, 2; Consolidated Version of the Treaty on European Union (Amsterdam), 1997, Title V, Art. II, 1; Consolidated Version of the Treaty on European Union (Nice), 2001, Title V, Art. II, 1.

7 Treaty on European Union (Maastricht), 1992, Title V, Art. J.I, 2; Consolidated Version of the Treaty on European Union (Amsterdam), 1997, Title V, Art. II, 1; Consolidated Version of the Treaty on European Union (Nice), 2001, Title V, Art. II, 1; see also Single European Act, 1986, Preamble.

2000: 88; Higashino 2004: 351; Sjursen 2004a: 17; Wæver 1998a; 2000: 259-60). This link between integration and security is expressed in partially very theatrical wordings that, for example, describe the EU as “heaven of peace” (Santer 1995), “island of peace” (Barroso 2004, 2005) or simply as “happy island”.⁸ Such characterizations refer to the EU as a “security community” (Adler/Barnett 1998; Panos 1996; Wæver 1998a), that guarantees peace internally and, at the same time, functions as an example for other regions (Bretherton/Vogler 1999: 198, 214). What is notable in this context is that although the concept ‘security through integration’ had been an essential motive for launching the integration process in the 1950’s, it was not until the 1980’s that the integration project itself has gained the quality of a distinct referent object of security. Only the ‘securitization’ of the integration process during the 1980’s has led to the construction of the European ‘project’ as a separate referent object, the basis of which is the intra-European peace guarantee of the EU as a security structure (Wæver 1998a).

The second aspect related to the EU as a referent object of security focuses on its external dimension, referring to the EU as an international ‘actor’: The more the EU has become an active player engaged in international security and fostering common values and interests on the international scene, the more the EU itself has turned into a separate referent object of security. The EU’s higher degree of actorness in international politics comes hand in hand with its increasing constitutionalization as a distinct object of European security (Grudzinski/van Ham 1999).

51.3.1.2 Individualization of Security: Growing Importance of the Individual

In addition to the Europeanization trend, a second characteristic development in the EU’s understanding of security can be noticed: the growing importance of the individual as a referent object. This tendency basically applies for both the individual security of EU citizens as well as for the security of people in third countries.

As far as EU citizens are concerned, EU security notably has gained the function of ensuring its population’s security domestically (Delcourt 2003: 11). In addition, the security of EU citizens in third countries (i.e. in conflict areas) is also more and more recog-

nized in the European security discourse.⁹ Thus, the “security of European citizens who may find themselves in countries or areas directly affected by hostilities” (European Commission 1999b) is for some years now a constantly emphasized aspect of the European crisis management strategy. Since 11 September 2001 the EU also gives special attention to the protection of its citizens against terrorist assaults abroad.¹⁰

Besides the security of EU citizens, the protection of civilians in armed conflicts in third countries as well as the link between security and human development play an increasingly important role: “security also means freedom from hunger, deprivation, and marginalization.”¹¹ This argument corresponds to the ‘human security’ conception, as it can be found in the academic security discourse (Brauch 2003, 2005; Burgess/Owen 2004) or in the framework of the United Nations (UNDP 1994). However, literally used, the term ‘human security’ appears only rarely in the EU discourse.¹² Additionally, it is remarkable that the EU conceptually links individual security and development in third countries to European security. Since from the EU’s perspective human rights violations are major ‘root causes’¹³ of violent conflicts, migration movements, transnational crime, and international terrorism, individual security in third countries is regarded as a precondition of international as well as European security: “Those who are desperate will

8 See: Giuliano Amato: Speech at the Humboldt University in Berlin, 7 May 2001. In 1995 the Foreign Ministers of the Western European Union characterized the EU as the “cornerstone of peace in Europe”; see WEU 1995: 1.

9 With the Maastricht treaty not only the EU citizenship was introduced, but also the protection of EU citizens in third countries by embassies of other member states. The so-called ‘Petersberg tasks’, which were drafted by the WEU in 1992 and integrated into the EU treaties in 1997 (Amsterdam), include military rescue operations for the protection of EU citizens. Likewise, the 1995 security strategy of the WEU gave high priority to the “security of European citizens in the world” (WEU 1995).

10 “The European Union will seek ways to improve the security of its citizens who are resident, or travelling, in third countries and exposed to a terrorist threat” (European Council 2004).

11 Javier Solana: “Europe: Security in the Twenty-First Century”. The Olof Palme Memorial Lecture, Stockholm 20 June 2001.

12 See, however, the “Canada-European Union Joint Statement on Statement on Human Security: Peace Building and Conflict Prevention”, Lisbon, 26 June 2000; see also: Study Group on Europe’s Security Capabilities 2004.

13 See: Council of the EU/European Commission 2000: “Poverty, and the exclusion which it creates, are the root causes of conflict and are endangering the stability and security of too many countries and regions.”

sometimes take drastic measures to ensure their survival. Often they have little to lose. *Their security and our security* depend on proper and sustainable development, founded on the respect for basic human rights” (European Commission 1995a).¹⁴

51.3.1.3 Member States as Referent Objects

Against the background of the Europeanization and individualization of security the question is how these trends impact on the nation state that traditionally constituted the sole referent object of security. There are rarely explicit references to member state security in the European discourse. The term ‘national security’ is hardly ever used at the European level. Yet this does not mean that member states had become obsolete as security referents. The broader term ‘European security’ covers not only the security of the EU, but also that of its member states and their citizens. Member state security is implicitly incorporated into the overall EU framework.

The trends towards Europeanization and individualization of security have led to the nation state no more being the sole object whose security is at stake. At the same time, the conditions of nation state security have changed: In fact, the Europeanization of member state security has brought about a situation in which the ‘national security’ of member states is based to a substantial degree on the desecuritized quality of member state relations and even more on the joint representation of manifold security interests towards the international environment. In this regard, Churruca Muguruza (2004: 5) speaks about “collectivized security”. Additionally, the increasing relevance of the individual brings about a changing understanding of the function of state security since, in the end, it is the security of the citizens which the EU as much as the member states are supposed to take care of.

In sum, the EU’s conception of security today comprises several referent objects, whose security is increasingly considered as being indivisible and interdependent. Thus, individual, national, European, international, as well as global security are perceived as being mutually determined (Biscop 2004: 9). The Europeanization of security has resulted in the EU constituting the European security conception’s core, while member state security conditions have increasingly changed during the integration process. At the same time, the individualization of security has brought about a greater awareness of individual secu-

rity as the ultimate goal of any security policy at the national as well as the European level.

As a consequence, the European Union nowadays represents something totally different to a conventional system of ‘collective security’. In fact, the EU is neither a collective security system nor a military defence alliance in the traditional sense. European politics is no longer exclusively about security cooperation of state actors in order to enhance national security interests more effectively. In contrast, over the last decades a distinct political subject has emerged at the European level. Thereby, a ‘postmodern’ understanding of security has evolved, that neither builds solely on the traditional principle of national sovereignty nor on the emphasis of national interests, but stresses the maintenance of the integration process, the enhancement of the EU’s capability to act effectively and the promotion of common values towards the outside world. Because of the pluralization of referent objects, potential goal conflicts cannot be ruled out for the future: National security is not necessarily identical with European security, while individual security of EU citizens and ‘human security’ of third state citizens cannot inevitably be reduced to a common denominator.

51.3.2 Security for Which Values?

The pluralization of referent objects corresponds with a diversification of the values that are to be secured. For instance, the well-being and physical integrity of individuals has gained greater importance due to the individualization of security. This part focuses on two corresponding developments closely linked to the Europeanization of security. From a European perspective, the principle of integration as well as the EU’s political identity are core values that have to be preserved, while at the same time the meaning of political sovereignty and territorial integrity as traditional values of state-centred security conceptions has changed.

51.3.2.1 Integration and European Identity

According to the central relevance attached to the European Union as a referent object, member states have perceived the European integration process as a crucial security-relevant value since the 1980’s (Buzan/Wæver/de Wilde 1998: 179–91; Larsen 2000: 341–42; 2002; Wæver 1996). The relevance of European integration thereby results from its twofold function as outlined earlier, that is, first, to maintain the character of the EU as a “security community” and an “island of

14 See: Solana, *op. cit.*, 20 June 2001.

peace” (Bretherton/Vogler 1999; Buzan/Wæver/de Wilde 1998: 186–88) and, second, to strengthen the EU’s ability to act effectively on the international scene (Grudzinski/van Ham 1999: 41). In this sense, Buzan, Wæver, and de Wilde point to the emphasis given to integration as follows: “Just as nations have identity and states sovereignty as their organizing principle and security focus, the different securitizations around the EU seem to converge on integration as the equivalent generalized measure” (Buzan/Wæver/de Wilde 1998: 188).

In addition, the more the EU has made progress in achieving the status of an international actor, the more a further value has gained relevance from the European perspective, namely the development of a European identity towards the international environment. Liberal values such as democracy and human rights are considered the core of this identity. As a consequence, the EU’s international promotion of these values not only supports these principles globally, but also contributes to the strengthening of the Union’s identity in world politics.

51.3.2.2 Political Sovereignty and Territorial Integrity

While integration and European identity are often described as ‘postmodern’ values of European security, traditional values such as political sovereignty or territorial integrity can be referred to as ‘modern’ objectives of conventional ‘national security’ conceptions. However, the process of European integration has not left these principles untouched. On the contrary, over the course of the past decades they have undergone observable changes in their meaning, which can at least partially be characterized as a sort of ‘post-modern’ redefinition.

Take for example the understanding of member state sovereignty. Although this value has by far not become obsolete during the integration process, its meaning has been adapted to new political conditions in the European multilevel system: “states redefine the meaning and especially the extension of sovereignty. ... A collective redefinition occurs regarding *what* a state can claim sole control over, and correspondingly what is no longer claimed. ... Sovereignty is form, the content changes over time” (Wæver 1996: 116).

This change of meaning with respect to sovereignty does not refer to the actual *autonomy* of member states, which de facto had always been subject to certain restrictions. Instead, the change of sovereignty refers foremost to a shift in the assumptions about the links between national sovereignty and *political au-*

thority. In this regard, the characteristic feature is not only expressed by the fact that the degree of political authority at member state level has decreased during the integration process without member states questioning the foundations of their sovereignty. Rather, an even more significant expression of the modified understanding of sovereignty relates to the absence of an external political authority (Wendt 1999: 208) no longer seen as an ultimate precondition of national sovereignty. Instead, due to the development of a supranational political system and the continued joint exercise of “pooled sovereignty” (Joschka Fischer, in: Krämer 2003: 172), a system of “complex sovereignty”¹⁵ has emerged, whose main feature is the sharing of sovereignty between different levels (Schubert 2000: 14; Wendt 1999: 207). This ‘postmodern’ or rather ‘European’ redefinition of sovereignty has helped generating a ‘post sovereign’ order inside the EU without member states losing their political sovereignty in a constitutive sense (Wæver 1996: 119).

Moreover, this change in the meaning of sovereignty has been accompanied by a process of de-borderization (*Entgrenzung*) inside the EU. Although this process has never challenged the territorial integrity of member states, it has in fact totally neglected the relevance of territorial integrity as a security-relevant factor in intra-European relations. While territorial defence still remains reserved to national forces and the collective defence alliances NATO and WEU, several border policies have already been transferred to community competence.

The degree to which elements of supranational statehood have emerged as a result of the European integration process, the understanding of member state sovereignty and territorial integrity has not only changed, but has been increasingly complemented by equivalent principles at the European level. The latter is expressed for instance in the European treaties with the Single European Act (1987) defining “independence”¹⁶ (Rummel 1988: 129–30) as well as with the Amsterdam Treaty (1997) additionally defining “integrity of the Union”¹⁷ as genuine EU objectives. Simi-

15 Mathias Albert: “Die Erde auf dem Weg zur Weltstaatlichkeit”, in: *Das Parlament* (26 July 2004): 18.

16 Single European Act, 1986, Preamble; Treaty on European Union (Maastricht), 1992, Title V, Art. J.1, 2.

17 Single European Act, 1986, Preamble; Treaty on European Union (Maastricht), 1992, Title V, Art. J.1, 2; Consolidated Version of the Treaty on European Union (Amsterdam), 1997, Title V, Art. 11, 1; Consolidated Version of the Treaty on European Union (Nice), 2001, Title V, Art. 11, 1 (emphasis added by the author).

larly, in 1993 the Council stated *inter alia* that the “territorial integrity” and “political independence of the Union and its member states” were important objectives of the CFSP (Council of the EU 1993). These quotations illustrate that the EU constructs itself as an independent political subject whose own ‘quasi sovereignty’ and political identity has become a more and more independent security policy objective. As a consequence, today, member states might be willing to engage militarily for protecting the Union’s security even without facing a direct threat to their ‘national’ security in a conventional sense:

We have to worry about Europe’s security in order to secure that of Denmark. The reason for this is that Denmark as a state under present conditions is more free of military security problems than ever before, but this comfortable situation depends on the current European order being upheld. Therefore, developments in Bosnia threaten us – not us as Danes, but us as Europeans (Wæver 1996: 119–20).

51.3.3 Security from Whom or What?

After the failure of the European Defence Community in 1954 (Noack 1977; Steininger 1985) security-related issues had not been discussed in the EC/EU for a long time. This changed in the early 1980’s when intensified international competition pressures and increased East-West tensions were increasingly perceived as threats to West European security (Ambrosius 1996: 151–52, Wæver 1998a: 87–88.). As a result, the EC member states concluded that the Community should play a more influential role in the international theatre. The stagnation that had characterized the integration process since the 1970’s was now considered a security-relevant problem that had to be overcome. This had two consequences: First, the EPC started dealing with economic and political aspects of security. And second, the process of integration gathered momentum with the adoption of the Single European Act and, after the end of the Cold War, with the Treaty on the European Union.

Since the creation of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) in 1993 the EU’s security discourse has continuously intensified. Initially, risk perceptions were still quite incoherent, *ad hoc*, and reactive. But gradually patterns of joint risk perceptions have evolved that radically differ from threat perceptions in times of the Cold War. Thereby, the focus has shifted from direct military threats from other states (Bretherton/Vogler 1999: 198) to a broad variety of quite different security risks and challenges.

51.3.3.1 Slowdown or Failure of the Integration Process

Since the 1980’s, the chance of a possible failure of the European integration process is perceived as a security relevant risk. Progress in the integration process is considered a necessary condition of security in order to preserve peace internally and strengthen the capacity of joint external action. From this perspective, alternative scenarios such as a return of nationalistic rivalries or balance-of-power politics can only be prevented by taking further integration steps. Accordingly, fragmentation and a breakdown of integration have gained the quality of original security risks (Larsen 2000; Wæver 1996, 1998a).

51.3.3.2 Violent Conflicts and Regional Instability

At the beginning of the 1990’s the term ‘instability’ became a collective term for various risks and challenges virtually or potentially threatening international peace and European security from the EU’s perspective. Geographically, the EU initially concentrated mainly on its closer regional environment, giving clear priority to “peace and stability of the European continent and neighbouring regions” (European Council 1994). Particular attention was paid to conflicts and instabilities in Eastern Europe and Russia as well as in the Balkans, the Middle East, and in the Mediterranean region. Risk perceptions focused on a possible collapse of Russia’s democratization process, border and minority conflicts in Eastern Europe, the economic gap between the EU and Eastern European as well as North African states, bad governance and environmental problems in the Mediterranean, ethnic conflicts and humanitarian crises in the former Yugoslavia, and last but not least the Middle East conflict (Higashino 2004; Köhler 2003; Larsen 2000, 2002).¹⁸

In recent years the EU tends to widen the geographical scope of its risk perception. At least two reasons account for this: First, eastern enlargement has moved the Union’s borders eastwards and shifted attention to the “new neighbourhood” (European Commission 2004b). Second, the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001 have raised the EU’s sensitivity for the global character of security problems (Hill 2004). Hence, the Union and its member states increasingly perceive conflicts and instabilities in more remote

18 Javier Solana: “Europe: Security in the Twenty-First Century”, The Olof Palme Memorial Lecture, Stockholm, 20 June 2001.

regions as potential risks for European security. As a consequence, the European security strategy of 2003 states that “problems such as those in Kashmir, the Great Lakes Region, and the Korean Peninsula impact on European interests directly and indirectly, as do conflicts nearer at home, above all in the Middle East” (European Council 2003: 4). Concrete examples of state failure mentioned in the strategy are “Somalia, Liberia, and Afghanistan under the Taliban” (European Council 2003: 4).

51.3.3.3 Transnational Threats

From the European perspective, transnational threats constitute the link between structural instability and regional conflicts in distant regions and European security. They are perceived as having the potential to import instability to Europe. Transnational threats comprise international terrorism, religious fanaticism, ethnic nationalism, international crime (drug dealing, smuggling of arms, people trafficking), and migration, as well as the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (European Commission 2001a; European Council 2001b, 2003). Some of these threats had already been discussed in the Community before 1990.¹⁹ What has changed after the end of the Cold War was a shift “in emphasis as these issues have emerged on top of the agenda of security politics” (Sjursen 2004a: 18, 2004b).

51.3.3.4 Violation of Human Rights, Bad Governance, and Lack of Democracy

A further characteristic of the European understanding of security is an emphasis on the ‘root causes’ of regional instability, violent conflicts, and transnational threats. In particular, the disregard of human rights and democratic principles is considered a main structural cause underlying many security problems: “Countries with conflict potential are usually those where the democratic process is the least advanced” (European Commission 2001a: 13). In recent years, the EU has added bad governance and failed statehood to its list of risk factors (Churrua Muguruza 2004: 10–13; European Council 2003).

The emphasis on liberal values, democracy, and human rights is not new, but the perception of these values being relevant for European security has become a new feature. This applies not only to the

diagnosis of conflict causes, but also to the development of strategies for crisis prevention and conflict resolution. Thus, the active promotion of liberal values is increasingly seen as a contribution to international peace and, therefore, to European security (Larsen 2000: 348; see below in part 51.3.4).

51.3.3.5 Global Risks and Challenges

A range of further dangers can be summarized as ‘global risks and challenges’. Because of their global character, challenges are perceived as having the potential to *directly* affect European security. They comprise for instance diseases (HIV/AIDS) (European Council 2003), environmental problems (climate change)²⁰, risks for energy security (European Commission 2000c; European Council 2003), as well as challenges for the sustainable development of the global economy. Besides these ‘challenges’, the EU perceives several ‘risks’ that could strike European security *indirectly*. These risks include economic, social, and ecological problems that are perceived as threatening the security of individuals in third countries, thereby constituting ‘root causes’ for regional instability, violent conflicts and transnational threats. Today, many different socio-economic and ecological problems are addressed: Diseases,²¹ hunger and malnutrition, “man-made or natural disasters”, “competition over scarce natural resources”²², water and “geological resources” such as oil or minerals, but also “biological resources” such as fishery grounds or forests (European Commission 2001a: 17), landmines²³ as well as poverty.

The EU gives more attention to the causal interplay between different risks and challenges: As a consequence of global climate change, for example, the EU expects a global increase of “extreme weather events (hurricanes, floods)” (European Commission

19 For example terrorism had been discussed since the 1970’s, firstly on expert level, later within the intergovernmental “Trevi framework” (Smith 2004: 142).

20 “Climate change represents perhaps the most challenging environmental problem of all” (European Commission 2001a: 18; see also European Commission 2001e).

21 In a Communication to the Council and the European Parliament, the European Council indicates “HIV/AIDS, malaria and tuberculosis” as “major poverty diseases” and dangers to “human security and human rights” (European Commission 2004a).

22 “Canada-European Union Joint Statement on Human Security: Peace Building and Conflict Prevention”, Lisbon, 26 June 2000.

23 See “Regulation (EC) concerning action against anti-personnel landmines in third countries other than developing countries”, Regulation (EC) N°1725/2001, 23 July 2001, in: *Official Journal of the European Communities*, Brussels, 1 September 2001.

2001e: 4) as well as a shortage of natural resources (i.e. fresh water) in some areas that could foster violent conflicts and “further turbulence and migratory movements in various regions” (European Council 2003). This could again lead to further environmental degradation. “Environmental degradation, often closely linked to resource problems such as access to water, may be both a contributing factor to insecurity and conflict and the result of it” (European Commission 2001a).

A further problem seen by the EU relates to the “dark side” (European Commission 2001a) of globalization. According to this, negative effects of globalization contribute to global environmental change, the spread of poverty, and the marginalization of economies. In various developing countries they additionally affect institutional capacities that were in fact reserved to cope with these challenges (European Commission 2002). In turn, poverty, institutional deficits, and bad governance increase the vulnerability of social groups through diseases, environmental degradation, and natural disasters (European Commission 2000a). Moreover, regional conflicts, poverty, and underdevelopment form a “constant seedbed” for terrorism and religious fanaticism (European Council 2001b). In sum, the EU’s risk perception after 1990 has been marked by a diversification of security problems, a greater awareness of their interrelatedness, an emphasis on root causes, and an extended spatial scope.

51.3.4 Security by What Means and Strategies

What security policy strategies does the EU pursue to cope with the perceived dangers as outlined above? What instruments play a role in the European security conception? The European security approach, the roots of which can be traced back to the 1950’s and which has gained contour and coherency during the 1990’s, can be described as “comprehensive” and “co-operative” (Biscop 2004: 5; Churruza Muguruza 2004): These adjectives express that the EU pursues a normative and cooperative strategy resting on a broad set of means and instruments. Additionally, due to the emphasis of the root causes of security risks, the EU has more and more come to formulating a preventive-oriented policy approach. Below in a first step the normative and cooperative aims and principles of the EU’s security conception will be examined, then, the means and instruments the EU uses to achieve its goals will be analysed, and finally the Union’s response to 9/11 will be reviewed.

51.3.4.1 Objectives and Principles of the EU’s Approach to Security

The EU’s security approach is shaped by liberal institutionalist norms and ideas that are based on two core premises: First, political integration, economic interdependence, and multilateral cooperation weaken the anarchy of the international system as well as the security dilemma (Aggestam 2000: 88). Second, democracies foster peaceful relations among themselves (‘democratic peace’ assumption). Therefore, promoting integration and multilateralism and strengthening democracy and human rights worldwide might be the best way to prevent violent conflicts (Higashino 2004: 352; Hill 1990: 54). Both assumptions stem from the experience of the appeasing effects of European integration. Today, they can be interpreted as core elements of a postmodern European identity.

Additionally, in recent years the concept of ‘sustainable development’ has also gained relevance in the European security discourse, thereby complementing the normative ideas outlined above. It refers to the principles of economic development, social justice, socio-economic and ecological sustainability, which are regarded as conditions of “structural stability” (European Commission 2001a). Taken together, these assumptions form the ideal basis of a distinct European security approach, whose main imperatives are deepening and enlarging the EU, fostering liberal values and sustainable development, and promoting international cooperation and multilateralism (European Council 2003).

Integration and Enlargement. Since the mid 1980’s, deepening the European integration process, strengthening supranational institutions, improving the political capacity to act, and creating an external EC/EU identity have become central West European objectives. Besides the (internal) maintenance of the European security community, especially the enhancement of the EU as “a forceful presence in the international arena” (European Commission 1996b) has gained relevance since 1989/90. Thereby, deepening the EU has been explicitly seen as contributing to stability and security on the European continent. Accordingly “only a more politically coherent Europe will be able to cope with the inevitable strains and centrifugal tendencies generated by the global world economy and the new post-Cold War strategic environment” (Grudzinski/van Ham 1999: 41; see Larsen 2000: 353, 2002: 294). The objective of improving the Union’s capacity for international action operates as a driving force in European integration.²⁴

Immediately after the end of the Cold War the EC claimed to act as a major force in restructuring the pan-European order. The EC initially counted on its virtue as a “gravitation centre” (Lippert 2003: 8) in the first place, emphasizing West European integration (Bretherton/Vogler 1999: 198, 214). Thus, the European Council stated in 1989 that the “current changes ... in Europe demonstrate the attraction which the political and economic model of Community Europe holds for many countries” (European Council 1989). Deepening West European integration would be of interest to the European continent (European Council 1989). The accession of Central and Eastern European states to the EC was not yet considered.

During the 1990’s it was accepted that deepening West European integration would not be sufficient for guaranteeing stability in Europe. Thus, Eastern enlargement appeared on the agenda. Besides political, moral, and economic objectives, security and stability arguments played an important role (Higashino 2004; Kreile 2002: 807; Lippert 2003: 7–9). However, positions of member states differed and thus prevented a clear European policy until the second half of the 1990’s. Only due to the ongoing crises in the Balkans, stability arguments prevailed in favour of Eastern enlargement (Higashino 2004: 356; Lippert 2003: 8). As a consequence, in the second half of the 1990’s, member states officially switched to a dual strategy of both deepening and enlarging the EU. Finally, the accession of eight Central and East European states in May 2004 was the preliminary culmination of a “peace project” (Kramer 2003), that builds on an integrative approach to European security, whose core elements are the principle of inclusion, the export of supranational institutionalization (Sjursen 2004b), and the expansion of the West European security community (Grudzinski/van Ham 1999: 41; Kreile 2002: 807).

Promotion of Liberal Values. Since the 1980’s, the promotion of democracy and human rights has become a practical objective of European foreign policy. In 1983, EC governments stated their intent “to work together to promote democracy on the basis of the fundamental rights” (European Council 1983). Only a few years later, this formulation was identically incorporated into the preamble of the Single European Act.²⁵ In doing so, member states for the first time in-

cluded an explicit reference to the principles of democracy and human rights into the treaties of the European Community. Two years later, the EC was the first political actor implementing a conditionality clause in an international treaty in order to enforce democracy and human rights (Lomé-IV) (Börzel/Risse 2004: 1).

After the end of the East-West conflict, this trend towards an active human rights and democratization policy has become even stronger: The Maastricht Treaty for the first time defined the development and consolidation of ‘democracy and the rule of law’ as well as the respect for ‘human rights and fundamental freedoms’ as explicit aims of both the Common Foreign and Security Policy as well as the EU’s development policy.²⁶ During the 1990’s, the principle of conditionality has become a regularly applied instrument of the EU’s democratization and human rights policies (European Commission 1995a, 1995b; European Council 1991). Examples can be found in enlargement and association policies as well as in development, non-proliferation, and anti-terrorism policies (Börzel/Risse 2004; Bretherton/Vogler 1999: 171–72; Dembinski 2002: 9–10; Jünemann/Schörnig 2002: 13; Larsen 2000).²⁷ Additionally, the EU increasingly tries to mainstream the promotion of democracy and human rights in various policy fields, thereby integrating this objective in virtually all dimensions of its external relations. This applies particularly to the policy domains of development cooperation and conflict prevention (Council of the EU 2001a, 2001c; European Commission 2001c, 2004c).

It is notable that the EU not only increasingly links its commitment to democracy and human rights to security arguments, but that it also regards the active promotion of these values as an essential contribution to strengthening international stability in an operative manner (see Council of the EU 2001a). Accordingly, the concentration on conflict-prone regions was a major concern of the EU’s human rights policy reform in 2001/2002. The aim was to adopt a more “proactive, strategic approach” to human rights policy also contributing to crisis prevention and conflict so-

24 This accounts especially for the CFSP. Enhancing its efficiency and coherence were constant objectives of the Intergovernmental Conferences in Amsterdam (Wessels 1997) and Nice (Wessels 2001), and of the European Convention (Risse 2003a; Wessels 2004).

25 See Single European Act, February 1986, Preamble.

26 See Treaty on European Union (Maastricht), 1992, Title V, Art. J.1.

27 Javier Solana: “An intelligent war on terror”, in: *The Jordan Times*, 10 November 2004; Javier Solana: “Three ways for Europe to prevail against the terrorists”, in: *Financial Times*, 25 March 2004.

lution (Council of the EU 2001a; European Commission 2001c).

In summary, first the promotion of democracy and human rights has gained an increasing operative relevance in external EU policies since the early 1990's. Second, the EU's democratization and human rights policies are increasingly guided by security considerations. The active promotion of liberal principles such as democracy, human rights, rule of law, and good governance is not only seen as a major contribution to the improvement of the situation of right holders (*Rechteinhaber*) at individual and societal level. It is also seen as a means to fight the "root causes" of conflicts and to strengthen "structural stability" at national, regional, and international level (European Commission 2001a; European Council 2003: 10). Finally, the commitment to liberal values also plays an identity-building role: As the EU promotes these values, it strengthens and defends "the core of its political identity".²⁸

Promotion of Sustainable Development. Similar trends can be observed regarding the promotion of economic and social development in third countries. Since the adoption of the Maastricht Treaty, the support of economic and social development as well as the fight against poverty are central development policy objectives codified in primary law. During the 1990's, EU development policy has increasingly become politicized insofar as it is no more exclusively motivated by moral concerns, but also by stability objectives. Today, democracy and human rights promotion not only describes an integral element of development cooperation. Also the support of economic and social development is increasingly seen as a contribution to conflict prevention and structural peace-keeping both for European development cooperation and common foreign trade policy:

Development policy and other cooperation programmes provide the most powerful instruments at the Community's disposal for treating the root causes of conflict. There is a need to take a genuinely long-term and integrated approach, which will address all aspects of structural stability (European Commission 2001a).

Thus, the EU's development policy reform conducted from 2000 onwards aimed at shifting to a more proactive approach *inter alia* contributing to peace

and stability in third countries (Churruca Muguruza 2004: 10). The global fight against poverty (as a major cause of conflicts) has been the overall objective of European foreign aid policy (Council of the EU/ Commission 2000; European Commission 2000a), where the EU focuses on the needs of individuals, whose satisfaction is regarded as a precondition for structural stability and international security.

A further characteristic of the European approach relates to ecological factors. In the second half of the 1990's, the EU has shifted to a sustainability approach, increasingly integrating environmental aspects in development policies (European Commission 1998, 1999a, 2000b, 2001d, 2001e, 2002, European Council 2001c).

The EU pursues a "development approach centred on social and human aspects and on the sustainable management and use of natural resources and the environment" (European Commission 2000a). The EU aims at making an integrated, long-term and proactive contribution not only to eliminating economic and ecological causes of conflicts, but also to 'human' and 'environmental security' (Brauch 2005, 2005a) although these terms are not part of the common EU vocabulary. Normative guidelines of this approach are social justice, economic development, and ecological sustainability. Major elements are the strengthening of institutional capacities "to manage change without to resort to conflict" (European Commission 2001a) as well as the promotion of regional integration and international cooperation.

Cooperation, Effective Multilateralism and International Law. A further element of the European understanding of security is the assumption of a positive causal link between security and stability, and international norm setting and multilateral cooperation. As the EU pleads for the creation and strengthening of international institutions, the setting of international norms, the promotion of regional integration and the strengthening of an "effective multilateral system" (European Council 2003), it tries to transfer the European peace project model to other regions and international relations respectively. "The Community's own experience pleads for an active and leading role in this area" (European Commission 2000a).

This 'cooperative security' approach is no innovation of the post-Cold War era. Political conceptions such as 'common security' had already reflected these ideas during the East-West Conflict and had become manifested for instance in the active support of the CSCE process (Dembinski 2002: 11; Sjursen 2004b). However, during the 1990's, the EU has intensified re-

28 Javier Solana: "Where does the EU stand on Common Foreign and Security Policy?" Speech at the Forschungsinstitut der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik [Research Institute of the German Society for Foreign Policy], Berlin, 14 November 2000.

spective efforts. Since then, the EU shows a striking engagement for strengthening international law and international organizations such as the UN (Dembinski 2002: 6). The support of the Kyoto Protocol and the commitment to the International Criminal Court are the most prominent examples of this policy. The dedication to international legalization, regional integration, and international cooperation describes an integral element of several policy areas, mainly development cooperation, environmental policy, conflict prevention, combat of terrorism as well as arms control and non-proliferation policies. Simultaneously, the functional aspect of joint problem solving has become more important. Accordingly, concepts such as “global governance” and “effective multilateralism” are frequently referred to in the EU discourse (European Council 2003).²⁹

51.3.4.2 Security Policy Means and Instruments

To achieve the aims of its security policy, the EU possesses many instruments comprising political and economic means as well as military options. While during the Cold War the EC had political and economic means at its disposal, the creation of a military dimension of the EU has been a major improvement of the 1990's.

Political and Economic Instruments. The recourse to political and economic means to affect the action of political actors in third countries through positive and negative incentives as well as through triggering learning and persuasion processes has a long tradition in external policies of the EC/EU. For decades, these ‘soft’ modes of political steering had been the only means for the EU (Hill 1990), and they still prevail in the Union's present foreign policies.

Regarding the 1990's, three main trends can be observed: first, security issues have played a greater role in the EU's external relations since the end of the Cold War. Until 1990, bi- and multilateral dialogues had been dedicated almost exclusively to economic and trade issues as well as to technical and cultural questions. After 1990, new topics such as human rights protection and democracy promotion, but also the fight against transnational threats (e.g. nuclear proliferation, terrorism and international crime) have appeared on the agenda (Dembinski 2002: 8). Second, the EU's economic and development policies

have simultaneously become more and more politicized, if not even securitized. In other words: political and security objectives have gained greater impact on the formulation of foreign economic and development policies. This becomes apparent when looking, for instance, at the conditionality of foreign aid. All in all, since the early 1990's, the EU has comprehensively reviewed its political and economic relations to other countries and regions under security aspects in order to utilize these relations for also pursuing security objectives. Third, the EU has complemented its non-military toolbox by civilian instruments of conflict management within the framework of the ESDP.

But let's have a look at the traditional approaches of the EU's external policies first: here, positive and negative incentives as well as political persuasion efforts have always played a major role. The latter are, for instance, an integral part of the institutionalized political dialogues, which are important diplomatic EU instruments. Political dialogues are aimed at establishing formalized and constant diplomatic relations to certain states or groups of states. Within these frameworks, the EU focuses on the virtue of its own example and the power of the better argument in order to persuade dialogue partners of its norms, values, beliefs or positions. During the 1990's, the number of institutionalized dialogues has constantly increased. Today, the EU maintains 30 such dialogues with countries and regions all over the world (Börzel/Risse 2004: 26–27; Dembinski 2002: 7–8; Jünemann/Schörning 2002: 12–13).

Over the last two decades EU member states have increasingly managed to mutually adjust their positions on international issues and to represent them collectively in multilateral bodies. In international organizations member states vote consistently in up to 80 per cent of cases (Regelsberger/Wessels 2005). Finally, diplomatic missions of EU representatives in different compositions (troika, presidency, representatives of the European Commission, High Representative of the CFSP, EU Special Representatives) belong to the traditional means of European foreign policy and are conducted inter alia in concrete crisis situations.

Besides political persuasion, the EU has increasingly counted on political and economic incentives, thereby trying to alter cost benefit calculations of third actors by ‘carrots and sticks’ in order to achieve changes in political behaviour. Major economic incentives (*positive economic sanctions*) at the EU's disposal are economic, financial and development aid, trade concessions, and access to the European mar-

29 Javier Solana: “Europe must assume its responsibility for security as part of its international relations strategy”, in: *Irish Times*, 23 September 2003.

ket, as well as EU programmes for the development of political, administrative, and economic capacities and institutions in third countries.

The EC had in some cases imposed *negative economic sanctions* even before 1990 when negative sanctions had not only been used as foreign policy means, but also as security-related instruments. For instance, this accounts for the Iran hostage crisis or the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan (Rummel 1988: 126; Smith 2004: 142). Since 1990, the EC/EU has constantly accessed this instrument in crisis situations, e.g. the trade embargoes against Serbia and Montenegro during the Bosnian War in 1992.

Today, the EU systematically combines positive incentives with the threat of negative sanctions in case of enduring violation of political norms such as democracy, human rights, and good governance. Many association agreements with third countries contain such clauses. Examples are the Cotonou Agreement between the EU and the African, Caribbean, and Pacific (ACP) countries as well as several association agreements with Mediterranean partners and some countries in Central and South America (Börzel/Risse 2004). The conditioning of external relations has become more obvious with regard to the EU's enlargement policy: The Copenhagen criteria (democracy, human rights protection, market economy) define preconditions for accession to the EU, while the prospect of an EU membership is "by far the biggest incentive structure which the EU can offer to promote democracy and the rule of law" (Börzel/Risse 2004: 27).

A more recent innovation regarding non-military means of European security policy concerns the extension of civilian crisis management instruments as part of the ESDP (European Commission Conflict Prevention and Crisis Management Unit 2003). The experience of violent conflicts in the Balkans had not only demonstrated the importance of military crisis management capacities, but also the necessity of civilian instruments for conflict prevention, crisis management and peacekeeping. Therefore, after having taken the basic decision to launch the ESDP project in 1999, EU member states have not only strived towards creating an autonomous *military* EU capacity, but also for effective *civilian* instruments of crisis management. In doing so, they have concentrated mainly on police missions, the allocation of legal and administration experts as well as rapidly deployable emergency management teams (European Council 1999b, 2000a, 2000b, 2001c). With the *Rapid Reaction Mechanism* created in 2001 the EU aims at improving its civilian

capacities for rapid intervention in acute crisis situations (acute crisis management as well as post-crisis reconstruction). Focal points are conflict mediation, re-establishment of civil administration and the rule of law, confidence building measures, civil society development as well as certain consulting activities (Council of the EU 2001b).

In sum, when looking at the non-military toolbox of EU security policy, one can observe an obvious differentiation of these means since 1990. Positive political and economic incentives as well as capacity-building measures enjoy clear priority over negative sanctions.

Military Means. One of the most obvious innovations regarding the EU's security conception since the end of the Cold War concerns the construction of autonomous military capacities within the framework of the *European Security and Defence Policy* (ESDP). This will be reviewed for the historical development, then the motives and objectives for the creation of the ESDP will be examined, before the military means are related to the more conventional security policy instruments of the EU.

Towards an Autonomous Military Dimension of the EU. The roots of the ESDP go back to the 1980's when the intention had prevailed in Western Europe to strengthen one's role in the Atlantic Alliance. Step-by-step, the former taboo to discuss defence-related topics within the EPC had been broken (Pijpers 1988: 159; Rummel 1990: 90–91).

The foundation for a military component of the EU was then laid in the early 1990's with the Maastricht Treaty. Member states agreed that the Common Foreign and Security Policy should "include all questions related to the security of the Union, including the eventual framing of a common defence policy, which might in time lead to a common defence".³⁰ Moreover, the WEU was described as an "integral part of the development of the Union."³¹ The EU should be able to request the WEU to "elaborate and implement decisions and actions of the Union which have defence implications".³² However, the actual creation of independent military capacities of the EU failed for several years because of member state disagreements, and, last but not least, due to the continuous opposition of Great Britain.

30 Treaty on European Union (Maastricht), 1992, Title V, Art. J.1.

31 *Ibid.*, Title V, Art. J.2.

32 *Ibid.*

Against the background of so called “new wars” (Kaldor 2000; Münkler 2002, 2002a) in Europe – ethnic conflicts and civil wars like those in Bosnia and in Kosovo, which have shifted the West European focus from territorial defence towards new security tasks such as humanitarian, peacekeeping and peacebuilding missions – the so called ‘Petersberg Tasks’³³ of the WEU were integrated in the CFSP with the Amsterdam Treaty (1997). The European Council was given the competence to decide on political guidelines for military WEU missions. Thus, for the first time, the EU had military instruments for crisis management and peacekeeping tasks at its disposal.

The final breakthrough came with a change in British policy towards the EU, as the ongoing Kosovo crisis gave reason for the British government to abandon its opposition to independent military EU components (Haine 2004: 50–51). In the autumn of 1998, the British government finally argued for making the EU capable of military action and for creating appropriate decision-making structures.³⁴ Half a year later, the Cologne European Council decided to create the capacity for autonomous EU military action across the full range of ‘Petersberg Tasks’. For this reason, the European Council initiated the almost complete integration of the WEU into the EU and the launching of the ESDP (European Council 1999a).

Since then, the EU has developed and strengthened separate military capacities and corresponding decision making structures. In doing so, the EU has not only set up new political and military bodies (e.g. the EU Military Committee and the EU Military Staff), but has also developed military capability goals (see chapter by Mosca Moschini in this volume). Thus, the Helsinki European Council decided in December 1999 to create a *Rapid Reaction Force* to be able, by 2003, to deploy up to 60,000 troops within 60 days in a crisis area for at least one year. Although the EU has not managed to fully implement this decision by 2003, it has nevertheless reached a certain operational capacity as demonstrated by first military peacekeeping operations conducted under the ESDP that year.³⁵

In June 2004, the European Council decided on the so-called “Headline Goal 2010” (Council of the EU/Council 2004), which was further concretized in

November the same year by EU defence ministers (Defence Ministers of the EU 2004). A key element is the creation of 13 battle groups, consisting of around 1,500 troops each, which shall be deployable within a few days only. Until 2007, the EU intends to be able to simultaneously operate two of these battle groups up to 6,000 kilometres away (Kamp 2004; see chap. by Mosca Moschini in this vol.).

Motives and Objectives of the ESDP. The motives for setting up the ESDP comprise two main objectives: strengthening the EU as an international actor, and improving its problem solving capacity by additional (military) means. In statements and declarations these arguments are often mixed. Nevertheless, one can observe a certain shift in emphasis from the first to the second: With the advanced operational capability of the ESDP, problem-solving aspects (intervention argument) have obtained priority over more abstract reasons related to actorness (integration argument).

During the 1990’s, the necessity to enhance the EU’s international role had been the dominant argument of ESDP advocates (Larsen 2000; 2002). Thereby, the desire to improve the EU’s position vis-à-vis the US had often played a role as well (Jünemann/Schörnig 2002: 21). In principle, the intent to strengthen the EU’s international profile can be interpreted as part of broader efforts to deepen the integration process, which, in the 1990’s, had always included the improvement of the EU’s capacity for external action (European Council 1999a).

After the launching of the ESDP in 1999, problem-solving objectives have come to the fore (Larsen 2002). Since then, the European discourse on ESDP issues has been more and more dominated by the argument that the EU should possess the full range of security policy instruments (including military means) in order to be able to cope with new risks and challenges effectively. Governments as well as the High Representative for the CFSP, Javier Solana, have repeatedly emphasized that neither collective defence nor international power projection were the aims of this endeavour.³⁶ They argue the ‘Petersberg Tasks’ were at the heart of the ESDP, with a mandate of the UN Security Council being the basic precondition for

33 “Humanitarian and rescue tasks; peacekeeping tasks; tasks of combat forces in crisis management, including peacemaking” (WEU 1992).

34 See “Joint declaration on European defence”, British-French summit, St Malo, 3–4 December 1998.

35 The EU launched the first military ESDP operations in 2003: “CONCORDIA” in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (with recourse to NATO capacities) and “ARTEMIS” in the Democratic Republic of Congo (without recourse to NATO capacities).

36 Javier Solana: “Europe: Security in the Twenty-First Century”, Stockholm 20 June 2001.

any military EU action. However, whether emphasis should be given on “peacekeeping or on more robust peacemaking operations” (Kleine 2004: 42, translation by the author) is still unclear due to differing member state positions (Missiroli 2002: 18). In any case, ESDP capacities currently rather allow for missions on the lower spectrum of the ‘Petersberg Tasks’, whereas the EU’s capability for robust peace enforcement missions is still very limited.

At the same time, one can already observe a certain conceptual realignment of ESDP compared to the original approach (Haine 2004). While as a consequence of the experience in Bosnia and Kosovo (Delcourt 2003) the EU had initially focused to a large degree on the ability to intervene in conflicts on the European periphery, it has, since 9/11, enlarged its scope to more remote regions as well (for example African ‘failed states’). In response to the terrorist attacks in the US in 2001 the EU has emphasized even more rapid military reaction capabilities (Jünemann/Schörning 2002: 14). Thus, the range of potential ESDP tasks has widened: “As indicated by the European Security Strategy this might also include joint disarmament operations, the support for third countries in combating terrorism and security sector reform” (Council of the EU/Council 2004). In fact, the ‘Battle Group’ concept can be interpreted as an expression of these new trends (Kamp 2004).

Comprehensive Security: Primacy of Diplomacy – Military Means as ‘Last Resort’. All in all, the EU has obtained an increasingly comprehensive and differentiated range of security policy instruments since 1990. Compared to the reconceptualization of security at the national level, a specific feature of this evolution has been that the relative importance of military means in the EU’s security conception has not declined, but increased. In fact, member states have assigned new security policy tasks to the EU that had formerly been reserved to other international institutions. However, the end of the Cold War accounted for this development only indirectly. Instead, it was the West European experience with the conflicts in the Balkans, which triggered member states to launch the ESDP. Both the Bosnian war and the Kosovo conflict had demonstrated the European dependence on US support to “fight fire in its backyard”.³⁷ Thus, it

was no coincidence that the ESDP was launched immediately after the Kosovo crisis.

The ESDP stands for a qualitative innovation in the EU security conception, since the West European integration process had never had a military dimension before. But this development has not caused significant changes in the normative orientation of the EU’s security policy so far. Political and economic means still enjoy preference in the Union’s understanding of security (Larsen 2002), while the ESDP is seen as a completion of existing security policy instruments: “The European Union has long had access to a wide range of tools with which to help provide security... . This has not so far included military capabilities. But this is now changing.”³⁸

It has repeatedly been argued that the EU possesses a unique combination of security policy instruments, allowing it to react to complex and “increasingly multilayered”³⁹ security risks: “The EU is the only regional organization in the world possessing such a broad range of political, humanitarian, economic, policy and military instruments”⁴⁰. The ESDP is the final component of a broad and integrative security approach, whose primacy remains the use of political and economic means, but which can also access military instruments as a “last resort” if necessary, and authorized by the UN Security Council (European Council 2003: 7).

By analysing the EU’s response to the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001, the following section will illustrate how the EU implements its broad, cooperative, and normative security approach, and it will argue that ‘9/11’ has not led to a fundamental change in the EU’s security conception. Rather, the reaction of the EU was an expression of a distinct European understanding of security, emphasizing international cooperation, structural prevention, and civilian instruments of security policy.

51.3.4.3 Anti-terrorism Policy: The EU’s Response to 9/11

The EU perceived the terrorist attacks of 9/11 as a problem of both internal and external security. The Union’s reactions were marked by two characteristics that are of particular interest for this analysis: first, in

37 Madeleine Albright: “Die NATO muss größer und flexibler werden”, in: *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 7 December 1998.

38 Javier Solana: “Europe: Security in the Twenty-First Century”, Stockholm 20 June 2001.

39 Solana, *op.cit.*, 20 June 2001.

40 Javier Solana: “Die Rolle Europas in der Welt”, in: *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 20 September 2003; translation by the author.

its immediate action, the EU concentrated heavily on the domain of internal security, i.e. police and justice cooperation. This comprised the European arrest warrant, joint investigation groups, measures against money laundering, and the set-up of Eurojust to improve the fight against organized crime (Kleine 2004). Second, the EU has embedded its international anti-terrorism policy in a broad and cooperative security approach that is marked by interdisciplinary and multilateral orientation, and that targets the structural root causes with civilian instruments. Military means have played no role in the EU's fight against terrorism.

As far as risk perception is concerned, the security discourse of the EU has shown an increased threat perception stemming from international terrorism after 9/11. The European security strategy defines terrorism as a "growing strategic threat to the whole of Europe" (European Council 2003: 3). Solana even speaks of "an existential threat".⁴¹ As a consequence, the fight against terrorism has climbed significantly on the priority scale. Only a few days after 9/11, EU governments affirmed that "the fight against terrorism will, more than ever, be a priority objective of the European Union" (European Council 2001a). However, subsequent EU policy decisions have not led to a substantial change of the foreign and security policy course. In fact, 9/11 has accelerated ESDP integration (European Council 2001a, 2002; Haine 2004).⁴² But this was not because the EU intended to fight terrorism with military means. Rather, the objective was to enable the Union to conduct peacekeeping missions in the Balkans in order to relieve the US in this respect, whereas member states could not agree on expanding the "Petersberg Tasks" by including military action against terrorism (as suggested by France) (Kleine 2004: 96–98). The participation of several member states in the US-led military operations against Afghanistan and Iraq occurred outside the EU framework (Crowe 2003; Hill 2004).

Although ESDP tasks have been supplemented by the support of third countries in combating terrorism, it would be clearly exaggerated to diagnose a "militarization" of European security policy after 11 Septem-

ber 2001. Rather, the EU's response has demonstrated both the path dependency of European policy as well as the continuity of the European understanding of security. In fact, 9/11 has led to a certain modification in European risk perception: Terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, but also 'failed states' and migration, are more than before perceived as security risks. Additionally, the spatial scope of both risk perception and potential EU action has widened (Hill 2004). But in sum, continuity has prevailed as the EU has simply confirmed its EDSP decisions taken earlier and reinforced its integrative approach to security (Biscop 2004: 6; European Council 2001a). Core elements of this strategy are the fight against structural root causes of terrorism (elimination of poverty, development, democratization), the concentration on economic, financial, political and judicial means as well as police, justice and intelligence cooperation, the strengthening of multilateral efforts and international institutions, the containment of terrorists' access to financial and economic resources, and third state capacity building. Solana calls this approach an "intelligent war on terror: Aside from security and intelligence efforts, we must also work to deny 'oxygen' to the terrorists. ... The EU will be tough on terrorism. But it must also be tough on the causes of terrorism."⁴³ Thus, the European anti-terrorism policy again demonstrates the preference for a long-term, preventive, multidisciplinary, non-military, and multilateral approach to security.

51.4 Conclusion

The analysis of the European security discourse along the theoretical security dimensions (referent objects, values, risks, means) has shown that the initial research question was, in some respects, posed wrongly. When member states began to confer security policy competence to the EU in the early 1990's, the Union did not (yet) have a common understanding of security. Therefore, regarding the European security discourse since 1990, one actually has to talk about a "conceptualization" rather than a "reconceptualiza-

41 Javier Solana: "An intelligent war on terror", in: *The Jordan Times*, 10 November 2004.

42 See also the "Joint Declaration by the Heads of State and Government of the European Union, The President of the European Parliament, The President of the European Commission, and the High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy", Brussels, 14 September 2001.

43 See: Javier Solana: "An intelligent war on terror", in: *The Jordan Times*, 10 November 2004. In another article Solana stated that: "No cause justifies terrorism, but nothing justifies ignoring the causes of terrorism." Javier Solana: "Three ways for Europe to prevail against the terrorists", in: *Financial Times*, 25 March 2004; see European Council 2004.

tion" of security. Hence, the point is not that the EU had developed a *new* security conception, but rather that the EU has to some degree succeeded in defining a *common* understanding of security at all. The evolution of this security understanding is not yet completed, but its contours have become more and more visible in recent years.

Because the EC did not possess a coherent security conception in times of the Cold War, it is not easy to trace the qualitative changes since 1990. There is simply no possibility of comparison. Nevertheless, some trends can be identified that are characteristic for the EU's (re)conceptualization of security compared to more traditional security definitions. In this regard, the analysis has revealed that the evolution of the European understanding of security since 1990 has been characterized by both a widening (new threats and risks) as well as a deepening (new referent objects) of security. However, compared to other actor's redefinitions of security, one of the most obvious trends has *not* been that a military security conception had been complemented by political aspects, but rather, on the contrary, that military means have been added to a policy approach that had formerly counted exclusively on non-military instruments.

Today, the EU's security conception combines several characteristic features: first, it includes several referent objects whose security is seen as interdependent and indivisible. As far as member state and individual security are concerned, the EU itself has become the primary referent object of security. Second, one can observe a pluralization of the values that are to be secured. This trend has simultaneously changed and relativized the traditional meaning of state sovereignty in favour of individual and European values. Third, the evolution of the European understanding of security has been marked by a diversification of risk perception. Thus, the fear of a direct military threat has been replaced by various direct and indirect political, socio-economic, ecological, and military risks, threats, and challenges (Brauch 2005a). Fourth, the diversification of risk perception has corresponded with an extension of the security policy instrument by military means, and the creation of an autonomous intervention and crisis reaction capacity. Fifth, a 're-framing' of civilian power principles could be observed, i.e. a review of these principles in terms of security aspects as well as the intent to explicitly link them to security policy objectives. Sixth, the EU has enhanced its readiness to actively apply a broad range of security policy means in an increasingly coherent, but also more dif-

ferentiated manner across various policy fields and EU pillars.

The '9/11' tragedy has been less formative for these trends than the conflicts in the Balkans during the 1990's. Whereas the conflicts in the former Yugoslavia have triggered the launching of the ESDP project as one of the most characteristic innovations in the European security conception, the terrorist attacks in New York and Washington DC simply brought the EU to basically confirm its already existing security approach.

Since 1990 the European Union has gradually developed both an independent external identity as an international security actor as well as a distinct European understanding of security. This process was enabled by the upheaval of 1989/90, whereas the new international setting that came along with the end of the Cold War influenced its direction. Thus, the fundamental change of risk perception as well as the obvious trend towards 'widening and deepening' the security definition are expressions of a 'contextual change' that has in fact lead to a 'conceptual change'. At the same time, the collective construction of an increasingly coherent security conception (as well as a common security identity) has been facilitated by both the ever closer interaction between political actors at EU level and the intensification of the European (security) discourse (Checkel 2005; Lewis 2005; Zürn/Checkel 2005). The reconceptualization of security in the EU since 1990 can be described as a gradual process of incremental change in which formative security policy events have often triggered collective learning processes and the creation of political awareness. From a social constructivist perspective, such processes of socialization, learning, and persuasion represent the causal mechanisms which make 'contextual change' cause 'conceptual change' and, additionally, enhance conceptual coherence.

The EU's current understanding of security also demonstrates the fundamental relevance of traditional norms and values in European foreign and security policy. Irrespective of the changes that can be observed, common values and norms, existing for many decades, have still remained the normative core of West European foreign and security policy 'culture'. Hence, the 'new' security conception of the EU remains rooted in the Union's tradition as a "civilian power" (Duchêne 1972). In this respect, conceptual changes of the European security definition can be interpreted as a result of adjusting traditional foreign and security policy principles to new international conditions. As a consequence, both elements, the (tra-

ditional) role as a civilian power as well as the (more recent) development towards a security actor have been significant for the evolution of the European security conception since 1990. Therefore, the (re)conceptualization of security in the EU has not only been marked by change, but also by a high degree of continuity.

The continuity of the EU's civilian orientation is expressed by several characteristic features:

- First, the normative orientation to liberal values (especially democracy and human rights) as components of the European identity and as preconditions of positive peace.
- Second, the emphasis on preventive action and structural problem-solving.
- Third, the primacy of civilian (political and economic) means with an emphasis on positive incentives and moral persuasion.
- Fourth, the promotion of regional integration, international cooperation, and global norm setting, which in fact rest on the European integration experience and a Europeanized understanding of state sovereignty.

In sum, the EU today possesses a *comprehensive, normative and cooperative* security conception that combines a global orientation with the claim to actively shape international order. This approach can be characterized as *comprehensive*, because the EU tries to apply various instruments in different policy fields in an increasingly coordinated way in order to solve diverse security problems. In doing so, the Union firstly accounts for various causal linkages between different risks, threats and challenges, and secondly aims at finding a balance between proactive and reactive action. Additionally, the *normative* dimension of the European security approach bears on norms and values such as human rights, democracy, and the rule of law, but also social justice, economic development, and ecological sustainability. These values are regarded as structural conditions for security and, therefore, constitute the leading principles of European security policy. Finally, the EU's security approach can be qualified as *cooperative*, because international cooperation and multilateral action are, from a European perspective, essential for the solution of regional as well as global security problems.

Each of these three dimensions of the European security conception roots in a historically grown European identity, the core of which consists of the liberal values of the civilian power Europe as well as the "post sovereign" (Wæver 2000: 257) character of the

inner European security order. Therefore, the main characteristic is not that the EU today has military means at its disposal. What is even more decisive is that the Union has moved towards a common security understanding on the basis of liberal values and cooperative norms that come along with a grown readiness for external action and the claim to actively shape world politics. The ESDP has just as little transformed the EU into a "military power" (Bull 1982), as its evolution towards a security actor contradicts its character as a "civilian power". In contrast, the military dimension of the EU is supposed to strengthen its ability to defend universal values, while it is precisely the normative civilian power principles that constitute European "actorness" to a substantial degree (White 2001). Against this background, the dual character of the EU as both a civilian power *and* a security actor, today, becomes manifest in the Union's objective to act as a "normative power" (Manners 2001, 2004) by providing a positive example and a leading role in favour of a "better world":

Now that the Cold War is over and we are living in a globalized, yet also highly fragmented world, Europe needs to shoulder its responsibilities in the governance of globalization. The role it has to play is that of a power resolutely doing battle against all violence, all terror and all fanaticism, but which also does not turn a blind eye to the world's heartrending injustices. In short, a power wanting to change the course of world affairs in such a way as to benefit not just the rich countries but also the poorest. A power seeking to set globalization within a moral framework, in other words to anchor it in solidarity and sustainable development (European Council 2001b).

52 Democracy and European Justice and Home Affairs Policies from the Cold War to September 11

Andreas Maurer and Roderick Parkes

52.1 Introduction

European Justice and Home Affairs (JHA) integration can be characterized with reference to a number of interrelated phenomena, none of which is peculiar to the EU but all of which are defined by its unusual structure and policy-making framework. ‘Securitization’ describes the way in which security concerns have been privileged in policy-making, often to the detriment of competing social, economic and foreign policy goals. ‘Europeanization’ describes the progressive treatment of JHA issues at a European level. ‘Externalization’ is the process of the blurring of distinctions between policy areas which might formerly have been classified as almost exclusively ‘internal’ or ‘external’ to the state. A fourth trend concerns the way in which democracy and human rights have been both subverted and promoted in efforts to safeguard the EU’s security.

The end of the Cold War and the 2001 attacks on New York have had a formative effect upon all of these traits. Only by examining the interactions between them does it become possible to understand the current form of the EU’s JHA activities. These activities are often criticized for their unsuitability to the full range of socioeconomic and external challenges faced by the EU, and indeed to the very security challenges which many are specifically designed to meet. Moreover, they are considered undemocratic both in the way they are drawn up and in their effect. The cumulative effect of these developments is apparent in the EU’s emerging asylum regime.

This chapter analyses the asylum measures adopted by the European Council and the Council of Ministers since the Treaty of Amsterdam, asking whether the EU after the Cold War and September 11 is capable of drawing up a well-rounded asylum policy in a democratic manner by focusing first on the construction of a European security threat (58.2), analysing European Justice and Home Affairs (58.3), and re-

viewing the European asylum policy (58.4) before debating in the conclusions the democratization of asylum policy (58.5).

52.2 Construction of a European Security Threat: Tracing the Security Continuum

52.2.1 Laboratories of Justice and Home Affairs Policy-making

Students of European JHA cooperation have identified a ‘security continuum’ in policy-making (Bigo 1994), which conceives of various problems with a transnational dimension – cross-border criminal activity, uncontrolled immigration, terrorism, the presence of non-nationals in the member states – as part of the same security threat. The reduction of complicated and varied problems to the status of security threats means that such issues are not treated in their full complexity, but are rather dealt with in a short-term and often reactive fashion. Root causes of problems go unaddressed; challenging social problems are written off as matters of security. Moreover, multidimensional issues that were previously handled by a range of policy-makers from different national ministries have increasingly fallen within the almost exclusive remit of JHA actors. A creeping logic of ‘securitization’ has thus informed the ways in which related policy areas are drawn up.

These developments can be ascribed both to the ‘laboratories’ and ‘driving factors’ (Monar 2001) of European JHA cooperation: the predominantly inter- and transgovernmental policy-making fora (or ‘laboratories’) in which JHA cooperation has taken place have typically been characterized by the weakness of those democratic mechanisms that counter the development of overweeningly restrictive security policies at the national level. Some commentators go so far as

to attribute 'securitization' to a purposeful exploitation of the weakness of democratic mechanisms in European policy-making fora on the part of a core group of European interior ministry officials.

The 'policy-venue-shopping' thesis (Baumgartner/Jones 1993), according to which competing policy-makers seek out the venues most congenial to the realization of their preferences, has been extended to European JHA policy-making (Guiraudon 2000). It posits that securitization has been driven in large part by interior ministry officials exploiting the weakness of democratic mechanisms in European and EU policy-making fora in order to sideline impediments to their agenda. They have used the imperative of safeguarding internal security as a trump card in their dealings with other actors. Rival sections of the national executive have therefore been consciously marginalized as interior ministries have used JHA cooperation as a means to dominate or colonize policy areas.

The development of European asylum policy apparently presents the clearest example of this. At the national level, attempts to restrict access to asylum might be thwarted by judiciaries, international norms, UNHCR, and pro-migrant NGOs, all of which exert only limited influence in transgovernmental fora and at the European level. National legislatures which might harbour expansive ideas about the rights of foreigners, and could certainly damage the efficiency of policy-making, are limited in their influence. The core band of interior ministers and their officials, who have driven asylum policy cooperation since the establishment of the TREVI (*Terrorisme, Radicalisme, Extremisme et Violence Internationale*) and Schengen frameworks, have however been keen to maintain the trans- and intergovernmental character of asylum policy-making, cushioning themselves from supranational interference.

The tendency towards securitization in JHA policies which arises in the policy-making laboratories has proved to be a self-sustaining phenomenon in many respects. Critics identify, for example, the 'ritualism' of efforts to combat illegal immigration: they suggest that measures taken against illegal immigration often criminalize further categories of immigrant, thus creating higher levels of illegal immigration (Somers 2004). In this way, the construction of a security threat becomes a useful tool for policy-makers with expansive institutional ambitions. Although this observation seemingly ignores the fact that such measures can have a downward effect on the levels of unwanted immigrants coming to the EU, it does accurately suggest that once the securitization of a policy area has

begun it is often difficult to reverse. This may render the European JHA policy-making set-up ill-suited to dealing with new circumstances, to which a reactive security-based approach would ideally prove only a small part of the response.

Although European cooperation has facilitated the 'two-level games' played by interior ministers, it has not let them have it all their own way. The necessarily dynamic nature of European integration increasingly challenges the dominance of interior ministers in JHA policy-making. The coupling of JHA cooperation with the mainstream process of European integration has given the EU's supranational actors a larger degree of oversight of, and input into, JHA: modes of European cooperation formerly occurred in transgovernmental fora on the fringes of mainstream European integration. Particularly since the late 1990's, these modes of policy-making have come to resemble more closely the 'community method', whereby the supranational actors enjoy more influence and inter-state activity is less consensual. National ministries that were sidelined in the TREVI and Schengen fora of the 1970's and 1980's are now better positioned to assert themselves in JHA policy-making within the Council framework. Since the Amsterdam Treaty (1997) legal professionals like judges and prosecutors have also gained an important role in the EU's JHA activities. 'Communitarization' may therefore prove incompatible with securitization.

Similarly, the growing communitarization of JHA policy-making has increased the possibilities for cooperation between different policy areas at the European level. It has been recognized that greater interaction between policy areas may either entail the introduction of marginalized social, economic and foreign policy concerns into securitized JHA policies, or, conversely, the securitization of other policy areas (Kostakopoulou 2000). Given the way in which distinctions between internal and external security have blurred, changes to the EU's external capacity are of particular relevance to the development of its internal security policies. Considerable institutional change has occurred in the EC/EU between the end of the Cold War and the attacks on New York, empowering and restricting the actions of European JHA policy-makers in different ways.

The policy-venue-shopping thesis nevertheless regards the 'institutional creep' of national interior ministries as a prime driving factor behind European JHA cooperation - particularly in matters of asylum policy - and the construction of a European security concept. The laboratory itself is thus viewed as the motor be-

hind JHA cooperation. Yet, this analysis risks missing the relevance of those driving factors which arise outside the transgovernmental JHA policy-making laboratories. Some of these factors have a strong transnational dimension and lend themselves to treatment by states acting in concert. Others have affected all the member states in a similar way and have led to an overlap of national geopolitical agenda – as Realists would point out. Neo-functionalists and some Liberals would also argue that JHA integration can be driven by ‘spillover’ from activities in other areas of European integration, or from the actions of the supranational institutions. A combination of these factors taken together helps to explain why the response to (common) security challenges has often been to intensify cooperation between member states, rather than to withdraw from it.

52.2.2 Dealing with the Drivers of JHA Activity: Constructing the Security Threat

High profile events with negative security implications, rather than lower profile, longer-term trends, have often triggered the most fundamental changes in the kinds of initiative adopted via JHA cooperation. This is because “the characteristic of security discourse at the highest political level is to take one issue, dramatize it, and make it the most important threat confronting our societies” (Anderson/Apap 2002: 6). Given the nature of the European JHA laboratories, it is unsurprising that the prime effect of such events has been to spur on reactive securitarian (Lavenex 2001) activity, and to marginalize opponents of securitization. Yet if these high-profile driving factors also happen to reflect longer-term, underlying changes in the nature of European security, new sets of actors may be empowered in policy-making and the JHA agenda thoroughly reordered. In the past quarter century this has been the case on two notable occasions – the end of the Cold War, as symbolized by the collapse of the Berlin Wall, and the attacks on New York in 2001.

The fall of the Berlin Wall and the attacks of September 11 were followed by a typical acceleration in security policy-making at the European level. Although supranational opponents to securitization had gained a greater role in JHA policy-making, that acceleration was more marked in 2001 than in 1989: compared with the profile of European JHA policy-making at the end of the Cold War, EU JHA initiatives at the time of the 2001 attacks were relatively high-key. This meant that there was now a greater expectation

that responses to security threats would be drawn up at the European level. The speed with which measures were adopted came at the expense of their comprehensiveness. For example, the definition of terrorism which was adopted shortly after the attacks “does not have the force of a legislative act. It serves a [sic] guideline and will be translated into legislation, if it is at all, by the actions of the member States” (Anderson/Apap 2002: 7).

Although the two events spurred on European JHA cooperation, in the short term at least they reinforced the trans- and intergovernmental, rather than the supranational, elements of policy-making. Certainly, the immediate response to the 2001 attacks was to smooth the passage of those security-related measures which had been awaiting adoption for some time, and there was even a certain movement – repeated after the 2004 Madrid bombing – to set up new European level bodies operating outside the Council machinery. However, the perceived need to act quickly in the face of the renewed security threat saw member states increase activity outside the formal procedures of the EU. Democratization had apparently come at the expense of efficiency. The 2001 attacks allowed interior ministry officials to sideline rival actors by citing their greater legitimacy in dealing with security affairs.

The progressive communitarization of JHA activities that occurred between 1989 and 2001 did not, therefore, fundamentally shift policy-makers’ short-term response to September 11 away from securitization. The supranational actors are not immune to the forces which drive securitization: whilst the European Parliament is for example somewhat removed from national electorates, it remains subject to electoral pressure to provide security, even at the expense of other priorities. Under the increased public scrutiny that followed the 2001 attacks, the supranational actors – which still enjoyed at best a precarious place in JHA policy-making, as well as lacking popular legitimacy – could do little to resist. Indeed, adhering to the securitarian agenda may have appeared as a means to win popular, or ‘output oriented’, legitimacy for themselves. Moreover, the supranational actors may have their own reasons – independent of their quest for legitimacy – for pursuing securitization. The Commission has on occasions supported highly restrictive measures if it feels that European integration will be thereby furthered (Geddes 2000). Yet it is difficult to discern the effect of communitarization on the long-term responses to such events. As the immediacy of events recedes, it may be that supranational actors are

better placed to influence developments and increase their role in JHA policy-making.

Although they presented the member states with common challenges and led to a partial overlap of national agenda, the collapse of the Eastern Bloc and the 2001 attacks also affected the member states differentially. Just as the geography of the EU made certain states – particularly those with long Eastern borders – more vulnerable to the security threats associated with the end of the Cold War, the cultural nature of the attacks on New York appeared to place a different set of member states – like those with a large immigrant population – at risk.

Generally speaking, following a high profile event, those states that can show themselves to be most at risk are best placed to strengthen their position in policy-making. If the nature of the EU's security is understood to have changed, it is they who are able to perform a prime role in the construction of a 'new European security'. This kind of asymmetry has had a definitive effect on a policy area which retains a strong intergovernmental flavour. For example, European JHA policy since the fall of the Wall has been in part defined not only by Germany's geographical proximity to new security threats but also by the changes to German European policy which accompanied reunification (see for example Baumann/Boesche/Hellmann/Herborth/Wagner 2005). The fact that, by stressing the threat posed to the member state they represent, national policy-makers can strengthen their bargaining position means that the adopted remedy often bears little relation to the original problem. International and institutional competition are definitive in the construction of the security threat. However, with the growing communitarization of JHA activity, this characteristic of policy-making may fade.

The fall of the Berlin Wall and the attacks on New York heralded or highlighted a long-term shift in the nature of the EC/EU's security. This in turn required and empowered policy-makers to reorder the JHA agenda and, in particular, the security continuum. Following the end of the Cold War, European policy-makers had to come to terms with the security implications of a greater cross-border mobility at the EU's external boundaries. Issues of immigration, cross-border crime, and terrorism were already on the agenda thanks to the growing free movement between EC member states; they now needed to be rethought and reprioritized. Similarly, following the attacks on New York, these same issues were again reordered. Whereas immigration and asylum had been prime issues following the collapse of the Berlin Wall, now

terrorism rose up the JHA agenda, and asylum and immigration were increasingly treated as potential elements of a broader terrorist threat.

The reordering of the security agenda consisted not just of rethinking the importance attached to various elements which already fell within the scope of European JHA activity, but also of complementing these with newer elements which had now gained salience. In constructing their response to the perceived security threats at the beginning of the 1990's and the 21st century, European JHA policy-makers succeeded in substantially extending their range of competencies, usually at the expense of other actors. This has notably been the case in asylum and immigration policy, which in some states was formerly dominated by economic, social, and foreign ministries but which following the end of the Cold War was increasingly dealt with by interior ministers at the European level.

Yet this institutional creep has not always occurred against the wishes of other actors. They too have found that recourse to the security agenda is conducive to their own aims. After September 11, for example, security-motivated efforts to clamp down on the tax havens which apparently permit terrorist organizations to safeguard their funds chimed with initiatives undertaken by national finance ministries. The latter have become increasingly hostile to the fiscal competition from tax havens, especially in light of the constraints imposed by the Growth and Stability Pact. Again, some supranational actors may also be keen to see this kind of institutional creep where it furthers European integration.

Thus the processes of the Europeanization and securitization of JHA policies remain closely related, despite the growing influence of supranational and previously marginalized national actors in policy-making. The security continuum is multidimensional and has been extended in multiple directions. Anderson and Apap (2002: 6) predicted that following the 2001 attacks "security policies will be conceived, elaborated and analysed as a continuum, stretching from street level and activities which were formally thought to belong to ordinary criminality (such as the clandestine transfer of funds), to macro-strategic balances when punitive action is envisaged against states." The police, intelligence and immigration bodies, and the armed forces would be enlisted to deal with challenges perceived to belong together. In other words, the distinction between internal and external security would be eroded.

52.3 European JHA and the New International Relations

52.3.1 Externalizing Internal Security

The end of the Cold War and, to a lesser extent, the 2001 attacks changed the nature of international relations. This is of importance not just for the kinds of internal security threat faced by the EC/EU, but also for its range of responses. This observation is by no means self-evident. As Pastore (2001: 1) points out,

in Machiavelli's vision, internal and external threats to the power embodied by the Prince were clearly distinct. Internally, the ruler should fear conspiracy; externally, he should dread aggression by foreign powers. The Florentine also acknowledged interdependencies between these two fundamental categories of political risks: as a matter of fact, external peace would foster internal stability, and vice versa. But policy-making in the two fields was based on different sets of tools and responded to (at least partly) different logics.

Not only did the end of the Cold War and the 2001 attacks redefine international relations, they also blurred the distinction between internal and external security.

Pastore attributes this blurring to the twin processes of Europeanization and 'externalization'. In discussing Europeanization, Pastore stresses the way in which the security implications of the EC's own efforts at free movement were dealt with by policy-makers. The process of externalization is closely linked to this, and describes the way that the external dimension of internal security threats has been highlighted by policy-makers. Thanks in part to the policy-making set-up at the European level, the external dimension of internal security threats has gained an importance quite out of proportion to the danger it poses.

Prior to the end of the Cold War, the aim of removing border controls within the EC had created a pressure on member states to cooperate more thoroughly on matters of immigration and asylum. Those member states with stricter national border controls saw it as imperative to ensure that third-country immigrants could not enter the territory of the EC and legitimately travel to a state where they were unwelcome. Similarly, the aim of removing internal controls made the quality of anti-crime and terrorist activity in one state of potential relevance to all states. Some internal security threats were seen to have their roots in other member states.

The end of the Cold War removed many barriers to free movement at the EC's external borders, as well

as disrupting the forces of order in the EC's Eastern neighbours. The transnational nature of the new security threats, and the way in which they interacted with the EC's own aspirations for free movement, meant that the roots of internal security problems could now be located outside the EC/EU. European JHA cooperation had developed in order to meet threats with a cross-border element. Given the way in which they had been empowered by this cooperation, it is unsurprising that national interior ministries chose to lay particular emphasis on these new cross-border threats.

The nature of external security also altered, taking on a number of characteristics associated with internal security: the likelihood of being subject to a conventional military attack by another state diminished; however, some of the former Eastern bloc's military technology passed into private hands and the risk of being attacked by non-state actors was deemed to have grown. The collapse of the Eastern bloc meant that many of the European external security and intelligence forces, which enjoyed large budgets during the Cold War, now sought a means to justify the same levels of spending and activity. They fixed their attention on non-state actors. More fundamentally, Western states had lost an important external enemy – a potentially destabilizing development, since the modern nation state is on some level "held together by continuous communication of the threats it faces" (Cebeci 2004: 2) The generalized threat of the illegal immigrant, cross-border criminal or terrorist replaced state-actors as the prime external enemy.

The 2001 attacks shifted the focus from extra-EU immigration to terrorism. They made the generalized threat a more concrete one. The terrorist threat now had a name and an attendant organization. Moreover, the link between internal and external security was further cemented: the internal security implications arising from a state's foreign policy were increasingly clear. Moreover, members of the resident immigrant population could be members of an external terrorist organization. In the international environment, the *direct* threat from other states was still perceived to be lower than that from non-state actors. Non-state actors remained, therefore, a main focus of internal and external security efforts.

The bridging of the gap between internal and external security means that the nature of a state's external relations also defines its capacity to tackle potential internal security risks at their external source. In the post-Cold War era international relations have been defined by the existence of a sole superpower. They have been marked by a greater tendency towards

intervention in other states by dominant Western countries, especially the superpower, and an emphasis on multilateralism, in part to contain that interventionism. Whereas this kind of interventionism was formerly discouraged on each side by the existence of a rival superpower, the dread consequences of uninvited activity in other states fell away with the Soviet Union. Since the end of the Cold War the focus shifted to an emerging post-Westphalian world order.

The considerable barrier to free movement and scientific exchange which was lifted with the collapse of the Eastern bloc facilitated developments in transport and communication, such that localized problems in distant states could be seen to have security implications for the superpower and other dominant states. The 2001 attacks have reinforced this by highlighting the transnational terrorist threat and further legitimizing intervention in other states for reasons of internal security. Indeed, this and the recession of the threat of conventional military attack have arguably made intervention on grounds of internal security appear more legitimate than for more traditional external security reasons.

Interventionism has also been justified with reference to the discourse of humanitarianism – a development bound up with the Cold War and its end. There is no consensus about the place of humanitarianism in international relations. Some, like Francis Fukuyama (1992), argue that all states are eventually obliged to observe human rights – both in their internal and external policies – because this represents the highest form of legitimization for a government. Realists view this as naive, positing that human rights are a Western construct, utilized to justify underlying geopolitical/security aims in dealings with less dominant states (see Forsythe 2000).

The EU's response to the external dimension of internal security is defined by the limits of its external capacity. The EU's military capacity falls far short of its economic clout – the so-called “capability-expectations gap” (Hill 1993). It cannot be considered a power on a par with the US; yet it does enjoy a considerable external capacity. Its economic power acts as a means to sanction or to further states. Some consensus has also been achieved between the member states, and with its allies, on the EU's role as a civilian power performing humanitarian and crisis management tasks (Wivel 2005).

From a Fukuyaman perspective, it is natural that the EU – which lacks in legitimacy – should have adopted a strongly humanitarian foreign policy. However, if realists are correct in their supposition that hu-

manitarianism is simply a blind for the promotion of narrower security goals, then the development of the EU as a civilian power has manifest implications for the externalization of internal security. The bodies responsible for maintaining internal order are, after all, frequently involved in external civilian actions. Significantly, many modern security threats – from unwanted immigration to terrorism – can be shown to have roots in the non-humanitarian treatment of individuals by other states.

Internal security actors are not, of course, the only ones with a stake in the EU's external policy; however, the pillar system developed at Maastricht (1992) acted as a block to cooperation between the Union's external and internal policy actors. Following the partial communitarization of JHA at Amsterdam, the 1999 Tampere Council called for cooperation between JHA and other spheres (European Council 1999). Yet despite high profile efforts by the European Council, cooperation between national Interior and Foreign Ministries remains limited. Post-Amsterdam, Interior Ministries have succeeded in repulsing Foreign Ministries' influence over First Pillar JHA issues by ensuring that these issues are coordinated within the Council framework by the new Strategic Committee on Immigration, Frontiers and Asylum rather than Coreper (Peers 2000).

This inter-institutional competition has proven particularly intractable because, as the two security fields have merged, previously unimportant differences in the underlying principles promoted by internal and external security actors have gained salience. There is, for example, disagreement about the utility of the traditional interstate framework in efforts to combat the new transnational security threats posed by non-state actors. External policy actors are accustomed to operating within this framework, and are likely to take into account the full range of relations with another state. They prefer conventional interstate diplomatic, economic and military tools even when dealing with non-state actors. Conversely, internal security actors have considerable experience of dealing with non-state actors; however, they may take a more sceptical attitude to traditional interstate means of dealing with them.

52.3.2 Internal and External Democracy in European Integration

Nowhere is this clash of precepts more obvious than in the EU's promotion of democracy. As Anderson and Apap (2002) note, external security is based in

part on an inclusive dynamic whereby third states are drawn into a network of democratic values. The founding conception of European integration as a means of overcoming conflict, the dynamic of enlargement, as well as the Union's underdeveloped military capacity and its subsequent attempts to create a multilateral *lingua franca*, encourage this inclusive promotion of democratic values.

Of course, the degree to which these democratic values can be considered inclusive for non-Western states is questionable, as is the EU's commitment to them when competing security priorities appear jeopardized.¹ Nevertheless, particularly since the Copenhagen criteria were drawn up, the conditionality of third states' adherence to democratic values has become a central tenet of the EU's external relations. The attacks of September 11 further politicized these democratic values. Even though the attack on 'Western' values had come from non-state actors, much of the EU's response referred to a traditional conception of national relations, identifying the root of the problem in the non-democratic practices of other states.

Whilst the end of the Cold War and the attacks of September 11 have reinforced the EU's readiness to promote democracy as a means to safeguard its external security, the two events appear to have had the opposite effect upon its efforts to secure internal security. The secretive world of internal security policy-making is scarcely open to democratic input or scrutiny. Inter- and transgovernmental security policy-makers have used the end of the Cold War and the 2001 attacks to strengthen their position vis-à-vis national and supranational parliaments and courts. Moreover, there appears to be a fundamental tension between the provision of internal security and the full range of democratic values espoused by the EU and the member states. For security policy-makers, the broad aim of safeguarding a democratic EU may come at the cost of various individual democratic rights and norms. Both in their elaboration and form EU JHA policies lack democratic credentials.

This is not to deny that democratic mechanisms and actors have grown in stature in EU JHA policy-making, or that this may be in part due to the long-term effects of the end of the Cold War and the 2001 attacks: the clear disjuncture between the EU's own practices and the democratic standards expected of other states since the end of the Cold War has been cited as reason to democratize the JHA sector. The ac-

celeration in JHA cooperation that followed the two events has also led to a longer-term pressure for democratization, as the immediacy of events receded but the level of cooperation did not. Nevertheless, the reassertion of democratic actors does not necessarily imply a commensurate reinforcement of democratic norms. The European Parliament finds itself under considerable pressure to take a 'realistic' attitude towards the protection of human rights in JHA policies. In his recent meetings with MEPs, the British Home Secretary Charles Clarke made clear that the responsibility which accompanies greater influence over JHA involves adopting this realistic attitude. Moreover, democratic input may be at odds with democratic rights and norms, with security policy-makers claiming to respond to the will of the majority by compromising various categories of human rights.

Whereas the EC/EU laid ever greater emphasis on other states' adherence to democratic values in the post-Cold War era, its own internal security policies have often treated such values as unsuited to the post-Cold War world. They were drawn up in a world where the movement of persons was rather restricted. The EU is particularly open to charges of double standards where its internal and external security fields meet. The intense inclusiveness and requirements of democratic conditionality involved in the enlargement process clearly contrast with the demands that accession states adopt the EU's exclusive, internal security policies. The EU has also adapted to the new challenges posed to its own democratic commitments by drafting third states into its internal security initiatives. This is a logical response to the transnational developments which pre-1989 democratic mechanisms were not apparently drawn up to deal with. Yet in some cases, the EU has recruited third states to help it circumvent its own democratic commitments.

52.4 European Asylum Policy after the Cold War and September 11

52.4.1 Policy-making in the Changing Asylum Context

Having examined the dynamics of *Europeanization*, *securitization*, *externalization* and *democratization*, the question remains of whether the post-Cold War or September 11 EU is capable of drawing up rounded JHA policies that meet the full range of challenges facing it. Asylum provides an example of a policy area with a broad range of implications for European secu-

1 See: "Punishment Please", in: *Economist*, 27 August, 2005: 14.

city, society, economy, external relations, and democracy. Moreover, the context within which asylum policies are formulated has changed considerably since 1989 and again since 2001.

The cessation of the Cold War removed a considerable barrier to the movement of persons. The restrictions on European states' capacity to control the entrance and exit of third country nationals arising from the normative asylum framework were potentially damaging to their very legitimacy. Further, the end of the war weakened the geopolitical and symbolic grounds for maintaining a right of asylum. When establishing what form a well-rounded asylum policy should take, perhaps the most fundamental issues to address would thus concern the question of whether the EU should offer access to asylum at all; whether it should instead develop a radically new approach to the abuse of human rights in third countries, and attempt a reclassification of the forms of migration to which it is subject. In short, should the EU's asylum policy continue to respect the relevant provisions in the Geneva Convention and other national and international texts? Some member states openly advocate the revision of a framework which they view as unsuited to post-Cold War mobility and post-September 11 terrorist threats. However, if the EU were to develop – within this normative framework – a means of reducing the numbers of applicants for asylum, and of mitigating the terrorist threat and negative internal effects of asylum, this would surely be preferable to its revising the framework and backing away from its humanitarian commitments.

The international asylum system drawn up before 1989 was based on the recognition that, although states were limited in their capacity to intervene actively in other states, they had a duty to act in the face of external human rights abuses. National asylum systems reflected the disjuncture between a relatively modern understanding of the 'international community' and the nation-state's responsibility in it, and a more traditional conception of the state's capacity to meet that responsibility. The result was a policy area marked by its reactivity to external events. The high mobility of individuals in the post-Cold War era made this reactivity particularly problematic. However, the greater recourse to external interventionism that characterizes this era also offers a chance to deal proactively with the causes of migration – including human rights abuses – and terrorism at their source. In this context, asylum policies aimed at lowering the numbers claiming asylum enjoy new opportunities proactively to neutralize the root causes of migration flows.

Viewed in this way, the end of the Cold War presented a potentially fatal challenge to the normative asylum framework, but simultaneously offered a means to – at least partially – meet that challenge.

The solution to the challenge to the normative asylum framework lies primarily in dealing proactively and curatively with the external causes and the internal negative effects of migration. Where migration flows persist, despite efforts to tackle root causes, the numbers of applicants for asylum could be reduced in those member states, where they are deemed too high, by sharing the burden of hosting asylum-seekers between other members of the EU as well as those third countries with the necessary resources. Many of the precepts of securitization, particularly those that have encouraged distinctions between member state nationals and certain non-nationals, must be rolled back.

Security policies alone would prove inept in these efforts, largely because of their reactive, as opposed to curative, approach and their narrow frame of reference. Moreover, the security agenda fails to take advantage of the EU's novel capacity to repackage asylum policy so that the framework of normative democratic rights is reconciled with a democratically expressed desire for the more comprehensive control of access to asylum. The EU has tools at its disposal that are not necessarily available to member states operating alone or in other international organizations. The EU's external capacity, for example, may permit it to address the root causes of forced migration more effectively than member states acting alone. Policy harmonization is a prime means of 'soft' burden-sharing (Thielemann 2005). European cooperation can also be instrumental in engendering a sense of solidarity between states so that those receiving fewer asylum-applicants are persuaded to take more. The EU may spread best practice between states, so that applicants are dealt with swiftly and effectively. Further, these tools could be instrumental in breaking the security basis of asylum policy, using the EU's post-national traits and the low-key nature of its policy venues to blur distinctions between citizens and non-citizens.

Within the framework of their obligations and the possibilities offered by European integration, the member states must come to terms with a number of competing priorities in their asylum policy. The security risks attached to asylum after September 11 are in large part connected with the problem that potentially dangerous foreign nationals claiming asylum can enter the territory of the EU and take advantage of certain rights and liberties. Yet the full range of secu-

rity implications arising from asylum is broader. For example, the attacks of September 11 highlighted the EU's need to integrate – or at least not to alienate – resident foreigners. Unless the EU is capable of removing asylum as a means for third country nationals to remain in its territory (for example by externally processing asylum-seekers), it must find a social and economic space for asylum-seekers and refugees. There is thus a necessity to facilitate the exclusion of asylum-seekers who exploit the rights afforded them, and one to integrate – if temporarily – genuine asylum-seekers and those who cannot be removed. These dynamics of inclusion and exclusion should ideally be complementary.

The EU must also seek to place security concerns within a broader hierarchy of priorities, taking account of social, economic, external, and democratic aims. This will help it to strike a sensible balance between the inclusion and exclusion of asylum-seekers on grounds of security, and more generally. It may also unravel some of the effects of having placed security concerns almost consistently at the top of the asylum policy agenda at the European level.

There are persuasive social and economic grounds for formulating a generous asylum policy. Prime amongst these is the so-called 'demographic deficit' which threatens European economies and welfare systems. Immigration is by no means an ideal solution to these problems, and asylum-seekers are perhaps even less desirable than voluntary immigrants as a means to plug the demographic gap. Asylum policy as a normative construct is not reactive to the vagaries of host states' social and economic requirements, meaning that it is difficult to select the kinds of asylum-seeker that will come to the EU. Nevertheless, at the very least, the EU should streamline demographic concerns and ideas about how to redress the labour shortages in certain low-paid or highly qualified sectors into its treatment of asylum-seekers. Policy-makers must judge the extent to which the socio-economic benefits accruing from the respect of asylum-seekers' family unity, and their activity in national economies, are outweighed by the costs to security.

The socioeconomic grounds for strictly controlling access to asylum are also persuasive. The cohesion of European societies may be disrupted by poorly controlled migration. This threat may arise from immigrants' temporary or even illegal position in the EU. This, and immigrants' perceived effect upon wages and labour markets, helps explain hostility towards immigrants on the part of sections of the member states' societies. However, measured control,

rather than reactive restriction, of inward migration flows provides a more suitable response to these socioeconomic pressures. Indeed reactive restriction of migration flows, which have already begun, may worsen the problem, driving immigrants – voluntary or forced – into travelling illegally, excluding them once they are in the host society, and failing to take advantage of the potential social and economic benefits they offer. The official demonization of unwanted immigrants, and restrictions imposed upon their fulfilling useful functions, may fuel racism.

Just as policy-makers must juggle security concerns with socioeconomic ones, so too must the EU's broader foreign policy be taken into account. The potential clash between reactive, securitarian policy goals and the external promotion of human rights and democracy was outlined above. As in other areas of JHA, asylum policy-making at the European level has been characterized both by a lack of democratic input and a desire to circumvent the strictures of human rights obligations. There is a similar tension between those elements of external policy that envisage the liberalization of barriers to international trade, and interior ministers' efforts to limit freedom of movement into the EU. Rather than using external policy to coerce third states into sharing the burden of asylum and to act as defensive barriers against unwanted immigration, JHA policy-makers will find greater synergies with the EU's mainstream external policy if they concentrate on building the capacity of third countries to deal with asylum-seekers, and proactively treat the root causes of migration.

The policy-venue-shopping thesis indicates that the processes by which policies are drawn up are also of importance. It argues that the weakness of democratic mechanisms at the European level has been exploited in order to restrict access to asylum. Given the growing calls for the restriction of asylum particularly since the end of the Cold War, European cooperation has thus permitted national governments to ease the tension some have faced between the expressed will of the electorate and the normative protection of the democratic values and rights enjoyed by non-nationals. However, with the increased integration in this area, the EU's democratic mechanisms have been increasingly asserted in policy-making. The reassertion of democratic mechanisms in European asylum integration underlines the imperative of repackaging asylum policy. Previously excluded from asylum policy-making and its 'new realities', and somewhat removed from the electoral pressures faced by member states governments, the EU's resurgent supranational actors may

impose a more severe form of democracy than that circumvented by interior ministers at the national level.

52.4.2 The Europeanization of Asylum Policy

The Europeanization of JHA has coloured the development of those elements of European integration with a potential to extend the rights of *all* those in the member states. Distinctions made between third country nationals and migrant citizens of the member states have rendered more distant the prospect of social or economic membership of the EU grounded on anything other than national citizenship. Whilst certain rights have recently been extended to long-term resident third country nationals, asylum-seekers are still conceived of as 'uncontrolled migrants'. Europeanization has thus facilitated the securitization of asylum policies.

Yet improvements made to the status of third country nationals reflect the dynamic nature of European integration, the assertion of democratic values at the European level, as well as of supranational actors in policy-making. The EU's post-national traits may facilitate a blurring between nationals and non-nationals, something which could prove key to the member states' capacity to draw up an asylum policy suited to the post-Cold War era. The resurgence of the supranational actors alongside supranational democratic mechanisms may also herald a shift away from the securitarian approach to asylum, which often entails a reactive attempt to circumvent human rights obligations.

The 'grand theories' of European integration would ascribe different significance to the ending of the Cold War and the 2001 attacks in their explanations of asylum policy integration.

- For realists, these events are of central importance in explaining developments in an area of vital national politics. This school would highlight the – by no means permanent – overlap of member states' geopolitical priorities and asylum preferences arising from the two events. In order to take advantage of the benefits of collective action on these areas of overlap, states have empowered supranational actors and drawn up common rules of which they remain the masters.
- For neo-functionalists, who draw on liberal thinking, these events have been of less importance, except insofar as they have presented supranational actors with the opportunity to perform the political entrepreneurship that drives integration, or where they have interacted with pre-existing endogenous European developments such as efforts

towards free movement. The 'asylum crises' following the end of the Cold War have also provided a catalyst for 'social learning' amongst national policy-makers at the European level (Geddes 2003). Primarily, though, the EC/EU's asylum activities derive from 'spill-over' from initial economic integration, and in particular the free movement of workers.

- Though not a 'grand theory', the policy-venue-shopping thesis would also downplay the significance of these events, except where certain national actors exploited them in order to reinforce their own position in policy-making. It points out that European asylum cooperation began before the convergence of national asylum preferences from 1989 and outside the mainstream of European integration. It cites interior ministries' search for policy-venues in which to assert themselves and their security agenda as the impetus behind cooperation. The (limited) communitarization of asylum policy can be explained with reference to inter-institutional competition, and in particular the fact that actors other than national interior ministers have drawn up the policy-making framework (Guiraudon 2000).
- Scholars building on the precepts of historical institutionalism (Pierson 1996) might cite path dependencies arising from institutional configurations drawn up before the end of the Cold War and the 2001 attacks changed member states' asylum preferences. Following the two events, member states would be obliged to reconfigure institutional frameworks, but taking account of the ways in which previous structures had changed modes of policy-making and expectations.

In reality, it appears that more than one of these dynamics alone has been instrumental, and at times dominant, in the Europeanization of asylum policies, and that greater synthesis is required between the theories. Europeanization has spanned transgovernmental cooperation on the very limits of the EC's institutional machinery, as well as a growing communitarization after the Treaty of Amsterdam. Yet communitarization is by no means complete, and the position of the EU's supranational actors remains in many ways precarious.

When transgovernmental internal security cooperation between Western European states was formalized within the TREVI framework from the mid-1970's, the meetings between government officials often dealt with sensitive material, were geographically removed from national parliaments and courts, and

attracted little publicity. They covered most areas of JHA with a transnational dimension, increasingly including aspects of migration which had traditionally been handled by different ministries, and involved a number of policy areas and empowerments of the EC system. Attempts to restrict immigration, particularly after the oil crisis, saw a rise in irregular immigration and reinforced migration's profile as a security issue.

Since the 1980's, the free movement of persons in Europe and the definition of a European citizenship have been central themes of political discourse. However, practice has often been far removed from these vocal political objectives (Edelman 1991). Pre-emptive security measures, aimed at combating the potential problems of free movement, appeared to outweigh concrete moves towards its realization. The Schengen Agreements of 1985 and 1990 were signed between a growing band of EC states with the aim of preparing 'compensatory' measures for the fuller realization of the principles of free movement as laid out in the then EC Treaties. The control of asylum and immigration was conceived as a prerequisite for the free movement of persons. In this way, the freedoms of member states nationals could only be extended if those of third country nationals were strictly controlled.

Due to British, Danish, and Irish reservations (De Ruyt 1987; Gazzo 1985) the Single European Act (SEA) excluded freedom of movement from the then Article 100a, which provided for qualified majority voting (QMV) in the Council and the cooperation procedure with the European Parliament. Instead, the member states annexed a political declaration to the SEA, confirming the intergovernmental character of policy-making aimed at the free movement of persons. The SEA left matters regarding "the entry, movement, and residence of nationals of third countries" as well as those on "the combating of terrorism, crime, the traffic in drugs, and illicit trading in works of art and antiques" (SEA, Declaration 2 annexed to the Final Act) to inter-state cooperation outside the legal and institutional framework of the then European Communities.

The cessation of the Cold War removed a barrier to the movement of persons between Eastern and Western Europe, interacting with the negative externalities of European integration and efforts towards free movement. For the member state governments it became increasingly apparent that their lowest common denominator trans- and intergovernmental approach to asylum was unsatisfactory; they initiated a shift towards supranationalization in order to counter the problems of this kind of collective action. Moreover, asylum rose up the electoral agenda, reducing re-

sistance to the pooling of national sovereignty for both governments and electorates (Hix 1999: 318-329).

Post-Cold War international relations also widened the scope for member states to intervene in third countries and to tackle the root causes of forced and voluntary migration. However, a lack of cooperation between external policy and internal security actors meant that such efforts were seldom proactive. Instead, JHA initiatives focused on developing a system of 'remote control': third states, particularly those on the EC's Eastern and Southern borders, and non-state actors like airlines, were enlisted in the EC's battle against unwanted immigration.

The decision at Maastricht to couple JHA cooperation more directly to mainstream European integration marked an opportunity to extend to JHA the powers enjoyed by the European Parliament and Court under the EC Treaty, as well as to enhance free movement within the EC. As it happened, only the Belgian and Dutch governments pushed for JHA to be brought under the EC Treaty. Instead, the European Parliament (EP) and European Court of Justice (ECJ) remained broadly excluded.

Maastricht's Title VI confirmed the trend which had developed over the previous decade, whereby 'soft' issues like asylum and immigration policy were fused with 'hard' issues like law enforcement. Asylum was increasingly threaded to other forms of 'uncontrolled' migration, and thus to broader security issues. The extension of this security continuum threatened to set out of kilter the delicate balance between security and liberty that democratic mechanisms are designed to maintain. By contrast, infra-EU migration, particularly that involving member state nationals residing elsewhere in the EU for work purposes, continued in large part to be treated as an economic and social, rather than a security matter.

The coupling of JHA cooperation with mainstream European integration has empowered actors other than interior ministers and their officials to construct the framework for asylum policy-making. It is possible to exaggerate the degree to which interior ministers have been unwilling parties to the resulting reassertion of democratic mechanisms, but the policy-making framework constructed since Amsterdam has not always appeared the most congenial environment for the realization of their agenda.

Supranational democratization was driven on by the European Parliament, which explicitly drew attention to the disjuncture between the EU's expectations for other states' standards of democracy and its own practices. It also pointed out that national parliaments

had been sidelined in the development of European JHA cooperation, but few new channels of democratic input had been innovated (Monar 1995). The Commission, meanwhile, developed its capacity and expertise in JHA policies even though its official role in them was exceedingly limited. It created a new division in its Secretariat-General and extended a JHA portfolio to one of its Commissioners. Both actors regarded an increase in their roles in JHA policy-making as a priority for the 1996 IGC.

Compared with Maastricht, Amsterdam reflected a more 'liberal' attitude amongst member state governments as illustrated not just by the (in reality much qualified) Article 62 EC Treaty, which specified that the principle of the free movement of persons would apply to third country nationals. By bringing asylum matters under the First Pillar, Article 63(1) and (2) raised the expectations of those who judge European Commission texts 'more generous' than those of certain governments influenced by extreme right political parties (Austria, Denmark, France, Italy, Germany).

The Amsterdam Treaty introduced the European Parliament as a fully-fledged consultative body within the new Title covering the "Area of Freedom, Security and Justice". Whilst until May 2004 the EP was only consulted, Article 63 allowed the Council to introduce the co-decision procedure after the end of this transitional period. However, the move towards the application of the co-decision procedure remained subject to a unanimous decision of the Council. This unanimity reserve was put into the Treaty during the last days of the Amsterdam IGC on the insistence of the German government.

The changes to JHA elaborated during the 2000 Nice IGC indicate the ambivalence of member state governments to move essential parts of a policy field of vital national importance towards supranational rules and institutions while maintaining national reserves and optional vetoes (Wessels 2001). As regards all measures on asylum and refugees (Articles 63(1)(a), (b), (c) and (d), and 62(2)(a) EC Treaty), co-decision is only to apply after the Council has unanimously adopted a legal act laying down the common rules and principles governing these matters.

By contrast, the construction of an area of freedom, security, and justice was given new impetus by the conclusions of the 1999 Tampere European Council. The Tampere Programme was adopted following discussion with the EP's President and alongside a summit meeting organized by the NGO European Council on Refugees and Exiles (ECRE). It had input from national legislatures, particularly the Finnish Par-

liament (ECRE 2000: 43), and bore the imprints of a comparatively open process of deliberation. The Tampere 'milestones' reaffirm the centrality of democracy and the rule of law in the Union's values, and ensure that freedoms are not reserved to citizens of the Union alone. Although access to these freedoms is to be strictly regulated, the controls are to be set at the external borders of the EU rather than within society.

Setting out the aim of creating a common European asylum system, the Tampere Programme elaborates a set of 'first-wave measures' to be adopted by May 2004. In this, the EU was "fully committed to the obligations of the Geneva Refugee Convention and other relevant human rights instruments, and able to respond to humanitarian needs on the basis of solidarity." The strict control of access to the freedoms of the Union was therefore understood as compatible with continued access to asylum (ECRE 2000: 81).

The 2001 attacks served in the short term to strengthen the trans- and intergovernmental actors involved in day-to-day JHA policy-making. However, this pattern has not been reflected in efforts to formally reconfigure the overall institutional framework of asylum policy-making. The supranational actors have grown in stature. This is partly because the actors involved in these efforts are different from those that dominated day-to-day policy-making. This was particularly the case thanks to the novel means by which the Constitutional Treaty was drawn up. It may also be put down to path dependency from previous institutional change. Expectations about the form that institutional change should take arose from the Treaty of Amsterdam's clause allowing the Council to shift to co-decision from mid-2004. This clause was elaborated before the 2001 attacks altered member states' asylum preferences.

The Hague Programme, which was drawn up some three years after the 2001 attacks and shortly after the Madrid bombings (Podolski 2004), "reflects the ambitions as expressed in the Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe" (European Council 2004a: 12). The Constitutional Treaty would extend qualified majority voting and co-decision between Council and Parliament to the Title IV measures concerned with the free movement of persons. It removes the anomalous rules restricting the European Court of Justice's jurisdiction over asylum policy, and upgrades the quality of human rights protection in the EU, enhancing the idea of the EU as a Community of (democratic) values. The Constitutional Treaty builds on the Tampere aims by calling for a 'Common Asylum System'

to be constructed. Irish, British, and Danish opt-outs remain unchanged though.

Against this background, the Commission and JHA Council elaborated the Hague Programme for the further development of the area of freedom, security, and justice. The Hague Programme clearly shifts the policy-making framework further from intergovernmentalism and introduces a greater degree of supranational democracy. The final wording adopted to announce these changes suggests that they were not as comprehensive as some member states had wished. An earlier version stated that ‘full account’ had been taken of the EP’s more expansive views of institutional change; now simple ‘account’ is taken (Peers 2004a).

Nevertheless, the programme’s substance features a widening of the European Parliament’s co-decision rights in the EU’s Asylum and Migration policy framework. According to the Hague Programme, the Council shall “adopt a decision based on Article 67(2) EC Treaty immediately after formal consultation of the European Parliament and no later than 1 April 2005 to apply the procedure provided for in Article 251 TEC to all Title IV measures to strengthen freedom, subject to the Nice Treaty, except for legal migration” (European Council 2004a: 13). For legal voluntary immigration, the veto was retained at Germany’s behest and the EP will still only be consulted in this area of decision-making. Since the QMV decision was dealt with last of all, Germany was able to threaten to block the whole programme unless its wishes were respected.

The scope of the European Court’s jurisdiction over JHA has not been expanded, and some NGOs suggest that a legal case could be brought against the Council for failure to act in this regard (Peers 2004b). By referring to the area of freedom, security, and justice here as “relatively new” (European Council 2004a: 36), the member states signal their awareness of this incongruity in a Programme which seeks to “strengthen justice”, and excuse it as a temporary phenomenon.

52.4.3 Continued Securitization of Asylum Policy after September 11

Despite the policy-making structure elaborated at Amsterdam and beyond, the twin processes of democratization and supranationalization appear to have faltered in everyday policy-making after September 11. The security agenda has reasserted itself in asylum policy-making. Evidence of this is found in the ‘first-wave’ legislation adopted under the Tampere Programme. Yet it is also evident in the measures deline-

ated by the Hague Programme and adopted by the European Council, which set out the Union’s JHA agenda for the next five years.

The concept of ‘pull-factors’ rests on the idea that the way migrants are treated within the host country may encourage or deter the arrival of unwanted migrants. With the heightening of the terrorist threat, the risk of being viewed as a ‘soft touch’ for immigrants – and thus for potential terrorists – became particularly undesirable. States’ desire to combat pull factors within society undermined the Tampere Programme’s aim to confine immigration control to the border. Compared to the provisions in place outside the EU’s south, the resulting first wave initiatives set relatively low standards for the social rights of asylum-seekers in the member states. This reduced ‘pull factors’ and simultaneously restricted asylum-seekers’ social contact, so as to make eventual removal more straightforward.

Similarly, in the reception directive, Germany was active in introducing restrictions on the freedom of movement of asylum-seekers even within its national territory, reflecting a national asylum system in which the *Länder* play a prime role, and despite resistance from the French and Swedes. This suggests a continued imbalance in the relationships between freedom and security, citizen and non-citizen, and is hardly in the spirit of the Tampere Programme. Even in a security context where the societal integration of immigrants had gained particular salience, policy-makers’ priority was to facilitate the removal of failed asylum-seekers, rather than to integrate potentially successful ones.

Asylum-seekers’ access to the labour market was treated not as a means to alleviate some of the welfare, demographic, or labour market pressures which led to the elaboration of the Lisbon agenda, but rather as an undesirable point of contact between forced and voluntary migration, whereby voluntary immigrants pose as asylum-seekers in order to gain access to the labour market. This line of thinking has persisted, then, since the end of the Cold War. The Commission proposed that the reception directive grant access to the labour market within six months of an application being made. This was acceptable to Portugal, Sweden and Greece, which offer access to the labour market to avoid overburdening their social welfare systems. Yet for Spain, Ireland, France, Britain, and Germany it was unacceptable. The UK pushed for a clause ensuring that asylum-seekers could be obliged to contribute to the costs of their care, so as not to overburden its system. Those mem-

Table 52.1: The first wave measures

Stage	EU Council Directives/Regulation	Brief description of the EU measures
Temporary Protection Directive	Council Directive 2001/55/EC on minimum standards for giving temporary protection in the event of a mass influx	The directive's adoption in mid-2001 might have affected the nature of subsequent measures: member states may be persuaded to countenance 'day-to-day' burden-sharing to ensure that future mass influxes are dealt with in concert (Thielemann 2005); this instrument assured future solidarity before measures dealing with day-to-day burden-sharing had been drawn up.
Dublin II	Council Regulation 343/2003 laying down the criteria and mechanisms for determining the member state responsible for examining an asylum application	Maintains the principle of the controversial Dublin Convention so that, broadly speaking, the state through which an applicant gains access to the EU is responsible for the asylum claim. Political agreement was reached in December 2002.
Reception Directive	Council Directive 2003/9/EC laying down minimum standards for the reception of asylum-seekers	Negotiations ran from May 2001 to January 2003. They were reopened following initial political agreement in April 2002.
Qualification Directive	Council Directive 2004/83/EC on minimum standards for the qualification of refugees	Defines those in need of protection and sets out their rights. Its passage was delayed by the concurrent passage of the German Immigration Law. Agreement occurred nine months after the June 2003 date set by the Seville European Council.
Procedures Directive	Council Directive 2004/83/EC on minimum standards on procedures for granting and withdrawing refugee status	An initial Commission proposal was negotiated during 2001 but ended in deadlock. By April 2004, the Council had agreed a general approach on the renegotiated directive, pending agreement on a legally binding list of 'safe third countries'. This was not achieved, so that the list will be discussed after the shift to QMV. This may allow a majority of member states to sideline opponents of the list. Political agreement on the rest of the directive was reached in November 2004. It has been referred to the EP whose Citizens' Rights Committee has proved critical of the measure.

ber states which could show themselves most at risk from the security threat of unwanted immigration won out, and the deadline for access to employment was extended from six to 12 months.

Formerly sidelined social and economic issues have not therefore been reintroduced into asylum policy-making in the same way as many charting the post-Amsterdam institutional reforms had expected. Where socioeconomic issues were reintroduced, they did not necessarily render asylum policy any more balanced. Unsurprisingly after September 11 and the subsequent attacks on Madrid, the social integration of third country nationals has an important place in The Hague Programme. The Programme talks of the need for "obstacles to integration ... to be actively eliminated" (European Council 2004: 19), but it has become clear that the attitudes of third country nation-

als are perceived as the obstacles: equality of opportunity will not be achieved by extending rights to migrants, without making this conditional upon some reciprocal change of attitude on their part. The special needs of asylum-seekers are not mentioned in the Programme. Many asylum-seekers are involuntary migrants, and UNHCR and some NGOs worry that the same demands will be made of them as are made of voluntary immigrants. The resurgence of the social agenda at the European level is not necessarily synonymous with the emergence of asylum as a more independent policy area.

With the sidelining of the supranational element of policy-making after September 11, narrower national interests were reasserted, and the possibilities for 'hard' burden-sharing following the establishment of the European Refugee Fund in 2000 were set back.

Forms of 'soft' burden-sharing were however realized: although a core band of member states dominated first wave negotiations, these were not the countries like Greece or Portugal which generally have the poorest provisions in place. The large member states and main receiving countries, UK and Germany, instead set the course for the European asylum system. Southern states' attempts to push for more 'porous' minimum standards – particularly under the 2002 Spanish Presidency – were generally resisted, and the leeway to maintain existing provisions cut. Policy harmonization above a lowest common level is understood as evidence of burden-sharing amongst those states with previously poor provisions. Burden-sharing is therefore compatible with securitization, however it arises not from supranational policy-making or a sense of solidarity, but from member states with higher standards exerting pressure on those with lower ones.

The reordering of the security agenda after September 11 is clear in the slothful adoption of the first wave measures. Asylum had slipped down the JHA agenda except insofar as could be understood as part of a broader terrorist threat. The aim of drawing up a 'European asylum policy' lost much of the backing it had received from the member states. The ebbing drive behind the creation of a common asylum policy was particularly apparent in the elaboration of the Hague Programme. The member states, apparently exhausted by their efforts to reach agreement on the Tampere first wave procedures directive, shied away from tying themselves to the realization of too many new measures.

The UK and Germany opposed further structural and operational harmonization, preferring instead the more ad hoc structures in place, whereby the Commission calls together member states officials when required. The same reluctance to increase the EU's powers informs the development of a common asylum procedure. UNHCR, promoting the 'EU prong' of its new asylum strategy, proposed plans for a centralized single authority to assess applications. The Commission made it clear that procedural centralization was not the aim, and that the EU's own operational power in this domain would be minimal during the five-year period. This reflected many member states' positions, particularly those of the UK and Germany.

The UK was particularly wary of the member states' producing a 'visionary' plan for the next five years (House of Lords 2005: 48). It put the emphasis on pragmatism, and met with general support. The general orientations of The Hague Programme lay

particular emphasis on the implementation and evaluation of measures. This is the first time that the Commission has been required to monitor JHA implementation during the transposition period (Peers 2004a).

UNHCR, in particular, supported the efforts to monitor implementation. The idea of the Commission drawing up yearly implementation reports was resisted by some states, but earlier experience of those states with laxer standards signing up to measures, which they then poorly transposed, was decisive. The UNHCR-Commission-UK led emphasis on evaluation and implementation chimes with national parliaments' concerns (House of Lords 2004). It arises from the understanding that migration flows can best be controlled and 'bogus' asylum-seekers excluded not by endless restrictions to access to asylum, but rather by improvements in the administration of asylum systems. It also reflects a desire to cement soft burden-sharing by ensuring that those member states with poor national provisions raise them in line with first wave standards. Again, then, the continued inter- and transgovernmental influence over asylum policy since September 11 has not proved entirely detrimental to attempts to draw up a well-rounded asylum policy that respects democratic values.

Thus, despite the growing influence of the supranational actors as the immediate impact of September 11 recedes, the security agenda still shapes the development of asylum policies. Building on initial input from the UK, proposals by the Commission for the 'external processing' of asylum applicants showed a marked concern for the resettlement of asylum-seekers in the EU and capacity-building in third countries (European Commission 2004; ECRE 2004). This suggested that external joint processing was being developed to save asylum-seekers from making dangerous journeys to the EU, rather than as a means to keep them at bay. Nevertheless, the British NGO Statewatch pointed out that the security agenda continued to set the frame of reference for new, increasingly democratized EU asylum policies: it argued that it is securitization that has closed off access to asylum, forcing 'genuine' asylum-seekers to resort to dangerous illegal means of entry to the EU (Statewatch 2004). Yet, instead of treating this central securitarian bias, new policies are being constructed according to its underlying principles. It is unclear whether communitarization will lead to the fundamental rolling back of the security agenda, or will merely fuse new elements to European asylum policy whilst maintaining its security foundation.

52.4.4 The Externalization of Asylum Policy

Post-Cold War international relations have created a challenge for asylum policy-makers by increasing mobility, but also offered a partial solution to these problems by opening up paths for the resolution of the causes of migration at their root. Since September 11, foreign and development policy instruments have been employed in dealing with root causes of migration (Niessen 2004). This attempt to repackage asylum policy, by making it less reactive, and more curative, has not been unproblematic though. Critics complain that development aid is targeted not at those areas most in need of it (for fear of making populations there more mobile), but rather at more affluent areas which produce the most illegal immigrants (Boswell 2003).

Nevertheless, attempts to infuse external policy tools with a security-oriented, reactive mentality have not always been successful. In 2002, the British and Spanish Prime Ministers Blair and Aznar argued for development aid to be made dependent on third countries' efforts to stem migration flows. Their suggestion was opposed by France, Luxembourg, and Sweden on the grounds that this kind of reactive externalization of internal security goals would be counterproductive to the EU's broader external policies.²

The British government's 2003 paper *New Vision for Refugees* suggested that military intervention would be justified in those states from which there was mass and uncontrolled emigration, because of the threat posed to security (UK Government 2003). This reflected a desire to transfer to a reactive policy area the precepts of a foreign policy that cites Britain's new responsibilities in a 'post-Westphalian' system of international relations in order to intervene more actively in other states. It also reflected a desire to use conventional interstate means to settle an internal security threat posed by non-state actors. The attempt to further link the internal and external security fields met with little enthusiasm at the European level. Whether this suggestion for better controlling access to asylum could be made compatible with the strictures of the democratic system is therefore unclear.

The Hague Programme meanwhile invites policy-makers to explore the possibilities of dealing with asylum externally. The question of the joint external processing of applications remains one of the most controversial aspects of the Programme, and states'

reactions run the gamut from outright approval to complete opposition. There is currently no consensus on what form this joint processing would take, however it may offer the EU a means to use its external capacity not as a tool for dealing curatively with the root causes of migration, but rather for acting in a fundamentally reactive manner, removing all those who apply for asylum within the EU to processing centres outside its territory. In fact, this might prove the most complete form of the reactive security-oriented approach, simultaneously dealing with the abuse of asylum by voluntary immigrants since the Cold War, and by terrorists since September 11 by clearing asylum-seekers from the EU. It would relieve the EU of the need to deal proactively with the external root causes and the initial internal social effects of asylum-seeking. Those member states worried that external processing would entirely replace the national reception of asylum-seekers stipulated that any external processing would be "in complementarity with the Common European Asylum System" (European Council 2004a: 18).

Germany and other proponents of external processing deployed humanitarian rhetoric, arguing that external processing would relieve applicants of the need to undertake dangerous journeys to the EU by processing them near to their countries of origin. Yet member states opposed to the scheme saw external processing as a means to co-opt third countries into the EU's efforts to shirk its own human rights commitments. The German conception of external processing for example foresees the establishment of facilities in Libya - a Geneva non-signatory. Belgium and Sweden thus demanded the introduction of the phrase "the European Council calls upon all third countries to accede and adhere to the Geneva Convention on Refugees" (European Council 2004a: 21). Such phrases apparently form part of a strategy to raise the profile of the member states' international obligations and to scupper the project entirely. Moreover, by promoting abroad democratic values like asylum, these member states hope to deal curatively with the causes of migration and to spread the burden of receiving applicants in a positive manner.

52.5 Conclusion: Democratization of Asylum Policy

It is by no means the case that the democratization of JHA processes that has occurred since 2001 has either rebalanced asylum policy or upheld interna-

2 See: Black, Ian; Watt, Nicholas: "Blair expects new EU asylum laws", in: *Guardian*, 19 June 2002.

tional obligations. This is in part because of the legacy of securitarian activity, and partly because democratization is not 'complete' and the position of previously sidelined actors is still precarious. Further, the course of democratization thus far may have reinforced actors like the European Parliament which bring democratic input to policy-making, but in continuing to sideline the European Court of Justice, the respect for normative democratic rights like asylum is still weak. As was noted above, democratic input is not necessarily complementary to the protection of normative democratic values, as those rights enjoyed by third country nationals are seen to exist at the expense of the electorate.

Arguably, the Parliament did not take full advantage of the means accorded it in the policy-making framework during the first wave. Party politics in the European Parliament reinforced its relative exclusion from the asylum policy-making. When asylum issues were dealt with by the 1999–2004 Parliament, a split regularly opened up between the Right on one side, and the Socialists, Liberals, and Greens on the other. The Centre-Left's expansiveness was encouraged by their exasperation at the EP's marginal position in the decision-making process, and the divergence of their priorities from the substance of the legislation emanating from the Council. The fact that the Council sidelined the EP further in the passage of some of the initial pieces of legislation by reaching political agreement before the EP had delivered its opinion, exacerbated the situation.

Despite its marginal position, the Parliament was a prime focus of lobbying on the part of even resource-strapped NGOs. Yet the potent cocktail of abstract demands from certain rights-based NGOs, and its marginal decision-making position, meant that the Parliament paid too little attention to the practical realities of asylum policy. One telling example concerned the question of asylum-seekers' access to education. ECRE had recommended that "children must be given access to the state education system at the earliest opportunity" (ECRE 2001). The Commission proposed that access to education be granted within 65 working days of an application being lodged. The British Liberal MEP Sarah Ludford shortened this to 21 working days in her proposed amendment (European Parliament 2002: 26). Since the initial 65 day period was already felt to be impractical if applicants arrived at the beginning of the summer vacation – 'working days' being held to run on during school vacations – the amendment was wholly unrealistic.

Rather than exploiting the limited consultative tools at its disposal, the EP turned to more contentious channels. It actively used the judicial tools available to it as a bargaining chip in decision-making (the asylum procedures directive), as well as reactively, to challenge legislation after its adoption (family reunification directive). In some policy areas, the EP has shown that it is willing to act 'sensibly', taking account of member states' preferences, in order to gain decision-making powers. Thereafter it has become more activist. This tactical restraint has not been the rule in asylum policy. Its strategy was born of frustration at its lack of influence, and of its understanding of its institutional and democratic role in the EU. In order to neutralize this strategy, the member states may be tempted to involve the Parliament more in policy-making, in order to draw it into the European 'establishment' (Maurer 2004).

The EP has certainly pursued non-citizens' interests in the past, and finds itself somewhat removed from the electoral pressures that member state governments cite as an *apologia* for restrictive migration policies. Yet it is unclear to what degree the reassertion of parliamentary influence at the European level will contribute to the upgrading of third country nationals' rights and interests. The Parliament structurally incorporates the same ambivalence towards non-citizens and minorities which is characteristic of domestic democratic systems. It is precisely the distance from electoral pressures that accords the EP a certain margin of manoeuvre to push for the extension of non-citizens' rights, which also denies it much of the legitimacy required to carry out such a task. By involving the Parliament more heavily in policy-making, the member states are effectively drawing it into the European 'establishment', reducing its freedom of manoeuvre. Such a move makes the EP's activities more perceptible to its electorate and renders the need for it to justify the extension of its powers more pressing. Whether an EP thus implicated in asylum policy-making will enjoy the tools necessary to roll back the effects of securitization is doubtful.

The development of European asylum policy highlights the tension between the democratically expressed will of the electorate and the sometimes-countervailing democratic mechanisms which regulate its realization. European asylum policy integration has been instrumental in realizing the perceived or expressed will of the citizens of the member states where countervailing democratic mechanisms at the national level were more robust. As justification for these developments, policy-makers have cited a desire

to safeguard democracy more broadly: when its will is constrained, the electorate may be tempted to turn to those political parties that scorn democratic mechanisms. The menace of the far right in Europe has served as justification for restrictive asylum policies.

This aspect of the EU's 'democratic deficit' is unusual because the margin of manoeuvre won by policy-makers at the expense of democracy has principally been used to respond to the narrow interests of national electorates. Only to a limited degree has it been used in a technocratic manner to meet those economic, demographic, and humanitarian aspects of asylum and immigration policy that may not appeal to voters.

Whilst the upgrading of the Parliament in policy-making signals the more direct democratic input of the European electorate, it is the reassertion of those democratic mechanisms mediating the will of the electorate and protecting individuals from the state that will prove most challenging to the security agenda. With the eventual entry into force of the Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe, normative mechanisms would be reinforced alongside the European Court. The fact that in the aftermath of September 11 the Commission was asked to review the compatibility of the EU's international obligations - in particular under the Geneva Refugee Convention - with the provision of internal security, sheds light on the member states' disinclination to upgrade the Court's role.

The potential restraints exerted by the Court on the EU's capacity to realize the perceived or expressed wishes of the electorate raises questions about whether an elite-driven project like European integration, which lacks popular legitimacy, can deal with controversial issues in a fully democratic fashion. The Union nevertheless remains under pressure from the European Parliament, national parliaments, NGOs, and some member state governments to democratize this area of policy-making.

If these democratic pressures are as uncongenial to the realization of the security agenda as the policy-venue-shopping thesis posits, European asylum policy could move in any one of three directions:

Firstly, asylum policy could be repackaged so that measures to reduce the number of asylum applications would be compatible with the reinforced democratic mechanisms. The emphasis would shift to burden-sharing, curative, and capacity-building policies. Where this reconciliation proved impossible, the EU's incapacity to reduce the numbers of asylum-applicants could force a fundamental re-conception of asylum,

with asylum-seekers no longer being framed as a threat to the interests of citizens. National electorates would need to be educated on the rationale behind such a system.

Secondly, and alternatively, where it proved impossible to reconcile policies to reduce the number of asylum-seekers with democratic pressures, some reform of the democratic mechanisms could occur. Perhaps the weak point of the democratic system is the normative protection of third country nationals' rights. It is arguable that the only thing that has thus far relieved the pressure to reform the Geneva Refugee Convention is the fact that policy-makers have found ways to circumvent it. If the Convention is enforced with renewed zeal, its future may be put in question. Its reform is an option that has been thrown up by Austria and the UK.

Thirdly, the reassertion of democratic pressures also entails the reinforcement of international norms. This considerably reduces member states' capacity to reform the relevant human rights and refugee norms. The search for more favourable policy-making venues may therefore begin again. The UK, which enjoys an opt-out, has already signalled its reluctance to join the second wave, and its "new vision for refugees" (UK Government 2003) has encouraged it to cast around for partners outside the EU.

The end of the Cold War and the attacks of September 11 appear to have further damaged the EU's capacity to draw up a well-rounded asylum policy which is democratic both in its formulation and effect. This is explicable with reference to the two events' interaction with the processes of *securitization*, *Europeanization*, *externalization* and *democratization*. Yet the two events have not only presented challenges to the EU but also opportunities. They have accelerated Europeanization, raising the possibility of burden-sharing between member states. They have reconfigured international relations allowing the member states to tackle root causes proactively. However, the laboratories of JHA policy-making have been unable to grasp these opportunities. The predominant form of Europeanization facilitated by the two events has been trans- and intergovernmental, and has not been conducive to the realization of anything but narrow national goals. Meanwhile, a lack of coordination between internal and external policy actors has prevented the EU from meaningfully tackling root causes.

53 From a European Security Community to a Secure European Community

Tracing the New Security Identity of the EU¹

Magnus Ekengren

53.1 Searching the European Security Identity²

The new dynamics in global security in recent years have had a significant impact on European security (Duke 2000; Missiroli 2002a; Van Ham/Medvedev 2002; Carlsnaes/Sjursen/White 2004). New and broader transnational threats, such as terrorism, together with the creation of new tools to meet these, have created a fundamentally new security landscape (Kirchner 2003). At the same time the European Union has established a European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) including military and civil crisis management capacities, internal safety and emergency preparedness measures, rapid alert systems, a solidar-

ity clause for the protection against terrorism, and a security strategy.

Two sets of developments have been of particular importance for the conceptual and policy change within the EU. Firstly, the historical change constituted by the end of the division of Europe in 1989/1990 (see chapter 1 of this book), which meant that the Union no longer was a pawn in a larger bi-polar security game based on territorial defence but instead became a driving force for a stable wider Europe. A force strengthened by the deepening and widening of the Union in the form of an economic and monetary union and the greatest enlargement process in EU history; from 12 to 15 to 25 Member States in 2004. Secondly, the EU has in the same period been challenged by a whole set of new kinds of threats and crises ranging from the mad cow disease over ethnic, intra-state conflict in Bosnia to terrorist attacks in Madrid and London. Together with the 9/11 experiences, these crises have put the need of reconceptualizing security in a flash light.

The theoretical debate has mainly been concerned with how the new trends have affected the security identity of the Union and the wider European community (Ruggie 1998; Adler/Barnett 1998; Lenzi 1998; Wæver/Buzan 2003; Brauch/Liotta/Marquina/Rogers/Selim 2003). The first step has been to define what European security is not. For example, the ESDP has been interpreted as being the end of the since long suggested idea of a territorial defence for the EU (Gärtner 2003). It has become very difficult to define European security in general terms in a post-national situation without the risk of inter-state war. The new situation has simply been characterized as a “security complex” (Buzan/Waever/de Wilde 1998: 179–193). Some observers have returned to the basic ideas of the EU for guidance. Sjursen holds that any conception of European security must include an understanding of the “communicative rationality and

1 This chapter draws on the report *The New Security Role of the European Union – Transnational crisis management and the protection of Union citizens, Acta Series B35* (2006) by Magnus Ekengren, Nina Matzén and Monica Svantesson, Swedish National Defence College (SNDC). The report is part of the research project *Creating EU Crisis Management for a Secure European Community* conducted by the Center for European Security Research (EUROSEC) at the SNDC and the Leiden University Crisis Research Center (CRC) in the Netherlands. More information about the project can be found at: <www.eucm.leidenuniv.nl>. The project is supported by generous grants from the Swedish Emergency Management Agency (SEMA) (*Krisberedskapsmyndigheten*). I also would like to thank the two anonymous reviewers for very valuable remarks and suggestions.

2 This chapter relies also on three confidential interviews of the author with a civil servant of the DG Environment, Commission Civil Protection Unit, on 11 February 2003; a civil servant of the DG Environment, Commission Civil Protection Unit, Monitoring and Information Center (MIC) on 13 February 2003, and with the head of a unit, Czech Republic Team, DG Enlargement, European Commission on 13 February 2003.

deliberation” that constitute the ground for the EU’s method of creating security through the promotion of rule and rights (Sjursen 2004b: 60). Through a related line of reasoning Manners has argued that the EU should be identified as a “normative power Europe” (Manners 2002: 235). He and others have concluded that the EU, due to its strong emphasis on international law and civil instruments as well as a lack of military means, best can be characterized as a normative or ethical power in world politics (H. Smith 2002). Kirchner has developed the concept of security governance to catch the broad notion of security, the great number of actors, the new rules, and the growing multilateralism characterizing today’s European security (Kirchner 2005). He asks if this security governance is sustainable. According to Kirchner, the main questions concern the extent to which non-state actors are acting autonomously vis-à-vis states, who are the lead actors, and how and to what degree institutions shape national interest in line with other states’ security interests. Sundelius sees the growing concern of the Union to safeguard basic functions of European society (‘critical infrastructures’) and government (‘democracy’) as an evolving ‘functional’ security identity. Functional rather than territorial integrity seems to be the aim of the Union (Sundelius 2004a, 2004b; see 59.4 below).

Four key problems are crystallizing from these early attempts to define the new security identity. Firstly, there are in the search for European security few linkages to the on-going general reconceptualization of security; whom and what is the EU suppose to secure beyond the inter-state peace it has achieved? Secondly, there is much uncertainty as to what extent the new security order can be captured in general terms. Thirdly, even though new promising concepts such as security governance are able to recognize the multitude of actors, rules and layers, they are of limited help for an explanation of how the new structures matter; how they change behaviour of actors, how they relate to new security concepts. Finally, most conceptualizations are still just the first step of a research endeavour that now also urgently needs programmes of systematic empirical investigation.

53.2 From a European Security Community to a Secure European Community

Elsewhere the assumed identity shift has been analysed in terms of a possible move from a European

security community to a ‘secure European community’. A secure community is seen as an ideal type – a hypothesis – of a new regional security order in relation to which today’s EU developments can be understood, not as a factual description of the current situation in Europe. The concept has tentatively been defined “as a group of people that is integrated to the point where there is real assurance that the members of that community will assist each other in the protection of the democratic institutions and the civilian population – the core functions of their societies and governments” (Ekengren 2004a, 2004b, 2005: below in 59.4). Because of its potential to meet the challenges recognized above this chapter will continue to elaborate on this model and its capacity to guide empirical research. The advantages are many. Firstly, the assumed new community provides a general notion by building on perhaps the most influential characterization of the European security identity so far, namely Deutsch’s (1957: 5) concept of a ‘security community’ (also an ideal type). Moreover, it develops this classical key concept in a direction beyond territorial, state security by pointing out new reference objects such as societal and democratic ‘functions’. In addition, its formula ‘assistance’ leaves open for a broad range of new methods for security creation, excluding neither hard (military) nor soft (civilian) means. Furthermore, the proposed framework investigates the sustainability and impact of a potential new order by focusing a key factor for its endurance, namely the degree of trust and willingness to assist in broader security matters that exist among European actors. Finally, the concept of a secure community has already shown its capacity to generate empirical evidence (Boin/Ekengren/Rhinard 2005).

Karl Deutsch and associates (1957: 5) defined security community as a group of people that is integrated to the point that where there is “real assurance that the members of that community will not fight each other physically, but will settle their disputes in some other way” (Deutsch/Burrell/Kann/Lee/Lichterhan/Lindgren/Loewenheim/Van Wagenen 1957: 5). Integration theory explained the creation of Europe in terms of a security community resulting from the growing interdependence between European states through economic integration and common institutions (Lindberg/Scheingold 1970; Hodges 1972; Stone Sweet/Sandholtz 1998). The next step for Europe would be, in accordance with Deutsch’s conceptualization, the integration into an amalgamated security community with “some type of common government, unitary or federal” (Deutsch/Burrell/Kann/

Lee/Lichterman/Lindgren/Loewenheim/VanWagenen 1957: 6) and “common institutions for policing and coercion” (Deutsch/Burrell/Kann/Lee/Lichterman/Lindgren/Loewenheim/ Van Wagenen 1957: 163–164). However, contrary to Deutsch’s predictions, a regional state-based order has not materialized in Europe.

The European states have established a peaceful order but “at the same time as they start to blur, merge, and fade, and numerous nonstate forms of securitization enter”. The new “security order does not take the form of a direct security system like collective security solving the security problems of the region” (Waeber/Buzan 2003: 375–376). The concept of security community was based on research on why certain regions in the world have emerged as zones of peace, free from inter-state wars. In a situation with little risk of European inter-state war but with new threats and rapidly growing security cooperation, there is a need to find new conceptualizations of regional security integration. There is a need to explain how and why a European security community develops into a secure European community. The *purpose* of this chapter is to continue the empirical tracing of an emerging secure community. The field of EU crisis management is selected as a case due to the fact that it is perhaps the best example of the new European security cooperation (Boin/Ekengren/Rhinard, 2005, 2005a). In the light of the findings, the final section discusses the possible need for a re-definition of a ‘secure community’ in the meaning presented above.

53.3 The Case of EU Crisis Management

The area of EU crisis management has come to be perceived by practitioners as almost identical to ‘Union security’ as a result of the strong crisis management focus of the new security tools. In theory, there is a growing literature linking security and crisis management (Sundelius/Stern/Bynander 1997; Boin/’t Hart/Stern/Sundelius, 2005). More specifically, these works show the strong similarity between different areas of crisis decision-making where there are perceptions of an acute threat to security, including military, economic as well as environmental security (Stern 1995).

Some observers have studied the Union as a civilian crisis manager in cases ranging from the police cooperation of EU member states that resembles

international security (Bigo 2000) over natural disaster to political stalemates (Larsson/Olsson/Ramberg 2005; Myrdal 2001). Today, the crisis management capacities, located in all three EU pillars, makes the Union responsible both for internal and external non-territorial security (Missiroli 2001; Ekengren 2005; Spence forthcoming). A sharp division between military and civilian crisis management resources does not exist for the EU (Rieker 2004: 42).

This chapter studies the case of EU crisis management as a provider of indicators of fundamental importance for the exploration of an emerging secure community: Firstly, the study of EU crisis reveals more precisely *what* ‘core functions of society and government’ the members of the community (states and other) are ready to protect in common, i.e. the security object of a secure European community.³ It is in times of threat and crisis for these particular

3 In the context of the nation state, a crisis is commonly defined as an urgent threat to core societal values that necessitates immediate action by political actors (Rosenthal/Charles/’t Hart/Kouzmin/Jarman 1989; Boin/Ekengren/Rhinard 2005, 2005a). European crises might perhaps best be defined by threats to the core values of the EU – free trade, fundamental rights, etc. However, the definition of an EU crisis can not solely be based on a pre-empirical assumption of values. In order to understand what an EU crisis is we also need to investigate how and why an event is perceived as an EU crisis by the actors concerned. We need to add ‘subjectivist’ facts (Ekengren 2002: ch. 4). A more full understanding of ‘EU crisis’ should crystallize in the process of empirical investigation, in what Bourdieu calls ‘the second break’. The researcher should try to situate himself in the position of the subject at the very moment when the act is taking place (Bourdieu 1990: 81). In order to relate the agent’s own ‘sense’ of his practice and the objective notion/structure – in our case core values – assumed by the researcher, Bourdieu uses the concept of habitus. In this way, we not only avoid assessing ‘EU crisis’ solely from the outside, with an ‘objective’ definition constructed by the researcher, but also a perspective based only on subjective or ‘visible’ (in a positivistic sense) social phenomena – a view that risks producing a-historical assumptions about ‘EU crises’. Thus, a definition of EU crisis is not supposed to be included in the premises of the study but should instead appear as a result of the investigation. The risk of leaving out any significant empirical facts – e.g. a particular EU type of crisis – due to the use of prefabricated conceptions originating from the study of nation-states or other international organizations should be minimized. This chapter derives the core European values from studying the practices and activities that the EU employs to protect them.

functions that a member of the community will expect other members to assist. Secondly, an analysis of EU crisis management also shows *how* members 'assist each other' in the protection of these core functions. This includes both the intergovernmental and community methods, as well as the growing informal crisis management capacity within the EU institutions. Finally, the crisis management practices of the community members is an excellent indicator of *whether* and *to what extent* they are 'assuring' each other of mutual assistance. What is European solidarity in the face of danger?

53.4 The evolution of functional security in the EU

The Union has essentially always been a security project. For the first forty years of the Union's existence, the main aim was to secure the member states against *each other*. The Union provided for state security against the historical threat of European inter-state wars. However, over the years new reference objects have evolved incrementally within the Union as a result of its growing field of competences. Its institutions, mainly the EU Commission, have due to the gradual expansion of tasks been forced to take on also a growing responsibility for safeguarding and protecting the EU functions and 'systems' these have created. New safety measures have often been the result of reactions to crises for the Union, not as part of any grand design. Thus, the question of *for whom*, *for what*, and *from what* EU security is aimed can be explained in the light of what the Union has considered to be a crisis throughout its history and how the list of what should be safeguarded in common has grown.

As mentioned, the EU⁴ has since the 1950's provided for *national security*. In the 1970's and 1980's, economic welfare and stability came to be perceived as a critically important object for EU members to secure in common. A crisis for the functioning of the common market and the institutional and legal measures taken to uphold the 'four freedoms' of intra-European exchange became an EU crisis (Boin/Ekengren/Rhinard 2005).

By focusing on safeguarding vital flows of resources for the welfare and identity of the EU mem-

ber states, the Union in practice took steps towards transnational *societal security* (Buzan/Waever/de Wilde 1998; Møller 2001a). In the 1990's, the outbreak of war and violence in the Balkans forced EU leaders to define also this crisis as a crisis for the Union. The value of peace and stability in the neighbourhood – the 'near abroad' – was added to the EU's core goals. The aim to protect peace and the safety of civilians was no longer limited to the EU member states.

Consequently, the reference object for the Union's endeavours became the same within and outside its borders: to secure states or ethnically based groupings against each other. A threat or event that undermines peace and stability in wider Europe thus also presents a potential crisis for the EU. In this way also the concept of *human security* (Paris 2001) could be added as a label for characterizing European security.

This development was further underlined in the following years when natural disasters increasingly became defined as EU crises. The Commission and its Humanitarian Aid Office (ECHO) gave high priority to helping Turkey when the country was hit by two earthquakes in 1999 (Ekengren/Ramberg 2003). During the floods in Central Europe in 2002, the EU level acted as a centre of coordination for parts of the assistance between the flood-stricken countries and EU member states. The aim was the protection of European (EU and candidate states) citizens (Ekengren 2004b).

In 2002, Spanish authorities requested help via the EU Commission when the *Prestige* tanker began leaking outside the Spanish and French coastline (Ekengren 2004b). The Union coordinated many civil protection operations and was also a great donor of aid during the tsunami disaster in 2004 (Ekengren/Matzén/Svantesson 2006). If the early practices will set a precedent for future EU crisis management, 'EU security' might increasingly refer to all humans in grave international crisis.⁵ This development of EU measures is perhaps best understood by the concept of human security in the meaning 'freedom from hazard impacts' (Brauch 2005: 36–44).

The 1990's also saw a new development with regard to internal EU safety. In the BSE crisis in 1996,

4 Technically speaking, the European Union only exists since 1992. However, I take into account the history of the EEC as well which began in the late 1950's.

5 "A Human Security Doctrine for Europe" was proposed in: *A Human Security Doctrine for Europe, The Barcelona Report of the Study Group on European Security*, led by Mary Kaldor at the request of Javier Solana, see at: <<http://www.lse.ac.uk/Depts/global/>>. See the chapters by Narcis Serra and Reinhardt in this volume.

several EU member states responded to the UK announcement of a potential link between the animal and human forms of BSE by closing their borders to British meat (Grönvall 2000; 2001). The event became a serious threat to the common market and at the same time to the safety of European consumers. The EU had to reconcile the protection of both aspects of the growing multidimensional character of its referent object of security (Grönvall 2000: 89). In the case of the dioxin scandal three years later the security object 'citizens' safety' had become more clear. The Commission acted quicker and with more accuracy when it ordered Belgian authorities to trace and destroy all poultry products with potential dioxin contamination (Olsson 2005). The events of 11 September 2001 started a chain of policy responses that have more unequivocally stated its object of security as 'EU citizens'. The Solidarity Clause in the draft Constitutional Treaty (adopted as a political declaration in the aftermath of the Madrid train bombings in 2004) constituted the next step by declaring that the EU aims should be to "protect democratic institutions and the civilian population" not only from terrorist attack but also to cope with natural or man-made disaster (Article I-43).⁶ The reference object of security is thus not just a matter of infrastructure or flows, but also about the ability to govern society and to articulate political goals (Sundelius 2004b). We might then speak of a crisis in and for the Union: when there is an urgent threat to the basic political and economic systems that enable European society to function (Ekengren 2004b).

At a deeper level the evolution of functional security in the EU can be explained as a result of the Union's development into a *domestic*-like system where theories of system and societal vulnerability increasingly will be applicable. There is, for instance, a growing body of social theory literature on the consequences of major disturbances on society, i.e. system effects, that could be used. Mesjasz has approached security as a property of social systems. He identifies social systems and their survival, continuity, identity, and coherence as possible reference objects to be studied more closely (Mesjasz 2004: 18-19). Jervis has examined the strengthened interconnections that makes international relations increasingly system-like

and change the condition for effective state action (Jervis 1997). Others have talked about the need to conceptualize the international system in terms of an emerging civil global society (Kaldor/Anheier/Glasius 2003a). Regional systems have been understood by Brauch (2003) as a result of the reconceptualization of security related to for example environmental conflicts in the Mediterranean area. Beck (1992) has introduced the concept of risk society as a description of today's domestic systems. According to Luhmann (1982: 288), "the horizon of the future becomes shorter and more foreboding" as a result of a new type of world society, characterized by complexity and a short-term crisis management style of politics. In this perspective, the aim of the security measures taken by the Union over the years is to secure the survival of its 'system' against new threats, but perhaps more important new vulnerability due to the growing field of Union competence in which European crises can occur. A good example of the systemic dimension are the many transgovernmental practices of European 'security actors' such as the police (Den Boer 2001: 258-272).

In the light of the historical overview, four 'core functions' of the Union can be identified as constituting the EU system. Each of these functions is thus to protect a certain fundamental value; peace and stability (both within the EU and the near abroad), the European economy, and people, and society. These are the main values the members of the community seem to be agreeing on with regard to common protection. Or phrased differently: the core functions of the EU have evolved in order to protect these fundamental values (Boin/Ekengren/Rhinard 2005: 20).⁷ Securing the four functions could be said to embrace all the other security concepts referred to above; national, societal, human. Security in this context could be defined as freedom from societal and functional disruptions and hazard impact. The particular way of organizing for functional security could be explained as a result of the Union's character between a nation-state, federation, and international organization, based on both intergovernmental and community processes.

6 European Union (2004): "Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe", in: *Official Journal of the European Union*, C 310, 16 December 2004, p. 32. See relevant articles in their entirety included in the end of the chapter.

7 This characterization of an EU crisis builds on a classical crisis definition according to which a crisis should be understood as a "serious threat to ... fundamental values and norms of a social system" (Rosenthal/t Hart/Charles 1989).

53.5 The Organization of a Secure Community

53.5.1 EU Crisis Management Between Intergovernmental and Community Processes

The case of EU crisis management is also very telling with regard to how post-national organization secures its values and functions. Within the first pillar the EU has elaborated a new 'Rapid Reaction Mechanism' for international civil crisis management, a 'Community Mechanism' for civil protection,⁸ and adopted a whole range of security measures in a wide area of its competencies, linking Union institutions and member state ministries and agencies.⁹ Emergency preparedness became one of five areas prioritized by the EU in the fight against terrorism¹⁰. The latest development is the Commission proposal of a Rapid Response Instrument for major emergencies, as an answer to the tsunami disaster.¹¹ Within the third pillar (intergovernmental), police and judicial cooperation

in the framework of justice and home affairs (JHA)) is forming the basis for the EU's combating of terrorism (see Maurer/Parkes in this volume). The EU has adopted a European arrest warrant, common definition of terrorism, common list of terrorist organizations, and established an exchange of information between the member states and Europol, an anti-terrorist team within Europol and Eurojust (co-ordination between national prosecutors, police officers). In October 2004, the Union established a European Agency for the Management of Operational Cooperation at the External Borders of the EU member states (EU border agency).¹² The ESDP is part of the intergovernmental Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). Crisis management within this second pillar includes military and civilian capacities. The EU will be able to deploy up to 5,000 policemen in international missions, and furthermore be able to strengthen the civil law system and administration and provide for civil protection. The EU's military crisis management capacities build on new Union organs, such as a Political and Security Committee and a Military Committee, and on a close cooperation with NATO (Piana 2002). In December 2003, the Union adopted the Security Strategy proposed by the CFSP High Representative Solana.

The pillars are a mixture of intergovernmental and supranational elements of decision making. (M.E. Smith 2004; Ginsberg 2001; K. Smith 2004), which has made the cross-pillar structure of EU crisis management instruments problematic. Some examples: The role of the EU Commission in the BSE crisis in 1996 was to bring the issue back into the supranational decision-making and preserve the market for agricultural produce while at the same time guaranteeing food safety, a competence lying mainly in the hands of the member states (Grönvall 2000: 89). In the case of the dioxin scandal, the Commission acted quicker. But again, EU procedures were not fully ready for the protection of this quickly emerging and legitimized security aim. In order to act effectively the Commission had to bypass the intergovernmental scientific consultation process and send its own inspec-

8 EU Council of Ministers, Council Decision of 23 October 2001/792/EC, Euroatom: Art. 1.1. The mechanism has been used on numerous occasions since its establishment. See: *Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions, Reinforcing the Civil Protection Capacity of the European Union*, Brussels, 25 March 2004. COM (2004) 200 final.

9 These include 'economic security'; the protection of technical infrastructure, the combating of terrorist funding (DG Internal Market and Financial Services), programmes of aviation-transport security (DG Enterprise), a Rapid Reaction Network in the field of 'health security', programmes for the control of communicable diseases, preparedness and response to biological, chemical, radiological, nuclear terrorist attacks (DG Consumer Policy and Health Protection), general vulnerability reduction, security of energy supply, diplomacy (e.g. in the UN), a Joint Research Centre (including a new security programme, policies of common risk analysis and intelligence (Jarlsvik/Castenfors 2004)). See: *Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament, Preparedness and consequence management in the fight against terrorism*, Brussels, 20.10.2004. COM(2004)701 final (p. 10) and Annex to Report (Boin/Ekengren/Rhinard 2005).

10 The other four comprises police and judicial cooperation, global fight against terrorism, air transport security and economic and financial measures, at: <<http://europa.eu.int/comm./110901/index.htm>>, 24 May 2004.

11 European Commission: *Proposal for a Council Regulation establishing a Rapid Response and Preparedness Instrument for major emergencies*, COM (2005) 113 final, 2005/0052 (CNS), Brussels, 6 April 2005.

12 *Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament, Preparedness and Consequence Management in the Fight Against Terrorism*, Brussels 20.10.2004. COM(2004)701 final (p. 10) and Annex to Report (Boin/Ekengren/Rhinard 2005).

tion teams and devise its own tracking system for Belgian foodstuffs in an ad hoc manner. It took several months for the Commission to get Belgium to agree to implement fully its measures (Olsson 2005). During the floodings in Central Europe the Commission received a request for support from the authorities of the Czech Republic which was immediately transmitted to the EU member states. Since the use of the Community mechanism for civil protection is an intergovernmental voluntary tool, the Commission could not force member states to provide assistance, nor could it control the types of resources ultimately provided (Ekengren 2004b)¹³. Furthermore, as in the case of the dioxin crisis management, the Commission and its Humanitarian Aid Office (ECHO) had to bypass formal procedures in order to act swiftly helping Turkey when the country was hit by two earthquakes in 1999 (Ramberg 2005). There were many problems of logistics, coordination, and duplication (Ekengren/Ramberg 2003).

One of the EU's most central policy concerns is currently the CFSP's ability to draw on the full range of EU instruments, including those in the first and third pillars, in order to carry out ESDP tasks. Discussions on whether or not to incorporate the capacities of the Union's third pillar into the ESDP (e.g., in the areas of personnel and threat identification), signalled early the development towards a functional security approach. For internal as well as external security reasons, many have claimed that there is an urgent need for better coordination between civilian ESDP activities, JHA, and the Commission. It has also been suggested that security thinking should be 'mainstreamed' into other areas of EU cooperation as well. The EU should, in the wording of the Solidarity Clause, make the most of its multi-sectorial character - including military instruments. Moreover, 9/11 intensified a process where the EU had begun to rethink its old lines of demarcations between all its sectors and pillars, between external and internal security; and how trade, aid, diplomacy, and the new crisis management capacities under the ESDP could best be combined. This is also the main reason why it was suggested to abolish the pillar structure in the new Union constitution.¹⁴

53.5.2 Organizational Capacities

The informal crisis management capacities in the EU institutions are also significant of how a secure community is being organized for functional security. There is growing capacity to prevent crisis in almost all the Directorate Generals of the Council Secretariat and the EU Commission. In some sectors the planning activities of the institutions are substantial, such as human health, common foreign and security policy, and justice and home affairs, and in the Commission in the DG Environment. In others the preparation capacity is weaker. The capacity to cope with European crises also varies between sectors. The Commission has set up procedures and mechanisms that enable it to coordinate and organize for decision-making in times of crises.

In the aftermath phase of crisis management - learning from crises - there are cases where the crisis experience has led to the creation of new EU agencies. Anthrax threats and the SARS epidemic prompted the EU to create a *Centre for Disease Prevention and Control*. The aftermath of the *Erika* and *Prestige* tanker accidents induced the establishment of the *European Maritime Safety Agency* (EMSA). But the efficiency of informal as well as formal agencies and structures ultimately depend to a very large extent on the willingness of member states to use these instruments for their coordination and on mutual trust in assistance in times of European crisis (Boin/Ekengren/Rhinard 2005).

53.6 The Sustainability of a Secure Community

To what extent are members of a secure community assured that their community fellows will assist them in times of threats and crises for the basic functions of their societies? One of the most central conditions for the sustainability of a community based on functional security will probably be the mutual trust of its members in common crisis management capacities. Due to the fact that there is no formal obligation of the member states to implement EU crisis decisions, national trust is ultimately dependent on the willing-

13 Most of the support was forwarded through well-established bi-lateral channels.

14 European Union (2004): "Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe", in: *Official Journal of the European Union*, C 310, 16 December 2004. The draft Constitution implies that all articles related to physical security for the first time will be drawn together under the same chapter (chapter II, Articles I- 40-43).

ness of European partners to assist each other. The Solidarity Clause of the Draft Constitution only calls upon the member states “to act jointly in the spirit of solidarity” if a member state is a victim of a terrorist attack or natural and man-made disaster (Ekengren 2004b, see document 59.1).

In the field of international relations trust is often equated with the willingness to take risks on the behalf of others. The level of analysis is mainly inter-state relationships (Hoffman 2002). A closely connected field of research has dealt with credibility in international relations, particularly with regard to great power politics (Powell 1990). For the relations among states the perception of security has been seen in the literature as mainly based on mutual trust (Fukuyama 1995; Gambetta 1988; Bengtsson 2000). This trust was seen as a function of a sense of community or of a cultural affinity among states (Anderson 1983). Since the 1950’s, the conviction among the West European states of peaceful solutions of conflicts was based on the feeling of community and trust (Deutsch/ Burrell/Kann/Lee/Lichterman/Lindgren/Loewenheim/Van Wagenen 1957; Adler/Barnett 1998). A well-recognized trust exists in the EU capacity to handle inter-state conflict. The question for a secure community is to what extent there exists trust in the EU capacity to handle European crises.

A challenge for the study of trust in the EU crisis management capacities is that the Union has passed beyond traditional inter-state relations into a Union system. There is no longer a question of trust only among states but also *within* the evolving common and transgovernmental organization of crisis management, integrating the EU bureaucracy and national structures. It is unclear whether changes in the degree of mutual trust among member states correspond with today’s creation of a kind of domestic crisis management capacity within the EU.

Early empirical results have shown the urgent need to understand these dynamics. For example, today’s hesitation to share national intelligence for the EU prevention of terrorist attacks is for many observers due to a lack of trust among member states. Despite this fact, a European intelligence community is in the making (Müller-Wille 2004). Moreover, in the preparation phase of the EU crisis management capacities there are currently few but significant signs of a division of labour and resources between member states for a more efficient creation of common capacity. In some sectors there is an unwillingness to implement EU decisions among member states that leads to uncertainty on national expectations of Un-

ion assistance in the coping phase. In other areas the readiness to act is stronger, which presumably will result in a strengthening of the credibility and trust that will be needed to hold the secure community together (Boin/’t Hart/Stern/Sundelius 2005; Boin/Ekengren/Rhinard 2005, 2005a).

53.7 Towards a New European Security Identity

By successfully forming a basis for a standardized framework of analysis the concept of a secure community shows that today it is also fruitful to perceive of a European security identity in general terms. The concept provides a new focus for the study of ‘post-national’ regional aims and ways of creating security, beyond the security community. Furthermore, this chapter has shown the concept’s potential in revealing the functional security agenda – the new threats and crises, the complexity of EU security tools, and new constellations of actors. However, it also lays bare the shortcomings of the definition of the concept. The strong complementary character of the EU crisis management is one of the findings that stands out most clearly. The community mainly offers assistance and coordination devices to its members in support of national crisis management capacities. This two-level dimension is missing in the early definition giving associations to a community protecting its members by exclusive means. There is in the light of the empirical evidence a need to redefine a secure community.

As part of the coordination of national crisis management capacities, the EU and the member state institutions are, to an increasing extent, shaped so that they may be *complementary*, not mutually exclusive. The EU capacities adds political and technical tools for mutual assistance. A structure of complementary “action capacities” as Börzel and Risse (2000) call it, is crystallizing. Through its growing management capacity, the EU is providing a “community for security”, not above or beyond, but *in parallel* to the national security systems. The structure of transnational crisis management is a new configuration of international security, but it does not seem to supplant the states, to borrow a formulation from Nørgaard (1994: 276). Rather, EU crisis management might be an example of a “regional institutional security framework” (Jørgensen 1997: 211), existing in parallel to the state system.

EU crisis management is based on supranational coordination and supervision and national resources. The common capacity is developed as a voluntarily complement to the member states. In this parallel system, EU instruments and measures could be best perceived as ‘Extra’ rather than ‘Supra’ national, where the balance between supranational and inter-governmental elements is different from that of the binding EU decisions of pillar one. In this way, an unacceptable degree of centralization to the Union is avoided and, in the words of John Pinder, an ‘extra-national Europe’ could be created (Pinder 1981). The goal of the *extra-national community* is to strengthen the capacity of mutual assistance between EU member states in situations where Union core functions are threatened. It is in most events up to the member states to conclude at a certain point that EU instruments meet their needs for common action and that the Union should provide for the mechanism that quickly turns them into part of the broader European efforts. The system leaves open exactly how and to what extent the Union capacities should be activated. The Commission is given the role more of a promoter, supervisor, and partner of national security administrations than a controller. The definition of a secure community as an ideal type should now be attuned to the new findings. An *extra-national community for security* could thus be defined as:

A group of people that is integrated to the point where there is assurance that the members of that community expect and rely on assistance from each other in the support of their own capacities to secure democracy

and the civilian population – the core functions of societies and governments.

The policy implications of this research can be formulated in historical terms. After the end of the cold war, the Union has come to suffer the same weakness as nation-states when forming its security and defence policy. It has reacted to the latest events and created its tools for fighting ‘the last war’. The EU reacted to the Balkan wars by creating the ESDP, to the mad cow crises by being tougher in the dioxin scandal, to 9/11 by developing internal security measures, to Madrid by adopting the Solidarity Clause. And to the tsunami disaster by setting up a new corps of civil crisis managers. One of the reasons for the growing expectation-capability gap in today’s ESDP could be due to the fact that the Union has lost its lead in developing international relations for the creation of security. This is one reason why the EU today is being compared with traditional international actors and the US, where it always will come out badly with a great image problem. Historically this was not the approach that made the Union successful. The Union was originally very strongly developed on its own unique transboundary merits and comparative advantages. The challenge today is again to try to make the most of its ability to think innovatively on conflict prevention, crisis management, peace, and stability. A stronger emphasis on the development of an extra-national secure community might give the Union an opportunity to take the lead again towards post-national security systems and communities.

Document 53.1: Excerpts from the Treaty Establishing a Constitution for Europe : The Solidarity Clause

PART I

TITLE V EXERCISE OF UNION COMPETENCE

CHAPTER II SPECIFIC PROVISIONS

Article I-43 Solidarity clause

1. The Union and its Member States shall act jointly in a spirit of solidarity if a Member State is the object of a terrorist attack or the victim of a natural or man-made disaster. The Union shall mobilize all the instruments at its disposal, including the military resources made available by the Member States, to:

- (a)
 - prevent the terrorist threat in the territory of the Member States;
 - protect democratic institutions and the civilian population from any terrorist attack;
 - assist a Member State in its territory, at the request of its political authorities, in the event of a terrorist attack;
 - (b) assist a Member State in its territory, at the request of its political authorities, in the event of a natural or man-made disaster.
2. The detailed arrangements for implementing this Article are set out in Article III-329.

PART III THE POLICIES AND FUNCTIONING OF THE UNION**TITLE V THE UNION'S EXTERNAL ACTION****CHAPTER VIII IMPLEMENTATION OF THE SOLIDARITY CLAUSE****Article III-329**

1. Should a Member State be the object of a terrorist attack or the victim of a natural or man-made disaster, the other Member States shall assist it at the request of its political authorities. To that end, the Member States shall coordinate between themselves in the Council.

2. The arrangements for the implementation by the Union of the solidarity clause referred to in Article I-43

shall be defined by a European decision adopted by the Council acting on a joint proposal by the Commission and the Union Minister for Foreign Affairs. The Council shall act in accordance with Article III-300(1) where this decision has defence implications. The European Parliament shall be informed.

For the purposes of this paragraph and without prejudice to Article III-344, the Council shall be assisted by the Political and Security Committee with the support of the structures developed in the context of the common security and defence policy and by the Committee referred to in Article III-261; the two committees shall, if necessary, submit joint opinions.

3. The European Council shall regularly assess the threats facing the Union in order to enable the Union and its Member States to take effective action.

54 EU Policy Coherence on Security and Development A New Agenda for Research and Policy-making

Louka T. Katseli

54.1 Introduction¹

The inclusion of ‘security’ as a major policy vector for development is a relatively recent phenomenon even though security concerns were fundamental to the European integration project in the 1970’s and 1980’s, and, indeed, to the very foundation of the European communities. What, however, ‘security’ means is of deep significance to the direction of European policy and its influence on the international environment in which it is applied.

When policy-makers, citizens and other observers of world affairs reflect today on security and insecurity, they are usually drawn to examples of overt civil conflict or the threat of terrorist action. Certainly war and terrorism are salient, if extreme, factors of insecurity, but they hardly exhaust the list of relevant causes for concern. In order to make meaningful connections between development and security, we need a vision of the sources of insecurity that is not limited to the purely military dimensions. It is worth recalling that economic security is explicitly recognized as a basic human right, according to the United Nations’ Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948). Article 25 declares: “Everyone has ... the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other loss of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.” The link made between human rights, economic vulnerability and security, already prevalent in the UN Declaration of Human Rights, provides the intellectual foundation for the concept of ‘human security’.

The Commission on Human Security (CHS), in its 2003 Report, defines human security quite broadly as “the need to protect the vital core of all human lives in ways that enhance human freedoms and human fulfilment” (CHS 2003). Amartya Sen, on the other hand, adopted a narrower definition. He sees human security as a class of human rights “that guarantee freedom from basic insecurities – new and old – which are those that threaten human survival or the safety of daily life, imperil the natural dignity of men and women, expose human beings to the uncertainty of disease and pestilence, and subject vulnerable people to abrupt penury” (CHS 2003: 8–9).

In tracing the evolution of the concept, it is worth noting that, whereas in the UN Declaration the right to security is to be respected in the event of exposure to adverse conditions, under the more recent conceptualizations human security is identified as an intrinsic human right to be promoted both *ex ante* and *ex post* with the aim of reducing vulnerability to adverse shocks, protecting the individual from exposure to adverse circumstances, enhancing his/her resilience, and mitigating the adverse impact effects of any given shock (Dayton-Johnson 2004).

In this chapter, ‘human security’ will be taken to mean a context where “individuals and communities have the options necessary to end, mitigate, or adapt to threats to their human, environmental and social rights, have the capacity and freedom to exercise these options, and actively participate in attaining them” (Loneragan 1999a). The echo with the goals of international development should be obvious. Indeed, the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) has underlined the need to tackle “one of the primary causes of poverty – violent conflict and widespread public insecurity and fear. The key principle is to treat security systems overall, including the functioning of police and justice systems, civilian control of the armed forces and protection of

1 This chapter draws on a presentation made during the 11th EADI General Conference on “Insecurity and Development” Bonn, 24 September 2005. Inputs by Jeff Dayton-Johnson and Colm Foy of the OECD Development Centre are gratefully acknowledged. The views expressed in this chapter are personal and do not necessarily reflect those of the OECD Development Centre.

human rights.”² This involves a whole-of-government approach, both in the developing country and on the donor side, in a coherent framework that engages civilian departments, the police, and the armed forces. Thus, international donors, including the European Union, have committed themselves to promote the principles of ‘human security’. If they have not actively done so, we can legitimately demand why not.

The problem is that the origins and the incidence of threats to human security are hard to identify or, to be more precise and critical, to acknowledge. The holistic approach advocated by the DAC in the extract above and in our own definition must include recognition that it is often the case that misguided or incoherent policies enhance the vulnerability of particular social groups, and this in itself leads to insecurity and conflict. Indeed, even in the relatively privileged and wealthy societies of OECD countries, adverse living conditions, inter-community tensions, and marginalization often lead to conflict and violence against property or individuals. In most cases, the poor tend to suffer the most because they do not have the skills or assets to reduce their vulnerability to sickness, to disruptions of their livelihoods or to poverty, and have the least resources to insure themselves against risks. This was the case in late 2005 when severe disturbances broke out on the peripheries of French cities and in the normally idyllic beachside suburbs of Sydney. Human security is, thus, a concern with a planetary dimension while insecurity has important distributional consequences.

This chapter will demonstrate that not only is human security a legitimate international concern but that the international community can actually do something about it. OECD countries and institutions, including the European Union, provide not only overseas development assistance (ODA) to developing countries but through various policy instruments (security, trade, investment, migration policies, etc.) influence conditions on the ground. This chapter argues that human security is influenced by such actions or inactions as well as by policies of local governments and can thus be considered as a development challenge. Positive human outcomes can most likely be brought about when coherent policies for development are pursued by all relevant stakeholders. Finally, it will emphasize the essential link between policy-

making and research, so that the former can repose on solid evidence regarding past experiences and best practices as well as a deeper understanding of the impact of policy interlinkages on human security.

54.2 Security and Development Linkages

From the perspective of the poor and vulnerable populations of the developing world there are at least four proximate sources of insecurity. European development cooperation policies can make a difference in each of these dimensions.

Human insecurity can arise because of the scarcity or inequitable distribution of strategic assets. The most notable examples of such assets are land and water in agrarian settings. Rural populations with limited access to land are constrained in their possibilities for production and consumption, but also in their ability to use land-holding assets as collateral for investment; forced to work in tenancy arrangements or as wage workers, their livelihood security is tenuous. Of course, precarious access to land can give rise to serious social instability (as recent experiences in Zimbabwe and North-eastern Brazil bear witness) or indeed civil war or revolution. As for water, in much of sub-Saharan Africa, GDP fluctuations are closely linked to variations in rainfall: that is, overall production is dominated by agricultural output, and that output in turn is critically dependent on rainfall. In years of low rainfall – or, as is often the case, in the *second* year of low rainfall, after households have drawn down their stocks – the threat of famine looms over significant swathes of the population (as in the food crisis in Niger during 2005).

Human insecurity likewise arises when there is insecure access to critical inputs to people’s well-being: food is the most important and obvious example. As the example of drought-induced food crises demonstrates, food insecurity is critically linked to scarcity of water, land and other fundamental assets. But it is important to recall that famine and chronic hunger are not solely ‘caused’ by drought; as Amartya Sen’s celebrated analysis has demonstrated (Sen 1981), many famine-struck regions (such as Bengal in the 19th century, or Ethiopia in the 1970’s) have simultaneously witnessed large-scale death from starvation and food exports. Sen correctly noted that the source of food insecurity is more frequently the breakdown of poor households’ command over resources than that of food scarcity *per se*.

2 OECD Development Assistance Committee: *Aid Ministers Note Rise in Aid Volume and Push for Aid Reform and New Approaches to Security-Development Linkages* (Paris: OECD, 16 April 2004).

A third dimension is market insecurity, a relevant example of which is swings in a nation's terms of trade. While oil-exporting poor countries have benefited from the spectacular recent increase in oil prices, many more poor countries have been hurt. Moreover, developing countries with poorly diversified export profiles are vulnerable to unfavourable movements in world prices over which they have little control (as has been the case with cotton prices, with serious consequences for West Africa).³

A fourth and final source of insecurity is that of institutional insecurity. A particularly dramatic example of this is the phenomenon of fragile or failed states in the developing world, where, to borrow from Weber's concept of the state, there may be no monopoly on the use of violence, and such violence is furthermore viewed as legitimate. But institutional insecurity can also beset people's well-being even if only some dimensions of a state's power are weak and ineffectual. A critical example of this is the problem of the definition and enforcement of property rights in many developing economies. For urban squatters or farmers with irregular title to the parcels of land they work, a constant threat of being dislodged is a continuous source of insecurity. More generally, where property rights are poorly defined and enforced, markets for assets like land are thin. As a consequence, transactions are few; such assets are not necessarily diverted to their most productive use and cannot be used as collateral for loans and investment: growth and development are slowed.

One consequence that flows from all four forms of insecurity – asset, input, market, and institutional – is that people's time horizons are shortened. Why should a sharecropper plant profitable tree crops? A switch in crops requires a substantial investment a long time before the first harvest and the landowner can evict the tenant as soon as the investment begins to yield a pay-off. Why should a moneylender make a loan to a promising entrepreneur if the latter offers some form of collateral which might be seized by the state or criminal actors in the meantime? What if the bank could not sell it in the event of default because of poorly defined property rights? In such a setting, economic contracts become very short term. Moreo-

ver, agents face incentives to engage in economic activities with a short horizon: real estate, petty trading, activities with a quick turnover so that loan repayments can be made quickly. Capital does not flow into longer-term investments which might produce higher growth, more meaningful job creation or diversified production based on a country's dynamic comparative advantage.

Insecurity is therefore a fundamental cause of the failure of economic development; international and domestic policies that seek to address the latter would do well to reduce the former. i

54.3 Which Policies to Reduce Insecurity?

Our thinking on policies to reduce insecurity is aided by a well-developed typology of addressing risks, social or otherwise. Essentially there are three strategies for managing risk: (1) *risk prevention*, that is actions intended to reduce the likelihood of adverse risks occurring at all; (2) *risk mitigation*, actions intended to reduce the damages associated with risks should they occur; and (3) *risk coping*, actions taken after the fact.⁴ Europe's development cooperation policy can pursue all three strategies; in doing so, it will promote development by means of enhancing human security. Some merely suggestive examples are indicated below.

Adverse risks can be prevented by defusing potentially explosive social situations or averting food crises arising from inequitable access to land, water, and other strategic assets. Agricultural extension programmes and the development of rational irrigation infrastructures can enhance security and thereby promote development. The adverse risks of poor property rights look less like a crisis but have insidious consequences nevertheless; international donors, Europe among them, can help prevent such risks by means of institutional capacity-building and reform, including the training of judicial-sector workers, improved procedures in the public sector and regulatory simplification, support for land titling, etc.

Two standard approaches to mitigating risks are diversification and insurance. A country with a diversified productive base, particularly with a diversified export structure, is less subject to market insecurity that derives from terms-of-trade shocks. While

3 The record-breaking rates of economic growth in Africa in 2004 were largely a result of favourable movements in these sources of insecurity – rainfall and terms of trade. The worrisome side of this is that unfavourable swings in these indicators can undo this scant progress. See: Pinaud/Wegner (2005).

4 This typology is developed in: Holzmans/Jørgensen (2001) and applied to natural disasters in: Dayton-Johnson (2004).

efforts to provide insurance against commodity price movements have proven problematic, innovative new proposals to smooth the income of commodity-producing nations over time can nevertheless provide substantial welfare gains⁵. As a partner, Europe can certainly play a role in promoting trade capacity-building, private sector development and export diversification as well as in providing seed funding for insurance and stabilization schemes. At the micro level, farmers and informal-sector producers stand to gain by diversifying their activities and by insuring themselves, both of which measures are difficult given currently available resources and policies; here, too, international donors can play a catalytic role.

When an adverse shock hits, mitigation may not be enough; that is when resilient coping mechanisms are needed. Where a food crisis occurs, pre-established food distribution plans need to be in place and enacted. A terms-of-trade shock can be better coped with where a functioning income-smoothing fund is in place.

A medium- to long-term consequence of a security-conscious development policy is that the shrunken horizons of economic actors will begin to expand. Longer-term investment activities will become feasible; productive sectors that can deliver growth and job creation will be stimulated.

54.4 A Role for Europe?

Europe, as a major force in international relations and the most important contributor for development, can play a leading role in forging a coherent agenda for 'human security', building upon its members' diverse security and development concerns. To do so, it must be able to project a clear vision for the role Europe can play in the world and to develop a European model for human security in world affairs.

Up to the present, the construction of the European Union has been driven by three competing visions of its ultimate role and place; each of these is strongly associated with a particular approach to security and development.

- *Europe as an economic and monetary union:* According to this vision, Europe is and should remain a confederation of states which, largely for economic purposes has chosen to integrate its

economies into a common market, liberalize trade, services, capital, and even labour flows as well as adopt a common currency. Such a conception would have foreign policy, security concerns, and development assistance best handled at the national level, while European institutions would aim to coordinate member-state policies in these areas and limit their competence only to those issues that, due to substantial externalities, individual countries cannot handle alone.

- *Europe as a would-be super state with a common defence and security policy:* Under this rather 'statist' vision, Europe can play a dominant geopolitical role on equal footing with the United States and other global players. EU security policy should aim at integrating and strengthening European military forces on a traditional defence model and give high priority to counter-terrorism, the neutralization of weapons of mass destruction and the fight against organized crime. This vision thus conceives European security, defence, foreign affairs, and development co-operation as essential pillars of a political union which promotes clearly defined geopolitical interests through traditional means.
- *Europe as a positive global force for peace and inclusiveness:* Acknowledging interdependence, this vision rests on a multi-level governance structure. It aims at securing peace and social cohesion in Europe and its neighbourhood area as well as promoting a more inclusive world order. This approach attaches great importance to the promotion of human security, conflict prevention and resolution, post-conflict rehabilitation, social inclusion, participatory democracy and multilateralism. It endorses the use of multiple policy instruments to engage partner countries in this process. Thus, it ceases to be solely a European initiative and is understood as a *process* rather than an *end*.

The question of whether the European Union's renewed interest in security will in fact be compatible with or undermine development aims depends fundamentally on our collective vision for Europe and its ultimate role. Indeed, it is only the third vision that could address in a comprehensive and consistent manner the various sources of human insecurity – asset, input, market or institutional – and give rise to coherent European strategies to prevent emerging risks, to mitigate their impacts and to cope successfully with their effects. If European policy-makers go down the road of prioritizing hard security concerns and risks, such as counter-terrorism and weapons of mass destruc-

5 See working paper by Daniel Cohen: "Commodity Funds: How to Fix Them?" (2006), at: <<http://www.oecd.org/dev/wp>>.

tion, then not only will development policy be neglected but European security policies will also be relatively short-sighted and ineffective. If they go instead in the direction endorsed by proponents of the third vision, i.e. prioritizing governance reform, pro-poor capacity building and coherence across diplomatic, military, trade and development cooperation instruments, then security and development cooperation can become integral components of a forward-looking European agenda for global peace and inclusiveness.

The problem is that, despite some initiatives in the right direction, European policy-making in this area has been neither sufficiently strategic nor coherent with other policy initiatives. As Mary Kaldor and her colleagues have pointed out,⁶ despite progress towards an integrated security policy under the Maastricht Treaty (Article 130v of title XVII) which incorporated provisions for a common foreign policy, it was the crises in the former Yugoslavia that prompted European policy-makers to adopt a Common Foreign and Security Policy under the 1999 Amsterdam Treaty (Articles 11 to 28). It was, however, the 11 September 2001 attacks on New York and Washington which prompted the endorsement of new provisions in the Treaty of Nice on 1 February 2003 that introduced qualified majority voting, enhanced the role of the Political and Security Committee in crisis management, and paved the way for a European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP). The latter was in fact elaborated in the draft European Constitution: it provided for conflict prevention and strengthening of international security as well as the development of military and civilian assets for peacekeeping in accordance with the principles of the United Nations (Article 40.1).

These provisions, reflecting growing underlying concerns about terrorism as an international phenomenon and security as a global challenge, emanated from the *European Security Strategy* (ESS) that was also adopted in 2003. In the ESS the link with development is explicitly made. The document states that “security is a precondition for development since conflicts not only destroy productive and social infrastructure but also encourage criminality, deter investment and make normal economic activity impossible.”⁷ More importantly, in counterpoint to the US doctrine of ‘pre-emption’, the ESS does endorse ‘pre-

ventive engagement’ as the strategic objective of the EU’s security policies.

Calling for a ‘preventive engagement’ is an important step towards the realization that causality also runs the other way: development concerns, mostly poverty and social exclusion, are indeed relevant for security since, as we have seen, security depends on the quality of institutions and governance, living standards as well as the degree of vulnerability and social cohesion both in OECD and non-OECD countries alike. The ESS, however, while certainly a forward step, does not go far enough. While touching on some of the issues contained in ‘human security’, it still largely reflects a ‘defensive’ motive to protect ‘our’ states and citizens in the European Union from outside menaces. It also fails to escape from the temptation to deny favours and aid as a first line of defence against external threat, while acknowledging the use of force from within the Union against potential enemies beyond the EU borders. It is, thus, still state-based, even while recognizing that the most recent terror tactics are the work of non-state actors whose sympathizers are not confined to national borders.

To move forward on an agenda that is inclusive of human security, Europe needs, first of all, to agree upon and forge a shared vision of its potential role in a globalizing world. The European Security Strategy, through its commitment to ‘preventive engagement’ and focus on Europe’s responsibility for global security, appears to provide a promising springboard towards the third vision of Europe, namely that of a global force for peace and inclusiveness. Practice, however, seems to serve the second vision, while policy-makers, under pressure for a more proactive approach to development and security, find it often convenient to hide behind subsidiarity principles consistent with the first vision.

As is often the case, European governments and policy-makers differ in their views. Despite the adoption of the ESS, we are still far away from developing a coherent strategy and action plan to implement an effective ‘preventive engagement’ agenda; more importantly, policies “seem to prioritize the security preoccupations of European politicians at the expense of poverty reduction and alleviation of human suffering”⁸.

6 Mary Kaldor and Marlies Glasius with assistance from Sarah Cussen (2004) “EU Security Architecture in Relation to Security and Development”, at: <http://www.cercle.lu/IMG/doc/dfid_final.doc>.

7 European Council: *A Secure Europe in a Better Europe, European Security Strategy* (Brussels: European Council, 2003) 2–3; at: <<http://ue.eu.int/uedocs/cmsUpload/78367.pdf>>.

The trends are, indeed, worrisome: between 2000 and 2003 the total share of European countries' Official Development Assistance (ODA) and Official Assistance (OA) to six countries involved in conflicts, namely FRY-Serbia and Montenegro, Afghanistan, DR Congo, Palestine, Sierra Leone and Iraq, rose from 5.3 per cent to 20.3 per cent⁹. Against this background, and despite expected scaling-up of aid, more 'aid-orphans' are likely to emerge that could potentially become security threats due to increased human insecurity derived from poverty, environmental degradation, declining rule of law or rent-seeking elites exploiting poor public and corporate governance systems.

At the same time, the EU is tightening up conditionalities on the granting of aid that could limit disbursements and impose rules on poor countries that they cannot meet. It is also:

- introducing weapons of mass destruction and terrorism clauses into partnership agreements which are hard and expensive to implement;
- initiating targeted counter-terrorism projects in a number of countries (e.g. Philippines, Indonesia and Pakistan) through its Rapid Reaction Mechanism (RRM);
- committing some EUR 250 million from the European Development Fund to support African-Union peacekeeping operations, through the Peace Facility for Africa;
- introducing security conditionality in many of its partnership agreements.

The argument, presumably, is that such conditions and actions contribute to improving global security. How effective have these really been? What are the possible trade-offs and the opportunity cost of such priorities? What have been the implications of EU security-related policies in different developing countries and regional contexts? What are or should be the interlinkages and the configuration between different regulatory areas in the European construction? These are all questions that call for research and policy analysis to highlight the positive, but also the negative consequences of these priorities.

54.5 Towards a New EU Agenda on Security and Development

If policy-makers chose to move forward in the direction of the third vision, already present in the ESS strategy, the EU would need to develop a very *different agenda*: an EU Agenda for peace, security and development, which is *coherent* across policy domains and agencies, consistent with member and partner-priorities and implemented through appropriate strategic initiatives.

The starting point could be found in the UN's communiqué at the end of the 2005 Summit that urges developing countries to adopt *comprehensive national development strategies* by 2006 so as to achieve the internationally agreed development goals; such strategies are to be pursued in partnership with OECD countries through increased development assistance, promotion of international trade, transfer of technology on mutually agreed terms, increased investment flows, and wider and deeper debt relief.¹⁰ To this list can be added, explicitly, human security. Indeed, Europe is well placed to unite the Union's member countries behind a concerted effort at policy coherence in which human security concerns would be given uppermost consideration. This would require concertation and consensus not only between departments within national governments, but equally, between sovereign nations. It would also require internal institutional coherence that would bring closer together EU Council and Commission activities related to security, trade, migration, human rights, and development on the one hand, and partner-country institutions on the other. Furthermore, most ministries, including finance, international development cooperation, trade, health, migration, environment, labour, health, industry, and education would need to take into account the 'development' and 'human security' impact of their policies. Under such an agenda, the narrow national security concerns of individual countries, focussed on 'visible' and 'popular' threats, would have to be reconsidered in the light of an overall commitment to policies consistent with risk pre-

8 Mary Kaldor and Marlies Glasius with assistance from Sarah Cussen (2004) "EU Security Architecture in Relation to Security and Development" available at: <http://www.cerle.lu/IMG/doc/dfid_final.doc>.

9 Figures reached by using data from the OECD Creditor Reporting System. See details at: <<http://www.oecd.org/dac>>.

10 "World Summit Outcome", UN/A/Res/60/1 (24 October 2005), paragraph 22(c). See '2005 World Summit' website for all related documents at: <<http://www.un.org/summit2005/documents.html>>; and the final outcome document at: <<http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/No5/487/60/PDF/No548760.pdf?OpenElement>>.

vention, risk mitigation, and risk coping in developing countries.

Designing such an agenda is the easy part; in the context of skills' shortfalls and capacity shortages, expecting it to be implemented is unrealistic, unless it can enjoy broad political support and be underpinned by continuous mobilization of relevant stakeholders. More importantly, such an agenda needs to take into account local needs and specificities, and to become 'home-grown' through the mobilization and participation of not only partner country governments but also non-state actors, including the local business community and civil society. Implementing such an agenda cannot be done by will-power alone. It must reside on a solid knowledge base that provides insights into the sources of potential risks as well as a solid understanding of conflicting preferences and diverse capacities of the various actors. There are still critical gaps in our knowledge as to the channels by which the systematic promotion of mutually reinforcing policies can create positive synergies and improved outcomes on the ground. What are the interlinkages, for example, between security, migration and ODA or between security, migration and trade? What is the role of ODA in promoting human security? What has been the evidence across different countries and regions? These are all policy-relevant questions which need to be answered through appropriate applied research that can enhance our collective understanding and underpin effective policy-making.

Indeed, ongoing research on policy coherence for development at the OECD Development Centre seeks to highlight the mechanisms and channels by which policy coherence can be achieved in specific national or regional contexts.¹¹ The European Association of Development Research and Training Institutes (EADI) is, likewise, promoting interdisciplinary research amongst its member institutions in all European countries to analyse the cross-cutting policy impacts and to try to anticipate policy conflicts. The EU Commission's April 2005 paper on "Policy Coherence for Development" rightly notes that "the effective improvement in the coherence of developed countries' policies would put developing countries in a much better position to achieve the MDGs."¹² It could have

added that policy coherence will also contribute to the potential for improving human security.

Evidence-based policy dialogue is also needed to underpin the effective implementation of policies and ensure ownership by partner countries. Sociologists, anthropologists, and social psychologists have a lot to say about the relevance of this concept in various social, political, and cultural environments and its interdependence with governance structures and institutions of both the traditional and modern varieties. Policies are not implemented in a vacuum. The same policies can have very different effects in different socio-political contexts, and ownership can have different meanings depending on the political system, elite structures, the organization of civil society, decentralization, and levels of participation in decision making. Thus, diverse institutional and cultural arrangements require policies that are appropriate and adapted to their specific needs. This is something well-known to social scientists. It is not always quite as evident for policy-makers, which explains the myopia of unique policy paradigms.

EU coherence in policy-making does not automatically guarantee positive outcomes on the ground. For comprehensive national development strategies to be implementable, they will have to be structured around a set of realistic, medium-term, sectoral and regional programmes consistent with national development priorities and supported by coherent domestic policies. Both conventional security concerns as well as human security considerations could be addressed under such a national agenda through programmes targeting security system reform, conflict prevention, peace-building or post-conflict rehabilitation along the lines introduced in the Cairo Plan of Action or in NEPAD's Peace and Security Initiative.¹³ Such programmes need to address the various sources of insecurity – asset, inputs, market, and institutional – as outlined above. Outcomes could then be monitored in an independent and objective manner and evaluated through agreed performance indicators, such as those decided upon in Paris in the spring of 2005 and included in the *Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness*.¹⁴

11 See at: <<http://www.oecd.org/dev>>.

12 Commission of the European Communities "Policy Coherence for Development: Accelerating Progress Towards Attaining the Millennium Development Goals", COM (2005) 134 final (12.4.2005).

13 "Building an African-EU Partnership for Action", Report presented during the Roundtable of "Sharing the Future as a Community of Values", Hellenic Presidency of the European Union, Athens, May 2003.

14 OECD document, DAC/CHAIR(2005)12; see at: <http://www.oecd.org/departement/o,2688,en_2649_3236398_1_1_1_1_1,00.html>

Finally, sectoral programmes need to be underpinned by predictable multi-year financial envelopes that pool financial resources from different sources, including ODA allocations, innovative funding mechanisms, private contributions as well as debt and/or equity financing by the private sector. Development financing is once again a coherence issue. Good policies are often frustrated and rendered ineffective by the incoherence of the development finance architecture that suffers from conflicting preferences of major actors, lack of coordination, proliferation of instruments, and inadequate monitoring and evaluation of outcomes. This is another important area where solid analysis is needed to guide policy-making. Available research (Zimmermann 2005) already sheds some light on the complexities of the diverse preferences of donors and recipients, the incompatibility of incentives across diverse policy communities, the ineffectiveness of the present system, and the costs of coordination on the ground. Researchers, however, cannot produce reforms on their own. At best they can influence and improve policy-making. There remains tremendous potential for linking research on development finance to policy development and policy-making so that adequate and sustainable financing is secured and national development strategies are turned into drivers for development and security. The research agenda necessary for this ambitious project is broad. It will comprise the mapping of available flows, a critical evaluation of existing financial instruments, analyses of diverse preferences and capacities, examinations of local and regional specificities as well as case studies that highlight the interlinkages between financial flows and development outcomes. Evidence is needed if policy dialogue is to be informed and policy-making effective.

54.6 Conclusions

We have seen that human security is intimately linked with economic and social development. It is both a prerequisite for but also an outcome of development. As such, it should become an integral component of development cooperation strategies and promoted by coherent policies including ODA. The EU is not only the largest ODA donor; it is also a major political, trading and investment partner throughout the developing world. It is, thus, in a special position to contribute to enhanced human security in developing countries. Which of the three possible approaches it

espouses will define the effectiveness of its policies and the sustainability of the outcomes.

The European Union, following its own tradition of partnership agreements - including Cotonou in 2000 for ACP countries, the Community Support Frameworks for the less-developed (objective 1) EU regions or the Action for Cooperation in the case of pre-accession countries - can take the lead in transforming its traditional agreements with its non-EU partners into partnerships for human security and development. Such national or regional partnerships, centred around the implementation of multi-annual comprehensive national agendas for human security and development, can provide the necessary policy framework for forging a collective European vision based on peace and inclusiveness. To do so in an effective manner, EU policy-makers need the support of an engaged research community.

55 From Obsession to Oblivion: Reconceptualization of Security in NATO since 1990

Pál Dunay

55.1 Introduction

Hardly any other topic of international security can be approached from so many angles as the North Atlantic Alliance. NATO has been a central player of European and Euro-Atlantic relations since 1949. It will continue to retain its importance for many years to come. One could qualify this statement and draw the preliminary conclusion: NATO will exist amidst debates as long as it lasts.

This chapter analyses how the thinking about NATO has developed over time, particularly since the end of the East-West conflict. It focuses on those main issues that shaped the agenda of the alliance since 1990. Its prime research question is to identify the prospects of the organization in light of its current evolution. As thinking is reflective of the changing security posture both in the global and regional context it is inseparable to analyse how the alliance has adapted to change over the last nearly two decades. There are a number of difficulties such an analysis has to face.

- It is necessary to cover a long period since 1949 when the security situation that has been influencing the alliance changed several times, and once fundamentally.
- NATO influences many actors of the international scene. The member states, states affected by the plans and activity of NATO, some international organizations, and some other non-state actors. The centrality of NATO means that all actors define their relations toward NATO.
- The political processes that underlie NATO are global as well as regional. Its outreach and influence has also changed although the combination of the two on its agenda has continued.
- As NATO has been central to Euro-Atlantic security since its inception, it is extremely difficult to separate an analysis of NATO's evolution from a

broad overview of Euro-Atlantic, primarily US – European, relations.

The analysis also faces methodological problems as two communities analyze NATO: Policy analysts and those who deal with international relations theory. The first group combines analysis with predictive statements. The conclusions of policy analysts have short-term relevance and this is in concord with their aspirations. When major changes occur in international security or NATO faces some important events the number of publications increases exponentially. Some attempt to influence events, the course of NATO's development; others draw conclusions from the change. Both perish not much later. The latter group tries to apply international relations theory to the organization. From a close look at their analysis it may be concluded: Whenever the reality of international politics does not fit the theoretical construct a new variant of the theory appears. In fact, one is tempted to conclude: the more cohesively the straight-jacket of theory is attempted to apply to the evolution of international politics the more likely it will face difficulty to provide accurate explanation. It is for this reason extremely interesting to study those analytical papers which were written 10–15 years ago on NATO. Their conclusions and predictions are fully irrelevant. This leads to the question: Is there any reason to assume that current analysis will be more relevant in the longer run?

55.2 Historical Sketch

55.2.1 The 'Easy' Cold War Years.

Since the end of the Cold War the first four decades of NATO were often described as the 'easy decades' of the organization. Looking to the security debates of that era it is necessary to modify this simple pic-

ture. The Cold War era had the following advantages for NATO.

1. The Atlantic Alliance had a well-founded threat perception that originated from a group of states and their alliance.
2. The main threat stemmed from the offensive plans of the Soviet Union and the alliance it formed in 1955, the Warsaw Treaty Organization. There was no hesitation in the East to use military force if and as necessary to foster their ideological objectives. Collective deterrence of the Alliance countering the threat from the East was essential.
3. The threat was directed against the territory of NATO member states both in Europe and with the inception of the missile age also in North America.
4. In order to counter the Eastern threat NATO had to demonstrate cohesion. It was an existential issue for the West.
5. The US nuclear guarantee to Europe underlined the cohesion of the alliance. Irrespective of recurrent doubts concerning its credibility it outlived the Cold War. The underlying facts created optimal conditions for the functioning of a military alliance throughout the Cold War.

There was a broad consensus among NATO members concerning the objectives of the alliance. Consensus did not always extend to the 'toolbox' application, however. Following the toughest years of the Cold War during the 1970's and the 1980's there was a series of disputes among the transatlantic partners. The moment the threat was not as apparent as during the years between the foundation of NATO and the Cuban missile crisis (1949-62) and could be subject to some interpretation, consensus somewhat weakened. During the 1960's, one dispute between the US and Europe focused on Soviet oil imports and an additional pipeline that could further increase dependence on Soviet oil supply, and in the late 1970's on the forward deployment of intermediate range US missiles in five European NATO member states. Only a retroactive interpretation may conclude that consensus was easy to achieve within NATO until 1989.

Since 1985, the Soviet Union challenged NATO's underlying consensus by depriving its enemy image¹ with a conciliatory policy that resulted in a very significant reduction of tension between both blocks. With

1 This terminology was used by Georgi Arbatov the once influential advisor of the Soviet leadership primarily during Mikhail Gorbachev's time.

the revolutions of east-central Europe, the *de facto* and then *de jure* termination of the Warsaw Treaty, and the collapse of the Soviet Union, it remained unknown what 'reserves' those 'intimately adversarial' relations had. Could the parties reduce tension further without eliminating the fundamental difference between their systems? The end of the Cold War meant an interruption of the course of history, so tragic for so many peoples. It was discontinuity that prevailed in the process. What followed had very little to do with the past.

Alliances are vulnerable to changes in underlying security situations. Once the conditions of their creation change they are dissolved or adapted to the new conditions. Different schools manifest different directions. The realists believe that an alliance should be wound up when its reason ceases to exist, with the disappearance of the adversary or enemy. For the liberals an alliance, such as NATO, may define acceptable international behaviour based on principles, norms, rules, and procedures (Kay 2005: 69-70). Thus, it is argued - especially since 1989 - that NATO has never solely been a military alliance but also a security community of western democracies.

For realists, terminating the Atlantic Alliance was an option, but no NATO member state raised this. Then Czechoslovak President, Václav Havel (2001: 9) recommended in early 1990 "to give way to a quest for a new, pan-European security organization".² The view was raised by a prominent statesman within the liberal paradigm. Instead of abolition, adaptation emerged and took the Alliance into a different direction.

55.2.2 The Post-Cold War Era

Once the Warsaw Treaty came to an end and the Soviet Union consented to withdraw its forward deployed forces from Central Europe and democracy prevailed in most former members of the Warsaw Treaty there was every reason to reconceptualize the Alliance. The organization survived the shock of help-

2 More than ten years after his raising the matter then Czech President, Václav Havel said: 'The Warsaw Pact was dissolved, and the Soviet hegemonic policy broken, NATO would also lose its *raison d'être* and should be dissolved as well ... Very soon, however ... I came to understand that something like that would be not only unrealistic, but also, for a number of reasons, very costly, impractical and, indeed, outright dangerous (Havel 2001: 9).

lessness and gave a fairly cautious, conservative response to the challenge of history.

At its London summit meeting of 1990, NATO offered neither more, nor less than to “extend ... the hand of friendship” to the new democracies and promised that the “Alliance begins a major transformation.”³ In November 1991, NATO adopted its first post-Cold War strategic concept. As the Soviet Union was still intact, the document remained extremely cautious on NATO’s future. Its approach was also a demonstration that it found difficult to assess what type of threats it would face. NATO certainly suffered some delay in adapting its defence plans and internal structures to fundamentally changed conditions. Its new strategic concept of 1999 and the attached Defence Capabilities Initiative⁴ reflected the dissatisfaction with the progress achieved since 1991. The new concept was adopted when NATO member states noted the capabilities gap and the disproportionate share of the burden between the US and the Europeans during the air war on Yugoslavia to terminate atrocities against the Kosovar Albanian population. The US seized the moment when other members felt their limited power projection capabilities created a problem for allied cooperation.

Since the late 1990’s, the adaptation of allied defence occurred without a new strategic concept through the documents adopted at summit meetings of the member states that took place annually since 2002. The Prague summit of 2002 tried to fix several shortcomings at once: reflect upon the importance of terrorism, and the growing need to improve civil preparedness against possible attacks against the civilian population, approve the new Capabilities Commitment package, create a NATO response force, and endorse the implementation of five nuclear, biological, chemical and radiological weapons defence initiatives.⁵ Among its main novelties it emphasized “role specialization and reprioritization” which meant that those capabilities that not every member of the alli-

ance is indispensable to possess would be held by one member state or a few of them.⁶ This reduces parallel structures and hence liberates resources for those projects, which are indispensable for effective national defence. It has a ‘dark side’, however. It can only be implemented if all member states are confident that these specialized capabilities will be available whenever necessary. Without certainty that NATO has a long-term prospect and will be sufficiently cohesive, its members would not move towards specialization.

The modernization of the member states’ armed forces aimed to improve their quality, adapt force structures, and focus resources on deployable forces and capabilities. Its defence structures should be flexible to respond quickly and effectively to threats and challenges. The NATO command structure has been simplified significantly, leaving only one command with operational responsibilities (Mons, Belgium) and another one dealing with transformation (Norfolk, Virginia). As the slow transformation of armed forces has been a recurrent problem, the Military Committee prioritized the requirements for transformation.⁷

Subsequent summits have partly taken stock of the achievements agreed earlier, partly adapted the agenda to changed conditions. In Istanbul in 2004, NATO recognized the need to improve intelligence sharing to effectively fight terrorism and to develop “greater ability to respond rapidly to national requests for assistance in protecting against and dealing with the consequences of terrorist attacks.”⁸ The Riga summit of 2006 reaffirmed the importance of the operation in Afghanistan. Due to the importance of that operation it was interpreted as central for NATO’s credibility. NATO passed the Comprehensive Political Guidance, a major policy document that did not replace the Strategic Concept of 1999 but rather amended it. Although it acknowledged the possibility of unpredictable events, it stated that the principal threats to the Alliance will continue to be “terrorism and proliferation, as well as failing states, regional cri-

3 Declaration on a transformed North Atlantic Alliance issued by the Heads of State and Government participating in the meeting of the North Atlantic Council: “The London Declaration”, London, 6 July 1990, para. 4; at: <www.nato.int/docu/basicxt/b900706a.htm>.

4 See particularly point 5 of the Defence Capabilities Initiative of 25 April 1999; at: <www.nato.int/docu/pr/1999/p99s069e.htm>.

5 Prague Summit Declaration issued by Heads of State and Government participating in the meeting of the North Atlantic Council in Prague on 21 November 2002, point 4.

6 Obviously, only a few members will continue to have either a full range of capabilities, like the US or most of them, like France, the UK, and eventually Germany.

7 See NATO Defence Ministers’ Meeting, 12–13 June 2003 point 3 and Statement on Capabilities, points 1, 3 and 8; at: <www.acronym.org.uk/docs/0306/doco6.htm>.

8 See Istanbul Summit Communiqué Issued by the Heads of State and Government participating in the meeting of the North Atlantic Council, point 13, at: <www.nato.int/docu/pr/2004/ro4-096c.htm>.

ses, misuse of new technologies and disruption of the flow of vital resources.”⁹ This reflects an adaptation to the changes that occurred since 11 September 2001. It no longer starts out from the sweeping dominance of terrorism and proliferation of WMD but adds other major sources of threat. The Comprehensive Political Guidance underlined “the requirement for NATO’s forces to be balanced, flexible and agile, able to conduct the full range of its missions, from high to low intensity.”¹⁰ The need to have joint expeditionary forces and the capability to deploy them is emphasized. Overall it is clear that NATO is interested primarily, if not only, in forces, which can be deployed flexibly at longer distances and sustained as part of power projection. This is a correct and indirect recognition of the diminishing importance of collective defence.

The efforts to modernize allied defence have continued since. Although some results have been achieved the commitment of the member states to put reforms in practice remained uneven. It is reassuring, however, that the alliance has been able to deploy more troops at longer distances from Alliance territory than in the past. This is important in the absence of any direct threat against the territory of the alliance. In the end, a broad variety of peace missions are the main activity of NATO nowadays.

The importance of collective defence declined on the agenda and has given way to other activities, primarily to the contribution to conflict management. Although it was obvious NATO had to act in the latter field, as that was where it could make a difference, there were no conflicts in Europe ‘ripe for resolution’. It was also obvious NATO for various reasons could not give up on its basic function of collective defence which is central to a defensive alliance. Giving formally upon it would fundamentally undermine the purpose of NATO.

Furthermore, there have always been residual concerns in some member states that could only be served by preserving collective defence that contributed to NATO’s attraction for future accessions. It is a separate matter to balance collective defence against its other activities and to find the right proportion among various activities.

Some 16 years after the end of the Cold War the process of adapting NATO to changed conditions is still under way by making its structures lighter, more flexible and mobile, the command structures smaller and less hierarchically structured. A large part of adaptation is not taking place in the forces of the alliance, as NATO proper has fairly limited assets. The condition of success is to convince member states to carry out adaptation in their national capacity in order to have leaner and meaner armed forces, which are more deployable and employable. Without the pulling effect of the Alliance the armed forces of several member states would not have gone through transformation. Beyond collective efforts it is in this sense that NATO has become a major vehicle of defence reform, transformation, and modernization.

The alliance proper has gone through two major adaptations since the end of the Cold War. The first one gave way to conflict management/peace operations that complemented if not replaced collective defence on the agenda. It was first indicated in the strategic concept of 1991 and practised under the Dayton Peace Agreement in the Former Yugoslavia. This was the dilemma of ‘out of area, or out of business’, as put by Senator Lugar (1993). The second one is in reaction to the 11 September 2001 terrorist attacks and the increased role of NATO in fighting it. Although NATO officially kept a balance between fighting terrorism and other tasks of the Alliance, Senator Lugar pointed to terrorism as the unquestionable priority of the organization: “We must now turn to the difficult work ... and unite behind the cause we all share, ending the threat to our peoples from global terrorism” (Lugar 2004). Both changes had major consequences for the strategic plans, structures, and development of alliance capabilities. Although those adaptations did not represent a full break with the past, both emphasized some discontinuity. It is also true however that the agenda has always been ‘enriched’, with the addition of new functions and tasks old ones did not vanish from the agenda although their ‘ranking’ in the activity of the Alliance has changed.

Adaptations affected member states very differently. The US has not only been in the lead of both but had two major comparative advantages: 1. The US military has been operating on a full spectrum of options. Consequently, it has to be able to carry out missions under the broadest variety of scenarios on its own. 2. Ever since the US joined World War II in 1941 it has projected power at long distances overseas. Hence its adaptation to situations that required power projection capabilities of various kinds has

9 NATO press release, “NATO sets priorities for new capabilities for next 15 years”, 29 November 2006; at: <<http://www.nato.int/docu/update/2006/11-november/e1129b.htm>>.

10 *Ibid.*

been less demanding than that of many other NATO countries. It should also be mentioned that the US is the only militarily non-aligned member of NATO. Non-aligned in the sense that it is fully capable of taking care of its own defence and hence does not rely on any other country. Its prominence in military affairs also means that it is in the position to decide how it ranks security challenges.

It has to take into account as well, however, that the manpower needs of operations to seize and hold territory also limit its freedom to engage in post-conflict operations and occupations that require US ranking of overseas developments to engage. Those member states, which traditionally had power projection capabilities and relatively large military establishments, also had somewhat less difficulties than others. This applies to the UK and France. Those states, however, which for decades had been discouraged to have power projection capabilities and whose armed forces were designated primarily for defending their own territory had more troublesome times. It is apparent that Germany falls into that category. It is clear that the countries with power projection capabilities carried out military transformation more successfully than others.

The downscaling of Cold War defence structures has been partly successful. The partial success did not stem only from the fact that defence was not a priority area in many countries and was set against other matters on the agenda of governments, that most member states allocated limited resources for this purpose and there was some passive resistance of defence establishments, it was due primarily to the complex needs of fast adaptation.

55.2.3 The Broadening of NATO

Beyond the rearrangement of the core function of NATO there was a major change in NATO's role in international politics. During the Cold War NATO did not have to establish a sophisticated set of relations with other countries. Beyond the member states there were the adversaries and the rest of the world. Since the end of the East-West conflict the situation has become far more complex. With the end of the Warsaw Treaty many of its former members wanted to join NATO. The violent conflict in Yugoslavia raised the matter of alliance responsibility beyond its members' territory. It became sharper when NATO had to consider its role in extra-European conflicts. Then a new relationship had to be established with

the Soviet Union and its successor states. Thus, a proactive external policy has become necessary.

The external relations of the alliance, similarly to those of other western institutions upon the end of the Cold War, started with relatively low intensity exchanges, which had the prime purpose of mutual familiarization. It was necessary to learn what those east-central European countries, which were formally still members of a moribund Warsaw Treaty, were up to. How much they were committed to democracy, human rights, the civilian control, and the democratization and modernization of their armed forces. Exchanges started bilaterally and then moved to multilateralism in late 1991 with the establishment of the *North Atlantic Cooperation Council* (NACC), a loose forum of exchange of views that focused on political matters and mapped the concerns of NATO's new partners. It did not contribute to military exchanges. Due to its multilateral format, it had a major disadvantage that partner countries had to address their security concerns in front of others, on some occasions some of them being the source of their threat perception. Although it served a useful purpose the dynamics of the development went beyond it.

The moment it was no longer inconceivable that NATO would take new members it was insufficient to have a framework confined to multilateral exchanges between the alliance and the applicants. In 1993 it was clear that NATO could not give an answer to the question of enlargement. It was the German minister of defence who said:

I cannot see one good reason for denying future members of the European Union membership in NATO ... I am asking myself whether membership in the European Union should necessarily precede accession to NATO. In developing yardsticks for NATO membership, we should not apply rigid criteria. We need to make clear analysis of common interests, values and political aims (Rühe 1993: 135).

Germany was supportive of enlargement for reasons of history, geography, and its significant influence in the prime candidate countries. German support was important whereas the US one was indispensable. In 1994 some speeches of the US leadership gave early, though not entirely unambiguous signals of movement in support of enlargement in Washington.¹¹

In 1993 the US was aware that more should be offered to those east-central European countries with

11 For a reliable account see Solomon (1998: 37–52). A study of Asmus, Kugler and Larrabee (1995: 7–33) was one of the first signs of the changing US attitude.

the most convincing achievements during the transition process. In the autumn of 1993 the US administration was not yet ready for enlargement. Agreement was achieved within NATO to establish a new tailor-made mechanism that would focus heavily on military to military contacts, though would not necessarily be confined to it. Tailor-made meant a multi-bilateral mechanism established between NATO and individual east-central European countries. Many in east-central Europe regarded the offer to launch the Partnership for Peace programme a delaying tactic. The voicing of reservations went so far that the US leadership had to send its UN ambassador, Madeleine Albright and NATO's Supreme Allied Commander, Europe, John Shalikashvili, to tour some of the region's capitals. The programme launched by the January 1994 NATO summit proved to be a major, lasting success, however. Firstly, it fostered military to military cooperation. Secondly, due to its 'bilateral' character it gave an opportunity to those partners that wanted to press ahead with cooperation faster to be more active and committed and thus achieve more. No country had to wait for others; the programme did not provide the same treatment to every east-central European former member of the Warsaw Treaty. Thirdly, the process was open-ended. It did not preclude any outcome, including future membership.

NATO moved quickly and published its enlargement study in 1995. The alliance was relatively forthcoming and stressed: 1. it did not want to import conflicts and instability in the alliance. Therefore, countries with pending ethnic or external territorial disputes, including irredentist claims or internal jurisdictional disputes must settle them by peaceful means in accordance with OSCE principles. 2. Enlargement will be decided on a case by case basis.¹²

It took another two years until invitations to negotiate accession were extended to the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland. There would be no eastern enlargement without Warsaw. The Czech Republic, after the separation from Slovakia, had a straight line of development. Hungary had raised some doubts due to the conflict potential with some neighbours hosting large ethnic Hungarian communities. In 1994 the government countered all fears regarding Hungary, stressing its contribution to stability. When the IFOR/SFOR peace operation appeared, this became a clear geo-strategic matter as Hungary has long borders with Serbia, Croatia, and Slovenia. In addition, Romania

and Slovenia were considered for early accession but no consensus was rallied around their joining. The non-inclusion of Romania on the invitation list in 1997 was a simple reflection of the fact that 'those invitations' came too early due to the shortcomings of its democratic transformation during President Iliescu's first term. Slovenia would have been welcomed in addition to the three others but there were some fears of leaving Romania behind on its own.

The decision about enlarging NATO was nearly exclusively political with military considerations playing no practical role. They appeared at a late stage in the process. Although several estimates were prepared about the cost of bringing the three states up to the standard of other NATO militaries the alliance considered a different set of factors. It estimated the costs, and found them minimal for NATO proper. It checked the minimum level of interoperability, particularly the ability to host reinforcement by air and on land. NATO drew some conclusions from the first enlargement for the future immediately. At the Washington Summit of April 1999, a month after the first eastern enlargement it adopted the *Membership Action Plan* (MAP). Its aim was to complement the military-operational aspects of the Partnership for Peace for those countries that carried the prospect to join the alliance. With this the period of time to achieve interoperability could be extended. A part of the process could take place on the way to membership in MAP and thus less would remain for the post-accession phase.

With NATO's second enlargement in 2004 its membership increased from 16 in 1989 to 26 in 2005. Within 15 years every former so-called NSWP (Non-Soviet Warsaw Pact) country has become a NATO member. The major rearrangement of international security with terrorism taking centre stage among threats has also put enlargement in a different light. As it would be largely impossible to confine terrorism geographically it is necessary to build 'inclusive' structures, including alliances. Hence enlargement became attractive for the United States. There are further countries which are willing to join the alliance, and an enlargement to Croatia, Macedonia, and Albania at the 2008 NATO summit meeting is likely. Since the mid-1990's, in east-central Europe NATO admission significantly has contributed to the legitimacy of the government that succeeded to bring its country into NATO. The long line of applicants contributed to the legitimacy of the alliance. Gerhard Schröder pointed to it: "The admission of new members is proof that NATO continues to be attractive" (Schroeder 2005:

12 NATO: "Study on NATO enlargement" (Brussels: NATO, September 2005), points 6 and 7.

2). Although NATO is not in an existential crisis of legitimacy it is certainly not to its disadvantage to see the many countries contemplating their future in the alliance.

Since the end of the Cold War NATO has established relations with many neighbour states depending on their interests. It has avoided rigid divisions between members and non-members¹³ by launching programmes with countries on the western Balkans, of the former Soviet, the southern Mediterranean, the Middle East, and the Gulf.

The Russian Federation required NATO's special attention since within the post-Soviet establishment a deeply ingrained enemy image towards NATO prevailed, based on a perceived inferiority complex. As the main trend of international relations was unfavourable to its cause Russia started to cling to the status quo. Noticing that it has become a junior partner of the West, and particularly of the US, it preferred the status quo to any change of the Atlantic alliance. This view collided with those countries that aspired for membership.

Prior to the first NATO enlargement special attention and care to handle Russia was needed. In the mid-1990's Russia felt betrayed that it was not treated better for its cooperative attitude. The change of Russian attitude toward the West occurred when NATO seriously considered in its enlargement study to accept former members of the Warsaw Treaty. This was reflected in the replacement of Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev by Evgeny Primakov. It is uncertain whether the Russian population was afraid of NATO enlargement or was only manipulated by its establishment. Russia opposed enlargement on every level and requested a *de facto* veto right on this strategic matter. NATO responded by going ahead with the enlargement process irrespective of Russia's opposition. Russia also attempted to divide NATO, disregarding the wish of the applicant countries. This was demonstrated when Russia expressed its willingness to negotiate with a few large NATO members. NATO asked its Secretary-General Javier Solana to negotiate with the Russian leadership. The disregard to the applicants stemmed from two factors: 1. As part of its great power tradition Russia traditionally paid little attention to small and medium size countries and often made deals above their heads. 2. This applied in par-

ticular to the former Socialist countries of east-central Europe, which belonged to the outer perimeter of the Soviet empire concept just a decade ago. It took another five years when President Putin dealt with east-central Europe more seriously, though not without difficulty.

When NATO went ahead with the enlargement process Russia behaved as a rational player pursuing two major objectives: maximize the benefits and minimize the costs of NATO enlargement. It negotiated certain 'concessions', like its partial involvement in the G-7, turning it to G-8, support for its WTO membership, the adaptation of the CFE Treaty, support for its return to the world armaments markets, and the establishment of a NATO-Russia Council between the 16, later 19 NATO members and Russia, thus achieving a fair result.¹⁴ The efforts to minimize costs were less successful. It consisted of elements, like having an as small circle of countries taken as members, not 'keeping the door open', particularly not to the three Baltic states, not to deploy NATO nuclear weapons and troops on the territory of the new members. No NATO headquarters was established over there either. Although the enlargement process continued but not immediately, nukes and troops were not deployed in the new member states. While the Russian strategy was not entirely successful the agreement reflected reasonable compromise.

The new Russian leadership that came into office in 2000 was more pragmatic. Although it expressed its reservations and negotiated further compromises, it accepted NATO enlargement extending to Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. The adjustment of the NATO-Russia Council to turn the 19 + 1 formula into that of the Council 20 (now 27) was symbolic. Furthermore, it was not exclusively in the interest of Russia to change the structure. Namely, during the working of the Council of 16 + 1/19 + 1 a quasi 'bipolar' structure complicated cooperation. NATO had to consolidate the position of its member states before engaging in exchange with Russia. Its members had to adopt a compromise before sharing it with Russia. When Russia made proposals it led to a cumbersome process not giving the impression of a partnership.

Cooperation with Russia has become easier for NATO since President Putin took office. A contrary conclusion is also possible. While formal cooperation has become easier between Russia and NATO, the long-term strategic division has become more pro-

13 This is a delicate task as NATO members collectively decide on their collective defence commitment. With respect to other commitments, since the early 1990's NATO involved non-members.

14 This was reflected in the NATO - Russia Founding Act signed on 27 May 1997 in Paris.

nounced. Russia is building its own sphere of influence in the post-Soviet space and is extremely allergic to any attempt of outside interference, including NATO's. It is no longer only about the Atlantic Alliance. It is the West as such making efforts of westernizing those states of the post-Soviet space which have embarked upon the process of democratization. The new line Russia does not want the West to cross is the former Soviet space now confined to 12 former republics. Russia may achieve this objective inadvertently due to the inconclusive performance of states like Georgia and Ukraine, the potential frontrunners for NATO membership in the former Soviet area. This may interrupt the European unification process as a community of values as well as interests.

55.3 Problems of Analysis and Prediction

NATO has been persistently adapting to the changing security situation since the end of the East-West conflict. The underlying reason of adaptation is not confined to the change of security challenges outlined above. More importantly it stems from the fact that for the first time in 500 years Europe is neither the centre of conflict, nor of power. Europe must get accustomed that there are less conflicts on this continent than elsewhere. Despite its adaptation NATO cannot remake itself into an organization that would project soft power. There are other institutions, like the European Union that has a strong comparative advantage. NATO will be as important as much it contributes to the management of conflicts beyond Europe's boundaries. Adaptation is an ongoing process. The single most important matter in this context is the cohesion of the alliance. Beyond rhetorical problems there are major objective differences among its members. The US is a cornerstone of the current international order due to its complex power base as the leading economic and military force. As the only truly global power in the military field US preponderance is the most visible. The US intends to partly change the world favourably to itself and other democracies and consolidate its future superiority. Under the Bush administration the US is relying more on using military force to achieve its goals than European countries due to their different historical experience. The global reach and interests of the US also presents a problem for most other members that do not want to follow NATO to be a global alliance.¹⁵

Europe after the end of the Cold War and the conflicts in the former Yugoslavia is now at peace. Albeit there are some local conflicts on the fringes of Europe, they do not affect NATO's security perception. Most European security problems are thus extra-European. If NATO lacks any direct security challenge, if its deterrent capacity is regarded indispensable, and if it would ignore those problems threatening other continents its existence would be in question.

NATO's role was not confined to that of a traditional defence alliance. It was the single most important forum of transatlantic security dialogue during the Cold War. This continued in the first decade after the Cold War due to the broad variety of matters NATO had to address. There are indications that NATO has become less central to consultation in the first decade of the 21st century. Gerhard Schröder, as chancellor of Germany, argued that "it is no longer the primary venue wheret transatlantic partners discuss and coordinate strategies" (Schroeder 2005: 2).¹⁶ The chancellor was supported by the chairwoman of the CDU who stated that "we need a strengthening of NATO. We must not let it become a 'reserve' alliance. It must be the place for decisions on security policy and military action. ... NATO has already changed after the end of the Cold War though it has not found its role sufficiently. Changing coalitions of the willing must not be the replacement for a reliable security policy in a solid Alliance" (Merkel 2005: 3). The words of the chancellor resulted in an uproar in some political circles and debates among experts. It has been clear that it is subject to qualification. NATO gave recognition to the problem when it declared "We are committed to strengthening NATO's role as a forum for strategic and political consultation and coordination among Allies, while reaffirming its place as the essential forum for security consultation between Europe and North America."¹⁷ No doubt, due to the complexity of most crises, it is necessary to use a broad array of means to manage and resolve them. There are means among them, which are not at the disposal of NATO, like economic assistance, support

15 The Warsaw Treaty Organization faced a similar situation under very different conditions due to the global interests of the Soviet Union and those of no other member state.

16 Schröder meant strategies in the broad political sense and not confined to military strategies.

17 Statement issued by the Heads of State and Government participating in a meeting of the North Atlantic Council, Brussels, 22 February 2005; at: <www.nato.int/docu/pr/2005/p05-022e.htm>.

to respect for the rule of law, rebuilding state institutions. Hence, it is partly due to objective reasons that consultations moved to other structures. The EU and the US have established their regular consultation frameworks and there are signs the US administration has recognized the centrality of the Union.¹⁸ Beyond this there is no doubt that the Iraq invasion of 2003 and the deep divisions inside NATO have contributed to moving consultations away from NATO politics. The relationship between those European states which were opposed to the US invasion of Iraq has gradually returned to pragmatic cooperation, leaving the disputed matter behind them. Consultation is not only part of the parties' commitment under Article 4 of the Washington Treaty of 1949. The importance of political dialogue goes way beyond it. It is essential to maintain and enrich it as it is one of those factors that distinguish NATO from other defence alliances in history. It contributes to its survival and continuing relevance.

NATO has become an Alliance with global interest and reach. This is usually attributed to US leadership and its global interests. It would be wrong to conclude that it is exclusively due to it. A more thorough analysis could prove that there are two additional factors pointing in the same direction: 1. Security challenges to the Euro-Atlantic area are of extra-European origin. It is hence in the common interest to address security issues beyond the territory of NATO irrespective whence the threat is coming. 2. The Atlantic Alliance has lost its well-identified adversary in the end of the Cold War and it is in the best self-interest of its members to find ways to retain its longer-term relevance.

As NATO has been adding newer tasks to its agenda since 1989 it has become more complex. Collective defence, conflict and crisis management, and fighting terrorism and some other transnational threats are all present. One could rightly observe that "NATO no longer has a specific focus" (Tanner 2006: 5). Some experts argue for a more forthcoming adaptation. There are two factors mentioned in this context: 1. "Re-establish the institution as the chief strategic council room for the West", i.e. make it the centre of transatlantic security coordination. 2. NATO and its members "will have to endorse fully in purpose, structure, forces and culture, the task of military stabilization beyond the Atlantic area" (Bertram 2006: 4).

With this task in mind it is necessary to adapt NATO's toolbox. A detailed recommendation points to five critical areas: "a new NATO special operations force, the NATO Response Force, high readiness combat forces, stabilization and reconstruction forces, and assets for defence sector development" (Binnendijk/Gompert/Kugler 2005: 1). Some of them already exist, like the NATO Response Force, others are present in the armed forces of some member states. Overall, the idea is clear: Turn NATO more performing in the management of crises and carrying out stabilization in post-conflict situations. Collective defence will be a residual capability of NATO. This is understandable in light of two factors: 1. No challenge to the territory of member states by other states or their alliances. 2. Abundant capacity to carry out high intensity defence operations. Summing up, in light of sound analysis it would be desirable if NATO could have a three tier structure: 1. regain its role as the centre of transatlantic security consultation, 2. contribute to the global management of conflicts and post-conflict situations, 3. fight terrorism and to a lesser extent other transnational security phenomena.

In the absence of NATO playing a central role in transatlantic security consultations the heavy emphasis on its contribution to conflict management will continue. That is where its strength lies. Contribution to the stabilization of the international environment both in Europe and beyond its borders has been forthcoming, and it was relatively easy to build consensus for such operations in the alliance. If one takes a closer look and makes a difference between various operations the conclusion may be drawn that it has been easier to achieve consensus for operations closer to Europe than further away from it. When looking back to the decade that passed since the mid-1990's it is clear NATO was in a fortunate situation. It could start its conflict management task in Europe, in an area that was comparatively less complex than some other conflict zones. Both the IFOR/SFOR operation and KFOR demonstrated the success of the Alliance in military stabilization. A few setbacks, like the March 2004 riots in Kosovo, did not undermine this. It is more of a question whether it is possible to provide for long-term stability through military stabilization without prosperity. This is not NATO's problem, however. As the EU is gradually taking NATO's place in the Balkans, the operations of the Atlantic Alliance have extended globally. Among them is the NATO operation in Afghanistan that has become an operation of vital importance, helping to keep NATO in business. But a word of caution is needed: "NATO's

18 This was the widespread interpretation of the visit of President George W. Bush at the meeting of the European Council on 22 February 2005.

aims of state-building and reconstruction are noble and ambitious; but Afghanistan is a country larger than Iraq, with a history of impatience vis-à-vis the presence of even well-intentioned foreigners” (Heisbourg 2006: 13). It would be to NATO’s advantage if it could diversify its conflict management/state-building and reconstruction commitments in order not to depend symbolically upon the success of one large and complex operation. A few less demanding and time-limited NATO operations would be a prudent option.¹⁹ Overstretch of NATO forces remains an issue and NATO’s activity should be measured against the availability of forces. It is a dilemma of NATO that it needs symbolic, and thus large-scale, successes if it wants to gain a new lease of life. Whereas they would come at a high price as far as resources and risks of failure (are concerned), smaller ones do not give sufficient impetus to NATO. That is why the operation(s) in Afghanistan has/have gained symbolic importance for the future of the alliance.

As far as the role of fighting terrorism on NATO’s agenda is concerned, there is consensus this is the prime security threat of our time and will remain so in the foreseeable future. There is no question that an alliance which aspires to address a broad range of security issues cannot stop short of terrorism without risking irrelevance. It should take into account that addressing terrorism “requires a multi-dimensional strategy that relies not just on military force but also on new forms of diplomatic, financial, economic, intelligence, customs and police cooperation” (Hamilton 2002). If NATO intends to contribute to counter-terrorism it requires having a shared idea among the members about the approach to take. NATO’s strength is in defence or more broadly in military activity and military power projection. There are two options in front of the Alliance. Either NATO takes the position that terrorism should be addressed primarily by military means – this is certainly closer to the US than to the European approach – or NATO should fundamentally modify its approach to security and broaden its agenda so as to be able to apply military as well as non-military means. There it would have no comparative advantage for quite some time. Those who notice the contradiction between objectives and tools advocate that NATO should develop a homeland security dimension (Aznar 2006: 128).

¹⁹ Some activities, like the humanitarian delivery to northern Pakistan after a major earthquake in autumn 2005, could provide an example to broadening NATO’s operational activity.

The external relations of the Alliance will continue to be determined by two factors: The intention to build an ‘inclusive’ alliance as the fight against terrorism may require the support of various countries. It continues to engage states through accession and maintain various forms of cooperation with those ones which are not suitable for membership and/or unwilling to apply. Although alliances were historically simple structures divided into members and non-members NATO has gone beyond this and established grey zones while respecting the traditional division in its decision-making.

NATO enlargement will continue at a slower pace than between 1999 and 2004. It will not be a hot political issue for the years to come rather a logical, pragmatic continuation of the process that started in the 1990’s. A western Balkans enlargement round may begin with the invitation of three states, Albania, Croatia, and Macedonia to negotiate their membership in 2008 and to join a couple of years later.

The candidacy of two states from the former Soviet Union is more divisive and will remain pending. The prime reason for this is not that Russia is opposing this NATO expansion. Although Ukraine has declared its willingness to join it cannot demonstrate the necessary domestic support within the society and the establishment. Opinion polls run low on NATO accession and while President Yushchenko is still in favour of accession, Prime Minister Yanukovich declared his government wants to put the process on hold. The reforms proceed not without difficulty. Georgia although benefiting from the strong support of the US has a number of pending conflicts (Abkhazia, South Ossetia). It may be a cause of concern irrespective of whether the conflicts are due to the activity of Georgia or not. Furthermore, the process of political transition gives no ground to draw irreversible conclusions about the changes.

55.4 Conclusion

NATO is no longer an obsession of many in international security. It has successfully avoided going into oblivion, however. It has found its place in the international system and has become a contributor of globalization in security. Bearing in mind the enormous task of adaptation it has performed fairly well. A good part of the remaining shortcomings has nothing to do with NATO proper but are derived from the dynamics of the relationship between member states and their divergent interests.

The adaptation of NATO to the changing security posture went through two waves. Once *de facto* (and not *de jure*) it moved from the collective defence of the territory of member states to military conflict management in its European neighbourhood. Somewhat later, its focus has shifted from crisis management to countering terrorism in a broad array of matters and areas. It ranges from providing protection against NATO territory (e.g. the use of AWACS in various contingencies, the cooperation of intelligence services as far as counter-terrorism, etc.), to the collective carrying out of area operations in countries that could harbour terrorists (e.g. Afghanistan), to the support of activities by several member states that could result in the horizontal proliferation of terrorism (e.g. Iraq). Although lip service is being paid to the original core function of the alliance and formally all the three functions coexist on its agenda, there is in fact a noticeable shift from one to the other. It means that member states had to go through two (if not three) major adaptations during the last 17 years or so. The first one (the move from collective defence to extra-territorial conflict management) was demanding for countries which had no power projection capabilities as had been confined to territorial defence. (For the new members, former members of the Warsaw Treaty, this also meant a move from collective offence to collective defence.) The latter move from crisis management to countering terrorism, closely following the former, was practically demanding for every member state. This means that very few countries could perform convincingly. Most of them, due to problems with the change of mentality and scarcity of resources, have been facing difficulties to living up to demands primarily set by the lead nation of the Alliance. This was exacerbated by the reluctance of several member states to carry out reforms. These factors taken together resulted in a partial adaptation.

It is clear that NATO will have to follow up the adaptation of capabilities and institutional structures in order to catch up with the fast rearrangement of international security. This has been reflected in the adaptation of NATO defence forces, the emphasis on deployability, sustainability, and power projection. NATO has continued to be a standard setting institution in training, defence planning, and interoperability. Since the end of the East-West conflict it has projected this knowledge to like-minded non-members through cooperative programmes and in operations. NATO may not be indispensable to defend Europe or deter a nonexistent adversary any longer, however, it has a major role to guarantee that a large group of

countries, members and non-members alike, can operate together effectively in the management of crisis management and international peace missions.

56 NATO's Role in the Mediterranean and Broader Middle East Region

Alberto Bin

56.1 Introduction¹

NATO is developing closer security partnerships with countries in the Mediterranean and the broader Middle East. This marks a shift in Alliance priorities towards greater involvement in these strategically important regions of the world whose security and stability is closely linked to Euro-Atlantic security. The current drive towards increasing dialogue and cooperation with countries in these regions builds on two key decisions taken at NATO's summit meeting in Istanbul in June 2004 (see document 61.1).

Allied leaders decided – ten years after the launch of NATO's Mediterranean Dialogue² in 1994 – to invite countries participating in the Dialogue to establish a more ambitious and expanded co-operative framework. In parallel, a new, distinct but complementary initiative was launched at the Istanbul Summit to reach out to interested countries in the broader Middle East region.

There are several reasons why it is important for NATO to promote dialogue and foster stability and security in the Mediterranean and the broader Middle East. One key reason is that a number of today's security challenges – terrorism, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and failed states – are common to both NATO member states and to countries in these regions and, consequently, require common responses. Moreover, in addressing these challenges,

NATO is becoming more engaged in areas beyond Europe, including a maritime counter-terrorist operation in the Mediterranean, a security assistance operation in Afghanistan, and a training mission in Iraq. It is important to discuss these developments with countries in the Mediterranean region and the broader Middle East.

56.2 The Mediterranean Dialogue

56.2.1 An Evolving Process

When NATO's Heads of State and Government met in Washington in April 1999, they approved a strategy to equip the Alliance for the security challenges and opportunities of the 21st century and to guide its future political and military development³. The 1999 Strategic Concept emphasized that in the post-cold war era the security of the Alliance remained subject to a wide variety of risks and challenges, both military and non-military, which are multidirectional and often difficult to predict, a fact tragically confirmed by the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001. In order to effectively deal with those risks and challenges, the strategy stressed the Alliance's commitment to a broad approach to security and defined NATO's fundamental security tasks. While it retained those functions, like collective defence, that have been at the core of the Alliance since its establishment in 1949, it highlighted the new activities in the fields of crisis management and partnership that the Alliance now

1 The views expressed in this chapter are the author's own and do not necessarily represent the position of NATO or any of its member states.

2 For previous reviews, see e.g. Bin (1997, 1998, 2000, 2000a, 2002, 2003); de Santis (1998, 2003); Kamal El-Din (2001); Larrabee (1999); Larrabee/Thorson (1996); Larrabee/Green/Lesser/Zanini (1997, 1998); Lesser (1996, 1999, 1999a, 2000); Lesser/Green/Larrabee/Zanini (1999, 2000); Moya (1997, 1998); Moya/Cellino (2001); Nordan (1997); Kadry Said (2003); Rato (1995); Sanz (2003); Selim (2000); Solana (1999); Terracini (1999, 2000); Winrow (2000).

3 The Strategic Concept was first published in 1991 <<http://www.nato.int/docu/basicxt/b91108a.htm>> following the end of the cold war. The 1999 version <<http://www.nato.int/docu/pr/1999/p99-065e.htm>>, like its predecessor, is the authoritative statement of the Alliance's objectives and provides the highest political guidance on the political and military means to be used in achieving them.

performs in order to enhance the security and stability of the Euro-Atlantic area and beyond.

The 1999 Strategic Concept thus elevated partnership into a fundamental security task. The strategy emphasized the Alliance's determination to promote wide-ranging partnership, cooperation, and dialogue with other countries, with the aim of increasing transparency, mutual confidence, and the capacity of joint action with the Alliance. It pointed out that this approach is aimed at enhancing the security of all, excludes nobody, and helps to overcome divisions that could lead to conflict. It also described the principal instruments of this policy: the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC), the Partnership for Peace (PFP), the special relationships with Russia and Ukraine, and its Mediterranean Dialogue⁴. From a conceptual standpoint, NATO's Mediterranean Dialogue is a key instrument in support of the Alliance's overall strategy of partnership, dialogue, and cooperation.

Since the launch of the Mediterranean Dialogue in 1994, it has been an integral part of the co-operative approach to security that the Alliance has pursued since the end of the cold war.⁵ Over the years, the number of countries participating in the Mediterranean Dialogue has increased: Egypt, Israel, Mauritania, Morocco and Tunisia, which accepted the invitation to participate in the Dialogue in 1994, were joined by Jordan in 1995 and Algeria in 2000. The Dialogue has also become more ambitious in scope.

Initially, NATO wanted to create a forum for confidence building and transparency in which Allies could learn more about the security concerns of Dialogue countries, as well as dispel misperceptions about NATO's aims and policies. Regular bilateral meetings were organized at working level and between the ambassadors of individual Dialogue countries with NATO's highest decision-making body, the North Atlantic Council, to discuss relevant security issues and the development of the Dialogue. Occasionally, multilateral meetings involving all the Dialogue countries were also held.

Since then, political discussions have become more frequent and intense, and the Dialogue has been given more structure, and opportunities for more concrete cooperation have gradually opened up. An an-

nual Work Programme, established in 1997, has steadily expanded to include an increasing number of elements and activities derived from the Partnership for Peace programme including military cooperation, civil emergency planning, and scientific cooperation. At the 1999 Washington Summit, steps were taken to strengthen cooperation, particularly in the military field.

Since then, NATO Dialogue countries have been consulted more frequently, both individually and as a group, and priority has been given to strengthening and deepening relationships. This led to the adoption at the *Prague Summit* in November 2002 of a package of measures to increase the political and practical dimensions of the Dialogue, including more regular and effective consultations, more focused activities, and a tailored approach to cooperation.⁶

Building on these initiatives and after consultation with Dialogue countries, a decision was taken at the *Istanbul Summit* in June 2004 (see document 61.2) to establish a more ambitious and expanded co-operative framework which is based on a number of guiding principles:

- firstly, the Dialogue's progressive character allows its political and practical dimensions to be enhanced regularly, and the number of participating countries to grow (*Progressiveness*);
- secondly, all partners are offered the same basis for discussion and for joint activities, but the level of participation varies from country to country according to individual needs and interests (*Non-discrimination and self-differentiation*);
- thirdly, the Dialogue is not about imposing ideas on other countries, but rather about taking into account the specific regional, cultural, and political context of respective partners to build a co-operative relationship that is of mutual interest and relevance (*Joint ownership*);
- fourthly, the Dialogue complements other related but distinct international initiatives, such as those undertaken by the European Union, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, and the G-8. NATO brings added value through its experience of coordinating political and practical security cooperation among many member and partner countries (*Complementarity*).

4 The Alliance's Strategic Concept (approved by the Heads of State and Government at the North Atlantic Council in Washington DC on 23-24 April 1999), See at: <<http://www.nato.int/docu/pr/1999/p99-065e.htm>>

5 See literature in note 1, and NATO's website at: <<http://www.nato.int/med-dial/home.htm>>.

6 See at: <http://www.nato.int/docu/pr/2002/p02-127e.htm> and at: <http://www.nato.int/med-dial/home.htm>.

56.2.2 Upgrading the Dialogue

Following the Istanbul decision, the overriding aims of the Mediterranean Dialogue remain the same, but the future focus is on developing more practical cooperation. Specific objectives are to achieve interoperability (that is, to improve the ability of the militaries of Dialogue countries to work with NATO forces); to cooperate in the area of defence reform; and to contribute to the fight against terrorism.

Political dialogue is also being enhanced by organizing ad hoc meetings at ministerial level, over and above ongoing consultations at working and ambassadorial levels in the bilateral (NATO+1) and multilateral (NATO+7) format. A first ministerial level meeting took place in December 2004, when Allied foreign ministers met counterparts from the seven Dialogue countries in Brussels.⁷ Further reflecting the new dynamic in the Dialogue, NATO's Secretary General, Jaap de Hoop Scheffer, met heads of state and government and key ministers in a series of landmark visits to Dialogue countries in 2004 and early 2005. In addition, the first ever meeting of Defence ministers of NATO and Dialogue countries was held in Taormina in February 2006. This was followed by a landmark meeting of the North Atlantic Council with the seven Mediterranean partners in Rabat (Morocco) in April 2006, the first meeting of this kind to be held in a Mediterranean Dialogue country.⁸

As part of upgrading the Dialogue, participating countries will be able to benefit from a series of mechanisms originally developed within the framework of NATO's Partnership for Peace (PfP). This includes the development of individual cooperation programmes to allow for greater self-differentiation; the use of action plans for practical, issue-specific cooperation including the Partnership Action Plan against Terrorism; and the possibility of support through NATO Trust Funds, aimed, for example, at disposal of weapons stockpiles.⁹

56.2.3 Focus on Practical Cooperation

The Istanbul decision focuses on expanding and strengthening practical cooperation in a number of priority areas. Interoperability is one of them, with a view to improving the ability of Alliance and Mediterranean Partner forces to operate together in future NATO-led operations. In this regard, existing activities and tools under the Partnership for Peace may be used, and participation in selected military exercises and related education and training activities enhanced. Another important area is defence reform. Priorities in this area include promoting democratic control of armed forces and facilitating transparency in national defence planning and budgeting. Combating terrorism is also a priority area. More effective intelligence sharing will be promoted as well as participation in NATO's maritime Operation Active Endeavour, the Alliance's maritime operation to detect, deter, and disrupt terrorist activity in the Mediterranean. Tailored advice on border security can also be provided. Preventing the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and their means of delivery is another key priority. In the field of Civil Emergency Planning, cooperation in disaster-preparedness will be enhanced, in particular to improve the capacity to deal with the consequences of a terrorist attack. In the case of a disaster, Dialogue countries will also be given the possibility of requesting assistance through the NATO-based Euro-Atlantic Disaster Response Coordination Centre (EADRCC).¹⁰

The decision to broaden and deepen practical cooperation build on activities developed under the annual Work Programme, which has expanded over the years to include activities in 21 areas. These include crisis management, civil emergency planning, defence policy and strategy, border security, small arms and light weapons, humanitarian mine action, defence reform and defence economics, air traffic management, research and technology, science and environmental

7 See NATO after Istanbul at: <http://www.nato.int/docu/nato_after_istanbul/nato_after_istanbul_en.pdf>; brochure of August 2005 on its Mediterranean activities at: <<http://www.nato.int/docu/secCoMed/secopmed-e.pdf>> and more recent NATO documents on the Mediterranean dialogue at: <http://www.nato.int/med-dial/home.htm>.

8 See for speeches of NATO's Secretary General on this dialogue, at: <http://www.nato.int/med-dial/home.htm>.

9 See the background documents on the PfP at: <<http://www.nato.int/issues/pfp/index.html>>, and on the Mediterranean Dialogue at: <<http://www.nato.int/med-dial/home.htm>>, and on the Istanbul Cooperation Initiative (ICI) *Reaching out to the broader Middle East*, at: <<http://www.nato.int/issues/ici/index.html>>.

10 See on EADRCC at: <<http://www.nato.int/eadrcc/home.htm>> and on a NATO seminar in Algeria on earthquake safety in 22-24 May 2005, at: <http://www.nato.int/science/newsletter/2005/NATO_70_UK.pdf> and in general on the Mediterranean Dialogue at: <http://www.nato.int/med-dial/home.htm>.

cooperation. Consultations also take place on terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. Information activities include invitations to opinion leaders, academics, journalists, and parliamentarians from Dialogue countries to visit the Alliance Headquarters and attend NATO-sponsored events in both NATO and Dialogue countries.

The military dimension of the annual Work Programme covers invitations to Dialogue countries to observe or participate in military exercises and to attend seminars and workshops organized by NATO's Strategic Commands, as well as courses at the NATO School in Oberammergau, Germany, and the NATO Defense College in Rome, Italy. It also includes visits of NATO's Standing Naval Forces to ports in Dialogue countries, on-site training of trainers by mobile training teams, and visits by experts to assess the possibilities for further military cooperation. Meetings between Allied Chiefs of Defence Staff and counterparts, or their representatives, from the seven Dialogue countries take place on a regular basis.

The number of participants in the annual Work Programme has substantially increased over time. From a few dozen in the late 1990s, to more than 900 military and civilian personnel from all Dialogue countries who participated in the Work Programme for 2004. In June 2005, troops and observers from some Dialogue countries participated for the first time in a NATO/PfP military exercise ('Cooperative Best Effort').

Furthermore, several Mediterranean Dialogue countries have made significant contributions to the NATO-led peacekeeping operations in the Balkans. Peacekeepers from Egypt, Jordan, and Morocco have served in Bosnia and Herzegovina; Jordan and Morocco have also contributed to the force in Kosovo.¹¹

56.2.4 The Istanbul Cooperation Initiative

The Istanbul Cooperation Initiative aims to enhance security and stability by fostering mutually beneficial bilateral relationships with interested countries in the broader Middle East region.¹² The Initiative is open

to all countries in the region which subscribe to its aims, particularly the fight against terrorism and countering the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (see document 61.3).

In the run up to the June 2004 Istanbul Summit, before a decision was taken to launch the Initiative, NATO's Deputy Secretary General conducted high-level exploratory consultations with representatives from the countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council - Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates - to gauge the level of interest in such an initiative. All countries consulted expressed an interest. In the months immediately following the summit meeting, the way ahead was discussed during a second round of visits to Gulf countries. By June 2005, Bahrain, Kuwait, Qatar, and the United Arab Emirates had accepted the invitation, and the Alliance hopes the other countries will also do so.

The initiative proposes tailored advice in a number of specific areas where the Alliance has developed expertise and can add value. One key area is defence reform, defence budgeting, defence planning, and civil-military relations. Another is military-to-military cooperation focused primarily on improving the ability of participating countries' forces to operate with those of the Alliance through participation in selected military exercises and related education and training activities. Important priorities for cooperation would be fighting terrorism, including through information-sharing and possibly maritime cooperation, and addressing threats posed by the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and their means of delivery. Other priorities for potential cooperation include advice in the field of border security, and improving disaster-preparedness and disaster-response.

NATO has developed a menu of practical activities in these priority areas which forms the basis of individual work plans to be jointly developed and implemented with interested countries. Practical implementation of the Initiative will draw on activities and mechanisms developed in the framework of the Partnership for Peace and will build on experience gained in the Mediterranean Dialogue.

The development of the Initiative is guided by the same principles that apply to the Dialogue. In particular, it is clear that the success of the Initiative will depend on the development in the countries concerned of a sense of ownership for its objectives and activities. This calls for a process of regular consultation to ensure that the views of the participating countries are taken into account as the Initiative gradually develops and is implemented.

11 See on Bosnia, SFOR at: <<http://www.nato.int/sfor/index.htm>>, on KFOR, at: <<http://www.nato.int/kfor/>>, on Kosovo, at: <<http://www.nato.int/docu/update/2005/06-june/eo609b.htm>>; and in general on the Mediterranean Dialogue, at: <<http://www.nato.int/med-dial/home.htm>>.

12 See for background at: <<http://www.nato.int/issues/ici/index.html>>.

56.3 Conclusions and Outlook: NATO and the Middle East

In addition to developing closer security partnerships with countries in the Mediterranean and the broader Middle East, NATO is also involved in a training mission in Iraq. This results from yet another key decision taken at NATO's summit meeting in Istanbul in June 2004.

The scope of NATO activities includes both in and out of country training, equipment coordination, and technical assistance to the Iraqi Security Forces. This includes the establishment of a NATO Training and Doctrine Centre at Ar Rustamiya near Baghdad. Once the training mission is fully up and running it is foreseen that NATO will annually train 1,000 officers inside the country and at least 500 outside, a number

which should increase in 2006, making a major contribution to the long-term development of the Iraqi Security Forces.

The enhanced Mediterranean Dialogue, the Istanbul Cooperation Initiative, and NATO's training mission in Iraq are three major elements of the Alliance's current engagement in the Middle East. They demonstrate that NATO is involved in the region and that all the Allies realize that they have a stake in its future.

In the years to come, the evolution of the Middle East will affect Euro-Atlantic security more than the development of any other region. That is why NATO needs to explore how it can support positive change. The first steps have already been taken; more are likely to follow. They will put NATO in an even better position to help the states of the Mediterranean and the broader Middle East to enjoy peace and stability.

Document 56.1: Istanbul Summit, 2004: Istanbul Summit Communiqué Issued by the Heads of State and Government participating in the meeting of the North Atlantic Council

36. From its inception in 1994, NATO's Mediterranean Dialogue has greatly contributed to building confidence and cooperation between the Alliance and its Mediterranean partners. In the current security environment there are greater opportunities for effective cooperation with Mediterranean Dialogue partners. Following our decision at Prague to upgrade the Mediterranean Dialogue, we are today inviting our Mediterranean partners to establish a more ambitious and expanded partnership, guided by the principle of joint ownership and taking into consideration their particular interests and needs. The overall aim of this partnership will be to contribute towards regional security and stability through stronger practical cooperation, including by enhancing the existing political dialogue, achieving interoperability, developing defence reform and contributing to the fight against terrorism. Our efforts will complement and mutually reinforce other Mediterranean initiatives, including those of the EU and the OSCE.

37. We have today also decided to offer cooperation to the broader Middle East region by launching our "Istanbul Cooperation Initiative". This initiative is offered by NATO to interested countries in the region, starting with the countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council, to foster mutually beneficial bilateral relationships and thus enhance security and stability. The initiative focuses on practical cooperation where NATO can add value, notably in the defence and security fields. This initiative is distinct from, yet takes into account and complements, other initiatives involving other international actors.

38. While respecting the specificity of the Mediterranean Dialogue, the enhanced Mediterranean Dialogue and the "Istanbul Cooperation Initiative" are complementary, progressive and individualised processes. They will be developed in a spirit of joint ownership with the countries involved. Continued consultation and active engagement will be essential to their success.

Document 56.2: Istanbul Summit, 2004: A more Ambitious and Expanded Framework for the Mediterranean Dialogue

1. NATO's Mediterranean Dialogue was initiated in 1994 with the broad objectives of contributing to regional security and stability, achieving better mutual understanding and dispelling any misconceptions between NATO and its Mediterranean partners. Since then, the Dialogue has evolved at a steady pace in accordance with its progressive character. The number of participating countries has increased from the original five to today's seven while the Dialogue's political

and practical dimensions have been regularly enhanced.

2. In the current security environment, and taking into consideration the need to tackle successfully today's challenges and threats including terrorism, there are greater opportunities for effective cooperation with Mediterranean Dialogue (MD) partners. Consequently, at their December 2003 meeting in Brussels,

NATO Foreign Ministers looked for additional progress beyond that achieved since the Prague Summit in upgrading the MD. They directed the Council in Permanent Session to consider ways to further enhance NATO's relationship with all MD partners by generating, in consultation with them and by the time of the Istanbul Summit, options for establishing a more ambitious and expanded framework for the MD.

Principles, objectives and priority areas

3. In this process, the following principles should be taken into account:

- the mutually beneficial nature of the relationship;
 - the need to take forward the process in close consultation with MD countries;
 - the importance of being responsive to MD countries' interests and needs;
 - the possibility of self-differentiation, while preserving the unity of the MD and its non-discriminatory character;
 - the need to focus on practical cooperation in areas where NATO can add value;
 - the need to ensure complementarity of this effort with the Istanbul Cooperation Initiative, as well as with other international efforts, especially those of the EU, OSCE and the G-8 as appropriate;
 - the possibility of expanding the MD to other interested countries in the Mediterranean region on a case-by-case basis;

4. Based on these principles, NATO offers to elevate the MD to a genuine partnership whose overall aim will be to contribute towards regional security and stability and complement other international efforts through enhanced practical cooperation, and whose objectives would include:

- enhancing the existing political dialogue;
- achieving interoperability;
- developing defence reform;
- contributing to the fight against terrorism.

5. The above-mentioned objectives could be achieved through enhanced cooperation in the following priority areas:

- putting into action a joint effort aimed at better explaining NATO transformation and cooperative efforts;
- promoting military-to-military cooperation to achieve interoperability through active participation in selected military exercises and related education and training activities that could improve

the ability of Mediterranean partners' forces to operate with those of the Alliance in contributing to NATO-led operations consistent with the UN Charter. These could include non-Article 5 crisis response operations such as disaster relief, humanitarian relief, search and rescue, peace support operations, and others as may subsequently be decided;

- promoting democratic control of armed forces and facilitating transparency in national defence planning and defence budgeting in support of defence reform;
- combating terrorism including effective intelligence sharing and maritime cooperation including in the framework of Operation Active Endeavour;
- contributing to the work of the Alliance on threats posed by weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and their means of delivery;
- promoting cooperation as appropriate and where NATO can add value in the field of border security, particularly in connection with terrorism, small arms & light weapons, and the fight against illegal trafficking;
- enhancing cooperation in the area of civil emergency planning including the possibility for Mediterranean partners to request assistance from the Euro-Atlantic Disaster Response Coordination Centre (EADRCC).

A more ambitious and expanded framework for the MD

6. Based on the above-mentioned principles, objectives and priority areas, a more ambitious and expanded framework for the MD should be developed by building upon the current MD programme including the inventory of possible areas of cooperation established at the Prague Summit, and by making extensive use of lessons learned and, as appropriate, tools from PfP with special emphasis on enhanced practical cooperation.

7. In addition to consultations at working and Ambassadorial levels in the format 26+1 and 26+7, the political dimension should be further enhanced through the inclusion of ad-hoc ministerial/HOSG meetings. Furthermore, at the earliest appropriate time, a joint political declaration with all MD countries could be developed in support of practical cooperation in the above-mentioned priority areas.

8. The practical dimension should be further enhanced through greater emphasis on practical cooperation. In addition to existing MD tools such as the annual Work Programme, the possibility of support through NATO Trust Funds in accordance with the NATO/

PfP Trust Fund policy and participation in courses at the NATO School and the NATO Defence College, a number of PfP and PfP-like tools could apply to the new initiative. These could include:

- action plans covering a wide range of issues that would form the basis for practical, issue-specific and result-oriented cooperation available to all Mediterranean partners;
 - individual cooperation programmes allowing for self-differentiation;
 - the use of existing PfP activities and tools to improve the ability of Alliance and Mediterranean partners' forces to operate together in future NATO-led operations, including in the areas of capabilities, education and training, and exercise activities;
 - enhanced participation, on a case-by-case basis, in appropriate PfP exercises;
 - the use of existing PfP programmes and instruments aimed at cooperation in all the priority areas listed in para. 5 as well as in the area of science and the environment.
9. This should be complemented by the intensification of practical cooperation in areas currently open to EAPC/PfP countries, with special emphasis on inter-

operability, defence reform, the fight against terrorism, and other activities aimed at ensuring effective partners' participation in NATO-led operations.

Other considerations

10. Appropriate legal arrangements may be needed to facilitate full and effective participation of Mediterranean partners. Security agreements may also be needed.
11. Consideration should be given to the possible setting up of appropriate liaison at NATO HQ and the Partnership Coordination Cell (PCC) at Mons in order to enhance coordination of activities, especially in the military field.
12. Regarding the possible expansion of the MD to other interested countries in the region, the progressive character of the MD makes it possible to add new members on a case-by-case basis, as has been the case with Jordan (1995) and Algeria (2000).
 1. Interoperability requirements constitute firm prerequisites for contributing nations such as the need to communicate with each other, to operate together, to support each other, and to train together.

Document 56.3: Istanbul Summit, 2004: Istanbul Cooperation Initiative

1. With a transformed Alliance determined to respond to new challenges, NATO is ready to undertake a new initiative in the broader Middle East region to further contribute to long-term global and regional security and stability while complementing other international efforts.
2. In this context, progress towards a just, lasting, and comprehensive settlement of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict should remain a priority for the countries of the region and the international community as a whole, and for the success of the security and stability objectives of this initiative. Full and speedy implementation of the Quartet Road Map is a key element in international efforts to promote a two state solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in which Israel and Palestine live side by side in peace and security. The roadmap is a vital element of international efforts to promote a comprehensive peace on all tracks, including the Syrian-Israeli and Lebanese-Israeli tracks.
3. NATO's initiative, based on a series of mutually beneficial bilateral relationships aimed at fostering security and regional stability, should take into account the following principles:
 - a.) the importance of taking into account ideas and proposals originating from the countries of the region or regional organizations;
 - b.) the need to stress that the NATO initiative is a cooperative initiative, based on joint ownership and the mutual interests of NATO and the countries of the region, taking into account their diversity and specific needs;
 - c.) the need to recognize that this process is distinct yet takes into account and complements other initiatives including by the G-8 and international organizations such as the EU and the OSCE as appropriate. The NATO initiative should also be complementary to the Alliance's Mediterranean Dialogue and could use instruments developed in this framework, while respecting its specificity. Furthermore, the new initiative could apply lessons learned and, as appropriate, mechanisms and tools derived from other NATO initiatives such as the Partnership for Peace (PfP);
 - d.) the need to focus on practical cooperation in areas where NATO can add value, particularly in the security field. Participation of countries in the region in the initiative as well as the pace and extent of their cooperation with NATO will

depend in large measure on their individual response and level of interest;

- e.) the need to avoid misunderstandings about the scope of the initiative, which is not meant to either lead to NATO/EAPC/PfP membership, provide security guarantees, or be used to create a political debate over issues more appropriately handled in other fora.
4. Taking into account other international efforts for reforms in the democracy and civil society fields in the countries of the region, NATO's offer to those countries of dialogue and cooperation will contribute to those efforts where it can have an added value: in particular, NATO could make a notable contribution in the security field as a result of its particular strengths and the experience gained with the PfP and the Mediterranean Dialogue.

Aim of the initiative

5. The aim of the initiative would be to enhance security and regional stability through a new transatlantic engagement with the region. This could be achieved by actively promoting NATO's cooperation with interested countries in the field of security, particularly through practical activities where NATO can add value to develop the ability of countries' forces to operate with those of the Alliance, including by contributing to NATO-led operations, fight against terrorism, stem the flow of WMD materials and illegal trafficking in arms, and improve countries' capabilities to address common challenges and threats with NATO.
6. Countries of the region might see benefit in cooperation with the Alliance through practical support against terrorist threats, access to training, defence reform expertise and opportunities for military cooperation, as well as through political dialogue on issues of common concern.

Content of the initiative including priority areas

7. The initiative's aim would be essentially achieved through practical cooperation and assistance in the following priority areas, and illustrative menu of specific activities:
- a.) providing tailored advice on defence reform, defence budgeting, defence planning and civil-military relations.
 - b.) promoting military-to-military cooperation to contribute to interoperability through participation in selected military exercises and related education and training activities that could improve the ability of participating countries' forces to

operate with those of the Alliance in contributing to NATO-led operations consistent with the UN Charter:

- invite interested countries to observe and/or participate in selected NATO/PfP exercise activities as appropriate and provided that the necessary arrangements are in place;
 - encourage additional participation by interested countries in NATO-led peace-support operations on a case-by-case basis;
- c.) fighting against terrorism including through information sharing and maritime cooperation:
- invite interested countries, in accordance with the procedures set out by the Council for contributory support from non-NATO nations, to join Operation Active Endeavour (OAE) in order to enhance the ability to help deter, defend, disrupt and protect against terrorism through maritime operations in the OAE Area of Operations;
 - explore other forms of cooperation against terrorism including through intelligence exchange and assessments as appropriate.
- d.) contributing to the work of the Alliance on threats posed by weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and their means of delivery:
- e.) promoting cooperation as appropriate and where NATO can add value in the field of border security, particularly in connection with terrorism, small arms & light weapons, and the fight against illegal trafficking:
- offer NATO-sponsored border security expertise and facilitate follow-up training in this respect;
 - access to appropriate PfP programmes and training centres.
- f.) promoting cooperation in the areas of civil emergency planning:
- offer NATO training courses on civil emergency planning, civil-military coordination, and crisis response to maritime, aviation, and surface threats;
 - invitations to join or observe relevant NATO/PfP exercises as appropriate and provision of information on possible disaster assistance.

Geographical scope of the initiative ...

Implementing the new initiative ...

Source: <http://www.nato.int/med-dial/home.htm> and <http://www.nato.int/issues/ici/index.html>.

57 German Action Plan: Civilian Crisis Prevention, Conflict Resolution and Peace Consolidation – A Reconceptualization of Security

Ortwin Hennig and Reinhold Elges¹

In May 2004, the Cabinet of the Federal Government of Germany approved the *Action Plan Civilian Crisis Prevention, Conflict Resolution and Post-Conflict Peace-Building* (Bundesregierung 2004).² The basis for crisis prevention,³ conflict resolution⁴ and peace-building⁵ is a broad security concept that embraces political, economic, ecological, and social stability.⁶

1 Any opinions and views expressed are those of the authors alone.

2 This Action Plan has succeeded the *Comprehensive Concept of the Federal Government on Civilian Crisis Prevention, Conflict Resolution and Post-Conflict Peace-Building* (2000). Prevention and a comprehensive security concept have long been the basis of German policy, as the *White Paper of the Federal Ministry of Defence* demonstrates (Bonn: Federal Ministry of Defence, 1994).

3 The term 'crisis prevention' covers early, planned, systematic, and coherent action at various levels of government and society to prevent violent conflicts. Crisis prevention measures aim to reduce the potential for a violent conflict and encourage the establishment of institutions to resolve conflicts peacefully before, during or after violent conflict. The Action Plan refers to civilian crisis prevention, which pursues these aims without the use of military or other means of force (Bundesregierung 2004: X).

4 In the German text of the Action Plan, the terms 'Konfliktlösung', 'Konfliktbeilegung' and 'Konfliktregelung' – despite their different connotations and slightly varying interpretations – are used synonymously for the English term 'conflict resolution.' Conflict resolution aims to achieve a workable compromise or balance of interests that will also permanently prevent a violent escalation of the conflict in question (Bundesregierung 2004: X).

5 The term 'peace-building' is used to describe the whole process of establishing or re-establishing the network of social relations that facilitate the peaceful resolution of a conflict. This can include measures to stimulate economic development or promote social justice and initiatives for the reconciliation of opposing parties and the strengthening of common loyalties as well as projects to encourage cooperation and "intercultural learning".

Thus, Germany has adopted a comprehensive approach to civilian crisis prevention that can facilitate its integration into new global security architecture. This chapter describes how the German government has institutionalized a crisis prevention infrastructure in response to a new understanding of security that is comprehensive in scope and rests on the principles of prevention, integration, and cooperation.

57.1 Introduction

With the end of the Cold War the global security environment has changed, as have the perceptions of threats and the responses to challenges (Brauch 2005, 2005a). The end of the East-West confrontation did not result in a safer world but rather in an awareness of new threats with global implications. The time is gone when each country or continent could look after its own security. In the age of globalization, security has become detached from its traditional territorial and national contexts. Security and insecurity have also been globalized. Borders no longer offer protection as threats have become too complex, diffuse, and interconnected to be addressed by any individual state alone.

6 There is no single definition of stability or instability. A country or a region is unstable when undergoing political, economic, or social upheaval that can be manifested, inter alia, in coups d'état (illegal or unpredictable political succession); breakdown of political, economic, and social institutions; systemic corruption; widespread organized crime; loss of territorial control; economic crisis; large scale public unrest; involuntary mass population displacement; violations of human rights and violent internal or international conflict. Stability, then, depends largely on a country's ability to manage and adapt to changes, which presupposes functioning formal and informal institutions.

Today's major security threats include poverty, pandemics, and environmental degradation; war and violence within rather than between states; the proliferation and possible use of weapons of mass destruction; and transnational organized crime and terrorism. These threats emanate from non-state actors as well as states, and they affect both 'human security' (UNDP 1994) and 'state security' (UN 2004). There is a growing consensus that they are threats to international peace and security due to their interconnectedness and "in a world of interconnected threats and challenges, it is in each country's self-interest that all of them are addressed effectively" (UN 2005a).

An integrated and comprehensive security concept must adequately address today's new challenges and convincingly communicate their global relevance. Only on that basis can the international community create the global security consensus former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan has called for, and establish a genuine security partnership between industrialized and developing nations (UN 2005a). The traditional hierarchical view of security, which graded 'soft' and 'hard' threats according to either a Northern or Southern perspective, should be replaced by a single integrative security concept. A holistic perspective would replace the zero-sum game of traditional security policy with cooperation and integration and translate the inextricable link between security, development, and human rights into practical, mutually beneficial policies. This is the central political challenge of the 21st century.

This chapter explains the challenge of rooting new thinking on security in governmental agencies and translating it into practice, taking Germany as an example. It is less concerned with the academic and normative debates around the (need for) reconceptualization of security, but focuses on how the German government has answered institutionally to new thinking that has already gained theoretical currency within the academic, practitioner, and policy circles. Governmental policy does not change overnight. The challenge of governments is that despite new insights into problems, they largely depend on existing structures to solve them, both on the national, and especially the international level.

57.2 New Security Threats and International Responses

The need to rethink security and to provide for a new infrastructure of prevention is evident considering the

new threats to international peace and security. The repercussions of violent conflicts seldom come to a halt at national frontiers. Cross-border flows of refugees, smuggling, and (para-)military movements may destabilize whole regions. Armed conflicts, the so called 'new wars', take increasingly place within, and not between, states. They are marked by the privatization of violence, the globalization of the means to inflict it, and by its asymmetric use that leaves civilians as the primary victims. The actors in new wars seldom have political interests (i.e. they are not interested in the control of the state and governmental power) but rather strive for the control of territory and resources for exploitation. 'New wars' are not a phenomenon of the 1990's, but started in the 1970's. But they became visible and moved to the centre of international security concerns only after the end of the East-West divide (Kaldor 1999; Münkler 2002, 2005).

The fundamental source of this new type of conflict is the crisis of state capacity and authority. Precarious statehood is not only a problem for the societies that suffer the consequences from bad governance to even state failure. It is also detrimental to a system of collective security that is based on state sovereignty. The extent of the challenge is visible in the emerging consensus on the international security agenda: the primary global threat to human and state security is fragile and failing statehood. All concrete threats to international security, including terrorism, nuclear proliferation, mass violations of human rights, poverty, armed conflict, and refugees, are viewed, even if to varying degrees, as the primary responsibility of states and the consequence of state weakness (Woodward 2004).⁷

The re-evaluation of the role of the state has been related to two concepts that are relevant to the redefinition of security in the 21st century: the concept of 'human security' and the 'responsibility to protect' (ICISS 2001). Both concepts are referred to in the 2005 World Summit Outcome document (UN 2005b).

The human security concept is the result of the successful post-Cold War attempt of middle powers

7 These threats are either caused or exacerbated by fragile states: with their limited control over their territory they are no functioning partners of a still largely state-based system; thus even those crises, which could be contained locally, tend to have regional and even global repercussions. New security strategies recognize and try to address this problem (Council of the European Union 2003; Rice 2003). See also below, with regard to the debate on "the responsibility to protect."

like Canada and Japan, but also the United Nations Development Programme, to shift the focus of security from states to persons. While national security remains important, they convincingly argued, it cannot adequately describe a holistic view of security in a world with few interstate wars, and with more people killed by their own governments than by foreign armies.

The acknowledgment of a state's 'responsibility to protect' is a consequence of the human security debate. It should be seen in light of a rethinking of state sovereignty, which constitutes a crucial question in the debate on UN reform. 'Responsibility to protect' declares the protection of human rights as part of state sovereignty and calls for external intervention by the international community if states fail in this regard.⁸ This constitutes a redefinition of state sovereignty. 'Responsibility to protect' is developing into a norm of international law. There is, however, considerable opposition to the concept from those states which fear that it will be abused for interference in their own domestic affairs. This debate on Article 2,7 (principle of non-intervention) of the UN Charter must be seen in relation to experiences with consequences of failed statehood since the end of the Cold War.

Weak and failed states not only pose threats to their own citizens, they also cause 'black holes' in the international system. Without (legitimate) governments to approach, the international community misses a credible partner. Likewise, a state-based order cannot function when governments have only marginal control over their territory. Lacking institutional capacity, governments in weak and fragile countries are barely able to implement consistent policies to reduce poverty and provide basic social goods. State-society relations are often astray in these polities. The state is abused by rent-seeking political elites who profit from the status quo and use external resources to reinforce their own power rather than pursue a policy promoting development (Debiel 2005). Such states often menace their own society and the poor and vulnerable suffer most from incompetent, irresponsible, and arbitrary rule.

The difficulties of the international community to address the problems of weak states with the instruments for classic inter-state conflict have become apparent in the UN peacekeeping missions of the 1990's. Addressing demands that exceeded their traditional roles by far and to meet the expectations set in them, these missions fought an uphill battle.⁹ Their main goal has been to stabilize or reconstruct statehood through many political, military, humanitarian,

and development components. State-building has become the norm rather than the exception of interna-

8 Two attempts were made to codify the rights and duties of states, by the American states at the Seventh International Conference of American States in Montevideo in 1933, and by the International Law Commission in 1949. While the latter is more thorough regarding the domestic duties of states, both documents do not include sanctions – such as the “decertification” of statehood, in case of non-fulfillment of these duties (Seventh International Conference of American States 1933; ILC 1949). “Decertification” here refers to the (arguable highly theoretical) sanction of denying states their sovereign rights. This would require a definite and binding catalogue of norms for statehood and an international institution with the legitimacy and means to enforce it.

The dangers of precarious statehood that originated in states' birth and development warrant the costs of revisiting state sovereignty. Whereas the modern (European) state is the product of long and convoluted processes, often involving violence, and always ongoing negotiations among social actors about the boundaries of political community, the scope and legitimacy of the state, and the distribution of power, today's statebuilding under the auspices of international society demands a participatory and legitimate strategy based on international standards for the internal consolidation of power. Statebuilding is thus not about the rigorous consolidation of domestic sovereignty, but about establishing democracy. Historically, it is without precedent.

Today's elites not only lack the means of statebuilding available to previous generations. They may also lack the incentives. De-colonization created many states along artificial borders. These quasi states were sovereign and protected by international law (including the sanctity of borders, or prerogatives like international representation, management of international trade etc.) before establishing domestic sovereignty. This has enabled elites to live and rule fairly independently from their populations. Guarded from the outside and capitalizing on the control of the (however dysfunctional) state apparatus, these elites can protect themselves from internal challengers with policies that aim not at the consolidation of the state in a peaceful society, but rather at the maintenance of control of government. State-society relations are based on instability and uncertainty, created by nepotism, arbitrary rule and multiple armed groups that can be played-off against each other. A disorderly society often benefits elite-based extraction of resources. Precarious statehood, then, is the preferred state of affairs.

“Decertification” of statehood in the case of non-fulfillment of state duties and the development of alternatives to full sovereignty could help to break up this isolation of national elites from the broader societies. If elites would be forced to engage with society and new state-society relations could emerge over time, more stable and eventually viable states might emerge.

tional peace missions, and demand is likely to increase.

57.3 Security Concept of the German Government

The German government approved the *Action Plan Civilian Crisis Prevention, Conflict Resolution and Post-Conflict Peace-Building* in response to these new realities and challenges. With contributions from many civil society actors, the Action Plan takes stock of the Federal Government's capacities in crisis prevention and reviews its contribution to an adaptation and redefinition of security. In line with the *European Security Strategy* of December 2003, it is based on the assumption that coherent strategies are needed for the complex problems in an increasingly fragmented and yet interdependent world (Council of the European Union 2003). The Action Plan reassesses the concepts of crisis prevention, crisis management and post-conflict peace-building. It identifies and evaluates the activities undertaken by Germany as part of its preventive policy, and groups them into fields of action. Moreover, it sets out concrete proposals for governmental action over a timeframe of five to ten years.

Germany's security policy has long ceased to focus exclusively on national territory, the EU or NATO member countries. From the perspective of the Action Plan, the security concept and security policy are determined by the root causes of conflicts. The promotion of good governance and sustainable development are highly relevant for security policy.¹⁰ The Action Plan assumes that crisis prevention policy requires an integrative approach that moulds the various government policy areas into a single coherent strategy. A greater effort must be made not only to bundle foreign, security and development policy. The importance of the economic and ecologic dimensions of many conflicts requires that economic, financial, and environment policy are also enlisted for crisis pre-

vention. Germany realizes this on the national level with the *Interministerial Steering Group for Civil Crisis Prevention*, which comprises all federal ministries and coordinates governmental action in order to ensure a coherent prevention-oriented security policy.¹¹

To this end, the Action Plan provides an analysis of the new nature of conflicts, draws conclusions for the institutionalization of a crisis prevention infrastructure, and operationalizes the German government's answer to the new challenges by identifying approximately 160 actions which are to be implemented by the government. The scope of those actions includes promoting non-proliferation, disarmament and arms control, strengthening the rule of law, utilizing the aid of international financial institutions, and forging global partnerships between private industry and the public sector. They also aim to fight poverty and to ensure the sustainable management of natural resources with a view to securing the living environment as a prerequisite for peaceful coexistence.

In its main parts, the Action Plan's analysis of today's threats to our security is consistent with the human security concept. Both take not only states, but also individuals and humankind as referents of preventive engagement, and both are founded on respect for human rights, social justice, the rule of law, participatory decision-making, the protection of natural resources, development opportunities for all regions of the world, and the use of peaceful conflict resolution mechanisms.

The Action Plan recognizes 'precarious statehood'¹² as a central threat and stresses the need to secure or rebuild state structures as a major task for German crisis prevention policy: the basis for more security and development in fragile states and in post-conflict situations is the state's monopoly of legiti-

9 Within a few years, these missions underwent significant structural changes. Peacekeeping in the traditional sense, i.e. the separation of two or more conflict parties has turned into multi-dimensional peacekeeping and finally 'robust' peacekeeping based on Chapter VII of the UN Charter or even the exercise of executive authority by the UN, as in the cases of the United Nations Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK, 1999-present) or the United Nations Transitional Authority in East Timor (1999-2002).

10 This should not be misinterpreted as a re-conceptualization of development cooperation within traditional security policy. Acknowledging the security relevance of development cooperation does not entail a militarization of its planning and implementation. It recognizes the link between security and development, i.e. there can be no development without security and vice versa. Already in 1980, the Brandt Commission identified development cooperation as the peace policy of the 21st century (Independent Commission on International Development Issues 1980).

11 This work includes identifying crisis relevant aspects of government policies and sensitizing the relevant departments regarding the need for preventive, crisis mitigating planning and action.

mate power based on the principles of law. Thus, the German concept focuses on the promotion of democracy and the rule of law as priority objectives for post-conflict state-building, on promoting the potential for peace in civil society, and on securing livelihood as crisis preventing fields of action. The Action Plan represents a shift in the focus of Germany's security and development policies towards post-conflict reconstruction and peace-building. It reflects the Federal Government's belief that in the long run the only realistic way to create lasting stability is to promote better governance, which is a fundamentally prevention-centred approach.

Crisis prevention endeavours are particularly likely to be effective and ultimately successful if they focus both on the causes of conflict and on the processes and actors involved in the escalation of violence. Each course of action should be examined to determine whether it might not unintentionally do more harm than good ('do no harm' principle). It is therefore essential to create institutions and political regulatory mechanisms for permanently settling conflicts by non-violent means. Crisis prevention endeavours are not just important for the phase in which an escalation of violence is imminent, but must instead be launched earlier on and continue after the end of hostilities in order to help prevent future wars. Crisis prevention, conflict resolution, and peace consolidation should therefore be understood as different approaches within one unified strategy. From the perspective of the Action Plan, crisis prevention includes efforts to mitigate conflicts before violence erupts, as well as steps to consolidate situations after conflicts have ended. The Action Plan's approach covers those activities that are usually subsumed under state- and institution-building or post-conflict reconstruction. There is a close interconnection between crisis prevention, conflict resolution and peace consolidation, because after the conflict all too often means before the conflict: close to 50 per cent of the countries emerging from violent conflict cannot escape the conflict trap and relapse into violence within the first five years (UN 2005a).

57.4 Global Implications of a New Security Concept

Following these considerations, the Action Plan redefines security in three areas, based on: a) the development of a preventive and integrative policy, b) the strengthening of the international legal order; and c) the amplification of multilateral approaches. Germany has started this process of rethinking and realigning security policy and should actively promote it further on the international level, as a global security consensus and especially consistent actions are not yet in sight.

Development of a preventive and integrative policy: A new security concept should facilitate the development of a preventive and integrative security policy with a primary focus on civilian aspects of prevention. Such a concept can only be a multi-layered approach to security in which national and international perspectives are met and reconciled. Its aims should include overcoming poverty in the countries of the South, fighting transnational organized crime, promoting a meaningful dialogue between cultures, and finding solutions to global environmental crises. It should establish a preventive policy as a key security policy task focusing on integration by systematically coordinating all policy areas, namely foreign, defence/military, and development as well as environmental, economic, health, and justice.

In a time of scarce resources and complex challenges, security policy needs to avoid duplication and self-imposed counter-productivity. Effective coordination, both nationally and internationally, that streamlines funding and invests resources strategically according not only to national priorities but to the needs and demands on the ground is crucial for success. Although policy makers are increasingly aware of the necessity of cooperation, which is reflected by the growing number of respective venues,¹³ implementing adequate mechanisms and routines in day-to-day work remains a challenge.

Strengthening the international legal order: A modern security concept should rest on the establishment or rather strengthening of a global legal order based on the UN Charter and the Universal Declara-

12 'Precarious statehood' is not defined in the Action Plan, yet it refers to situations in which state-society relations have deteriorated, which can result in, inter alia, lack of public services provision (security, rule of law, public health, etc.), arbitrary and irresponsible rule, capture of the state by influential social factions, or state-led human rights violations.

13 Such as, on the regional level, the European Commission's *Conflict Prevention and Crisis Management Unit* and the *Common Foreign and Security Policy* of the European Union; globally, the *Peacebuilding Commission*, financial instruments like the World Bank's Post-Conflict Fund, to name but a few.

tion of Human Rights. Existing international conventions and treaties must be expanded, the ability of supranational institutions to act must be enhanced and international jurisdiction must be further developed. The aim should be to strengthen the rule of legal procedures for peaceful conflict settlement at all levels as an important aspect of institutionalized, i.e. sustainable, self-enforcing crisis prevention. Such a global order must eventually also solve the question of rebalancing the sovereignty of states and their responsibilities for their people.

Amplification of multilateral approaches: Finally, a new security approach must enable the establishment of a cooperative order to establish and secure stability in the world, based on the UN and regional organizations. North and South must work together and forge a global security alliance, founded on the understanding that security depends on security for all and cannot be realized when large parts of the world are suffering. While common sense, this 'new' thinking is far from being institutionalized in governmental action. The EU, OSCE and NATO, as well as other regional organizations, especially the African Union, must actively get involved in forging and implementing such an alliance. Lastly, International Financial Institutions (IFIs) like the IMF and the World Bank Group can contribute significantly to economic stability, development, and thus ultimately security. The latter have increased their conflict sensitivity and expertise significantly (see World Bank 2005) and should further develop their programming and monitoring skills in order to ensure implementation that is consistent with their stated goals.

German security policy, as it finds expression in the Action Plan and in the European Security Policy, is based on a prevention-oriented policy that is most effective in a multilateral framework. Crisis Prevention has de facto become the central task of the UN system and of regional organizations. There has been a growing tendency to place the burden of civilian tasks on UN missions while the military command remains with changing 'coalitions of the willing'. Considering that (traditionally defined) security aspects of UN missions are covered by mandatory financial contributions of the member states, whereas the civilian aspects rely on voluntary (i.e. additional) funding, there is a growing need to revisit the financial architecture of collective security policy alongside the reconfiguration of the roles of the key actors.

57.5 A New Infrastructure of Prevention

With the Action Plan, Germany takes an important step towards an integrated security concept combining an analysis of the challenges and opportunities of crisis prevention with an operationalization of the results for governmental action. Effective crisis prevention activities by the Federal Government require a supportive national infrastructure. Besides anchoring crisis prevention as a cross-sectoral task in national politics and improving interministerial coordination, this also involves closer cooperation with non-state actors and creating and developing specific structures for crisis prevention. Regular evaluation of these official measures of crisis prevention ensures their continuous improvement.

Recognizing the impact of political action on crises poses a challenge for the government as it involves different policy areas and constitutes a cross-sectoral task. Mastering this challenge requires not only clearly defined mandates, a division of labour, awareness-raising and training of skills for the actors involved, but also the existence of suitable structures for implementation.

As an institutional answer to the new nature of conflicts, the Action Plan envisages the appointment of *Commissioners for Civilian Crisis Prevention* in all Federal Ministries which form the *Interministerial Steering Group Civil Crisis Prevention*, chaired by the Federal Foreign Office. The Interministerial Steering Group as the central crisis prevention organ was formed in September 2004. It implements the Action Plan, furthers coordination and coherence, creates synergies, and thus enhances the Federal Government's capacity to act more coherently. It helps to foster decision-making processes between the departments, it guarantees continuity and transparency and, to some extent, also control of certain actions. It can also mitigate divergences of interest and information deficits between the Ministries. But it is not authorized to make government policy. Meetings can also be held at the level of State Secretaries to gain or maintain the necessary political momentum.

Although crisis prevention is ultimately a governmental task, non-state institutions play an important role in enhancing the Federal Government's capacity for preventive action. The Federal Government supports transparent mechanisms for the exchange of information sought by state and non-state bodies alike and, where possible, for the coordination of their respective activities and initiatives. Efforts are made to

involve not only non-governmental organizations, but also the private sector in these mechanisms to facilitate early warning, utilize synergies, and avoid undesirable developments.

The Interministerial Steering Group, therefore, also functions as a point of contact between the Federal Government and civil society. An advisory board on crisis prevention was established that is composed of representatives from civil society, including the private sector, and peace research institutes. This advisory board is supposed to provide expert advice to the Interministerial Steering Group, and is to link its activities with the broader civil society. The Interministerial Steering Group appointed the members of the advisory board in May 2005.

Germany regards civil society as an important partner in an integrated approach to crisis prevention. Especially in fragile states, civil society can promote social change, mediate in internal conflicts, and support processes of national reconciliation. One key instrument for the support of peace potentials within civil societies in conflict areas is training peacebuilders by the Civil Peace Service, which is jointly run by the Federal Government and non-state actors. Since 1999 the Federal Government funds NGOs through a special budget title for peacekeeping measures (the FEM-budget item¹⁴), thus facilitating international networking among non-state actors.

Professional and independent media are another crucial factor for effective crisis prevention and stabilization of fragile communities. Freedom of the press and the promotion of media ethics are pillars of any strategy supporting objective and conflict sensitive reporting. The *Institute for Foreign Relations* (IFA) in Stuttgart (Germany) supports independent media with governmental funding. In 2004, Germany's international broadcaster *Deutsche Welle* started to train foreign specialists and executives from the media sector. The Federal Government will strengthen its activities in this sector and add training capacities for journalists from conflict regions. It also gives technical support for the establishment of independent bodies for journalistic self-regulation, advises in the design of liberal media laws, and provides infrastructure for information and communication technology that help to overcome information monopolies.

Crisis prevention activities must be timely and forward-looking, conceived for the longer term, and carried out by qualified personnel who can be mobilized

and deployed at short notice. This is of great importance for crisis prevention activities of multilateral organizations and for bilateral conflict-related measures. The funding of crisis prevention activities must be regulated to be effective. Specific structures and measures are needed to achieve these aims.

Since the end of the 1990's, the Federal Government has created new institutions for crisis prevention measures, focusing especially on the secondment of personnel and the funding of specific projects. Budget lines and relevant non-ministerial units have also been set up. Given the needs of the European Union and of multilateral organizations, in addition to the training provided for its present and future senior security policy staff at the *Federal College for Security Policy Studies* (BAKS 2001, 2004), the Federal Government has identified two other focal areas for the preparation and deployment of personnel for civilian conflict management – the training of civilian personnel by the *Centre for International Peace Operations* (ZIF) for deployment in international peace missions and the development of the *Civil Peace Service* (ZFD) for the deployment of experts in bilateral conflict management projects. In addition, the Federal Ministry of the Interior (BMI) has, with support from the Länder, established a Permanent Office of the Bund-Länder Working Group “International Police Missions”.

The German Action Plan insists that crisis prevention should be primarily civilian in nature since armed intervention cannot replace civilian conflict management activities and their efforts to address the structural causes of crises. But not all conflicts can be settled by peaceful means alone, and crisis prevention often requires close cooperation between civilian and military components within the framework of a security concept that embraces political, diplomatic, economic, humanitarian, and military means. Such a cooperative and coherent approach of civil and military crisis prevention is particularly important for the consolidation of peace, where the (re-)establishment of stable conditions is of utmost importance. Given the complex reality of modern multidimensional peace missions, the question *if* civil and military actors should work together has become obsolete. Rather, the question should be how they can best work together to realize synergies. The Action Plan, therefore, stresses the interplay between appropriate military stabilization and effective civilian conflict transformation.

The concept of *Provincial Reconstruction Teams* (PRTs) in Afghanistan demonstrates how comprehensive crisis management can work in practice. In its

14 FEM is the abbreviation of ‘Friedenserhaltende Maßnahmen’ (Peacekeeping Measures).

two PRTs in Kunduz and Fayzabad, Germany has for the first time created a dual civilian-military command instead of a purely military one. This distinctively German PRT set-up has proved to be successful and has since served as a model for other PRT lead nations. The close link of civilian and military components of German PRTs ensures the coordination of political, military, economic development policy, and societal construction and modernization programmes. The active involvement of civilian organizations under the auspices of the PRT also ensures that sustainable reconstruction strategies can be developed at an early stage, thus making a military exit easier when it becomes viable.

57.6 Experience in Implementing the Action Plan

After almost two years of experience with the implementation of the Action Plan, the crisis prevention policy of the Federal Government has advanced in several issue areas under the authority of the Federal Ministries. The Interministerial Steering Group in particular has increased transparency and coordination in this domain. Special focus was put on the creation of the crisis prevention infrastructure. In addition to the general preventive policy of the government, the work of the Interministerial Steering Group has concentrated on so-called 'lighthouse' projects that require interministerial cooperation and that were thought to raise public awareness for Germany's contribution to crisis prevention and peace-building. The following illustrates some of the issues on its agenda:

- *Improving the link between early warning and early action:* Interministerial country panels have been established to ensure better coordination of our crisis prevention efforts and to draw up specific operational strategies for prevention. These panels include representatives of all major German actors in this area, both governmental and non-governmental.
- *Improving operational capabilities:* A working group on security sector reform has been established to draw up an interministerial framework plan for supporting such reforms in partner countries.
- *Further improving the human resources capabilities:* The Interministerial Steering Group tries to clarify legal questions relating to the deployment of civilian non-governmental experts on international peace missions and to present proposals on

ways to close any existing gaps (e.g. legal basis for deployments, social security status).

- *Improving financial resources:* The Interministerial Steering Group examined the feasibility of pooling budgetary resources for crisis prevention within German constitutional budgetary and financial realities. Britain has piloted a new model based on a common pool of funds by the Department for International Development, the Ministry of Defence, and the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (Department for International Development 2003, 2004).¹⁵ A task force concluded that the British model cannot be copied but that the interministerial cooperation and allocation of funds for crisis prevention can be improved. The German system and its budgetary regulations are too different. But the steering group implemented a proposal of the Action Plan for a clearly defined, specific pilot project on: "Security Sector Reform Indonesia" to support stability, democracy, rule of law and good governance, thus helping an ongoing reform process and complementing the European Union's role in monitoring the Aceh peace process. The project was jointly designed and financed and it encompasses instruments and measures by all relevant ministries (Foreign, Defence, Interior, Economic Cooperation). It fully implements the pooling idea: An interministerial project, a holistic, comprehensive approach, joint planning, joint financing, and joint implementation, also integrating non-governmental actors.
- *Examining the role of private business in crisis regions:* With the participation of business representatives, the Interministerial Steering Group will discuss the potential of enterprises as actors in conflict situations and draw up specific operational strategies.

The comprehensive and cross-sectoral nature of the Action Plan is a forward looking attempt to break new ground in German security policy. This strength also entails difficulties in implementation. The Federal Government is aware that implementing the Action Plan requires a learning process within the different branches of government. In the name of an integrated approach to crisis prevention and security policy, customary prerogatives and routines of the individual departments must be modified or even replaced to sup-

15 This budget-based approach is at the heart of Britain's strategy on conflict prevention, aptly coined as "Investing in Prevention" (Prime Minister's Strategy Unit 2005).

port and not hinder a goal-oriented consensus building. The Interministerial Steering Group's work is based on mechanisms of horizontal self-coordination among departments. Within the German government crisis prevention is still often dominated by individual interests of departments. The process of developing new far-reaching instruments of interministerial cooperation has not really yet begun. To move from coherence in policy shaping to operational coherence that is promoted by the Interministerial Steering Group, a culture of transparency must be established among all actors. An effort is now underway to achieve this goal.

The institutionalization of crisis prevention on an international scale is of utmost importance. In 2005, the establishment of the *Peacebuilding Commission* has set new ground (UN 2005c). So far, no single body within the UN system has the capacity or the mandate to deal with specific peace-building cases in a comprehensive way and in all phases from the initial stages of peacemaking through conflict resolution and post-conflict reconstruction and development. These new peace-building structures necessitate further concentration of German security and development policy in peace-building activities. The new commission could give an impetus to further develop the existing crisis prevention structures in Germany to equip the Interministerial Steering Group with more political and operative clout to better bundle and render more coherent the German contribution to the work of the *Peacebuilding Commission*.

57.7 Conclusions

Security in the 21st century is no longer centred on an abstract concept of 'Staatsraison', but aims at the safety and well-being of individuals and humankind ('human security'). The state, though, remains the central means for achieving comprehensive security. To achieve it, action must encompass the whole spectrum of traditional tasks of the state – on the basis of new aims, new methods, and new instruments. Thus, the central challenge of present security policy is a comprehensively understood crisis prevention policy, at a global, regional, and local level.¹⁶

Germany has responded to this challenge and recognized the need for a re-conceptualization of security. The Action Plan is Germany's first contribution to redefining and rethinking global security. It recognizes the security-development-human rights nexus, and advocates an integrated approach that brings political, military, economic, ecological, and social security into a common framework. Through the Action Plan and in particular the work of the Interministerial Steering Group, policy and decision-making have changed towards this new understanding of security.

The Action Plan's crisis prevention policy is evolutionary. It reacts to new developments and takes into account new perspectives, nationally and internationally: for example, the Federal Government is ready to actively participate in the work of the United Nations Peacebuilding Commission, to contribute – on the basis of its expertise – to the debate on the human security concept, or to use its European Union- and G8-presidencies in 2007 to further enhance the crisis prevention policy.

Germany has been engaged with its partners in conflict resolution and peace-building efforts in the past. It will also remain committed in the future: The coalition treaty between the Christian Democratic Union, the Christian Social Union, and the Social Democratic Party of November 2005 underlines the resolve of the government to continue implementing the Action Plan, to strengthen the Interministerial Steering Group, to bundle crisis prevention resources, to contribute to multilateral peace missions, and to stay engaged in peace consolidation efforts (CDU/CSU, SPD 2005).

National coherence is a precondition for a trustworthy international engagement. But the interface with European and international efforts and structures must be high on the crisis prevention agenda in the future. Ways and means must be found by which the various existing national capabilities can be strengthened and brought together at the international level in support of the objectives shared by the international community. These efforts have already borne fruit: According to the *Human Security Report 2005*, the number of armed conflicts since 1992 has decreased by 40 per cent, and the death toll of recent wars and conflicts is much lower than it used to be during Cold War times (Human Security Centre 2005). This positive development is due not least to the crisis prevention efforts of the United Nations and the international community. Thus, this proves: crisis prevention, conflict management, and post-conflict peace-building are realistic concepts.

16 This is not to say, however, that traditional security policy has become obsolete: Interstate conflicts persist, state security continues to be high on the agenda, and the political control of weapons of mass destruction will remain a key problem in the years to come (Debiel/Werthes 2005).

The international community can tackle the complex present and future security challenges. But there remain immanent problems: there is no catalogue of indicators that make conflict and crisis predictable. Above all, crisis prevention activities cannot be translated into TV images because violence and suffering that have not happened do not make news. It requires a lot of persuasion to muster the political and financial means in order to prevent something that hopefully will never occur. And it is difficult to explain that these means have been crucial for effective prevention.

Internationally, the Action Plan is considered as pioneering due to its diversity and concreteness, and due to the establishment of mechanisms to implement the possibility of cooperation and coordination offered to civil society. In Germany, however, it has not reached far beyond interested expert circles into the general public, the media or even the majority of Parliament. Hopefully, the debate over the further development of a preventive security policy in Germany will gain momentum with the Report of the Federal Government on the implementation of the Action Plan.¹⁷ This could help to further improve the framework and institutional mechanisms of civilian crisis prevention. Especially the interministerial approach of the German Government's preventive policy should be paralleled in a more coherent cooperation of the respective commissions in the Parliament. Such improvements are necessary in a time when crisis prevention gains currency as a new policy field both nationally and internationally.

Despite these successes and best intentions, German policy is not yet sufficiently coordinated and cohesive under the primacy of crisis sensitivity and prevention. Governmental policy does not change overnight. It takes time for organizational thinking and bureaucratic routines to adjust to new priorities and procedures. Implementation of internal policy change is slow and incremental, but nonetheless crucial. Germany must continue to review, adapt, and improve its policies in this regard. Yet it can only succeed if all governments shift their priorities towards preventive policies, promote good governance, and engage civil society.

¹⁷ The report of the Federal Government on the implementation of the Action Plan was approved by the Cabinet on 31 May 2006 (Die Bundesregierung 2006).

58 Interfaces between Development and Security: Converging the Role of Development Policy and Security Policy?

Stephan Klingebiel and Katja Roehder

58.1 Introduction

'No development without security' is proving more and more to be a development-policy paradigm, one that calls for new approaches in the field of development policy. The discernible distance between development and military actors and their tasks of the past, has in recent years rapidly diminished. This applies to Germany, but also to most other bilateral donors and multilateral institutions, including the United Nations (Tschirgi 2004, 2006; Griffin 2003). Thus far, however, too little reflection and discussion has been devoted to its consequences.

The relationship between development and security is not a fundamentally new conceptual issue (see chapter by Uvin above). This applies also to the practical interfaces between various outward-oriented policies – above all development, foreign, and security policies. In the past, an aspect which has at least implicitly played an essential role has been the stable and peaceful environment that has to exist if development is to be possible. Earlier debates saw this relationship primarily as abstract interdependence.¹ The current debates since the early 2000's have focused more directly on convergence in conceptual and practical policy terms.

The present debate extends beyond practical relevance due to important changes in the concept of security. The state-centred security concept has given way to an entirely new concept. Security has fundamentally evolved in the international debate from a

concept which focused on the stability of the state to a protective approach related to the individual (Duffield 2006; Thakur 2006). Basic changes have been brought about by the debates in the United Nations (ICISS 2001; UN High Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change 2004; UN Secretary-General 2005). Although policy conclusions have not always been drawn, there is evidence of attempts in this direction. A clear example is the transformation of the former Organization of African Unity (OAU) into the African Union (AU) that has explicitly abandoned the principle of non-interference (Klingebiel 2006). The United Nations' decision in December 2005 to establish a Peacebuilding Commission (PBC), which will above all seek improved coordination among the various actors and integrated strategies in post-conflict situations, may also serve as a guide for the future (see the chapter by von Einsiedel/Nitzschke/Chhabra in this volume).

The present text looks at development – security interfaces from the angle of a wider concept of security that includes the definition and goal of human security.² To distinguish the overall goal of human security (a concept that is used in a number of different policy fields including development policy) from 'applied security' manifested in traditional military and security institutions, the terms 'security policy' and 'military (actors)' are used. 'Development' in the present text equally refers to the respective policy field and its actors.³ When talking about 'security' at the development-security interface, the physical integ-

1 The practical aspects of the civil-military relationship in the area of humanitarian aid have long been under discussion. This is true of the military side in two respects: it sometimes takes on logistical tasks (transport of aid supplies), and it is involved in the security situation in areas receiving aid. Both tasks have led to a long debate on the relationship between humanitarian aid and military actors.

2 Human Security means "the security of people against personal threats to safety and life" (Thakur 2006: 2), building on different types of freedom: "freedom from want, freedom from fear and freedom to take action on one's own behalf" (CHS 2003: 1); at: <<http://www.humansecurity-chs.org/finalreport/Outlines/outline.pdf>>.

rity of the individual and freedom from direct violence in crisis situations is at the heart of the debate.

Afghanistan, the Balkans, Liberia, and – for some donors – Iraq are topical examples for the growing closeness between development and security policy. The World Bank analysis *Breaking the Conflict Trap* (Collier/Elliott/Hegre/Hoeffler/Reynal-Quero/Sambanis 2003) documents the close mutual relationship between development policy and military engagement. The report assumes that development policy is in a position to provide help in lessening risks in post-conflict situations that could be sufficient to permit reductions in military presence.

The boundaries defining development-military cooperation are not always clearly drawn among the group of bilateral development actors. Traditionally, for members of the OECD Development Assistance Committee (OECD/DAC 2001) one of their top ‘no-go areas’ in terms of assistance was direct support for operational capacities of military actors. Furthermore, areas that are not officially classified as eligible for ODA (Official Development Assistance) are often exempted. The lack of clarity whether activities related to security-sector reform are eligible for ODA support highlights the reluctance by some development actors to fully embrace the new development-military ‘closeness’.

There are several reasons why the changing relationship between development policy and the military has entered the focus of public attention.

First, a significant number of so-called ‘protracted crises’ are characterized de facto by trusteeship rule – and therefore involve functions that extend beyond purely military tasks (e.g. Kosovo, Afghanistan, Iraq). These situations are often marked by efforts to stabilize fragile security, to restore effective statehood, and to embark on a course of economic and social recon-

struction (Ferdowski/Matthies 2003; Debiel 2002a). Nation-building tasks, already a major element of peace missions, are taking on a growing role in this context.⁴

Second, development policy is increasingly interested in gaining more constructive influence in post-conflict situations, and in some cases even expects contributions from the field of security policy and advocates or calls for military intervention to end violent conflicts. In April 2004, the German Minister for Economic Cooperation and Development called for peacekeeping troops to be sent to Darfur/Sudan⁵; and, in a 2003 appeal, international non-governmental organizations active in Afghanistan called for an expansion of the ISAF (International Security Assistance Force) mandate there.⁶

Third, other policy fields, above all foreign and security policies, are coming more and more to expect, and call for, an active involvement of development policy in post-conflict situations. Experiences made with past military missions are cited as reasons: As the *European Security Strategy* (ESS), prepared by the High Representative of the EU *Common Foreign and Security Policy* (CFSP) and approved by the European Council in December 2003, puts it, “In almost every major intervention, military efficiency has been followed by civilian chaos.”⁷

Finally, the growing number of overseas missions directly involving the German *Bundeswehr*⁸ have

3 ‘Development’ in this context best refers to ‘human development’ as defined by the Human Development Report: “Human development ... is about building human capabilities. ... The most basic capabilities for human development are leading a long and healthy life, being educated and having adequate resources for a decent standard of living. Other capabilities include social and political participation in society” (UNDP 2005: 18–19). Human development is intrinsically linked with human security. Three ‘mega-projects’ are on the agenda of present-day international development policy: (1) The Millennium Development Goals and poverty reduction, (2) the security agenda and (3) the Rio-Agenda with its focus on sustainability and global challenges (Faust/Messner 2005: 149).

4 King’s College 2003: 14: “Peace operations in their growing complexity have increasingly included state-building functions.”

5 “UN Blue Berets should monitor cease-fire in Western Sudan. Heidmarie Wiczorek-Zeul and Gerhart Baum call for lasting peace solution for Darfur region”, in: *BMZ press release*, 29 April 2004: 1.

6 International Rescue Committee 2003: “Afghanistan: A Call for Security”, at: <http://www.care.org/newsroom/specialreports/afghanistan/06172003_afghanistan.pdf>, 10 July 2006.

7 Council of the European Union 2003: 12. Also for the operations of other countries like the US, a serious lack of civilian capacity in peace and stability operations is identified and proposals are made to strengthen civilian functions; see e.g. United States Institute of Peace 2004.

8 Currently some 6,700 *Bundeswehr* soldiers are directly involved in missions abroad, including ISAF (International Security Assistance Force), KFOR (Kosovo Force), EUFOR (European Union Force) in Bosnia and Herzegovina and EUFOR RD CONGO (European Union Force République démocratique du Congo) (at: <<http://www.bundeswehr.de>>, 10 July 2006). The costs for these missions have increased more than tenfold between 1995 and 2003 (Klingebiel/Roehder 2004: 3).

served to move the overall spectrum of German policies and their potential scopes of action into public attention.

Germany thus provides a useful case study to explore the changing relationship between military and development actors and policies.

The relationship between civil and military actors includes civil actors, e.g. from foreign and development policy, and various instruments such as democratization and equipment aid, dispatch of civil peace personnel, humanitarian aid, police aid provided by civilian actors, or support for non-governmental organizations (NGOs), etc. Looking at the case of the development-military relationship, we find that interest in the civil component tends to focus on development-policy actors and instruments. 'Relationship' refers to all forms of interaction between the two groups of actors. That is, the term may encompass targeted cooperation strategies, a deliberately complementary approach, or unintended sequences of actions carried out by actors linked by a relationship structure. The present text thus sees the terms 'interface' and 'linkage' as synonymous.

This chapter discusses current challenges this new relationship poses for development policy. A number of examples, with special focus on Germany, serve to illustrate some ongoing changes (58.2). The chapter provides an overview of the different relations between development policy and military actors (58.3) as well as security policy and categorizes development-military interfaces (58.4) with a detailed discussion (58.5). Finally, it outlines some initial strategic reference models for development policy in its relationship to military actors and other externally oriented policy fields (58.6), and draws some conclusions (58.7).

58.2 Legitimacy of Military Missions as a Precondition for Development Policy in Post-conflict Situations

The mandates, and thus the legitimacy, of military missions play an important role in the development-military relationship in the debate on post-conflict situations. This applies to the engagement of some donors in Iraq as well as for the debate in Germany on the character of the German reconstruction efforts in the Kunduz Region of Afghanistan. The need for mandated military missions has today found widespread acceptance.⁹ Pre-emptive interventions, however, and other military activities without an adequate mandate, and thus without sufficient legitimacy under

international law, have attracted considerable controversy and are widely rejected.¹⁰ In general practice three categories of military operations may be distinguished, each based on a different type of mandate (based on Bothe 2003: 24f.):

1. Use of autonomous, unilateral state power (e.g. 2003 military intervention in Iraq).
2. Military operations led by parties other than the UN, covered by a UN Security Council mandate.¹¹
3. Original UN peace missions with classic monitoring, buffering, and aid mandates geared to restoring deficient state power.

Furthermore, in connection with UN peace operations (categories 2 and 3) we speak of different types of peace missions which are legitimized either under Chapter VI or Chapter VII of the UN Charter (based on a functional differentiation) (Kühne 2003: 716ff.; Debiel 2002b: 462ff.):

- *Traditional peacekeeping*, which is based on consensus and neutrality and provides only for self-defence measures (e.g. Sinai in 1950's; Cyprus in mid-1960's).
- *Multidimensional peacekeeping*, which is geared to the dynamics of processes and provides for an expansion of non-military functions (e.g. Namibia in 1989/90; Cambodia in 1992/93).
- *Robust peacekeeping* or peace enforcement, which also provides for a possible use of military force (e.g. in Somalia).
- *Peace support* and governance operations, where the assumption of political and administrative functions plays an additional important role (e.g. in Kosovo; East Timor).

Accordingly, international military peace missions are increasingly assigned nation-building functions. The concrete shape given to UN peace operations may vary considerably in this context. This applies as well for the profile defined for non-military and civil activ-

9 For a discussion from the view of development policy, see e.g. Collier/Elliott/Hegre/Hoeffler/Reynal-Querol/Sambanis 2003: 163ff.

10 See e.g. Center for Defense Information: "The U.S. National Security Strategy: A View from Europe" (Washington: CDI, 9 October 2002), at: <www.cdi.org/friendlyversion/printversion.cfm?documentID=1905>, 10 July 2006.

11 These would include *Operation Enduring Freedom*, which was legitimized by the UN Security Council under Resolution 1368 on combating all forms of international terrorism.

ities (including reconstruction) and the extent to which a mandate covers protection of the civilian population (ICISS 2001). Apart from the mandate, though, this also depends on the capacities available to a mission, as we have seen in cases of missions that have proven problematic (Kühne 2003; Debiel 2002b). The 2000 Report of the Brahimi Commission, which was written on behalf of the UN Secretary-General, goes in detail into the experiences made by UN peace missions and calls on the UN to give greater weight to the civil component of peace missions (Brahimi-Report 2000).

The type of military engagement is also a highly relevant factor for development policy decisions. Thus, there should be no doubts as to a military mission's legitimacy and mandate under international law before development policy considers getting involved in reconstruction efforts (Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development 2004: 10f.).

58.3 Perspectives of Different Actors Involved

The development-military relationship is influenced by national factors such as the closeness, or distance, between development policy and foreign policy, the share that humanitarian aid and emergency relief account for in the work done by development co-operation, and national traditions and experiences made with military interventions (table 58.1).

Viewed from the *perspective of development policy*, closer convergence and/or cooperation with the military involves a number of risks and chances (Picciotto 2004: 1-3). It may be assumed that improved mutual understanding leads to greater coherence in reconstruction efforts in post-conflict countries. Development policy could contribute more of its specific strengths and competences for purposes of decision-making in the fields of military and foreign policy. It could tap the know-how of military actors for its own work, e.g. in the field of security-sector reform. Furthermore, a military presence could provide for a more stable security situation on the ground that would benefit development policy.

But there are also risks involved due to the possibility of military dominance and a diminished influence of development-related concepts in connection with short-term political or military missions. It is argued that development policy could share responsibility for a military strategy in cases in which such a strategy lacks sufficient legitimacy or acceptance. Develop-

ment policy actors might in this case also be faced with the risk of becoming targets of armed attacks (soft-target debate).¹²

In the framework of the new peace missions, like those in the Balkans and Afghanistan, the military is becoming increasingly involved in carrying out genuinely civil tasks. In the framework of the concept 'Civil-Military Cooperation' (CIMIC) both the Bundeswehr and NATO routinely conduct strategically conceived civil reconstruction projects (in the sense of 'force protection') that impact on development policy. While increasing the acceptance of military presence in conflict areas, military actors nevertheless see the risk of a watering down of their military mandate (so-called *mission creep*) (Braunstein 2001: 37-46; Hardegger 2003; Heinemann-Grüder/Pietz/Lipp 2003).

Development and humanitarian NGOs, taking up the debate underway in the field of humanitarian aid, have engaged in an intensive discussion over the complexities involved in the military-civil relationship. European NGOs in particular, pointing to the principles of neutrality and impartiality, largely reject cooperation with military actors and voice criticism of any blurring of the boundaries between military and civil aspects (VENRO 2003; Barry/Jefferys 2002).

In international comparison, the situation among donors varies. German development policy has had a tradition marked by a relatively distanced relationship to security policy and military actors, while in the United States (US), for instance, the examples of Afghanistan and Iraq are illustrations of the way in which development policy may assume a role immediately supportive of strategic military goals. Any clear-cut separation of the tasks of development policy and the military is difficult (Fitz-Gerald 2004: 17). The United Kingdom (UK) has been innovative in inter-ministerial action where development policy has retained, or indeed even enlarged its self-assured role. This also applies to the new mechanism of joint conflict prevention pools (DFID/FCO/MOD 2003, 2004).

58.4 Development-Military Interfaces

In recent years the interfaces and overlaps between development policy and the military or security policy

12 In recent years an increasing number of development actors (NGOs, etc.) became targets of violent actions. Staff is sometimes kidnapped or killed. Security risks are an issue for development policy.

Table 58.1: Chances and risks of development–military cooperation from the perspective of the different actors involved. **Source:** authors.

Actor	Chances	Risks
Development policy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Security and stability as the <i>sine qua non</i> for the development of the country affected - Security as a condition required for the engagement of development policy - Constructive influence on security strategies - Influence on approaches adopted by military actors in areas relevant to development policy - Coherence of overall policy, including consideration of aspects relevant to development policy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Risk that development policy may find itself subordinated to a military strategy as well as to short-term political considerations - Security risk in that development policy may find itself in the position of a target of attacks - The possibility that involvement of development policy may serve to legitimize and support military interventions - Risk of public criticism along the lines: ‘Development policy providing military assistance’ - Resources may be diverted from the ‘core business’ of development policy (i.e. long-term tasks) - Resources used for non-civil tasks are not eligible for recognition as ODA - Regional reorientation of development policy - Possible inability to adhere to principles of development policy
Military	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Greater acceptance on the part of the local population due to better planning of civil activities - Access to additional (development policy) resources (financial, advisory, implementation) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Possibility of mission creep when the military takes on a growing number of civil tasks on the ground - Demands for more transparency/disclosure of military strategy vis-à-vis third parties - Parallel command structures and, possibly, restriction of powers of discretion on the military side
NGO	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Complementary and effective approach in acute crises based on purely subsidiary aid provided by the military - Depending on the concrete case, a more secure setting for the implementation of projects and programmes. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Loss of impartiality and neutrality - Security risk (NGOs as a soft target) - Diversion of funds to countries in which military missions are underway.

have grown dramatically. They can be classified in four categories.

1. Security and Stability as framework conditions: Security and stability are essential conditions for development policy. In most post-conflict situations these framework conditions, needed by development actors for their reconstruction work, rely on the stability and security provided by military measures. Ongoing conflicts are marked by the following additional aspect: as representatives of international engagement, aid organizations are increasingly becoming direct soft targets for local conflict parties. In Afghanistan and Iraq, this situation has become dramatic

because the international conflict parties are blurring the lines between military and civil activities.¹³

2. Strategic planning and conception: A second field deals with strategic planning and conception, including general concepts, individual country and regional policies. In Germany these interfaces are concerned with information-sharing and development of joint strategies.

13 See e.g.: Humanitarian Practice Network: “Iraq and the crisis of humanitarian action”, at: <<http://www.odihpn.org/report.asp?ID=2616>>, 10 July 2006; Stapleton 2003.

- *Inter-ministerial cooperation and mechanisms* serve the purpose of information-sharing and development of joint strategies in and among the various policy fields concerned. In this inter-ministerial cooperation the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) has been able to bring its influence to bear on cross-cutting government concepts and the formulation of country strategies. The BMZ has played a role in shaping the structure of the German reconstruction teams currently deployed in Kunduz and Feyzabad (Afghanistan), as well as on the formulation of the mandate for the military component involved. The mechanisms of cooperation include, among others, the Federal Security Council, ministerial consultations, and in particular inter-ministerial cooperation, e.g. coordination of the German contribution to the G8 Africa Action Plan (GAA).
 - *Deliberate integration and subordination of development policy in short-term political and military strategies* would include in particular the extensive use of instruments of development policy, but also of humanitarian aid, in the framework of military approaches, e.g. in US Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRTs) in Afghanistan.
3. Funding: This is concerned with various situations involved in funding for non-civil measures and missions as well as civil activities conducted by the military.
- *Development policy funding for non-civil measures and missions*: There are several current examples which can be viewed as a shift of the boundaries defining the traditional practices of development policy. For instance, €5 million of un-disbursed funds were made available from the *European Development Fund* (EDF) to support the *Economic Organization of West African States* (ECOWAS) peace mission in Liberia (Klingebiel/Roehder 2004: 15). In November 2003 the decision was taken to set up a Peace Facility for Africa (an initial €250 million) that is to be financed from the EDF and used to fund non-civil peace missions in Africa.¹⁴
 - *Development-policy funding for civil activities conducted by the military*: One example is the BMZ's funding of CIMIC measures conducted by the *Bundeswehr*.
 - *Military competition for development funds*: To conduct CIMIC measures, the military competes with the *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit* (GTZ) or NGOs for funds in humanitarian aid and development assistance.
4. Operational approach: This last field covers a variety of different operational approaches.
- *Interministerial projects*: The German support for the *Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre* (KAIPTC) in Accra/Ghana is seen as a pilot project for the development of a coherent and inter-ministerial concept involving the German Foreign Office (AA), the Federal Ministry of Defence (BMVg), and the BMZ.
 - *Military conduct of typical development co-operation measures*: This may be observed above all in the framework of CIMIC (e.g. in the field of vocational training).
 - *Military provision of concrete protection functions for development policy actors and measures and benefits of an improved security situation*: Apart from the general role played by the military in the field of security, concrete forms of cooperation may also develop on the ground.
 - *Cooperation in training and capacity-building*: In various contexts military and development policy actors are involved, on a reciprocal basis, in training and capacity-building functions as well as in dialogue forums, e.g. in the framework of the German *Federal College for Security Policy* (BAKS), the *Bundeswehr Command and Staff College* (*Führungsakademie der Bundeswehr*), or the course on 'Civil-Military Cooperation Abroad' (ZMZA) offered by the *German Academy for Crisis Management, Emergency Planning and Civil Defence* (AKNZ).

58.5 Debate on Development-Military Interfaces

There are several examples of current relevance representing closer cooperation between civil and military actors.

¹⁴ Details at: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/site/en/com/2003/com2003_0638en01.pdf>, 10 July 2006>.

58.5.1 Military and Development Actors in Afghanistan

The strategy of using reconstruction teams to stabilize the security situation and accelerate reconstruction in Afghanistan is an important precedent. The PRTs of the US are an example of integrated civil-military 'units' used directly to integrate reconstruction activities within the US military strategy. In its reconstruction team in Kunduz, Germany is relying on a three-pillar concept consisting of independent but coordinated sectors (development policy, foreign policy, defence) to deliberately distinguish its approach from that pursued by the US (Klingebiel/Roehder 2004: 23ff.).

58.5.2 Proactive Inter-ministerial Cooperation in the UK

The UK has been working with a proactive cooperation model which provides for strategic cooperation between development policy and the military within the *Conflict and Humanitarian Affairs Department* (CHAD) of the *Department for International Development* (DFID) and by developing an inter-ministerial strategy and funding instrument (so-called Conflict Prevention Pools) for the government's conflict-related work abroad (Fitz-Gerald 2004: 13ff.; Klingebiel/Roehder 2004: 29ff.).

58.5.3 Intensive EU Development-Military Cooperation

The rapid pace of developments at the European level is of importance for future development-military interfaces. In the European Union there are a number of approaches that – building on the 'Programme for the Prevention of Violent Conflicts' (Gothenburg 2001) – are aimed at expanding the EU's civil and military capacities and – in particular – their combined use (Brauch 2003f: 257–258). The task facing the *Common Foreign and Security Policy* (CFSP) and the *European Security and Defence Policy* (ESDP) is to systematically integrate the whole of the EU's external relations (see chapters by Mosca Moschini; Hintermeier, Katseli in this volume), including development policy (Child 2003). One element of great importance to the EU's overall external relations is the *European Security Strategy* (ESS) adopted by the Council in December 2003. Given the new threats analysed in the document, one of its main concerns is civil-military cooperation. The Union, it states, "could add par-

ticular value by developing operations involving both military and civilian capabilities" (Council of the European Union 2003: 13).

58.5.4 Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre

The Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre (KA IPTC) in Ghana was set up in 1998 as a regional training centre with the aim to tap Ghana's experience in peace missions and make it available to other African countries. The training programme includes e.g. courses on military-police tasks as well as preparatory training for military observers. Germany is using various instruments to support the development of the KA IPTC in the framework of its G8 Plan for Africa:

- Development of a course model on the use of civil forces for peacekeeping; the project is being funded by the BMZ and implemented by the Berlin *Zentrum für Internationale Friedenseinsätze* (ZIF), the Centre for International Peace Missions; the GTZ is responsible for handling and implementing the project.
- The German Foreign Office funds are being used to construct and equip the Centre; the Federal Ministry of Defence is responsible for implementing the measures.
- Support for training operations is provided by a German *Bundeswehr* instructor specialized in the field of civil-military cooperation. In Germany, African training personnel are trained by the Federal Ministry of Defence and the German Foreign Office.

58.6 Defining the Position of Development Policy

58.6.1 Development Policy Engagement in Post-conflict Situations: Interest in Coherent Approaches

Due to its limited options for external actors, development policy has important and useful means to potentially contribute to addressing challenges that typify the security challenges of fragile states. It can help restore effective statehood and embark on the process of post-conflict economic and social reconstruction. This is the case given the fact that peace missions have grown increasingly complex in nature.

Against this background, development policy has a fundamental and strategic interest in shaping its interfaces with other external policy fields, including security policy. A crucial task facing development policy is to define its position on the character and shape which should and can be given to this process. This is not to rule out the possibility of tensions and occasional differences in perception regarding individual regions or countries.

Development policy not only has a fundamental interest of its own in comprehensively shaping its interfaces with foreign and security policy. Outside pressure aimed at inducing development policy to 'fall into line' and show more 'flexibility' has grown dramatically. This is clearly illustrated by the crucial cases of reconstruction efforts in Afghanistan and funding for military peace missions from development funds (e.g. in Liberia). But there are a number of possibilities for development policy by engaging in more intensive cooperation with other externally-oriented policy fields to exercise constructive influence in terms of coherence with development goals.

58.6.2 Sensitive Areas

Not all development-military interfaces are fundamentally problematic in nature. But it is possible to identify four sensitive areas from the perspective of development policy that must be taken into consideration in efforts to shape these interfaces:

1. *Subordination of development policy to a military logic*: Any subordination of development policy to military contexts or short-term action constraints that deprive development policy of its say on the 'whether' and 'how' of policy is highly problematic (examples: the embedded role of development policy in the PRTs conceived and set up by the US; the extremely narrow options of development policy after the war in Iraq in 2003).
2. *Implementation by the military of measures with a development character*: In this area development policy actors find fundamental reasons for operational criticism and call for the principle of 'subsidiarity' to continue playing a central role. As far as the field of humanitarian aid is concerned, the relevant actors have defined clearly outlined exceptions in which the military may be allowed to assume certain tasks (Barry/Jefferys 2002: 15ff.). For the spectrum of functions of develop-

ment policy there appear to be no such reasonable exceptions for the military.

3. *Development policy as a source of funding for military missions*: Taking into consideration the imbalance between development and military budgets, development policy will have to refrain from funding military missions (by partner countries and organizations) both in principle and in the individual case. While on the one hand there are legitimate funding needs in the field, and these needs are evidently – one need think here only of the EDF-Liberia debates¹⁵ – not covered by specific and suitable budget lines (above all in the framework of CFSP/ESDP), development policy on the other hand will not be able to fill this gap, since this is beyond its scope.¹⁶
4. *Development policy as a source of funding for civil activities conducted by the military*: Since civil activities of the military are generally geared to achieving higher-level goals (force protection) that have little to do with the goals of development measures, development policy does not seem to be the appropriate source of funding.¹⁷

A number of problems faced by development policy in post-conflict reconstruction – e.g. the question of whether or not it is possible to enforce development policy principles in such situations – are primarily due not to the presence of military but to difficult starting conditions encountered in the countries affected.

58.6.3 Principles of Development Policy

Any more pronounced linkage with military components may have direct implications for fundamental principles of development policy. Two sets of principles may be distinguished: (1) general principles (civil character of development policy and 'do no harm') and (2) development policy principles with impacts at the operational level (sustainability, long-term character, partner orientation and ownership). Closer con-

15 In 2003 a sum of €5 million was used from the 8th European Development Fund for support of the ECOWAS (Economic Community of West African States) military mission in Liberia.

16 The imbalance between development and military budgets is reflected in numbers: "Aid still uses only seven percent of the resources absorbed by the military worldwide (\$56 vs. \$794 billion)" (Picciotto 2004: 2).

17 This is not to say that civil measures conducted by military actors may not be legitimate or appropriate and useful in view of concrete situations on the ground.

tact between development and military actors need not necessarily mean any curtailment of these principles; but in this case three fundamental conditions must be given:

- Acceptance of the military by both the local population and conflict parties.
- Independence of development policy activities from military actors.
- Clearly outlined cooperation based on division of functions and limit in time.

58.6.4 Strategic Reference Models

There are three strategic models that are conceivable for development policy to position itself *vis-à-vis* security policy and military actors:

1. *Distance Strategy*: The aim of a distance strategy is to retain the historically and socially conditioned distance between development policy and security policy and military actors. The expected advantage would be a relatively large ministerial autonomy for decisions taken largely based on development policy considerations, i.e. involving the possibility to reach decisions without having to focus unduly on foreign policy and short-term political constraints. Development policy would be free to concentrate on longer-term tasks, including the realization of the Millennium Development Goals.

The potential risks of such a strategy would include the possibility that, given the important political challenges involved in central conflicts (e.g. Afghanistan), any pronounced distance strategy might cast doubt on the relevance of development policy. In this case development policy would lose its ability to constructively shape elementary framework conditions (security) and some of its influence on security and foreign policy strategies concerning such countries.

2. *Cooperation Strategy*: Based on far closer coordination and joint approaches with foreign and security policy actors, a cooperation strategy would seek to give more weight than in the past to the concept of 'development through security'. The expected advantage would be a strategy fully coherent with overall policy where development policy would contribute its interest and concerns to bear on security-related military thinking and approaches.

The potential risks of such a strategy would include the possibility that development policy would have to make many compromises and concessions on principles as well as on concrete approaches due to short-term and military considerations. Development policy would share greater responsibility for military

actions, and it would have to reconcile the risk that other actors might seek its cooperation not least with an eye to existing financial resources, and that these resources would thus no longer be available for the current long-term development policy.

3. *Complementary Strategy*: A complementary strategy would aim for goal conformity and, in strategically selected fields, a complementary approach involving security and foreign policy actors. This would be an interrelated and thus mutually complementary approach that would not entail any overlaps between both fields. The military would define its tasks to ensure that they do not include any development policy measures; and development would ensure that it does not take on or fund any non-civil tasks. The advantage would be an approach which, compared with a distance strategy, would be more coherent and effective without blurring the lines between different tasks and spheres of responsibility.

One potential risk of this strategy would be the possibility that development policy might find itself harnessed to overriding considerations of other policies (e.g. security and/or foreign policy) and see at least some of its interests and concerns sidelined.

The advantages and significance of these three reference models depend on the interface in question. They could seek orientation along the following lines:

- *Complementarity* for the interface 'Security and stability as framework conditions for development policy': In this area close coordination is appropriate, indeed essential in many cases, although it should focus primarily on information-sharing. One essential principle here is a clear division of tasks. Cooperation, on the other hand, would entail an overlapping approach of the kind involved in direct military protection (e.g. escorts).
- *Complementarity to cooperation* for the interface 'Strategic planning and conception': Many situations call for a complementary or even a joint strategic approach.
- *Complementarity* for the interface 'funding': A prudent approach to the funding of non-civil measures and missions as well as for the civil activities of military actors involves complementarity, but not overlapping. Approaches or individual activities can and should be planned jointly, although funding should be based on the specific tasks and areas of responsibility of the policy fields involved.
- *Case dependence* for the interface 'operational approach': Here the benefits derived from joint interfaces concerned with operational matters will

depend in very large measure on the individual case. Accordingly, action strategies should be chosen on an individual basis.

58.7 Conclusion

Development policy and military actors and/or security policy share an increasing number of indirect and direct points of contact as well as fields of possible cooperation. In the past some of these points of contact hardly even entered the minds of the actors involved. These interfaces and overlaps have grown dramatically in recent years. Development policy is on its way to defining for itself a responsibility for overall policy that goes far beyond its present tasks and competences.

While there is reason to welcome many of these points of contact, serving as they do to enhance the overall coherence of given policies, we can at the same time pinpoint some sensitive areas that pose an inherent risk of instrumentalizing development policy and blurring lines of competence.

For development policy actors, these results reflect the general predicament in the current agenda of security and development, characterized by two opposite trends: On the one hand the widening of the security concept across the disciplines to encompass all aspects of human security; on the other hand the tendency of a 'securitization' of development issues. While, for example, the discussion on backgrounds of certain crisis situations includes the whole range of social, political or economic factors, the debate on what action should be taken is dominated for the most part by rather narrow security and military aspects.

The future concern of development policy must be to define its position on shaping the interfaces with other externally-oriented policy fields. This process should accord greater weight to development policy considerations in areas of concern for security policy. As far as reconstruction efforts are concerned, legitimacy of military missions must always be a precondition when development policy engagement is considered.

Facilitating more effective action entails overcoming the gulf previously existing between development and security policy, and civil and military activities. Often fragmented approaches present a serious obstacle to more effective contributions. This applies equally to governments and international organizations both with broad mandates (relationship be-

tween UN development organizations and DPKO [Department of Peacekeeping Operations]), or comparatively 'narrow' ones (NATO in defence policy).

However, it should be noted that greater alignment and cooperation between development policy and the armed forces does not automatically lead to a resolution of potential conflicts of interests in the goals set or prevent diverging perspectives. The allocation of ODA resources varies (by country and region) depending on whether the assistance is targeting the Millennium Development Goals (poverty reduction, absorption capacity, performance, etc.) or the reduction of threats to security and stability (actions of those in power, fragility of the state, or limited monopoly on the use of force, etc.).

Part VIII Reconceptualizing Regional Security for the 21st Century

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Sven Biscop

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Mustafa Aydın and Neslihan Kaptanoğlu

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59 European Security in the 21st Century: An Institutional Perspective

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59.1 Introduction

From an institutional perspective, the major post-Cold War development for European security is the emergence of the European Union (EU) as a security actor in its own right. This was prompted by the end of the Cold War and the disappearance of the Soviet threat, which allowed for the development of autonomous European policies, distinct from the US, and by the confrontation with Europe's own grave limitations when forced to deal with the civil war in former Yugoslavia. Starting with the creation of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) by the Maastricht Treaty, which entered into force in 1993, the EU has set an increasingly clear, ambitious and, arguably, distinctive security agenda. This culminated in the adoption of the European Security Strategy (ESS) (European Council 2003). The first ever strategic document guiding the full range of EU external policies, it unambiguously sets forth the global vocation of the EU, including in the field of security (Bailes 2005). The ESS outlines a holistic approach, integrating security and the other dimensions of foreign policy, from aid and trade to diplomacy. 'Hard' security is included in the EU's purview, as in 1997 the so-called Petersberg Tasks were included in the Amsterdam Treaty: autonomous EU humanitarian, rescue, peacekeeping and peace enforcement or crisis management operations. In other words, the EU can legally undertake all military operations except for collective territorial defence. At the same time, the EU is continuing to build the institutions and capabilities allowing it to fulfil those ambitions. Since long a global economic power and, if the Commission and the Member States are combined, the world's largest donor of development aid, the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) from 1999 onwards has added deployable military and civilian capabilities to the EU toolbox. The 2003 Nice Treaty institutionalized the Political and Security Committee (PSC) as the linchpin of the CFSP. If the idea to transform the office of High Representative

for the CFSP, created in Amsterdam, into an EU Foreign Minister has been frozen by the impasse on the draft Constitutional Treaty, nevertheless the EU has since created a European Defence Agency (EDA).¹

The arrival of a new actor on the security scene has major implications for the European as well as for the global security architecture. It leads to immediate questions with regard to the division of labour between the EU and the other European security organizations, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), and the compatibility of their security strategies.² This debate again has immediate consequences for the relationship between the EU and the United States and, as NATO has left the 'out-of-area debate' behind it and like the EU can now also operate across the globe,³ for the global security architecture. Furthermore, the ESS accords a central role to the United Nations (UN) and in particular to the Security Council (UNSC) as the core of the collective security system, to which the EU therefore aims to contribute. Starting from the objectives and principles outlined in the ESS, this chapter will assess how the European and global security architecture could accommodate this evolution. After conceptually analysing the holistic approach of the EU, the chapter will assess to which extent this approach is comple-

1 For an overview of this development see Bretherton/Vogler (2006) and Howorth/Keeler (2005).

2 Under the Maastricht Treaty, the Western European Union (WEU) functioned as the military arm of the EU, but with the creation of ESDP the EU has directly assumed that operational role. The WEU is now defunct as an operational organization but continues to exist because of the symbolic importance of the collective defence commitment in Article V of the Modified Brussels Treaty (MBT). The WEU Assembly also still convenes.

3 For the EU this has of course always been the case, in all policy fields, as the Treaties never included any geographical limit.

mentary to the general strategies of the OSCE, NATO and the UN, and how the EU could cooperate with each of these institutions in order to maximally valorize that complementarity. The approach will be institutional and political rather than legal.

59.2 The Holistic Approach of the ESS

The ESS can best be characterized as a holistic, integrated or comprehensive approach (Biscop 2005). The overall aim is 'effective multilateralism'. This amounts to effective global governance, which can be conceptualized through the notion of *global public goods* (GPG) (Kaul/Grunberg/Stern 1999). Starting point is the assumption that there are a number of 'goods' that are *global* or *universal* in the sense that it is generally felt – at least in Europe – that every individual is entitled to them.⁴ Like in the 'human security' approach, the individual is thus the point of reference. These goods are *public* in the sense that their provision cannot be left to the market but should be supervised by government at the different levels of authority (local, national, regional and global). Global governance is effective if it can ensure everyone's access to the core GPG. If to a certain extent the definition of the core GPG is a political and normative choice – Rotberg (2004) uses the term 'political goods' – many elements have been recognized as being universal beyond any doubt, notably in the field of human rights.

The core GPG can be grouped under four broad headings:

- physical security or 'freedom from fear';
- political participation, the rule of law, and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms;
- an open and inclusive economic order that provides for the wealth of everyone or 'freedom from want';
- social well-being in all of its aspects – access to health services, to education, to a clean and hazard-free environment, etc.

These GPG are strongly interrelated: ultimately, one cannot be ensured or enjoyed without access to the

other; the four categories are therefore equally important. The most important foreign and security policy challenge is the ever growing gap between haves and have-nots in terms of access to the essential GPG, because this is a challenge of a *systemic* nature, i.e. it results from the malfunctioning of, and impacts on, the global order itself. This systemic malfunctioning has many dimensions, e.g.: continuing trade liberalization without regard for social and ecological conditionalities is unable to evenly distribute the benefits of globalization and fundamentally improve the living conditions for most people in the developing world; the system is rarely able to effectively prevent crisis and conflict; and many crises and conflicts remain unaddressed, as the will to intervene is often limited, unless economic interests are at stake, which create an impression of arbitrariness. Unless global governance can be rendered *more* effective in order to alleviate this situation, at a certain level of inequality, the resulting political upheaval, extremisms of all kinds, economic uncertainty and massive migration flows will become uncontrollable and fundamentally undermine the system. Ultimately, maintaining Europeans' access to GPG thus requires improving others' access: globalization means interdependence. The status quo should not be an option, as it denies a large share of the world's population access to the core GPG and thus contains the root causes of instability. Against this background, specific politico-military challenges do stand out. They include regions of chronic tension and long-standing disputes and conflicts, failed states and civil wars, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and excessive militarization, and terrorism. These challenges have to be tackled head-on, but as they are symptoms of the 'dark side of globalization', effective global governance must be pursued at the same time as the key to *preventing* such threats. From these holistic underpinnings result a number of principles of EU foreign and security policy.

The first is *integration*. Because the core GPG are inextricably linked together, action must be undertaken to address all of them simultaneously and in a coordinated fashion, by all relevant actors, in all fields of external policy, putting to use all the instruments at their disposal, including trade, development, environmental, police, intelligence and legal cooperation, diplomacy, and security and defence. Dealing with all of these dimensions, which are equally important, requires coherence within the EU system. In the words of the ESS:

4 GPG are sometimes defined more narrowly as comprising only those public goods which cannot be provided but through international cooperation, excluding public goods of which the State is or should be the main provider, such as education or political participation. See, e.g. the International Task Force on Global Public Goods, at: <<http://www.gpgtaskforce.org>>.

Spreading good governance, supporting social and political reform, dealing with corruption and abuse of power, establishing the rule of law and protecting human rights are the best means of strengthening the international order.

The second principle is that by thus addressing the root causes of conflict, a policy oriented on the core GPG emphasizes *structural conflict prevention*. This presents a formidable challenge: it implies dealing with more issues, related to the entire core GPG, at an earlier stage, before they become security threats. Effective prevention is much more than mere appeasement: it demands a proactive stance, aiming to change circumstances that induce instability and conflict. Linking aid and trade to economic, social and political reforms via conditionality mechanisms, the EU thus effectively seeks to export its own model and change whole societies (Duffield 2002). A policy oriented on GPG will thus in fact be quite intrusive, which can make it rather contentious with the target countries (Hurwitz/Peake 2004). But as it is in the very nature of GPG that pursuing them is in the mutual interest of all concerned, it is at the same time a very positive approach, contrary to other, threat-based strategies. ‘For whom’ rather than ‘against whom’ is the question that determines policy.

Thirdly, as effective action in all policy fields concerned requires the cooperation of a wide range of actors at many different levels, a GPG-oriented policy implies *multilateralism*: an intricate web of states, regimes, treaties and organizations, i.e. multi-level governance, implicating all levels of authority in a coordinated effort to improve people’s access to GPG. Next to its internal coherence, the EU must thus increase its coordination with the other elements of the system. Although in the spirit of human security the individual is taken as point of reference, the state remains a primary partner, for no effective arrangements can be made with weak and failed states. Third states are therefore seen as partners for cooperation rather than as mere subjects of EU policies; the aim is to influence rather than to coerce, to use the carrot rather than the stick. There will be cases where the use of force is inevitable, for not all actors are amenable to preventive initiatives and security threats will arise. An effective military capacity must thus be part of the EU’s toolbox. But in the framework of multilateralism, the use of force can only be a measure of last resort to be mandated by the UNSC. The UN is thus at the core of the EU approach.

These principles have now been codified by the ESS, which increasingly serves as a reference frame-

work for day-to-day policy-making (Biscop 2006), but were in fact already observable in EU policy practice since the mid 1990’s, notably in the many partnerships which the EU has built with other States, regions and organizations. Rather than widening its understanding of security therefore, the EU has deepened its foreign policy by integrating the ‘hard’ security dimension into it. For the EU, ‘9/11’ and the subsequent events confirmed the validity of its holistic approach, proving that military power alone cannot prevent nor provide a durable response to security threats.

59.3 Reluctant Partners: EU, OSCE and NATO

59.3.1 From Forgotten Actor to Strategic Partner: OSCE

Looking at the other European security organizations, it is clear that the strategic objectives and general approach of the OSCE are strikingly similar to those of the EU. The OSCE was of course one of the first to define a comprehensive and cooperative concept of security (see the chapter by Wohlfeld in this volume), which is reflected in its three-basket structure. Yet neither in the public debate nor in the Brussels policy-making scene is the OSCE a major topic. One result of the institutional developments in Europe is that the OSCE has been pushed off the stage. Partly, this is also a result of the organization’s own inability to overcome divisions within its membership, which have had a paralysing effect. Rather than seeking to profile itself vis-à-vis the OSCE, the EU often simply seems to ignore it, developing its own policies and capabilities and deploying missions in areas where the OSCE has been active for a long time. The EU is thus seen for example as the leading actor determining the political future of the Balkans, while the large OSCE presence in the field is often overlooked. In the ESS, the OSCE is mentioned only very briefly, on a par with the Council of Europe: “For the European Union, the strength and effectiveness of the OSCE and the Council of Europe has a particular significance.”

Obviously, if anywhere it is on the European continent – in its ‘neighbourhood’ – that the EU has a major role to play. It is also true that the OSCE is active in certain fields where other actors can now act more effectively and efficiently. Yet the question is whether by ignoring the OSCE, the EU does not overlook that in a number of fields the OSCE has invaluable exper-

tise that could help the EU achieving its own objectives. This is not to say that today there is no coordination: the troikas of both organizations meet twice annually, there are staff-to-staff contacts and there is concrete cooperation on specific projects in many countries. What is missing though is effective coordination at the *strategic* level, i.e. on the long-term objectives to be achieved and the main instruments to be applied to those ends.

This holds especially true for the EU's ambitions towards its near-abroad, notably the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP), its new framework for dealing with its neighbouring states (Smith 2005). The ENP is a valuable attempt to implement the holistic approach. It operates on the basis of 'positive conditionality'. With each target State, the EU negotiates a consensual bilateral Action Plan, in which political, social, and economic reforms and security cooperation are to be linked to increased free movement of persons, goods, capital and services ('the four freedoms'). Like the OSCE, the ENP is thus also based on a cooperative approach, requiring the voluntary subscription of each partner State. It is easy to see that on the EU's continental neighbours the OSCE can bring a wealth of experience and expertise to the table which the EU has yet to acquire. In many of these countries, the OSCE has a long-established and large-scale presence, while the EU's presence in the field for the time being is limited. With its norm-setting experience, the OSCE could thus help the EU in designing realistic objectives and benchmarks and in negotiating the consensual Action Plans. Even more importantly, through its missions and delegations, it could then collaborate in a very constructive way with the target States in helping them to meet those objectives. The OSCE could thus also profit of the increased leverage resulting from an EU-provided carrot to stimulate cooperation and reform, to the benefit of both organizations' objectives.

Such constructive cooperation could further meet the criticism by some countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) that the OSCE missions focus too exclusively on monitoring human rights and democratic institutions, to the detriment of supporting the governments of the target States (Wohlfeld/Pavlyuk 2004), although of course political participation, respect for human rights and the rule of law constitute an important dimension of the ENP Action Plans. At the same time, in the framework of the OSCE the target States are not mere recipients of aid, but sit around the table as equal partners. So do the US and Russia, which makes the OSCE into a

unique, but as the Panel of Eminent Persons (2005) has pointed out, underused forum for comprehensive and inclusive political dialogue. The OSCE has the potential to function as the multilateral complement to the bilateral ENP, in a similar manner as the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership complements bilateral relations with the EU's southern neighbours.

Such far-reaching cooperation between the EU and the OSCE demands more than limited staff-to-staff contacts and ad hoc cooperation on specific countries. Based on the fundamental similarity of their strategies, it requires alignment of their general approaches as well as the structural integration, on a country-by-country basis, of their programmes and actions in all fields covered by the Action Plans. This effectively amounts to a *strategic partnership* between the two organizations. At the same time, the OSCE itself would benefit from a refocusing of its activities on those areas where it has real added value, withdrawing from fields that are better covered by other actors. Such a partnership might be regarded as the instrumentalization of the OSCE for EU purposes, but the point is that both organizations' purposes are similar, whereas the alternative seems to be for the OSCE to just languish on. The States that are most critical of the OSCE, like Russia, must realize that continuing to block the functioning of the organization will only contribute to the centre of gravity shifting even further to organizations of which they are not a full member, notably the EU and NATO.

59.3.2 Rebalancing an Alliance: NATO and the US

A look at NATO leads to a very different picture. Of course, as a military alliance, NATO cannot pursue policies on all of the core global public goods, although it has recognized the necessity of a comprehensive approach, following the operational experiences of Afghanistan and Iraq. More fundamentally however, under the George W. Bush Presidency - although it can in fact be traced back to the end of the Cold War - a strategic divide has arisen between the EU and the dominant power in NATO, the US. The EU and the US view the world very differently - to the US the world is dangerous, to the EU the world is complex, as a European diplomat worded it - which leads to very different responses. That the ESS was adopted in itself is the clearest indication of what is seen as the dilution of the consensus on a common purpose between all NATO Allies (FAES 2005). The emergence of the EU as a security actor in its own

right, even though not – yet – a consistently united one, constitutes a new structural factor in transatlantic relations. But because this development coincided with NATO's own reorientation towards global crisis management, creating complete overlap with the ESDP,⁵ it is also the core of a permanent debate and competition between the two organizations, which haunts policy-making ever since the early 1990's (Burwell/Gompert/Lebl/Lodal/Slocombe 2006; Dobbins 2005; Moravcsik 2003). As a result, it has become increasingly difficult to find consensus on the role of the Alliance, as demonstrated by the meagre results of the last Summit of Heads of State and Government (Riga, 29 November 2006). Rather than announcing an increasing worldwide presence, the NATO operation in Afghanistan could be the exception.

Until today the way in which NATO is organized does not take into account this structural change. A rebalancing of the Alliance, acknowledging that NATO increasingly consists of two pillars, the EU and the US, is long overdue. Implicitly, the ESS says as much:

The transatlantic relationship is irreplaceable. Acting together, the European Union and the United States can be a formidable force for good in the world. Our aim should be an effective and *balanced* partnership with the USA [author's emphasis].

In a rebalanced Alliance, each pillar should have a 'right of initiative'. As global strategic actors in their own right, each equipped with the full range of foreign and security policy instruments, the EU and the US are the first-line policy-makers. If they judge a 'non-Article 5' situation or a request from the UN or another actor requires a certain military response, they should have the authority – within the bounds of international law of course – to initiate that. In view of the spirit of solidarity and transparency, they should inform and consult their Allies before taking action. But this consultation should not be considered a request for authorization. Rather if both pillars agree on the assessment of the situation and the required response, *and* if both agree to contribute substantially to the actual military operation, the mission can be implemented under the NATO flag, via the existing political and military structures of the Alliance.

If, however, they do not agree on the action to be taken, or if one pillar prefers not to contribute to the action, the other pillar simply maintains its initial authority to launch the operation autonomously under the EU or US flag.

A two-pillar constellation implies a pragmatic attitude, choosing the framework that is most suitable according to the situation at hand. The advantage would be that non-participation in a non-Article 5 operation initiated by the other pillar, e.g. because of political objections like in the case of the invasion of Iraq, would no longer need to give rise to accusations of breaching transatlantic solidarity. Each pillar could thus pursue its own strategy. At the same time, mere ad hoc coalition-making – NATO as a 'toolbox' – would be avoided. Building in the necessary flexibility would prevent divergences between Allies on issues of 'day-to-day policy' from endangering the organization as such, while the Alliance as a community of values expressed in a collective defence commitment would be preserved. Solidarity in the event of an effective Article 5 situation would naturally still be complete and unquestionable. Article 5 should be interpreted strictly though, so as not to detract from the value of this ultimate security commitment. NATO would thus remain the foundation of collective defence and the ultimate guarantor of the security of all Allies.

The EU and the US are the real policy-makers, each with a global policy of their own across the range of international relations. In the politico-military sphere, NATO is the forum at their disposal to consult and, if they agree, to act jointly. Because of its very nature, i.e. a military alliance, NATO's remit is necessarily limited. It is therefore less suitable as a forum to discuss multidimensional issues with implications way beyond the politico-military sphere, such as the role of China and India, relations with the Arab world, or Islamic fundamentalism (Flanagan 2005). NATO does not have the instruments to deal with such issues, while using NATO as the main vehicle to address them might send the wrong message to third countries, which perceive NATO strictly as a military alliance. The forum to discuss wider multidimensional issues is direct EU-US dialogue. The 'transatlantic gymnich', which informally brings together Ministers of Foreign Affairs from all EU and NATO countries and is mostly NATO-driven, is a useful supplement to that core partnership, and serves as a platform where non-EU Allies can input their views. But as the core partnership is that between Washington and Brussels, it would only be logical that at the 'transatlantic gymnich' and indeed in NATO itself the EU speaks with

5 The EU's 'Petersberg Tasks' and NATO's 'non-Article 5 Operations' cover the same thing. Only collective defence remains the exclusive prerogative of NATO, for the time being, as the draft Constitution provided at least a symbolic EU commitment to 'mutual defence', based on the WEU commitment.

one voice. Such would be the natural evolution of CFSP/ESDP. This would not require an amendment to the North Atlantic Treaty – the political will on the part of the EU Allies to speak with one voice would be sufficient.

59.4 Sub-contractor *par excellence*? EU and UN

Even more so than is the case for the OSCE, the fit between the objectives of the EU and the UN is astonishingly close. The UN was meant as a holistic project from the outset, with the Charter covering security as well as human rights and social and economic development. Following the 2003 invasion of Iraq, the viability of the collective UN system and its capacity to deal with so-called new security threats was challenged, as doctrines based on ‘pre-emption’ and unilateralism and emphasizing the military instrument were put forward (Buchanan/Keohane 2004; Feinstein/Slaughter 2004). The EU has been instrumental in having the validity of the UN and its holistic approach reconfirmed by the world community. Without a very active EU diplomacy, the September 2005 Millennium+5 Summit of the UN would probably have remained inconclusive, whereas now its Outcome Document reconfirms the centrality of the UNSC, sets out a comprehensive agenda pursuing the ‘three freedoms’ of security, development and human rights, as advocated in Secretary-General Kofi Annan’s preparatory report (Annan 2005), and decided on the principle of the ‘Responsibility to Protect’ (R2P)⁶ and the creation of a Peacebuilding Commission. Throughout this debate the EU has emerged as the prime supporter of the collective security system. The ESS expresses this clearly:

The fundamental framework for international relations is the United Nations Charter. The United Nations Security Council has the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. Strengthening the United Nations, equipping it to fulfil its responsibilities and to act effectively, is a European priority.

⁶ R2P implies that if a State is unable or unwilling to protect its own population, or is itself the perpetrator of genocide, ethnic cleansing, war crimes or crimes against humanity, national sovereignty must give way to a responsibility to protect on the part of the international community. In such cases, the UNSC must mandate intervention, if necessary by military means.

This diplomatic commitment has naturally created high expectations on the part of the UN, notably in terms of concrete EU contributions to the maintenance of global peace and security. A close partnership has indeed been developed, with regular dialogue at the high political as well as the expert level. At the same time however, the UN fears that the development of the ESDP will detract from the availability of European forces for the UN.

This fear is unjustified, for the ongoing transformation of EU Member States’ armed forces, which the ESDP promotes, augments the available number of deployable troops for operations in *any* framework (Flournoy/Smith 2005; Quille/Gasparini/Menotti/Monaco/Valasek 2005). Since the adoption of the ESS the EU has launched several operations, military, civil and civil-military. In early 2007 no less than 12 EU operations were ongoing, which demonstrates a growing awareness on the part of the Member States of the possibilities *and* responsibilities of the EU as a global actor. It is often overlooked that if all operations are taken into account (EU as well as NATO, UN, national and coalitions of the willing), on average 50 to 60,000 troops from EU Member States have been deployed at any one time in 2003–2006, including (only) 4,000 to 5,000 for UN-commanded operations (blue helmets) but another 30,000 to 35,000 for UN-mandated operations (ISAF in Afghanistan, Althea in Bosnia and KFOR in Kosovo); the remainder are mostly in Iraq (Biscop 2004a). This number even increased when in the Autumn of 2006 EU Member States agreed to provide the core of a reinforced UNIFIL in Lebanon, deploying an additional 7,000 European blue helmets. EU Member States are thus certainly not averse to deploying their forces.

Yet the large majority is deployed in the Balkans, where the EU and its Member States logically assume responsibility, and in Afghanistan and Iraq, as a follow-up to the invasion initiated by the US and a number of EU Member States themselves. The number of European troops in sub-Saharan Africa on the contrary is marginal, certainly when set against the political and economic weight of the EU. Nevertheless, in sub-Saharan Africa except for the African Union (AU) the EU seems to be the only actor potentially willing – at least on paper – to implement peace support operations, reason why the UN is likely to appeal to Brussels, as happened in 2006 when a ‘deterrent force’ was requested to assure stability during the elections in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). In view of the responsibilities of the EU as a global actor, future force planning ought to take into

account a greater contribution to peace support operations *worldwide*.

If Member States are indeed deploying their forces, there still is no consensus on deployment under the EU flag where crisis management is concerned. Although legally the Petersberg Tasks include all operations except collective defence, but including peace enforcement at the high end of the spectrum of violence, politically the Member States are still divided over the EU's level of ambition in this field. As long as in a crisis situation some Member States will look to Washington before taking a position, the EU cannot be a consistently resolute actor. Even though with Operation Artemis in the DRC in the summer of 2003 the EU has proven that it can mount high-risk operations if the political will is present, other EU-led operations are mostly low-intensity. To some extent therefore the criticism is justified that the EU takes on important but mostly 'easy' operations, in the post-conflict phase, in reaction to a settlement of a conflict. The slow reaction to events in Darfur demonstrates that this criticism can in fact be applied to the international community as a whole. The EU should work proactively towards conflict resolution, through its diplomacy, and when necessary contribute forces in earlier stages of a crisis or conflict. EU policy towards Iran is an example of such a proactive stance.

Nevertheless one must question whether in view of this lack of consensus on high-intensity operations, all Member States are willing to fully accept the implications of their strong diplomatic support for R2P. It is to be expected that to implement R2P the UN will appeal to the recently created 'battlegroups', which are configured for high intensity operations and which the EU has declared will be primarily deployed at the request of the UN. Rapid reaction and use of force can be required in other scenarios as well, notably in the event of a renewed escalation in the Balkans. Will all Member States readily accept the risks associated with such per definition high intensity operations and will they be willing to contribute the forces and command & control capability required? Even if the holistic approach aims to prevent conflict, there will always be situations in which the use of the military instrument is required.

It is a trend in recent years that the UN avails itself of 'regional organizations', including the EU and NATO but also the AU, e.g. to implement operations on its behalf, as subcontractors, rather than launching blue helmet operations. This is motivated by the desire to promote local ownership and develop regional capacities for peacekeeping and crisis management,

notably in Africa, but also by the current reluctance of European States to put their forces under UN command, which is seen as slow and cumbersome, increasing the risks for the troops in the field (if blue helmets were deployed in Lebanon, it was because the UN-framework was the only one acceptable to all parties on the ground). Even though multilateralism comes natural to the EU and Brussels sees itself as a prime contributor to the UN, relations with New York are thus not altogether clear cut. In itself, the fact that EU Member States prefer subcontracted operations under the EU-flag to contributing blue helmets to UN-commanded operations is less important as long as the boots are on the ground. What is important though is that in all cases the political authority must remain with the UNSC: the body that authorizes an operation and sets its objectives must decide when the objectives have been achieved, have to be adjusted or abandoned. In practice however the reporting lines between the UNSC and an organization implementing an operation on its behalf are not always clear and seem to be very much ad hoc. Seeing itself as a partner and not a subordinate of the UNSC, even the EU was at first reluctant to report elaborately on its 2003 operation in the DRC, 'Artemis', before High Representative for the CFSP Javier Solana turned the reporting obligation into a diplomatic success by going in person to the UNSC, thus enhancing the presence of the EU in the UNSC and of himself as 'EU civil servant' in the CFSP/ESDP. Even if - unlike the OSCE but like NATO - the EU does not explicitly see itself as a 'Chapter VIII organization' as per the UN Charter (Graham/Felício 2005), for fear of detracting from its autonomy, and does not explicitly state in the ESS that the use of force always requires a UNSC mandate, clearly its position on the centrality of the UNSC as the final arbiter *de facto* implies a relation of subordination which must be translated into clear working arrangements with the UN. The latter effectively holds true for all regional organizations to which operations are being subcontracted.

59.5 Conclusion

The emergence of the EU as an international actor in its own right has profoundly changed the institutional landscape of European security.

The EU has a much broader scope than NATO, while its basic strategic outlook differs significantly from that of the other pillar of the Alliance, the US, although NATO has come to recognize the need for a

holistic approach. If the OSCE shares its holistic strategy and broad scope, the EU has much more capacity for resolute action than the latter, in all dimensions. As a *sui generis* organization, the EU's potential to wage an effective security policy is therefore both unique and enormous. It has at its disposal a comprehensive range of instruments, from aid and trade to diplomacy and the military, allowing it to effectively pursue a holistic strategy as outlined in the ESS with the combined weight and resources of 27 Member States behind it. Admittedly, this ideal scenario does not always materialize, as all too often still Member States are divided among themselves, leaving the EU paralysed. The gap between 'Atlanticists' and 'Europeans' remains the main stumbling block for a fully effective EU foreign and security policy (Dassù/Menotti 2005). Yet the EU has proven that when it is united, it can act quickly, if necessary forcefully, and successfully. Combined with the growing awareness of Member States of their own limits in the face of an increasingly interdependent world and the need to interact with powerful new actors such as China, this means that most probably the trend towards ever deepening integration will gradually continue. The European project has suffered a serious setback with the stalemate on the draft Constitutional Treaty, but everything indicates that the Constitution's provisions on foreign and security policy are not contentious – and might thus be salvaged yet. Besides, in the area of ESDP, significant progress has been made even without the ratification of the Constitution, notably the creation of the Battlegroups and the EDA.

The other European and global security organizations must therefore take into account that the EU is there to stay. The OSCE and the EU could be very complementary strategic partners with regard to the ongoing stabilization and, ultimately, democratization of the European continent and Central Asia, if the respective members would agree to transparent cooperation between both organizations. NATO will have to come to terms with a shift of gravity towards the two main constituent pillars of the Alliance, the EU and the US, but would remain vital as the forum for implementation of military operations by both pillars jointly, and as the long-term defence guarantee of all Allies, while direct EU-US partnership on the other dimensions of the core global public goods should be deepened. The UN can rightfully expect an increased EU contribution to all dimensions of global peace and security. High expectations have indeed been created vis-à-vis the EU. The ambitious ESS has *de facto* become the benchmark by which internal and exter-

nal actors will judge EU performance. It is up to the EU and its Member States to prove that they can achieve these self-defined objectives.

60 Regionalization of Great Power Security – Near Abroad, Broader Middle East, and European Neighbourhood

Mustafa Aydın and Neslihan Kaptanoğlu

60.1 Regionalization of Security

The end of the Cold War and the 11 September 2001 (9/11) attacks had profound effects on international relations. Despite the interpretation of 9/11 by some as manifestation of the growing importance of globalization at the expense of regionalization and that the following unilateral American actions have been detrimental to regional efforts, in practice there is an expansion in regionalization, particularly in the security field.

There are different, even contradictory, meanings of ‘region’, ‘regionalism’ and ‘regionalization’. A region can be anything ranging from an area within a single state to a whole continent. It is often defined as a group of countries located in the same geographically specified area (Hettne 1991: 280). However, a region implies more than just a close proximity among the constituent states. The US and Russia are rarely considered as belonging to the same region, even though Russia’s eastern coast is very close to Alaska (Mansfield/Milner 1999: 591). A region can be a historical formation with a distinct economic, cultural, political background and a particular regional consciousness. This places little emphasis on proximity but concentrates on non-geographic criteria, such as France and Francophone countries of North-West Africa composing a regional grouping because of their linguistic similarities (Mansfield/Milner 1999: 591). From an organizational point of view, the term ‘region’ describes a group of countries that have more or less voluntarily entered into some kind of cooperation. A region or sub-region is then defined by the list of its members.

Similarly, there are various approaches to regionalization. One approach sees regionalization as part of a larger world order transformation, especially the decline of US hegemony and the end of the Cold War (Marchand/Boas/Shaw 1999: 902). Scholars such as Mansfield and Milner focus on domestic political fac-

tors and use, for example, strategic trade theory to account for the sudden keen interest on the part of policy-makers in regional projects. In the EU context, regionalization is often taken to denote a process whereby political and economic power is devolved from the centre to the local level (Bechev 2004: 77–95). It can also be conceived as the growth of societal integration within a given region, including the undirected processes of social and economic interaction among the units such as nation states (Kacowicz 1999: 527–556). In the literature of the ‘new regionalism approach’, the concept has been given a more normative meaning, intending to control access to a particular region to protect it against the process of globalization (Väyrynen 2003: 43). It sees regionalization as a complex process of change taking place simultaneously at three levels: the structure of the world system, the level of inter-regional relations, and the internal pattern of the single region (Marchand/Boas/Shaw 1999: 902). In any case, regions are invented by political actors and regional identity is what people, politicians, and states make out of it and is thus amenable to change over time (Neumann 2003: 160–178).

Regional security also refers to different things. The American and European literature differ in their approaches. While the American literature focuses on defining the existence or nature of regional security arrangements and pays little attention to the process of regionalization (a rationalist and state-centred approach), the European literature focuses on the process of building regional security with a more historical and constructivist approach (Barnathan 2005: 283). It is defined as “the attempts by the states and other actors in a particular geographical area – a region in the making – to transform a security complex with conflict generating interstate and intrastate relations to a security community with cooperative external relations and domestic peace” (Hettne 2001: 13). In this view, the Nordic countries are a good example, and

the EU was originally launched with this particular purpose in mind.

There are many reasons why the concept of regionalization has expanded in the post-Cold War era. Due to the bipolar struggle during the Cold War, regional problems were directly translated to the global competition between the two superpowers. Fearing the other might gain political advantage; superpowers were driven to assist one or the other party. Regional conflicts were restrained since each superpower tried to limit the conflicts in its sphere of influence, out of concern that open disputes might create opportunities for the other to intervene in what it regarded as its own backyard (Lake/Morgan 1997: 3–19). Since the end of the Cold War, conflicts have changed nature and large scale aggression against states has become less probable while less visible and predictable threats have emerged. Especially after 9/11, security risks no longer emanate primarily from traditional state actors but rather asymmetrical perpetrators such as terrorist groups and other non-state actors. The national security documents of the US, the EU, and the Russian Federation (RF 2000, 2000a, 2000b) refer to similar threats.¹ In all these documents, terrorism is depicted as the biggest threat creating risks, imposing large costs and posing a growing strategic problem. Each of “the three empires” (Emerson 2001: 15–25) has faced the problem of terrorism. For the US, this was the 9/11, for Europe the London (July 2005) and Madrid (March 2004) bombings, and for Russia it was the Beslan hostage crisis of September 2004.

Some argue that a shift to unipolarity created incentives for the development of regionalization of security, both by the hegemonic state and the regional states (Barnathan 2005: 285–288). A hegemonic state in a unipolar world clearly has a strong interest in maintaining its hegemony and therefore regional stabilities through multilateral frameworks of cooperation. Barnathan (2005: 287) believes that regional arrangements help the hegemonic state reduce its costs by enticing greater burden-sharing from others. There is also an incentive on the part of the regional states to invest more in regional security since the shift from bipolarity to unipolarity creates challenges for manag-

ing regional security environments. They face a situation where the hegemonic power threatens their autonomy in foreign and security policy areas, while they can no longer rely on it to come to their aid automatically in case they need it. Thus, the need to devise strategies that will mitigate the negative aspects of this dilemma encourages regional countries to invest in regional security institutions and capabilities (Barnathan 2005: 288). Aware of the fact that their security policies must be tailored to the individual circumstances of different regions, today’s big powers are formulating regional outlooks, areas of interests and responses to regional crises that might threaten their national, regional or global interests.

Three such regional outlooks, namely the ‘Near Abroad Policy’ (NAP) of the RF (60.2), the ‘Broader Middle East-North Africa Initiative’ (BMENA) of the US (60.3), and the ‘European Neighbourhood Policy’ (ENP) of the EU (60.4), are analysed below. A number of key theories in economics support the argument about the benefits derived from economic regionalization and regional integration (Lane: 333). There is no such common understanding regarding the advantages of regionalism in the security realm, where the focus on regional security issues touches big power interests and competition, which, if not managed properly, might lead to tensions and even conflicts. Since some of the countries/regions analysed in this paper are within the sphere of more than one of the initiatives of bigger powers, these areas are prone for great power competition and even confrontation. Thus this chapter, arguing that a regionalized world is not inherently a peaceful one and that regionalism does not always produce expected results in security affairs, will discuss possibilities for big power tension due to overlapping peripheries of above-mentioned initiatives in the last section of the chapter.

60.2 Near Abroad Policy of the Russian Federation

The term ‘Near Abroad’ (*blizhnee zarubezh’e*) in Russian jargon refers to the states in the non-Russian post-Soviet space, which until 1991 was part of the USSR. It implies that these countries are not as foreign as others and therefore may be subject to different rules or treatment (Kubicek 2000: 547). Russian leaders from across the political and military spectrums have regularly asserted that Russia has ‘special rights’ and responsibilities for maintaining security within this region. The former Foreign Minister An-

1 The White House, 2006: “National Security Strategy Document of the USA”, March 2006; at: <<http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss/2006/>>; European Council, 2003: “European Security Strategy”, December 2003; at: <<http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cmsUpload/78367.pdf>>; Russian Federation, 2000; *Russian National Security Concept*; at: <<http://www.fas.org/nuke/guide/russia/doctrine/gazeta012400.htm>>.

Figure 60.1: Borders of the former Soviet Union of 1989 and of the Russian Federation and its 'near abroad'. **Source:** University of Texas, Perry-Castañeda Library Map Collection; at: <http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/commonwealth/soviet_union_admin_1989.jpg>.



drei Kozyrev stated that, “The CIS and Baltic countries are the area where Russia’s primary vital interests are concentrated. We should not withdraw from these regions which have been in the sphere of Russian interests for centuries” (Zaccor 1994: 9). Former President Yeltsin reiterated in September 1993 that the external borders of the ‘near abroad’ countries, most of who are loosely grouped together with Russia in the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), “are essentially the border of Russia” (O’Brien 1994: 14–18). One former Yeltsin advisor flatly declared that the ‘near abroad’ was Russia’s sphere of influence and that the former republics had best not try to form alliances among themselves or with foreign powers. They would have to submit to Russia’s domination (Kubicek 2000: 547).

After the disintegration of the USSR, Russia passed through a period of reconciliation with the West advocated mainly by the so-called Atlanticists. They argued that the South Caucasus and particularly Central Asia were geographically too remote and an economic and political burden for Russia (Kubicek

2000: 547). They were eager to get rid of the neo-imperialist tendencies from Russian foreign policy with the belief that an imperialist Russia could not at the same time be a democratic one. However, the liberal Atlanticists lacked strong support for their program in the Duma, and many grew disillusioned with the hopes they had placed on the West. Thus, it did not take long for their ideas to be attacked by the Eurasianists who favoured a more active Russian role in its vicinity. They believed that “Moscow was disregarding the nation’s interests and sacrificing the historical, geographical and cultural identity of the country for the sake of obscure good relations with the West” (Tuncer 2000: 95–112). When they gained the upper hand in Russian politics, from the mid-1990’s onwards, the Russian attention shifted to the CIS, which was proclaimed by the 14 September 1995 presidential decree as an area of vital interest and a top foreign policy priority (Perovic 2005: 62). Later, both the *Foreign Policy Concept* of June 2000 and the *Military Doctrine* of April 2000² prioritized an increased Russian role in the region.

There were many reasons behind the desire to have further Russian involvement in the 'near abroad'. The Russian population of the region, up to 25 million, factored heavily (Croft 1996: 13; Buzan/Wæver 2003: 410). Their treatment by host countries is a contentious issue and cannot be ignored. Over 1.9 million ethnic Russians fled to Russia between 1990 and 1998, straining an already overburdened system (Croft 1996: 13; Ziegler 2006: 110). Reducing this figure was important, though ethnic Russians were not the only ones who emigrated to the RF, fleeing from ethnic conflicts and turmoil in the 'near abroad' in such areas as Tajikistan and Georgia (Tsygankov 1996). Should a full-scale regional conflict break out between two or more countries, as many as 8 to 12 million refugees could flee to Russia (Aron/Jensen 1994: 25), creating a burden that Russia is unable to handle (Commercio 2004: 23–32).

Russia was also fearful that regional conflicts in Nagorno-Karabakh, Abkhazia, and South Ossetia could spread into its territory. Some spoke of Russia's southern borders as its 'soft underbelly', therefore necessitating a strong Russian military presence in the region. Russian policy-makers decided in the early 1990's that no international organization or group of states should replace Russian 'peace-keepers' on the territory of the former Soviet Union.

From a strategic and military point of view, former Soviet borders in Central Asia and the Caucasus are seen as the first line of defence, both in case of a foreign invasion launched from outside the CIS and to prevent transnational security problems, such as Afghan drugs, reaching Russia. The Russian military believes that defending the southern borders of the CIS makes it easier to defend Russia. The region is viewed as a buffer between Russia and its southern neighbours, Iran, Afghanistan, and in part China (Akerman 2003: 19–31).

The region's vast hydro-carbon reserves have attracted both Russia and the West, which have a strong interest in securing their place and limiting the role of others in the region. In the Russian case, this means assuring its dominant role both in exploration and transportation of oil and gas to world markets. Losing its monopoly on pipelines and proliferation of export routes has put Russia in the position of having to

compete with other export outlets for Caspian oil. The American backed Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan pipeline for Azeri oil exports was commissioned in 1999 and became operational in July 2006, thus intensifying the US-Russia competition over regional energy resources.

Economic ties with the countries in its 'near abroad' are another reason for Russia to insist on an influence in the region. Many states in this region have an underdeveloped economic base and the intra-CIS economy is very integrated.³ The Russians, dependent on imports of certain raw materials from the 'near abroad' and sensitive to the possible interruptions, have chosen to elicit greater economic cooperation. With the economic features of the other CIS states closely tied to its own, Russia can hardly ignore destabilizing conditions outside its borders.

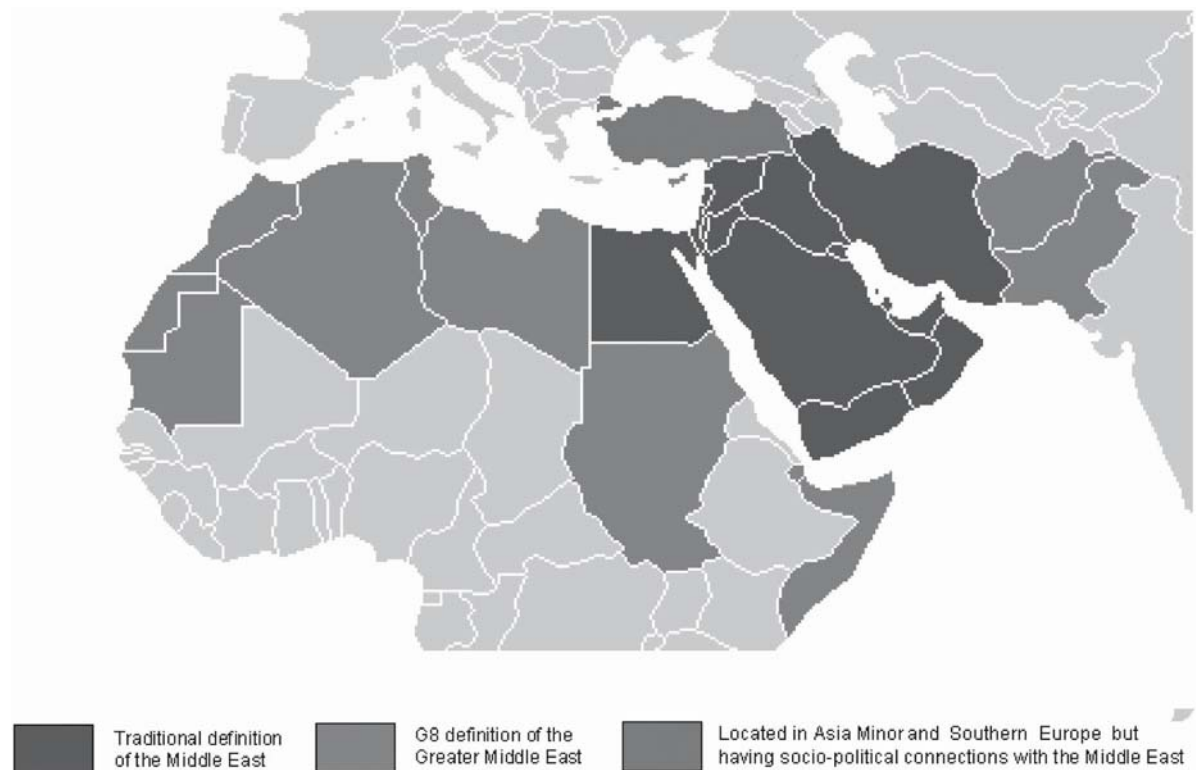
Another reason for Russian interests in the 'near abroad' is psychological. As the Tsarist Empire ruled these areas from the second half of the nineteenth century, many Russians find it natural to have some sort of a privileged role in these areas. For them, it becomes difficult to accept that these regions have total independence from the Russian core (Akerman 2003: 20). The idea of 'Russia as an empire' has been present in Russian political life for centuries, and the end of the Cold War did little to change these ideals. In fact, calls for Greater Russia, advocated by people like Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, re-emerged shortly after the Soviet collapse (Berman 2004-05: 64). The "near abroad" is the most obvious larger geographical area that Russia might define a mission and have an influence, which makes it easier for Russia to be recognized at the global level as a great power (Buzan/Wæver 2003: 408).

Last but not the least, the instability of the region and its security problems create an incentive and excuse for outside powers, such as the US, to be active in the region. This is perceived by Russia as a security threat. All the main security documents of Russia (the *National Security Concept* of January 2000, the *Military Doctrine* of April 2000 and the *Foreign Policy Concept* of June 2000) single out dominance of the international community by Western states and unilateral power actions as destabilizing factors that pose threats to Russia. Clearly, the numbers of political, economic, and military actors that can influence the RF's southern borders have increased extensively and

2 For 'The Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation', June 2000, see at: <<http://www.fas.org/nuke/guide/russia/doctrine/econcept.htm>>; and the *Russian Military Doctrine*, April 2000 can be found at: <<http://www.freerepublic.com/forum/a394aa0466bfe.htm>>.

3 Despite the integrated nature of CIS economies, the export shares of non-CIS countries such as Turkey and Iran are increasing and heating up the competition. For more on the trade figures, see Perovic 2005: 76.

Figure 60.2: Geography of the Broader Middle East and North Africa (BMENA) Region. **Source:** Wikipedia, Middle East; at: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Middle_East>.



the area has become increasingly relevant for Turkey, Iran, China, the US, and European countries. Thus, Russia wishes to keep its presence in the area and has indicated its willingness even to use force if its security is or could be threatened.

Russia has so far implemented the *Near Abroad Policy* (NAP) mainly through bilateral agreements instead of multilateral arrangements since none of the regional countries, with the possible exception of Armenia and Belarus, have been eager to create multilateral cooperation with Russia. Russia also preferred to deal with regional states through signing cooperation agreements on a wide range of issues that reflect each republic's specific characteristics, needs, and aspirations. Thus, several bilateral agreements have been signed between Russia and the newly independent states since the early 1990's. In areas where regional states have been hesitant in developing projects and processes to modify the provision of security in their region, regionalism has often provided a power platform for Russia (Allison 2004: 467). Yet, despite its interest in the 'near abroad', Russia's own serious economic problems have until Putin's rise to power hampered its efforts to restore its hegemony. Thus, while Russia has been sensitive to the growing foreign

presence and influence in the region, its influence has continued to decline in its 'near abroad'.

60.3 Broader Middle East Initiative of the United States

Defining the *Broader Middle East and North Africa* (BMENA) is more difficult than defining the 'near abroad'. In a preparatory working paper for the G8 Summit in June 2004, the US defined the region as including the Arab states, Israel, Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, and Afghanistan (Perthes 2004: 88). Analysts often refer only to the Arab countries when identifying specific problems. In its widest definition, 27 countries and areas are included in the BMENA concept: Afghanistan, Algeria, Bahrain, the Comoro Islands, Djibouti, Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco, Oman, Pakistan, Palestine, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Somali, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, Turkey, the United Arab Emirates, and Yemen.

The birth of the BMENA can be traced back to post-cold war US activism in the region manifested in the liberation of Kuwait, the long-term stationing of

US forces on the Arabian Peninsula, and an active diplomatic interest in the Arab-Israeli conflict (Haass 2006), as well as to the US's enhanced threat perception as a result of 9/11 and the understanding that many of the threats were emanating from the Middle East in general. The UNDP's first *Arab Human Development Report* (UNDP 2002) clearly presented the Middle East as one of the most problematic regions in the world with respect to the socio-economic conditions and quality of life. The report indicated that many regional countries had problems posed by internal ethnic or religious clashes, civil unrest, bilateral and multilateral armed confrontation or terrorism activities, as well as, long-lasting structural problems.

There were three considerations by the US: *First*, fundamentalism, terrorism and the spread of Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) were seen as the major regional threats. *Second*, the lack of democracy and human rights, poor levels of socio-economic development and low literacy were major causes for the existence of terrorist networks. *Third*, there was an expectation if these conditions should change in a positive direction, the new dynamics would lead to a better life quality for the Middle Eastern societies, thus also alleviating American security concerns (Erhan 2005: 156–157). In addition to this formal rationale of the BMENA initiative as stated in official US documents, there are also less obvious and unofficial reasons to concentrate on the Middle East. Looking at the *US National Security Document* of 2006, one can decipher the following strategic goals in the region: a) preventing the asymmetrical threat towards American or allied citizens, possessions, and interests by terrorist networks; b) deterring Syria and Iran from supporting terrorist networks; c) stopping the spread of WMD in the region; d) deterring regional countries from obtaining capabilities for middle-long range missiles; e) guaranteeing the secure flow of oil from the region; f) controlling the energy flow to China, an emerging possible challenger for US global leadership; g) forestalling the emergence of a hostile regional hegemon, and h) sustaining the survival of Israel (Erhan 2005: 156–157; Lesser/Nardulli/Arghavan 1998: 173).

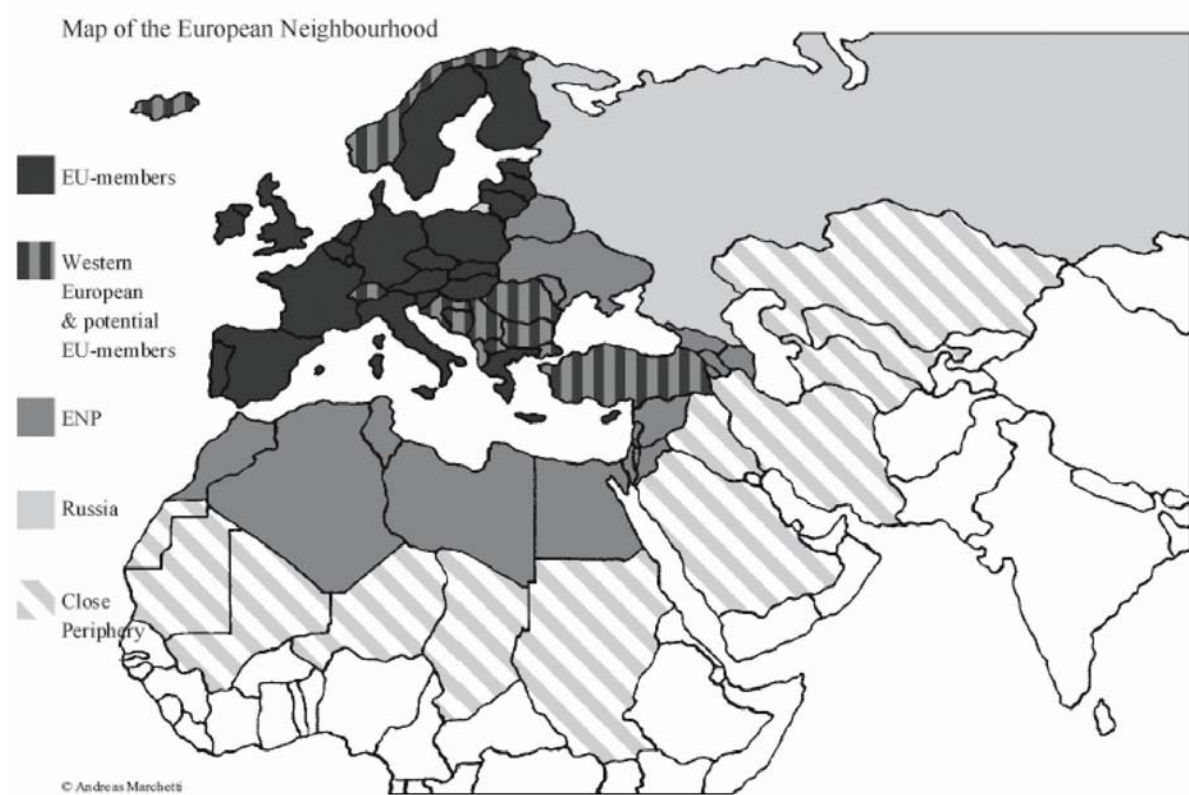
Both official and unofficial reasons, as well as US regional threat perceptions, led to the BMENA initiative that was first mentioned on 13 February 2004 in the London-based Arabic newspaper *al-Hayat* (2004) that published a draft version of the *G8 Greater Middle East Partnership Working Paper*. It triggered widespread reactions from many Middle Eastern intellectu-

als and government officials, which led to its revision. On 9 June 2004 the declaration *Partnership for Progress and a Common Future with the Region of the Broader Middle East and North Africa* was announced by the leaders of the G8 after their Sea Island meeting.

In accordance with the Sea Island Summit conclusions and the decisions taken in two follow-up meetings of the *Forum for the Future*, in November 2005 the participants of the BMENA have taken concrete steps in these areas: 1) emphasizing the role of women in public life; 2) providing regional business training, and 3) vocational training; 4) supporting the growth of small- and medium-sized enterprises; 5) improving the effectiveness of official financing and 6) working to increase literacy in the region (Forum for the Future 2005). Despite positive steps, according to the 2003 and 2004 *Arab Human Development Reports* (UNDP 2004a, 2005b), still too much must be done in the region to deal with the real problems that pose security threats. *First*, poverty remains a serious problem. *Second*, the US is still seen in a negative light by the people in the region. Widely broadcasted incidents of torture and abuse of the Iraqi prisoners and civilians by American and British soldiers as well as the Arab/Muslim anger over the continued occupation of Iraq and strong American support for Israel have decreased the level of local support for the initiative.

Though the goals presented in the 2004 Sea Island Summit were encouraging, three years later there is no consensus on the real meaning and targets of the plan, which remained mainly an American one and lacked sustained multilateral support for its implementation. The spread of WMD, terrorism, and the security of energy resources are universal problems, and trying to solve them through unilateral policies might not produce the expected results. Moreover, although US policies in the region might solve some western security problems in the short run, without the support of the Middle Eastern people, American policies to eliminate the security threats will open the way for more sophisticated threats (Erhan 2005: 168–169). Since the limits of the US capacity to work with both the Arabs and the Israelis were exposed at Camp David in 2000, American foreign policy in the region as well as the factors outside of American control, such as the weakness of Mahmud Abbas and the rise of Hamas in Palestine, and the Israeli embrace of unilateralism, have helped to decrease the role of the US (Haass 2006: 2).

Figure 60.3: European Neighbourhood Policy. **Source:** Marchetti (2006:21). Permission was granted on 17 September 2007 by Andreas Marchetti, Center for European Integration Studies (ZEI), Bonn.



At the same time, regional institutions in the Middle East are weak and will most probably remain so. Personalist regimes have obstructed both state-centric, top-down regionalism as well as informal regionalist processes from below. The region's most expanded organization, the Arab League, excludes the region's two most powerful states: Israel and Iran. The enduring Arab-Israeli rift continues to preclude the participation of Israel in any sustained regional relationship. The tension between Iran and most Arab states still frustrates the emergence of regionalism (Haass 2006: 4; Bohr 2004: 498).

60.4 European Neighbourhood Policy of the European Union

Among the three regional concepts, the borders of the ENP are clearly defined in European Commission (2003, 2004d, 2004e, 2006, 2006a) documents. As outlined by a Communication from the Commission to the Council and European Parliament (March 2003), it was originally intended to include the immediate neighbours of the EU: Algeria, Belarus, Egypt,

Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Moldova, Morocco, the Palestinian Authority, Syria, Tunisia, and Ukraine. It was later extended by the *European Neighbourhood Policy Strategy Paper* (May 2004) to include the Southern Caucasian countries of Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia.

Despite occasional disagreements over the pace and direction of its development, the European integration project and the deeply institutionalized nature of the relationship between EU members have made it by far the most successful regional arrangement (Beeson 2005: 974). It was this success that the EU wished to expand around without offering a membership option. Thus, the ENP was developed in relation to the EU's 2004 enlargement, with the objective of avoiding the emergence of new dividing lines between the enlarged EU and its neighbours, especially the RF to which the Prodi Commission wanted to offer something in 'compensation' for the eastern enlargement. The ENP instead aimed at strengthening stability, security, and well-being for all concerned by creating shades of grey between members, aspirants, and the rest.

It also tried to address the strategic objectives set out in the *European Security Strategy* (December 2003). With ENP, the EU offers its neighbours a privileged relationship in return for a commitment to common values, democracy and human rights, rule of law, good governance, market economy principles, and sustainable development. Even though the ENP goes beyond existing relationship models to offer a deeper political relationship and economic integration, it does not include enlargement and does not offer an accession perspective.

For a better understanding of the ENP, the changed threat perceptions in Europe were crucial. From 1945 until the early 1990's, most European states focused on the European integration excluding wider geo-strategic concerns (Bergeron 2003: 333). While Europe was busy dealing with increasing labour and capital mobility, competition and economic regulation, economic integration, prosperity through the market, there was little emphasis on defence and security concerns, partly due to the roles played by the US and NATO during the Cold War as the guarantors of Western defence. As plans for a European Defence Community failed in 1954, the European project was constructed without reference to hard security issues. Since the early 1990's, however, the characteristics of the European security debate changed dramatically. A series of largely unanticipated events, including the end of the Cold War, the outbreak of the war in the Balkans, 9/11, and the American decision to wage an international war against terror, as well as American unilateralism, awakened the EU as a security actor.

The end of bipolarity and the collapse of the USSR in 1991 ended the division of Europe. The bipolar security regime was replaced by a new order. The wars in the Balkans, with ethnic cleansings, large-scale deportations, and mass graves, reminded the Europeans of persistent hard security imperatives and the need to develop a European security regime (Bergeron 2003: 337). In November 1993, the member states of the European Community signed at Maastricht the Treaty on European Union, creating a European Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP).

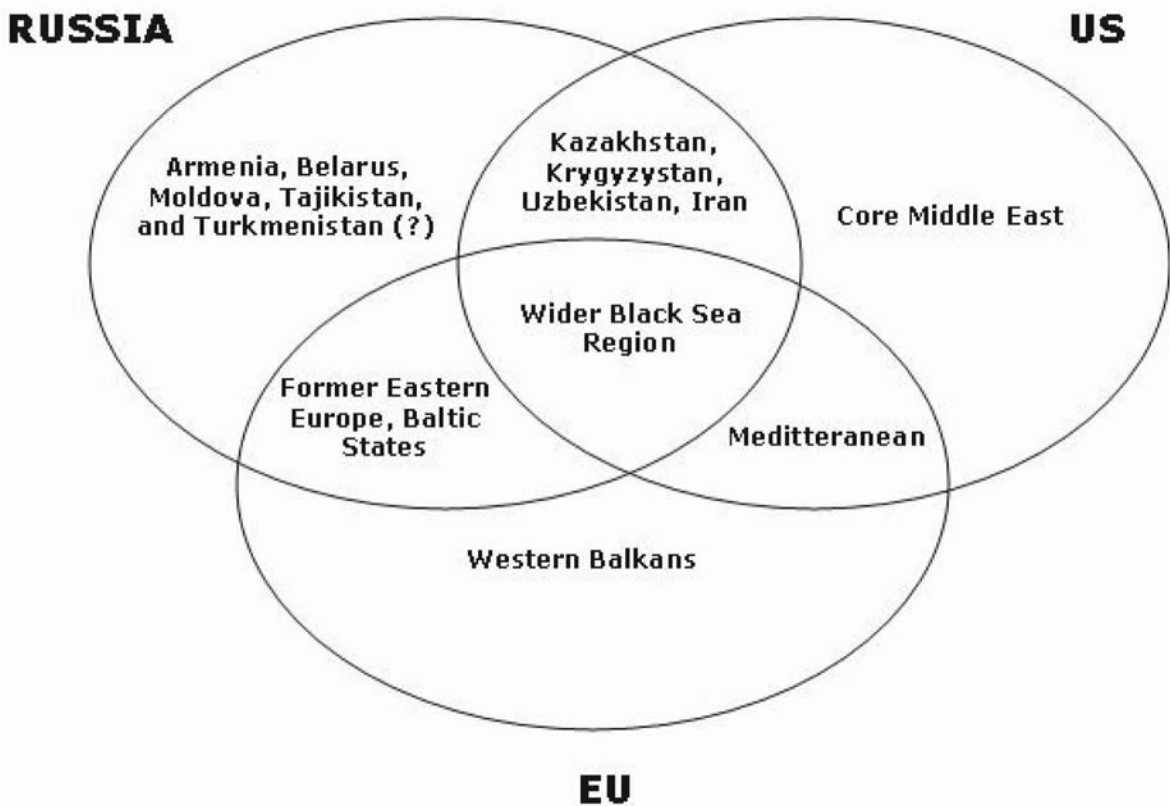
The slow development of a European strategic consciousness at the EU institutions has been accelerated in the post 9/11 world, which created challenges and opportunities. As there emerged a need for Europe to act as a global rather than a regional power, within a week of the 9/11 attack, the EU leaders committed themselves to a closer cooperation with the US on a wide range of issues from law enforcement to freezing of terrorist assets, developing secure proce-

dures for container shipping, air passenger travel and issuance of travel documents, increasing export control systems and other non-proliferation measures, and coordinating their foreign policies especially toward the wider Middle East (Jünemann 2003: 1-20).

In addition to 9/11, the Iraq War also contributed to the development of a European security consciousness. During the period leading up to the war, both the US and the EU realized that they would never be able to act jointly if they disagreed on the threats they faced. To solve the problem, Javier Solana, the Secretary General of the Council of Ministers and the High Representative for the CFSP, was asked to prepare a paper on a common EU security strategy. The European Council (2003) adopted the *European Security Strategy* (ESS) in December 2003, which set out for the first time a vision for the EU strategic policy, identifying terrorism, proliferation of WMD, regional conflicts, failed states, and organized crime as key security threats.

The principal security threats and objectives defined in the ESS generally matched those of the US; in fact, it specifically called for cooperation with the US. This marked a significant evolution from the situation before 9/11, when Europe appeared more concerned about soft security issues whereas the US was preoccupied with hard security threats. In addition to the ESS, there emerged other documents outlining Europe's perception of its security threats. As a direct result of the Madrid bombings, the European Council adopted, on 25 March 2004, a *Declaration on Combating Terrorism*, to increase internal EU cooperation and send a strong message that the EU was united in the fight against terrorism.

According to European security documents, EU bodies consider many risks and challenges as somehow related to its southern neighbourhood, i.e. the Mediterranean and the Middle East. The EU aims at improving its long-term security by shaping or reshaping its 'near abroad' through various tools and modalities, resembling the liberal democratic societal environment that corresponds to the EU model itself. The capacity, demonstrated in the transformation of Central and Eastern Europe throughout the enlargement process, shows an ability to compensate its lack of hard power by using non-military tools as mechanisms for change (Lebl 2005: 23-43).

Figure 60.4: The Intersection of Russian, European and American Regional Interests

60.5 Competing Visions for Secure Regions or Spheres of Influence

A great deal of regionalization in economic, political, and security spheres has taken place since the end of the Cold War. This has been construed as a transformation of the world political system for the better. It is hoped that ‘regionalization’, with its localized confidence building measures, can contribute to geopolitical stability by facilitating collaborative action against the contemporary problems (such as organized crime, terrorism, illicit drug and arms trafficking) that threaten regional (thus global) security and stability (Lake/Morgan 1997a).

It is expected that regionalization can “counteract the establishment of new dividing lines by creating a multi-layered, trans-boundary, cooperative networks”, and by dealing with non-military security issues in political, economical, and environmental fields, as well as the social and cultural topics, thus building a sense of common interest and to a certain extent a shared identity. By providing forums in which the state, sub-state, and non-state actors can interact on a range of issues, the regions are expected to contribute to the

enhancement of security simply by fostering dialogue, personal contacts, mutual understanding, by inducing regional countries to develop non-coercive attitudes and by reducing “the tendency to resort to non-peaceful means in pursuit of national interests” (Ozer 1997: 78–80).

However, the attacks of 9/11 have caused a great degree of ‘negative regionalization’, whereby old-type spheres of influences are being developed around the world by major powers. Although they all share a strong interest in maintaining regional stabilities, preventing proliferation of WMD, and protecting the world’s energy transportation routes, etc., nevertheless there is a tendency to securitize their ‘regions of interests’, where autonomy of regional states in making foreign and security policies are threatened by the competing images of major powers.

Three regional security concepts (NAP, BMENA, and ENP) were reviewed above. None of these policies and competing visions have been clearly defined by the proposing powers. What complicates the situation even more is that, some of the countries lie at the intersection of two or even all three visions. Several Middle Eastern countries are included in both the

ENP and the BMENA. Since 2004, Southern Caucasian countries are both a part of the ENP, NAP, and even BMENA. It is obvious that the three concepts are not mutually exclusive and political dynamics link the countries across the groups with each other.

The most problematic region situated at the intersection of the NAP, BMENA, and ENP, receiving greater attention from all the powers, is the so-called *Wider Black Sea Region* (WBSR), consisting of the Caucasus, the Black Sea, and Eastern Europe, as well as areas bordering it in the west, south, and north. Due to its position at the intersection of the interests of the great powers, the WBSR is fast becoming the scene of a new great power rivalry between the RF, the EU, and the US, as well as of regional countries. It shows all pitfalls of great power rivalry for regional cooperation.

The assessment of the WBSR's security challenges and opportunities needs to encompass an extended regional approach. The developments in this area are closely related to the security developments in the Balkans, the Caucasus, and the Middle East. The region has become the new frontline in tackling the problems of illegal immigrants, narcotics, WMD proliferation, trafficking of women, and transnational organized crime. The four 'frozen conflicts' of Transnistria, Abkhazia, South Ossetia, and Nagorno-Karabakh affect the region. As a result, the WBSR is at the epicentre of the projects to provide stability for the wider Europe and BMENA.

In addition to the WBSR, the second most focused area for great power interests is the *territories of the former USSR* where spheres of influences and a growing competition between two or three powers have emerged. The BMENA for example includes many former southern Soviet republics. Especially areas around the Caspian Sea constitute the frontline of competition between the US and the RF. Russia has always been interested in the region as a result of proximity, historical, traditional, and economic reasons. American policy-makers, however, paid only sporadic attention to it throughout the 1990's. Beginning with 9/11 and the campaign against the Taliban in late 2001, the US started to get much more interested.

The competition has also intensified in the economic sphere and in the struggle over access to the region's hydrocarbon resources as the world oil prices and the demand for natural gas have steadily increased since 2000 (Karaganov 2006: 223). The US, in order to reduce its dependency on Middle Eastern oil, has tried to diversify its sources of supply, and the

EU would like to reduce its dependency on Russian gas. While the EU has stepped up its efforts to engage the countries of the South Caucasus and Central Asia politically and economically, the US has significantly increased its economic and technical assistance to the region, as well as its military presence since 9/11.

Since 9/11, most of the Central Asian countries have built up strategic partnerships with the US, which provided them with an opportunity to establish a multiple-level security system. But some Central Asian states such as Kyrgyzstan still welcome some Russian presence to balance the power of larger neighbours, such as Uzbekistan and China. Also, Central Asian governments share a number of security concerns with Russia, including the potential threat of militant Islam, thus relying on Moscow as a guarantor for regional stability. These countries, however, appear keen on balancing their relations with the West and the US on one side, and Russia on the other. The US-led war in Afghanistan has demonstrated the extent to which Central Asian leaders have attempted to maintain this fragile balance. In October 2003, the RF opened its first foreign base since the dissolution of the Soviet Union in Kant, Kyrgyzstan, only 20 minutes from its capital and 40 kilometres from the 1,300 US soldiers based in the same country, supporting operations in Afghanistan (Menon 2003: 192; Bohr 2004: 491; Berman 2004-5: 61).

Similarly, the US provided equipment and training for Kazakh military and since the summer of 2003, has financed the construction of a military base in Atyrau by the Caspian Sea (Berman 2004-5: 62), while Russia commenced an intense diplomatic offensive with Putin's January 2004 visit resulting in a strengthening of strategic ties between the two countries. Since then, Russia and Kazakhstan unveiled a joint action plan for security cooperation, defining bilateral cooperation as well as their roles in regional security structures such as the Shanghai Cooperation Organization and the Collective Security Treaty Organization (Berman 2004-5: 65).

US-RF rivalry in Central Asia is repeated in the Caucasus, where the US assumed a military role in Georgia, launching the \$64 million *Georgia Train and Equip Program* in May 2002 to enhance the anti-terrorism capabilities of Georgia (Berman 2004-5: 62-65), whereas Moscow has embarked on a campaign designed to undercut Georgia's emerging role in the region. The US pledged \$10 million to Azerbaijan to strengthen its border security, improve the communication infrastructure, and help its government carry out security operations aimed at countering the

spread of WMD (Berman 2004-5: 62), whereas Russia's approach varied ranging from offers of military aid to cessation of gas supplies.

The US has even initiated closer relations with Russia's closest partner in the Caucasus, Armenia. In April 2004, the US presented an agreement on enhanced military cooperation with Yerevan and subsequently opened preliminary discussions about joint military exercises. The RF, in return, has taken pains to stress its long-term commitment to Armenia by signing a new military cooperation agreement in November 2003 and later announcing its plans to modernize the Armenian military forces through training programmes and weapons transfers (Berman 2004-5: 66). The friction resulting from this competition has brought the region to the centre of the RF and US strategic agendas.

There are other areas at the intersection of at least two initiatives. For the EU and the RF, this would be the former Eastern European countries and the Baltic States; for Russia and the US, it is parts of Central Asia, the Caspian Sea and perhaps Iran; and for the EU and the US, the overlapping region would be the Mediterranean.

The Mediterranean region lies at the intersection of American and European interests. Europe's security interests in the Mediterranean refer mainly to soft security threats, which were tackled with regional cooperation schemes in the form of the Barcelona Process and Euro-Med Dialogue (Brauch/Marquina/Biad 2000; Brauch/Liotta/Marquina/Rogers/Selim 2003). The main aim has been to ameliorate the political, social, and economic problems that give rise to such threats. For most non-EU Mediterranean partners, however, security interests continue to be understood in a more traditional sense, i.e. as threats emanating either from belligerent neighbours or domestic opposition forces. For them, regional cooperation is not seen as the best method against these sorts of more traditional threats. According to Heller (2003: 134), the experience of Barcelona provides another illustration of how the Middle East has not moved toward regional cooperation but instead continues to evolve in a different direction with declining confidence, rising tensions, aggravated threat perceptions, growing violence, and continuing arms build-ups.

Another region that interests two parties, the EU and the RF, is the *Baltic region* and *former Eastern Europe*. Although many countries within this grouping are much closer to Europe than Russia in terms of inclination, the area is still important for Russia as it is currently "the main locale where Russian and West-

ern circles overlap." Because of Kaliningrad, for example, the process "to move the Baltic states to the West" was difficult as "a bit of Russia" also went along (Buzan/Wæver 2003: 414, 416). Although the EU is gaining more influence in the region against the RF, mainly because of the problematic history of most of the Eastern European countries with Russia as well as the EU accession as an anchor for further democratization and reform in these countries, the RF can still exert influence, especially using its advantage over oil and gas. Russia is a huge energy exporter, whereas the EU is a net importer, thus their respective strengths and weaknesses are complete opposites (Emerson 2001: 2-3). On the other hand, the size of the EU economy is about 20 times larger than that of Russia, while Russia's nuclear ballistic missile arsenal is about ten times that of France and the UK combined (Emerson 2001: 2), though these may be largely irrelevant in the context of any foreseeable European scenario, except that it appears to sustain Russia's self-image as a great power.

All these factors point to a state of mutual dependence but also competition in the regions squeezed between the EU and the RF, currently *Ukraine, Moldova, and Belarus*. In contrast to the newly independent countries to the south, the Ukraine and Belarus especially raise identity questions for Russia. Belarus is the most pro-Russian republic with a high military strategic importance due to its location on the main East-West axis (Buzan/Wæver 2003: 416). Ukraine-Russian relations are more problematic and embrace a potential for conflict due to issues such as the Black Sea navy, naval ports, Crimea, and Russian minorities.

Finally, there are those regions that are under the domination of mainly one of the three powers. As an example, the *core Middle East* is mostly under American influence and jealously guarded by the US against the encroachment of other powers. Russia, though successfully avoids associating itself with either party to the Arab-Israeli conflict, on the whole, lacks a long-term strategy towards its major states. The EU faces similar problems in the core Middle East due to its slowness in acting and frequently conflicting agendas of the member states.

In spite of its advantages of flexibility and unilateral action in the core Middle East, the US faces problems in the region due to its mostly negative image among Arab and Muslim populations. The Arab-Israeli conflict and the peace process in particular have shown how important it is for the US, on the one hand, and the EU on the other, to coordinate their

positions, preferably with the UN and the RF, as has been the case with the *Middle East Quartet*, which needs to continue functioning possibly in an extended version to include the other important regional players.

Similar to the core Middle East, the *Western Balkans* is under total influence of the EU. In the wake of the violent conflicts that marked the recent history of this region, the EU considers it a priority to promote the development of peace, stability, and prosperity in the region. For countries in the region that have made sufficient progress in terms of political and economic reform and administrative capacity, the next step is a formal contractual relationship with the EU. This takes the form of a tailor-made *Stabilization and Association Agreements* (SAA). Until January 2007, Croatia (now an EU candidate country), Macedonia, and Albania have signed such agreements, while Serbia, Montenegro, and Bosnia and Herzegovina have launched SAA talks. Given the extensive inroads created by the EU as well as the region's geographic positioning surrounded by EU territories, neither the US nor the RF endeavour to exert influence in the region anymore.

Russia still plays an important political and economical role in parts of the former Soviet Union. For example, Belarus, having signed a Treaty of Union on 8 December 1999 and envisioning greater political and economic integration, is the country that has retained closest political ties with Russia among the former Soviet republics. Nevertheless, serious implementation of the Union Treaty has yet to take place. Tajikistan is another country of domination for Russia, where many positions in its high command are still assumed by Russians and border security is still maintained by Russia. Although Russia was actively involved in ending the civil war that plagued the country from 1992 to 1997, its inability at handling it on its own and the US's Afghan operation has brought international attention on Tajikistan. Though international economic development assistance has increased since 9/11, Tajikistan's economic and political situation is still fragile, and a possible turmoil in this country could still adversely affect the interests of the great powers in the region.

Similarly, although many Armenians prefer to see their country as a member of NATO and/or the EU, Armenia's intricate relationship with the RF as well as its existing tensions with Azerbaijan and Turkey prevents it to move away from Russia. Through a number of security partnership treaties, the RF maintains military bases and provides border guards to Armenia.

The US and the EU, on the other hand, seem to think that the time has not yet come to force Armenia to break its Russian connection and engage more seriously on a westerly direction. Moldova appears to be left to Romania to deal with the situation, and Turkmenistan, by its own choice, remains outside the influence of the US and the EU, although not as much from the RF as the successive gas deals in recent years have shown.

These competing visions have created difficult policy choices for the countries in these regions and elevated them into scenes of high stake power games, especially since 9/11. Although none of the tensions emerging from these competing visions has led to an armed conflict so far, this may change in the future. Taking into account the negative influences of regionalization in the security field, there is an urgent need to develop regional cooperation schemes with the participation of local countries as well as interested outside actors to avoid a possible regional great power conflict.

61 A Regional Security Perspective From and For the Arab World

Béchir Chourou

61.1 Introduction

A recent exhaustive review of the historical evolution of the concept of security and the emergence of the concept of human security (HS) concluded: “After ten years of debates in the social sciences the conceptual debate on human security remains inconclusive and the human security definition depends on the approach, preferences, and agenda of the respective author” (Brauch 2005a: 24).

However, it is safe to assume that this survey was based mainly on studies written in English, which is the main language of scientific communication, and that it could not include studies that may have been written in other languages such as Russian, Chinese or Arabic. This chapter is an attempt to complement the above seminal study by surveying the Arabic literature on human security with the hope of achieving two objectives: on the one hand, to determine whether and to what extent the Arab world has participated in and contributed to the debate on human security; and on the other hand, to propose a conceptualization of human security that reflects the specificities of the region, as well as policies that would be appropriate for achieving or enhancing human security in the region proper.

Concerning the mainstream conceptual debate on human security, studies by Owen (2004), Bajpai (2000) and the Oxford Research Group have been found particularly pertinent. Starting with Owen, who argued that “security carries with it a level of urgency that should only be used to address imminent disasters,” and that “threats must simply be limited using their severity and regional significance” (Owen 2004: 22). On that basis, he proposed a “threshold definition of human security” according to which “human security is the protection of the vital core of all human lives from critical and pervasive environmental, economic, food, health, personal and political threats” (Owen 2004: 20). Bajpai surveyed the various direct

and indirect threats to HS that have been identified in the literature (table 61.1).

In a similar vein Abbott, Rogers and Slodoba (2006: 28) of the Oxford Research Group argue that global insecurity will arise out of four main factors:

- adverse effects of climate change and global warming;
- competition for increasingly scarce resources, especially oil;
- increasing socio-economic divisions and the marginalization of the majority world; and
- the future spread of military technologies (including weapons of mass destruction).

Turning now to the literature on human security written in Arabic, two general observations can be made about it. First, interest in human security among Arabs appears to be rather limited and recent. On 3 February 2007 an internet search for ‘human security’ using the Arabic version of *Google* did yield more than 400,000 results, but few of them had a direct relation to the concept of human security per se. Aside from links to documents dealing with esoteric topics such as activities of the security forces of an Arab country to meet the human needs of the population, most results referred to websites, organizations, newspaper articles, etc. relating to human development, human resources, or to traditional security concerns.

Secondly, the limited debate on the issue started only after the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) published in 2002 the first *Arab Human Development Report* (AHDR). At first, only a few newspapers in Egypt and Jordan commented on the Report. In fact, the report was more widely discussed in the West and among members of the Arab diaspora than in the Arab world (Othman 2002). Subsequent AHDRs also elicited reactions in some newspapers, but articles remained by and large descriptive rather than analytical. Furthermore, most authors seem to make no distinction between human development and human security. In fact, one writer states

Table 61.1: Direct and indirect threats to human security. **Source:** Bajpai (2000: 40).

Direct Violence	Indirect Violence
<p>Violent Death/Disablement: victims of violent crime, killing of women and children, sexual assault, terrorism, inter-group riots/pogroms/genocide, killing and torture of dissidents, killing of government officials/agents, war casualties.</p> <p>Dehumanization: slavery and trafficking in women and children; use of child soldiers; physical abuse of women and children (in households); kidnapping, abduction, unlawful detention of political opponents and rigged trials.</p> <p>Drugs: drug addiction.</p> <p>Discrimination and Domination: discriminatory laws/practices against minorities and women; banning/rigging elections; subversion of political institutions and the media.</p> <p>International Disputes: Inter-state tensions/crises (bilateral/regional) and great power tensions/crises.</p> <p>Most Destructive Weapons: the spread of weapons of mass destruction and advanced conventional, small arms, landmines.</p>	<p>Deprivation: Levels of basic needs and entitlements (food, safe drinking water, primary health care, primary education).</p> <p>Disease: Incidence of life-threatening illness (infectious, cardio-vascular, cancer).</p> <p>Natural and Man-made Disasters</p> <p>Underdevelopment: low levels of GNP/capita, low GNP growth, inflation, unemployment, inequality, population growth/decline, poverty, at the national level; and regional/global economic instability and stagnation + demographic change.</p> <p>Population Displacement (national, regional, global): refugees and migration.</p> <p>Environmental Degradation (local, national, regional, global).</p>

that the attempt by the AHDR's authors to distinguish between the two concepts is "an exercise in juggling rather than in science, creates an unnecessary confusion, distracts from the real issues, and is totally useless to people – especially the poor both in their new and old definitions" (Othman 2002: 2).

Arab interest in human security may, however, be rekindled in the near future by UNESCO. As part of its efforts to promote a new culture of peace, this organization launched in 1994 a series of projects designed to improve human security in various regions. By 2002 UNESCO formally introduced the achievement of human security in its *Medium-Term Strategy for 2002–2007*, and opted for a regional approach for implementing that strategy. In that framework, meetings were organized in Africa, Latin America, and East Asia to discuss the state of human security and make recommendations for achieving/improving human security in those regions. A similar meeting was held in March 2005 in Amman (Jordan) to discuss a study prepared by this writer at the request of UNESCO on human security in the Arab world (Chourou 2005). As was the case at other meetings, representatives from the region's governments, universities, research centres, and non-governmental organizations made presentations and participated in the debates. The proceedings showed plainly that governments perceived security in terms of state security, focusing particularly on the need to deal with 'terrorist' organizations that attempt to change the existing political order by force,

thereby threatening the security of all members of society. Academics tended to use the various definitions of human security found in the literature (Brauch 2003, 2005, Brauch/Oswald Spring/Grin/Mesjasz/Krummenacher/Behera/Chourou/Kameri-Mbote 2008).

In order to ally between the need of clearly defining the concept under study so as to make a correct diagnosis of the problems at hand, and the need to put issues in their proper setting so as to ensure that solutions proposed are appropriate and relevant, in this chapter Owen's definition of HS and the Oxford Research Group's factors of insecurity will be used as bases for identifying, among Bajpai's list of threats, those that represent a 'clear and present danger to the vital core of human lives' in the Arab world.¹ It should be noted, however, that not every one of those threats is necessarily present or is equally severe in every country of the region. Nevertheless, it will be argued that a given threat observed in one part of the Arab world may have an impact in another part where it is not observed. For example, growing poverty in Egypt

1 The term 'Arab world' is used to refer to the following 19 of the 22 members of the League of Arab States: Algeria, Bahrain, Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, Yemen, and Palestine. The Comoros, Djibouti, and Somalia are not included because data for them are unavailable or unreliable.

may push people to migrate to the Gulf region, possibly creating social or political tensions there. This implies that meeting a particular threat may require the involvement of not just the affected country or countries, but of other Arab states as well.

Bajpai distinguishes between direct and indirect threats to human security. His list of indirect forms of violence includes natural and man-made disasters, and environmental degradation. These two elements are certainly present in the Arab world, but they will receive full treatment in two subsequent volumes.² The remaining four types of indirect violence are deprivation, disease, underdevelopment, and population displacement. They too will not be treated in this chapter, for the following two reasons. Extensive discussions of these forms of insecurity can be found elsewhere (e.g. Chourou 2005; UNDP 2004a), and hardly any part of the Arab world suffers from severe deprivation or underdevelopment. An examination of some development indicators (table 61.2) shows e.g. that the per capita income (in terms of parity purchasing power – PPP) is relatively high, and that health and educational services are available to large segments of the population. Of course, these figures are averages which may hide large variations between national situations. For example, per capita gross domestic product (GDP) for 2003 varied between US\$ 22,420 for the United Arab Emirates (UAE) and US\$ 889 for Yemen. Similarly, the value of the Human Development Index (HDI) for the same year was 0.85 for Qatar (making it 40th among the 177 ranked countries and first in the Arab region), and 0.48 for Mauritania (152nd in overall ranking, and last in the regional ranking). Nevertheless, 13 Arab states are listed by the UNDP in the category of medium human development, and 4 in the high human development category. This is why it may be considered that few Arabs are faced with immediate and severe threats resulting from deprivation, disease or underdevelopment (table 61.3).

As for natural and man-made disasters, environmental degradation, and population displacement, they do represent serious threats to human security, although their degree of severity and impact on humans are not uniform throughout the region (Brauch 2003d, 2003g).

2 See at: Brauch/Oswald Spring/Grin/Mesjasz/Krummenacher/Behera/Chourou/Kameri-Mbote 2008; and in: Brauch/Oswald Spring/Kameri-Mbote/Mesjasz/Grin/Chourou/Dunay/Birkmann 2008.

Table 61.2: Selected social and economic indicators for the Arab world. **Source:** UNDP (2005b)

Demography (2003)	
Total population (millions)	303.90
Annual growth rate (1975-2003), in %	2.70
Population under age 15 (% of total)	36.30
Population ages 65 and above (% of total)	3.10
Total fertility rate (births per woman), 2000-2005	3.70
Life expectancy at birth (years), 2003	67.00
Infant mortality rate (per 1,000 live births), 2003	48.00
GDP per capita (PPP US\$), 2003	5 685.00
GDP per capita annual growth rate (in %), 1990-2003	1.00
Adult literacy rate (% ages 15 and above), 2003	
Total	64.10
Female	53.10
Youth literacy rate (% ages 15-24), 2003	
Total	81.30
Female	75.80
Enrolment ratio for primary, secondary, and tertiary schools (in %), 2002/03	62.00
Population with sustainable access to improved sanitation (2002), in %	66.00
Population with sustainable access to an improved water source (2002), in %	84.00
Population undernourished (2000-2002), in % of total	9.00
Human development index (HDI) value, 2003	0.68

What needs to be kept in mind is that threats are numerous whereas the means to deal with them are insufficient. Therefore, any policy seeking to promote or enhance human security needs to rank threats so as to determine which ones have to be given the highest priority. This is in keeping with the above-mentioned approach which recommends that definitions of human security and methods for meeting threats be adjusted to circumstances prevailing in a particular geographical area and a specific community..

Based on this approach this chapter focuses on Bajpai's list of forms of *direct* violence (left column of table 61.1), and geographically, on the Mashreq, considering that in the Maghreb (North Africa), it is the forms of *indirect* violence which are more prominent,

Table 61.3: Comparative Human Development Indicators. **Source:** UNDP (2005b).

	Developing countries	Least-developed countries	Arab States	East Asia and the Pacific	Latin America and the Caribbean	South Asia	Sub-Saharan Africa
Life expectancy at birth (years) 2003	65.0	52.2	67.0	70.5	71.9	63.4	46.1
Adult literacy rate (% age 15 and above) 2003	73.5	53.6	64.1	90.4	89.6	58.9	60.5
Combined primary, secondary, and tertiary gross enrolment ratio (in %) 2002-03	63	45	62	69	81	56	50
GDP per capita (PPP US\$) 2003	4 359	1 328	5 685	5 100	7 404	2 897	1 856
Life expectancy index	0.67	0.45	0.70	0.76	0.78	0.64	0.35
Education index	0.72	0.50	0.61	0.83	0.87	0.58	0.56
GDP index	0.70	0.60	0.72	0.71	0.74	0.67	0.63
HDI value (2003)	0.694	0.518	0.679	0.768	0.797	0.628	0.515

although some forms of direct violence are not totally absent. The contrast is deemed sufficiently important to warrant that a separate chapter be devoted to human security seen from a Maghrebi perspective (Chourou 2008)

Coming back to Bajpai's list of direct violence, it will be adjusted for the purposes of this chapter in the following manner. To begin with, problems related to drugs (addiction, trafficking...) are not as severe and widespread as they are in the North, although they are not totally absent. Consequently, they do not need (yet) urgent attention and will not be discussed. The remaining categories of direct violence are found, to one degree or another, in many, if not all, parts of the region, but some of them may be combined to avoid redundancies and gain greater differentiation between categories.

At the top of Bajpai's list we find 'violent death/disablement.' This is clearly the ultimate form of insecurity to which a person may be exposed, and many Arabs have already died by unnatural causes (shooting, bombing, beating...), and more are and will be exposed to this existential threat as a result of wars, insurgencies, terrorism, coups, martial rule and the like.

Another threat with which many Arabs have to contend is the curtailment or total absence of fundamental human rights other than the right to life, such as the rights to freedom and to dignity. Many instances of this threat are given by Bajpai under the categories of 'dehumanization' and 'discrimination and domination.' Those that are most frequent in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) include unlawful

detention of political opponents, rigged trials, banning/rigging elections, subversion of political institutions and the media, and discrimination against minorities and women. For our purposes, these two categories will be merged into a single one called 'authoritarianism'.

Similarly, the two categories called 'international disputes' and 'most destructive weapons' may be combined into one called 'foreign intervention'. As it will be argued below, most crises and tensions in the region are the direct or indirect results of intervention by extra-regional powers, particularly the United States. Furthermore, the continued accumulation of conventional arms and the existence and possible proliferation of weapons of mass destruction are the consequence of policies initiated, promoted or imposed by foreign powers.

In sum, security for a large number of Arabs is protection against violence that may lead to loss of life, family, community, liberty, property, income. Such violence may be perpetrated by citizens of one's own country or by foreigners, by one's own state or by foreign powers. Assuredly, this does not mean that other components of human security such as freedom from want, from hazard impact, or from exclusion, are to be ignored; but for a person who does not know whether his house will be next to be bombed, or whether he will be next to 'disappear' or to be thrown in jail - for such a person, issues like freedom of the press or the advancing desert would be remote and irrelevant.

Figure 61.1: Crude Oil Reserves (1 January 2005). **Source:** US Energy Information Administration: in: *Annual Energy Review 2006*, based on *Oil and Gas Journal*, p. 324.

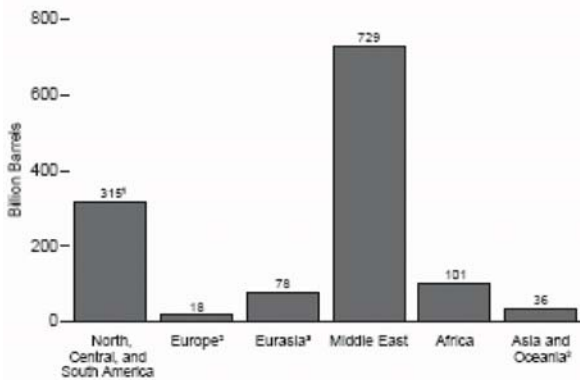
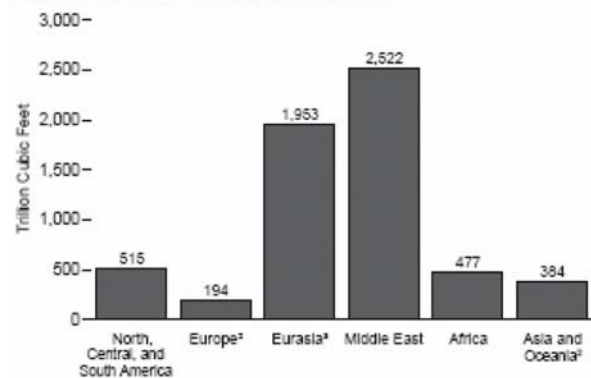


Figure 61.2: Natural Gas Reserves (1 January 2005). **Source:** US Energy Information Administration: in: *Annual Energy Review 2006*, based on *Oil and Gas Journal*.



Turning to the causes of global insecurity proposed by the Oxford Research Group, the first one (adverse effects of climate change and global warming) will not be discussed here, as already mentioned. The second (competition for increasingly scarce resources, especially oil) and third ones (increasing socio-economic divisions and the marginalization of the majority world) apply eminently to the Arab world and will be discussed in some detail. The last factor (the future spread of military technologies) is included under 'foreign intervention'.

To recapitulate: This chapter considers that the main value to be protected in the Arab world is the physical integrity and personal safety of the individual. It will argue that local, regional, and extra-regional actors are likely sources of direct violence, and that the probability and intensity of violence will increase with time. Four causes will be proposed to explain this situation: competition for controlling the region's oil and gas resources; the stalled Middle East peace process; authoritarianism; and the division among Arab states leading to their marginalization and ineffective participation in global political and economic processes.

61.2 Oil: A Much Coveted Commodity

The MENA contains 67 per cent and 45 per cent, respectively, of the world's oil and gas proved reserves (figures 61.1, 61.2). The main producing and exporting countries are also found in the region (tables 61.4 and 61.5). This has had positive as well as negative effects on human security in the region. The most obvious

benefit is material well-being. Arab countries with the highest per capita income are those that produce and export energy products (with the notable exception of Algeria). However, this wealth is also at the origin of many of the region's problems. Given the strategic value of oil, consuming countries have always been keen on having access to it in an unhampered manner and at what they consider as 'reasonable prices'.

In order to achieve that objective, each country used strategies that varied according to the prevailing circumstances, but their common feature was - and continues to be - to ensure that political authority in oil-supplying countries does not fall into 'unfriendly hands'. For members of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) in particular, the importance of this objective grows as their needs grow and their dependence on imports increases. Since the turn of this century, consumption growth has been declining for the US, Europe, and Japan as a result of efforts to save energy and to use alternative forms of energy (see figure 61.3).

However, the OECD dependence ratio declined on average, from about 80 per cent in the 1970's to around 60 per cent in the 1990's, but increased in the case of the US from 35 per cent in 1990 to over 50 per cent in 2002. Furthermore, imports from the Gulf continue to represent a significant share of total US imports. The share of the Gulf region in total oil imports is currently around 70 per cent for Japan, 30 per cent for Western Europe (declining), and 20 per cent for the US (increasing, figure 61.5). Another factor to be taken into consideration is the emergence of new major consumers, e.g. China and India (figure 61.3, 61.4).

Table 61.4: Top World Oil Net Exporters, 2005* (OPEC members in italics). **Source:** US Energy Information Administration: in: Annual Energy Review 2006.

	Country	Net Oil Exports (million barrels per day)
1)	<i>Saudi Arabia</i>	9.1
2)	Russia	6.7
3)	Norway	2.7
4)	<i>Iran</i>	2.6
5)	<i>United Arab Emirates</i>	2.4
6)	<i>Nigeria</i>	2.3
7)	<i>Kuwait</i>	2.3
8)	<i>Venezuela</i>	2.2
9)	<i>Algeria</i>	1.8
10)	Mexico	1.7
11)	<i>Libya</i>	1.5
12)	<i>Iraq</i>	1.3
13)	Angola	1.2
14)	Kazakhstan	1.1
15)	<i>Qatar</i>	1.0

* Table includes all countries with net exports exceeding 1 million barrels per day in 2005.

As their needs grow, and if production fails to keep up with that growth, two developments are likely to occur: there will be competition between consuming countries to secure guaranteed sources of supply. Already, China is taking bold steps to establish closer ties with various Arab and African producers, offering attractive development packages in exchange for guaranteed delivery contracts and prospecting permits, not to mention diplomatic support for various causes considered as important by those countries. Growing demand for oil is also putting pressure on prices. Of course, many factors have an impact on oil prices, but increasing demand is likely to be the most enduring. In any event, oil prices are currently breaking records, and they are not likely to ever go down to the levels they had in the mid-1970's or mid-1980's.

All of these factors are likely to have a major impact on the way the West defines its security priorities and the actions it would be willing to take should this vital interest be threatened. Of course, no nation would openly admit that it would use force for any purpose except as a last resort, but a realist should be aware that few nations would be willing to put them-

Table 61.5: Top World Oil Producers, 2005* (OPEC members in italics). **Source:** US Energy Information Administration: in: Annual Energy Review 2006.

	Country	Total Oil Production** (million barrels per day)
1)	<i>Saudi Arabia</i>	11.1
2)	Russia	9.5
3)	United States	8.2
4)	<i>Iran</i>	4.2
5)	Mexico	3.8
6)	China	3.8
7)	Canada	3.1
8)	Norway	3.0
9)	<i>United Arab Emirates</i>	2.8
10)	<i>Venezuela</i>	2.8
11)	<i>Kuwait</i>	2.7
12)	<i>Nigeria</i>	2.6
13)	<i>Algeria</i>	2.1
14)	Brazil	2.0

*Table includes all countries total oil production exceeding 2 million barrels per day in 2005.

**Total Oil Production includes crude oil, natural gas liquids, condensate, refinery gain, and other liquids.

selves at risk for the sake of preserving peace. Nor should it be forgotten that colonialism was driven by economic interests (among other factors), including control over raw materials. The US in particular has a long history of intervention prompted by its perception that its economic or political or strategic interests were threatened. Most recently, the two Gulf wars and the current war in Iraq have shown America's willingness to resort to war (and to drag its allies with it) in order - among other objectives - to control an area that contains a major portion of the world's proved oil and gas resources. The possibility that similar wars could take place in MENA is not to be dismissed: if an Islamist, or 'terrorist', or unfriendly regime were to seek or gain power in any of the oil-producing Arab countries, the West is not likely to accept this passively. Therefore, the fact that oil will be more and more coveted by more and more states, combined with growing pressure in the region to utilize oil as a tool to achieve political and strategic objectives, is bound to lead to confrontations between producing and consuming states, and Arab civilians are certain

Figure 61.3: Oil Production and Consumption. National and regional figures refer to consumption. **Source:** BP Statistical Review of World Energy June 2006; at: <<http://www.bp.com/statisticalreview>>.

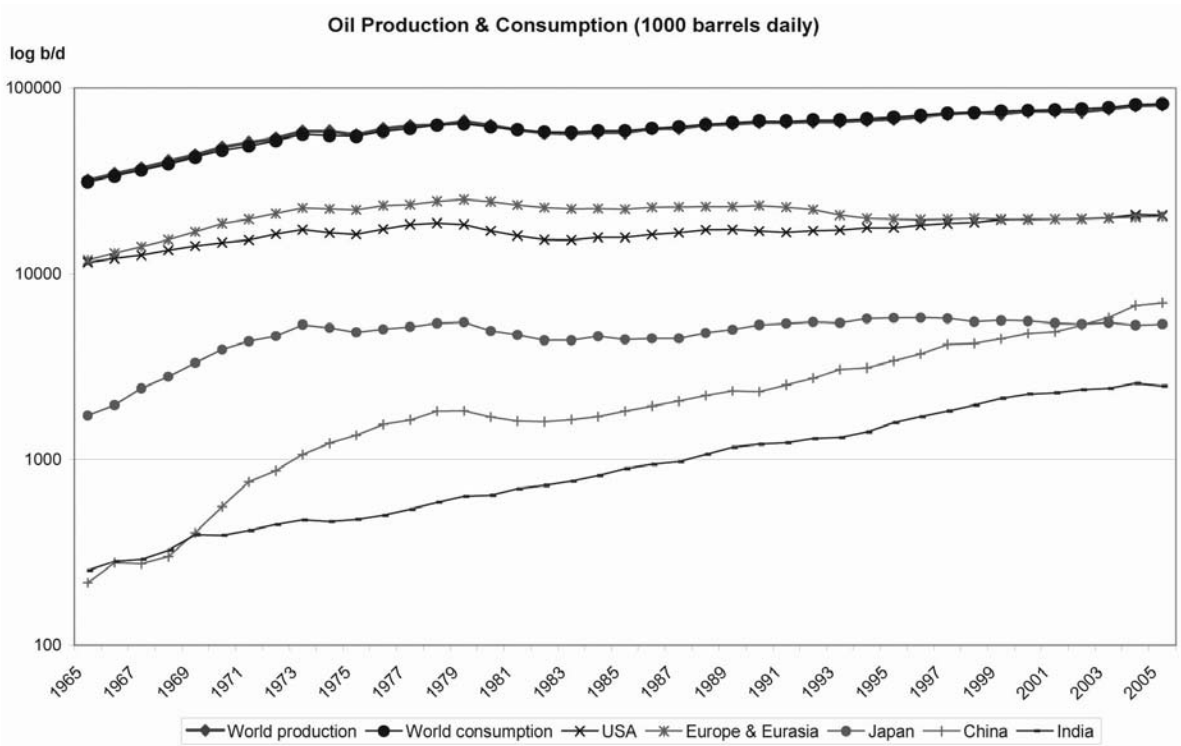


Figure 61.4: Major Oil Consumers. **Source:** BP Statistical Review of World Energy June 2006; at: <<http://www.bp.com/statisticalreview>>.

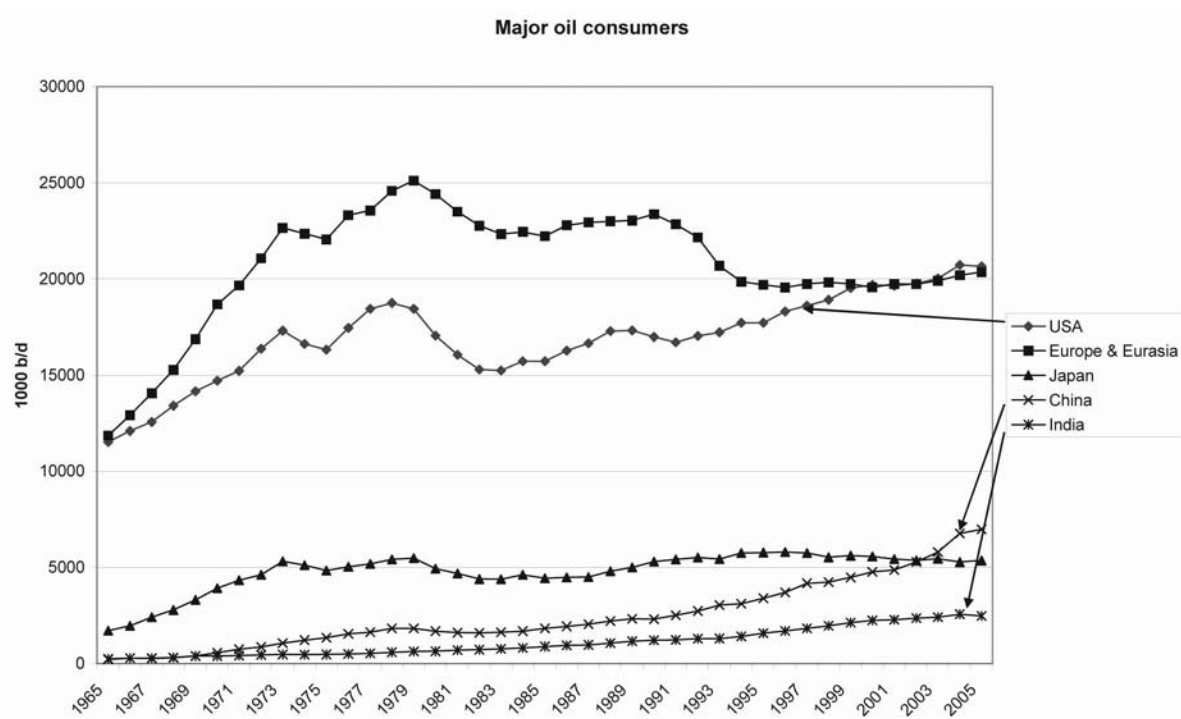
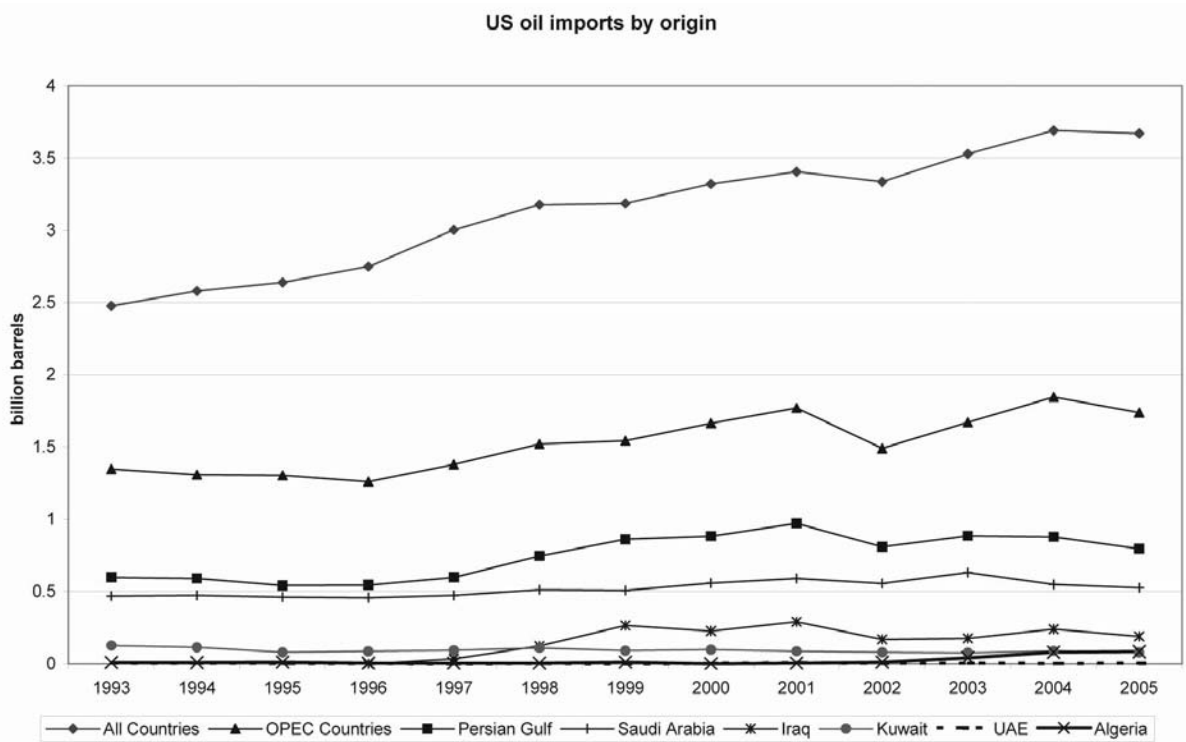


Figure 61.5: U.S. Oil Imports by Source. **Source:** BP Statistical Review of World Energy June 2006; at: <<http://www.bp.com/statisticalreview>>.



to be the primary victims of these coming approaching confrontations.

61.3 The Protracted Problem of Palestine

There is at least one issue about which there is a strong consensus in the Arab world, and that is finding a just and lasting solution to the injustice done to the Palestinian people. No one denies that Jews had been subjected to inhuman treatment inflicted by Nazi Germany and other contemporary European governments, but most Arabs believe that the solution adopted then by the international community at the behest of the victorious powers, i.e. the creation of a Jewish homeland in territories which were at the time occupied by Arabs, was politically unsound or morally unacceptable. As soon as Israel was created, Arab states have waged wars in order to liberate occupied territories and dismantle what they called the 'Zionist entity'. The Palestinians themselves launched a liberation movement for the purpose of achieving the same objectives. Eventually, Palestinians and Israelis agreed to seek a peaceful solution to the conflict. A Palestinian Authority was established in territories ceded by

Israel and the two parties agreed to continue negotiations for a just and lasting peace. Most Arab states proceeded then to grant Israel a *de facto* or *de jure* recognition and established diplomatic relation with it.

Yet no solution to the conflict has been reached or is in sight. In fact, violence in the region has increased in the last few years and Palestinians and other Arabs continue to die every day. In 2006 Israel has launched a war against Lebanon for the proclaimed purpose of neutralizing the militia of the Shiite party of Hizballah. In the Occupied Territories it has refused to recognize the Hamas-led government that came to power following elections that the international community declared to have been fair and democratic.

For Arab public opinion, the lack of progress towards a just and lasting peace in the Middle East is largely due to Israel's refusal to abide by its contractual obligations and to implement UN Security Council resolutions. Furthermore, most Arabs believe that if Israel has been able to persist in this defiant attitude, it is because it could always count on the unconditional support of the US, be it military, diplomatic, financial or economic.

As far as the ‘Arab street’ is concerned, there is no reason to expect a reversal of US policy any time soon. Support for Israel has been a feature of US foreign policy since 1948, and no US administration is going to change that. There have been a few efforts in the past to adopt a more equitable attitude towards the Palestinians, but they are not likely to be renewed in the near future, especially if the US pursues its ‘war against terrorism’ and persists in considering any opposition to its policies and those of Israel as a form of terrorism. Instead, all those who believe that international law should apply equally to all states and, more generally, who want to curtail foreign intervention in the region, those who fight US and other foreign troops occupying Iraq, those who seek to liberate Lebanese and Palestinian prisoners held in Israeli jails, those who have been elected in Palestine to govern, – all of them are likely to continue being considered by the US (and some of its allies) as terrorists to be chased and ‘brought under control’ by all means, including violence. Consequently, and from the point of view of Arabs who consider themselves as direct victims of such policies and other Arabs who share that viewpoint, resistance to occupation and oppression is not only a moral imperative, but also a legitimate means to achieve an essential element of human security: survival and physical integrity.

61.4 Authoritarianism

The Arab world is practically the only region not to be affected by the various ‘waves of democratization’ that have hit different areas of the developing world since the late 1980’s. At present, few Arab countries can claim to have a genuinely democratic political system, i.e. a system where authority is held by institutions represented by individuals who are accountable to the citizens. In this respect, Freedom House’s (2006) *Freedom in the World* ranking indicates that 12 Arab countries are considered as ‘not free’ (3 of which with a score of 7, the least free ranking), and 6 as ‘partly free’ (most of which score 5).

This situation has persisted since the Arab countries achieved independence, the colonial powers having ensured, prior to abandoning their formal political control, that the new rulers would be friendly and well-disposed towards them. A symbiotic relationship was thus established between Arab regimes and Western governments, particularly those of France and the United States. The latter could advance their economic interests (access to oil, sales of weapons and

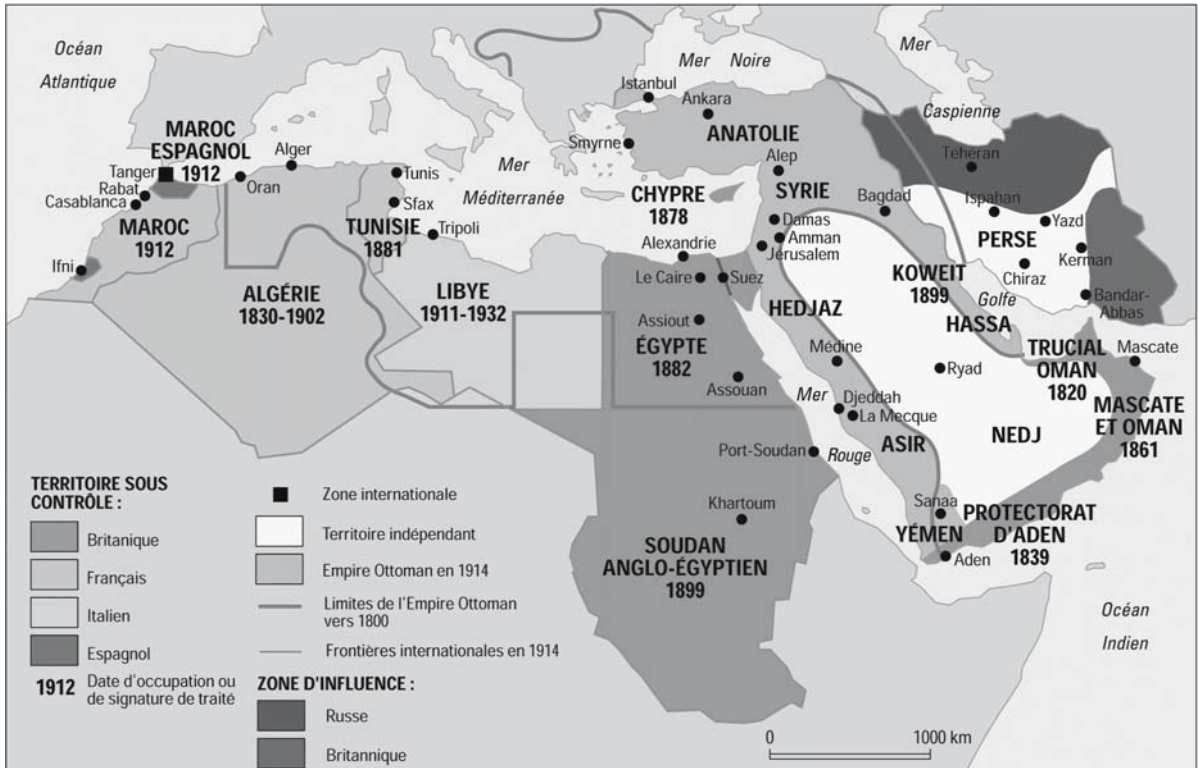
technological and industrial goods, recycling of oil revenues ...), and the former could count on diplomatic, logistical, and material support for staying in power.

At first, Arab governments ‘proposed’ to their respective populations a tacit understanding whereby the state would provide needed goods and services (employment, education, health...), and in return people would refrain from meddling in politics. This *quid pro quo* functioned for a time, but in the late 1980’s it started to come apart here and there, either because the state could no longer honour its part of the deal (for lack of will and/or resources), or the citizens were no longer willing to forego their civic rights. One way or the other, discontent began to build up in various countries, and opposition began to organize. Typically, demands were for greater democracy, respect for human rights, freedom of expression and assembly, etc. But the only way for people to express their dissatisfaction was to take to the streets. In most cases, regimes reacted not by allowing greater participation in the political process, but by increasing oppression. This set off a cycle of violence and counter-violence, violation of human rights and resistance, resort to terrorist tactics and further repression. The result was that those who were branded as terrorists became heroes and martyrs, and those who prosecuted or persecuted them confirmed their image of tyrants.

While this was taking place, Western governments failed to denounce or condemn the repression that was taking place in various parts of the Arab world, arguing that political change would bring ‘instability’ to the region. In effect, what they feared was the transfer of power to parties or movements that they did not control and that would jeopardize their interests in the region, including access to oil. The same fear continues to exist today, even though Europe and the US are now openly calling for political reforms and greater democracy in the Arab world. Arab public opinion is sceptical about their sincerity and dubious about their motives, especially in view of their reaction to the cancellation of the democratic process in Algeria in 1991, and of the methods currently being used in Iraq to institute democracy.

As the *International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty* (ICISS) points out, a large number of Arabs are among the millions of “ordinary people [whose] lives are at risk because their states are unwilling or unable to protect them” (ICISS 2001: 11). In fact, instead of insuring the security of their citizens, most Arab regimes have become a threat to them. As long as the economic objectives (access to

Figure 61.6: The Middle East 1914. **Source:** © Philippe Rekacewicz, *le Monde diplomatique*, Paris (<http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/cartes>) Permission was granted by Philippe Rekacewicz on 15 September 2007.



oil, sales of arms) and political interests (preventing unfriendly governments from coming to power, allowing Israel to act freely in the region) of the West remain unchanged, and the active support of allies to achieve them remains necessary, the security of Arab citizens will remain uncertain. At present, Western need for compliant regimes in the region is stronger than ever, and the dependence of Arab rulers on Western support to fend off growing challenges to their authority has never been as critical. It is therefore to be expected that any attempts to interfere with the designs of Arab regimes and Western governments would be resisted by any means, including force.

61.5 A Divided Nation

The Arab world is often viewed as a unit or single entity. This is not totally unjustified. We are dealing with an area of some 10 million km² (more than 2½ times the size of Western Europe) that stretches from the Atlantic Ocean to the Zagros Mountains in south-west Asia. The vast majority of the people living there share the same language (Arabic) and the same reli-

gion (Islam). For extensive periods up to the beginning of the twentieth century the area has been ruled by a *de jure* single political authority.

On the other hand, there are today few reasons to justify looking at the Arab world as a single entity. Arabs have the same religion but belong to different sects; they share a language but speak different dialects; they have the same history but do not have the same vision of their future. In short, whatever centripetal forces may have been at play in the past have been eroding over the last fifty years or so, to be replaced by far stronger centrifugal forces which have become so well entrenched that many Arabs doubt they can be rolled back – much less eliminated – in the foreseeable future.

The current political configuration of the Middle East started taking shape with the dismembering of the Ottoman Empire at the end of the First World War and continued through the end of the Second World War (see figures 61.6 to 61.9). By then France and the United Kingdom, which were already present in North Africa, had completed the process of putting the Arab world under their control in the form of trust territories, protectorates or outright colonies.

Figure 61.7: Sykes-Picot Agreement of 1916. **Source:** Passia, Palestinian Maps; at: <http://www.passia.org/palestine_facts/MAPS/1916-sykes-picot-agreement.html>. Permission has been obtained from the copyright holder.



As James Zogby, President and Chief Executive Officer of the Arab American Institute, observed in a speech given in Washington, DC on 3 June 2003, by the late 1940's "the region was carved out into states, and regimes were implanted to serve British and French interests." He further points out that this was the culmination of a process that lasted 150 years during which the people of the region "ha[d] experienced a loss of control of their own history. Imperial and colonial conquests had a dramatic impact ... If anything, the roots of extremism in the region come from this loss of control, this sense of powerlessness, this sense of humiliation."³

It was also during this period that many of the problems that are currently besetting the region had been created, most particularly the Palestinian problem. Historical facts such as the Mandate system, the UN partition of Palestine, and the drawing of boundaries creating new states, are well known.

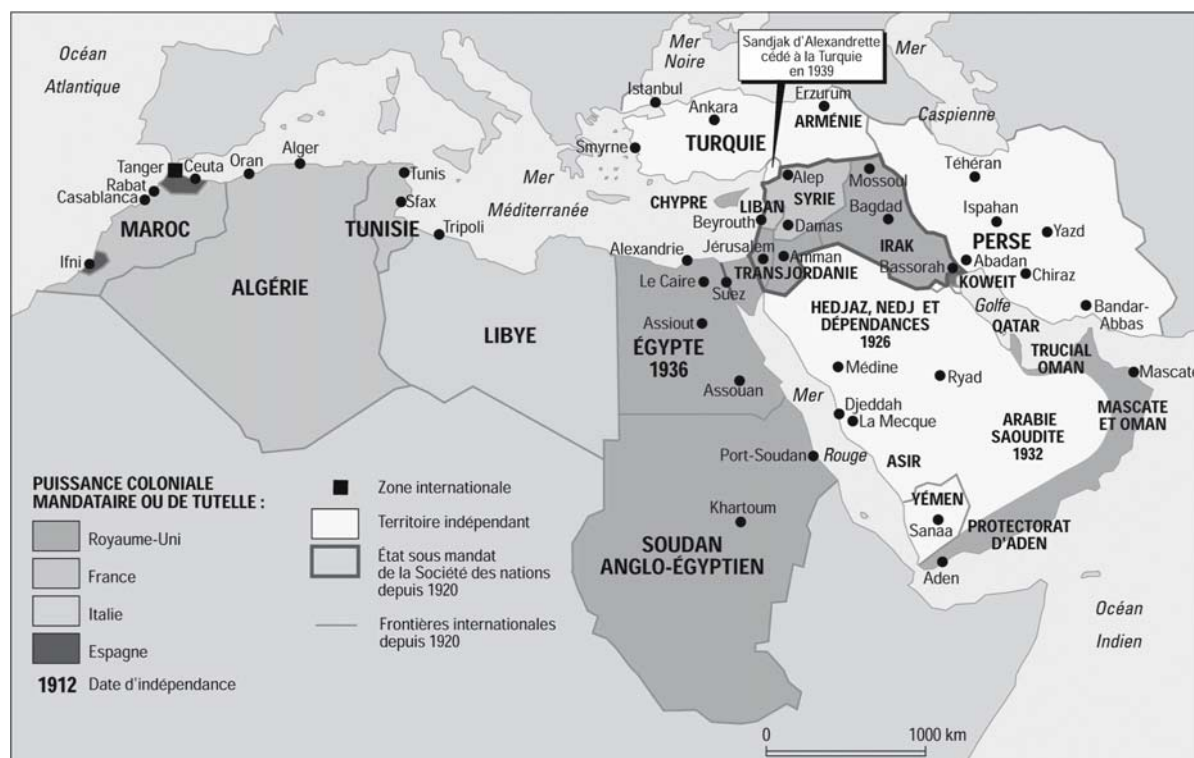
At the end of World War II and in an effort to better protect their interests through common action, six countries (Iraq, Transjordan [later Jordan], Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Syria and Yemen) joined Egypt in 1945 to form the League of Arab States. The initial project envisioned the creation of a union, or a federation, or at least a confederation, but the prospective members proved too jealous of their newly-acquired sovereignty to abandon it in favour of a supranational state. Subsequently, other members joined the League as sovereign states not bound by any common decision that the League might take. From its early days the organization adopted a large number of charters, treaties, and agreements instituting a common market, common defence, a common industrial policy, etc. but to this day no significant degree of cooperation, not to mention unity, exists between Arab states, although everyone continues to pay lip-service to Arab unity.

One can suppose that Arab people do not oppose unity, although only a scientific survey can determine how committed they are to what form of unification. Leaders, on the other hand, have always proclaimed their belief in, and their desire for unity. A few attempts have even been made to bring it about, even though such attempts have been aborted after a few months or a few days. For example, the United Arab Republic (UAR), formed by Egypt and Syria, and the United Arab States, formed by the UAR and North Yemen, lasted from 1958 to 1961. Most other attempts at unification were initiated by Libya. The Federation of Arab States (FAR), formed by Libya, Egypt and Syria, formally came into existence on 1 January 1972 but was never implemented. Plans to achieve full political union between Libya and Egypt collapsed after Sadat's visit to Jerusalem and the signing of a peace treaty between Egypt and Israel in 1978. A merger between Libya and Tunisia was announced in early 1974 only to be denounced by the Tunisian president two days later. The Treaty of Oujda signed between Libya and Morocco in 1984 united the two countries, but the project collapsed in 1986. Syria is, in theory but not in practice, united with Libya to this day as a result of an agreement signed in 1980, and it had envisioned mergers with Jordan and Iraq.

However, there have been some regional integration projects which have managed to stay alive such as the UMA, the GCC, and the Agadir Initiative. Created in 1989, the *Union du Maghreb Arabe* (UMA) or Arab Maghreb Union (AMU) constituted by Algeria, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco and Tunisia seeks, according to Article 2 of its Charter, "to strengthen the brotherly relations that unite the member states and

³ See: James Zogby, speech on 3 June 2003, in Washington, DC; at: <http://www.aaiusa.org/zogby/JZ_openforum.htm>.

Figure 61.8: Middle East in 1939. **Source:** © Philippe Rekacewicz, le Monde diplomatique, Paris (<http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/cartes>) Permission was granted by Philippe Rekacewicz on 15 September 2007.



their peoples, contribute to the preservation of peace based on justice and equity, adopt common policies in various areas, and work progressively towards achieving the free movement of people, services, goods and capital.” However, the organization has been in a deep coma for more than a decade. Its five heads of states, who are supposed to meet annually, have not done so since 1994, and none of the summits that did take place had been attended by all of them. Furthermore, no progress has been made towards the creation of a free trade zone. This failure is due to several factors, the most important being the disagreement between Algeria and Morocco over the Western Sahara, and Libya’s displeasure with Mauritania’s decision to establish diplomatic relations with Israel.

As for the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), it was established in 1981 by Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates. Among its objectives (defined in Article 4 of its Charter), the GCC seeks to achieve coordination, complementarity, integration and, ultimately, unity among the member states. Contrary to the UMA, the GCC has realized some concrete results: in 2003 it eliminated all tariffs on trade between its members and established a common external tariff wall as preliminary

steps towards creating a single market. It also plans to adopt a common currency by 2010.

Lastly, and for the sake of completeness, mention should be made at the latest effort at regional integration – the so-called Agadir Initiative. In May 2001 the foreign ministers of Egypt, Jordan, Morocco and Tunisia met in Agadir (Morocco) and issued a declaration calling for the establishment of a free trade zone among the four states (accession by other Arab-Mediterranean states being left open). In February 2004 a final agreement was signed in the same city from which the initiative was launched. The European Union, which supported the project from its inception, announced shortly after the signing of the agreement that it was setting aside €4 million to provide technical assistance to member states and to the Secretariat of the organization once it is set up. As of late 2006 the Agadir Agreement has not gone into effect, but when/if it does, it is not likely to yield major benefits given the geographical distances that separate the member states, the absence of communication infrastructure (especially land and sea transport), and the insignificant volume of trade between the contracting parties.

Figure 61.9: Middle East and North Africa in 1995. **Source:** University of Texas at Austin, Perry-Castañeda Library Map Collection, map produced by U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, Map is in the public domain, no permission to reprint is needed; at: <http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/middle_east_and_asia/n_africa_mid_east_pol_95.jpg>.



It may be noted that despite these failures, Arab states did show on occasion, as in the wake of the 1973 Middle East War, that they were capable of achieving a high degree of cooperation and unity of purpose when they wished to do so. But by and large, unity has been mostly an ideal and a propaganda tool rather than a political objective to be implemented through a coherent and planned process.

The fragmentation of the Arab world will have profound effects on its people's security. The world has been going through a process widely known as globalization which, in effect, is made up of four separate but interrelated processes (Scholte 2002): a) *internationalization* or the growth of transactions and interdependence between countries; b) *liberalization* or the formation of an open and borderless world economy; c) *universalization* or the spread of products, ideas, attitudes and types of behaviour across geographical areas and cultures; and d) *Westernization* which is a particular form of universalization in which the social structures of modernity (capitalism, industrialism, rationalism, urbanism...) are adopted or imposed throughout the world.

At present, the Arab world is heavily dependent on the outside world for satisfying most of its needs:

food, medicine, scientific knowledge, technical know-how, etc. Admittedly, many states depend on the Arab world for vital energy products, but the interdependence is extremely unbalanced to the detriment of the Arab world. In other words, the Arabs have not managed to make internationalization and liberalization work to their advantage. Nor have they been able to claim ownership of the process of universalization or become effective participants in it. Having claimed that universalization is a disguised form of Westernization, many regimes and segments of civil society in the region have rejected universal values as contrary to religious or cultural principles. As a result, there is widespread discrimination against women and minorities, violation of human and civic rights, sectarianism, authoritarianism, and nepotism – to name a few of the dysfunctions that beset the region.

This is not to say that Arabs are fully immune from attempts to tamper with their cultural and religious values or important components of their identity. However, resistance to such attempts cannot take the form of wholesale rejection of, or confrontation with, other cultures and civilizations. A more beneficial approach would be to try to take an active part in shaping the process of universalization and insure that it

incorporates any values that Arabs consider as important. At the same time, Arabs should re-examine practices, beliefs, and attitudes which others may find objectionable, and undertake either to convince others that these have intrinsic merits which have been overlooked or misperceived, or to recognize that they are in fact unacceptable and should therefore be abandoned. Short of this constructive dialogue, the ongoing recriminations, denunciations, and confrontations are likely to continue, to the detriment of human security in the Arab world and elsewhere.

But this dialogue with the outside world must be preceded by a dialogue among the Arabs themselves. They need to reassess the way they interact with the outside world, determine what status they have within the world community and, most importantly, evaluate the risks of being a passive observer standing on the periphery of the process of globalization. Arabs need to realize that they lack the critical mass that would allow them to be effective actors in world affairs. Even if they were to be taken as a single entity, Arab states represent a negligible quantity in terms of economic production, financial weight, trade, scientific production or technological innovation. This may not represent in the short term a threat to human security inasmuch as goods and services that are not produced locally can be purchased from the outside world, even though there is no guarantee that Arabs will always have the means to acquire what they need or that they will always find willing suppliers. Therefore, they need to ensure that they have the proper stature and the appropriate bargaining chips that would allow them to participate effectively in the negotiations that will determine the distribution of resources among the world communities.

61.6 Human Security in the Arab World

To summarize, insecurity in the Arab world has reached alarming proportions, and it is likely to become more severe in the future. Every day people are killed, maimed, imprisoned, and tortured at the hands of foreign or national soldiers, policemen, militiamen or self-appointed law enforcers. Such acts may not occur with the same frequency everywhere, but no part of the region is immune against them. Under these circumstances, people are not going to worry about climate change or desertification or about poverty, inflation or sanitation, when they are not sure if they are going to be alive on the next day.

Consequently, the most urgent task is to protect people against all forms of violence that threaten their physical integrity. The practical means for doing so will vary from country to country according to the source of the threat. In Palestine, Lebanon and Iraq, for example, people have been victims of foreign armies which invaded and occupied (and continue to occupy) their countries, and the first step to end the bloodshed is to bring foreign occupation to an end.⁴ However, in all three cases the prospects of a lasting peace are dim.

Another cause of insecurity which exists in all Arab countries is the absence of democracy. At present there is no government that can be considered as accountable to its people, attentive to their needs and aspirations, and respectful of their rights. In addition, many political leaders have been able to stay in power for decades, mainly thanks to Western support. Eventually, opposition movements started to get organized, demanding substantial political reforms. In most cases regimes reacted by starting or increasing repression against actual, potential or imagined opponents. The methods used were such that practically every opposition movement ceased to function, with the exception of Islamist/fundamentalist movements. These had the will and the means to use violence not only against the ruling regimes but also against those who aid and abet those regimes. As time went by, the degree of violence used by each side increased continuously, and it has now reached such a point that it is difficult to see how the confrontation between the fundamentalists and their opponents can be brought to an end, all the more so that neither side will accept anything short of the total defeat of the other.

The United States has declared an all-out 'war against terrorism' and has drawn a number of Western states into it. Most Arab regimes welcomed this war which, they hope, will eliminate those who threaten their hold on power. The fundamentalists, on the other hand, consider that they are fighting to protect their countries and communities against foreign political, economic, and cultural domination. With attitudes such as these, compromise becomes

4 To take Palestine as an example, figures provided by B'Tselem (the Israeli Information Centre for Human Rights in the Occupied Territories) indicate that since the second Intifada started in September 2000 nearly 3,800 Palestinians were killed by Israeli security forces, including 769 minors and 208 who were the object of a targeted killing, while the Palestinians killed 314 Israeli soldiers and 697 civilians (B'Tselem 2006).

nearly impossible. The most likely prospect is that the confrontation between entrenched regimes and radicalized (structured or unstructured) public opinion will intensify and spread across the region, contributing to instability and insecurity there.⁴

This is not the place to discuss peace in the Middle East, but the situation as it stands in mid-2007 gives little cause for optimism. Each of the protagonists considers that it is fighting a just and moral cause, proclaims that it has the necessary mental and material resources to defeat the evil enemy, and that nothing short of total victory is acceptable. It is likely, therefore, that in the foreseeable future the ultimate form and yet most easily avoided form of insecurity – death – will continue to haunt not just Arabs, but also Israelis, Americans, Europeans, and most other people who have the misfortune of living in a world that calls itself civilized.

The invasion of Iraq is continuing with no end in sight. More importantly, the Iraqi people are not likely to enjoy any form of security for decades to come as a result of the disintegration of their political and social institutions.

As for regional integration, which could provide a durable solution to the region's problems, it will remain a distant dream. This is not due to any insurmountable structural reasons but rather to the combined effect of resistance of current regimes to any reduction of their absolute power, resistance of extra-regional powers to the emergence of 'unfriendly' national or supra-national institutions that would have sufficient legitimacy to adopt more assertive policies towards other countries and regions and more independent decisions in their political, diplomatic, economic, and financial relations with the rest of the world. At a time when blocks are being formed and consolidated in various parts of the world, a divided Arab world will have little weight in international affairs and little capacity to defend its interests.

Therefore, Arabs will continue to be at the mercy of forces which are outside of their control. Some will have no choice but to accept this situation if they want to stay alive. But others, whose ranks are growing, will seek to change the situation and will be willing to put their lives at risk towards that end. In other words, the current calls that the United States and Europe are making for reforms in the Arab world will not reduce the determination of those who seek to set up a new political and social order in the region.

Where does this leave human security? A realistic assessment would provide little cause for optimism. The waves of human security, just like the waves of de-

mocracy, have failed to reach the shores of the Arab world. There is, however, one exception: Jordan. This country is a founding member of the Human Security Network, and in that capacity it has taken some initiatives to raise awareness about human security. It was also in Amman that the above-mentioned International Conference on Human Security in the Arab Region was held in 2005; it was co-organized by the Regional Human Security Centre at the Jordan Institute of Diplomacy and UNESCO.⁵

Finally, it may be pointed out that UNESCO has reached an agreement with the Arab League to jointly organize a conference in Cairo in 2007 to further discuss the state of human security and make recommendations to enhance it in the region. UNESCO plans to commission several studies dealing with theoretical issues as well as themes related to specific aspects of human security and specific countries or sub-regions of the Arab world. Should that project materialize, it could lead to a greater awareness among decision-makers, intellectuals, and public opinion at large about human security issues and, perhaps, to the adoption of action plans for enhancing human security in the region.

In the short and medium term one should not expect any major improvements in human security in the Arab world. Large segments of Arab societies will continue to face clear and present dangers to the vital core of human life. The threats will continue to emanate mostly from human agents rather than natural factors, although the latter (desertification, water scarcity, etc.) will significantly increase insecurity in many parts of the region. For those who seek to change the course of events, the major difficulty will consist in finding ways to deal with individuals and groups who have entrenched interests to defend and who will use any means to preserve their dominant position. The task may not be impossible, but it is certainly daunting.

5 In addition, a Jordanian university, Tafila Technical University, plans to organize in July 2007 a conference on "Human development and security in a changing world" and has issued a call for papers dealing with various aspects of human security; see at: <<http://www.ttu.edu.jo/hds/index.html>>.

62 ECOWAS and Regional Security Challenges

U. Joy Ogwu

62.1 Introduction

Africa is the continent that harbours the largest share of the world's conflicts and wars. West Africa is the sub-region with the greatest share of these problems. Since the beginning of the 1990's conflicts and violence have resulted in the death, injury, and mutilation of several hundred, and the displacement of millions of people across the sub-region. The death and injury tolls have made West Africa and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) synonymous with insecurity, violence, and destruction rather than cooperation and development as designed in the core objectives of ECOWAS.

However, in spite of many problems of the sub-region, ECOWAS has created active structures and frameworks for engaging effectively to achieve peace and stability in West Africa. While maintaining the larger focus on economic development, cooperation, and integration among its member states and their estimated 240 million people, ECOWAS has reviewed and realigned its structures and operations to deal with the security challenges confronting the sub-region. The ECOWAS leadership has collectively resolved that the pursuit of regional peace and security is central to the attainment of the social, economic, and political development of the sub-region.

The sustained efforts of ECOWAS and other regional and global actors like the African Union (AU) and the United Nations (UN) have resulted in some measure of calm in some of the war-torn countries of West Africa (e.g. Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Guinea) since the second half of 2002. Yet, there remain enormous challenges in the pursuit of sustainable peace and security in West Africa. It is in that regard that this paper seeks to examine the following pertinent questions: What are the security challenges confronting West Africa? What are the structures and measures that ECOWAS is devising to deal with these challenges? How much success or otherwise has been

achieved in confronting the region's security problems?

62.2 Conceptual Clarifications

The concept of regionalism is central to addressing the subject of regional security in West Africa or any geopolitical area for that matter. Essentially, a region connotes the geographical segmentation or division of a given space. The world for example is divided into continents, which are further divided into regions and sub-regions for geographical and politico-economic reasons. In international relations regionalism embodies the idea of dealing with issues concerning or peculiar to a particular region and promoting development, cooperation, and integration of the region. It is within this broad concept of regionalism that various aspects such as: regional cooperation, regional integration, regional economic development, regional security, etc. are located (Katz 2000; Tanaka/Inoguchi 1996).

62.2.1 Regional Integration

In international relations, countries that are located in the same geographical area, sharing common social, cultural, political, and historical affinities often have some sense of neighbourliness among them. This sense of common affinities and interests leads to some form of mutual cooperation. Regional integration is the formal institutionalization of this sense of neighbourliness and cooperation among states within a particular geo-political region. Regional integration seeks to pull the resources and efforts of the states concerned towards addressing and promoting common interests in a wide range of fields including, economic, social, cultural, political, military, etc. (Wallace 1994).

The UN Charter recognized the importance of regional arrangements towards the achievement of over-

all international peace and security. The Charter provides in Chapter VIII for the role of regional arrangements and institutions in the pursuit of peace and cooperation within a given geographical area. Accordingly, regional integration and arrangements are seen as a kind of 'mini united nations', acceptable frameworks for mobilizing and harnessing efforts within various geo-political regions. As in other continents of the world, regional integration is a concept that has been embraced in Africa at the continental level (through the Organization of African Unity (OAU), later the AU, and at the sub-regional level through various sub-regional arrangements like the ECOWAS, the Southern African Development Community (SADC), the Economic Community of East African States (ECAS), etc. These sub-regional organizations pursue a wide range of common regional objectives usually covering economic, social, political, and importantly peace and security spheres.

62.2.2 Regional Security

Generally security is a concept that is embraced in all facets of human life from the smallest micro level to the macro, national, and international levels. It is therefore possible to see security from a whole range of perspectives, including personal, community, national, and international. Security could also be physical security, psychological security, economic security, food security, etc. Essentially, security implies the absence or protection from a particular type of threat, which could be physical, psychological or economic in nature. Conversely, insecurity implies exposure to any of these threats. Whether at individual, national or regional levels, the importance of security according to Imobighe (2001: 39) lies in the fact that without security individuals within a state will find it difficult to engage in productive activities, while also without security, the state is bound to experience difficulty in harnessing its human and material resources towards meaningful development and the promotion of the general well-being of the people.¹ Going beyond the narrow conception of security at the national level in terms of military and physical protection of the state or regime, a seasoned security practitioner, Mohammed (2000: 5-7) defined national security in broad terms to encompass "all factors that contribute to the

safety, well being and prosperity of a country and its people."

As a concept regional security evolved from the same sense of common interests underlying regional integration and cooperation. A feeling that within a particular geopolitical region member states share common tangible and intangible interests which when threatened or indeed attacked would affect in varying degrees the enjoyment of peace and the normal conduct of life within that particular region. Therefore, just as an individual state is concerned with the maintenance of law and order and the protection of peace and security within its borders, regional arrangements are concerned or indeed created to maintain peace and security within their region. This chapter adopts this broad conception of regional security that encompasses all factors that can affect the safety, well-being, and prosperity of the countries and people of West Africa.

Accordingly, while some regional organizations are established specifically to address regional security among their members or as platforms for defence cooperation (e.g. the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)), many regional organizations are established to pursue broader objectives of social, economic, and political development. Within the broader development goals, the importance of maintaining peaceful and conducive atmosphere has often compelled such regional organizations to establish or inculcate security arrangements to deal with issues of peace and security. This is the case with ECOWAS, as the Executive Secretary has aptly pointed out that "after decades of limited success in promoting economic integration" and faced with the outbreak of conflicts, ECOWAS had to "factor in the peace and security sector which was previously downplayed" (Ibn Chambas 2005: 16).

In the post-Cold War era the concept of regional security has become an essential mechanism within the framework of regional integration and regional organizations. The fact that economic and political cooperation and development cannot be achieved in an atmosphere of conflict and insecurity dictates that regional security is factored into regional integration *ab initio* or effectively at some stage. In the spirit of the Charter, the UN has recognized the centrality of regional security towards the attainment of overall global peace and security. Thus, the UN gives its support to the efforts of regional organizations to deal with issues of conflict and security within their regions (Aning 2004: 534-535; Ate 2001b: 121-125). For instance, the UN has supported independent regional security

1 In addition to Imobighe (2001), there are other perspectives on individual, state, and regional security. Some of these scholars include Hubert (2001), Buzan (1991), Al Marshat (1985) and Hutchful (2000).

initiatives (e.g. ECOMOG in Liberia, NATO in Kosovo, etc.) and it has also collaborated with regional organizations in containing conflicts for example through the United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL) and United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL) among others. Therefore, whether in Africa, Asia or America, the concept and instrumentality of regional security has been one of the acceptable ways of promoting international peace and security.

62.3 ECOWAS

The problems and priorities before West African States immediately after independence in the 1960's were essentially that of tackling political, economic, and developmental challenges. Accordingly, the need for cooperation at the sub-regional level was for the purposes of finding solutions to their common economic and development problems. Before ECOWAS was established in 1975 there were earlier attempts at sub-regional cooperation among West African States based mainly on colonial ties and interests. Against that background, the activities of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) and its support for regional cooperation as from the mid 1960's created the impetus that spurred West African states into action leading to the establishment of a regional body that embraced both the Anglophone and Francophone countries of West Africa through the ECOWAS Treaty that was signed in Lagos on 28 May 1975.²

The constituent Treaty of ECOWAS presented clearly the goals and objectives of the community. It stated that the community would be concerned with the promotion of cooperation and development in all fields of industry, transport, telecommunications, energy, agriculture, natural resources, commerce, monetary, finance, and in social and cultural matters for the purpose of raising the standard of living of its peoples. The Community would also seek to foster close relations among its members and contribute to the progress and development of the African Continent. To that end the treaty also listed a range of specific objectives of the community, which focused essentially on economic integration, cooperation, and harmonization of development policies among the states in the sub-region.³

Economic cooperation and regional integration were the priorities and focus of ECOWAS until the end of the 1980's. In 1993 ECOWAS reappraised its goals and objectives and produced a Revised Treaty to further provide direction for the organization in line with the prevailing realities and problems in the sub-region. Essentially, the revised treaty of 1993 reaffirmed the overriding need to encourage, foster, and accelerate economic and social development in order to improve the living standard of West African peoples. It also set the tone for the challenges and realities before the community, which now revolve around the question of large-scale conflicts and insecurity (figure 62.1).⁴

Although the promotion of peace and security were implied rather than expressly stated as part of the core goals and objectives of the organization at its formation, by the end of the Cold War the realities of the West African cycle of conflicts have brought this aspect to the front burner, engaging as it were most of the efforts and resources of ECOWAS. While ECOWAS had been involved in mediation and conciliation missions in some disputes between member states (e.g. Mali and Burkina Faso, Togo and Ghana) during the Cold War period, the scope and nature of the threats to peace and security in the sub-region at that time were limited. However, starting with Liberia in 1989 the scale of conflicts in West Africa became more violent and complicated that ECOWAS had to deploy more of its time and resources to conflict prevention and resolution and the establishment of a mechanism that can effectively deal with the recurring problems of conflict across the sub-region (Ate 2001a: 62-66; 2001b: 115-117).

62.3.1 Challenges of Regional Security

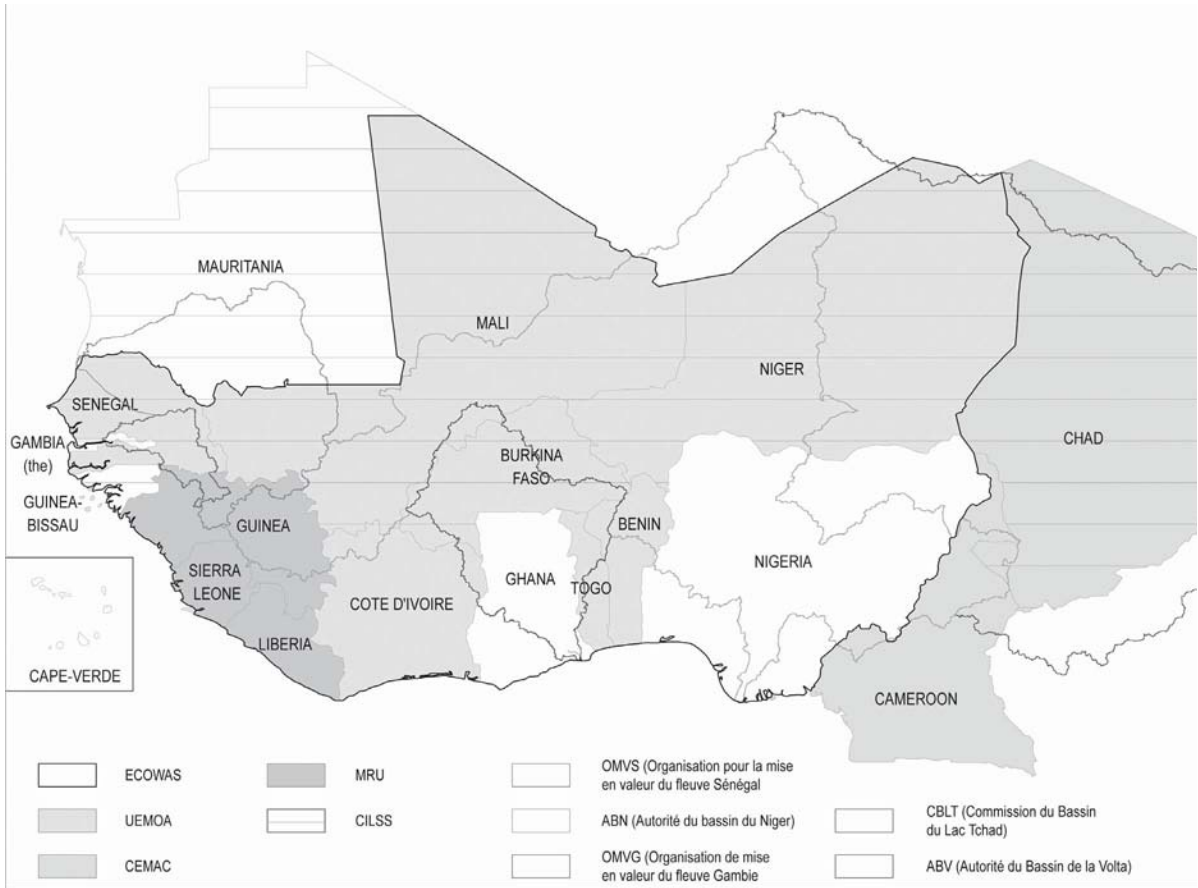
While the Cold War lasted, West African countries like the rest of Africa functioned as arenas for the West-East ideological warfare of the superpowers. The superpowers dominated political and economic developments in these countries. Of course, they were also responsible for sponsoring and supporting frequent security problems and violent power changes that occurred in the sub-region during the Cold War period. Apart from the ideological warfare, the other type of security problems experienced in the sub-region during the period was inter-state conflicts: con-

2 For detailed account of developments leading to the establishment of ECOWAS, see, Ezenwe (1984), Onwuka (1985) and Akinyemi et al. (1984).

3 See Article 2 of ECOWAS Treaty of 1975.

4 See the Preamble and Article 3 of ECOWAS Revised Treaty of 1993.

Figure 62.1: Map on the Regional Institutions in West Africa, produced by the Sahel and West Africa Club (2006).
Source: © Sahel and West Africa Club, OECD 2006; at: <<http://www.oecd.org/data-oecd/6/55/38506469.pdf>>. Permission to reproduce has been granted by OECD.



flicts involving two or more countries within the sub-region. Such conflicts and security problems were also closely linked to the ideological manoeuvrings of the Cold War. In some cases the conflicts also resulted from disputes arising from contentious colonial boundaries and other intransigencies between neighbours. For instance, between 1960 and 1989 the OAU and the sub-regional organizations contend with many boundary-related conflicts between Algeria and Morocco, Ethiopia and Somalia, Ghana and Togo, Mali and Burkina Faso, Somalia and Kenya, etc. (figure 62.2).

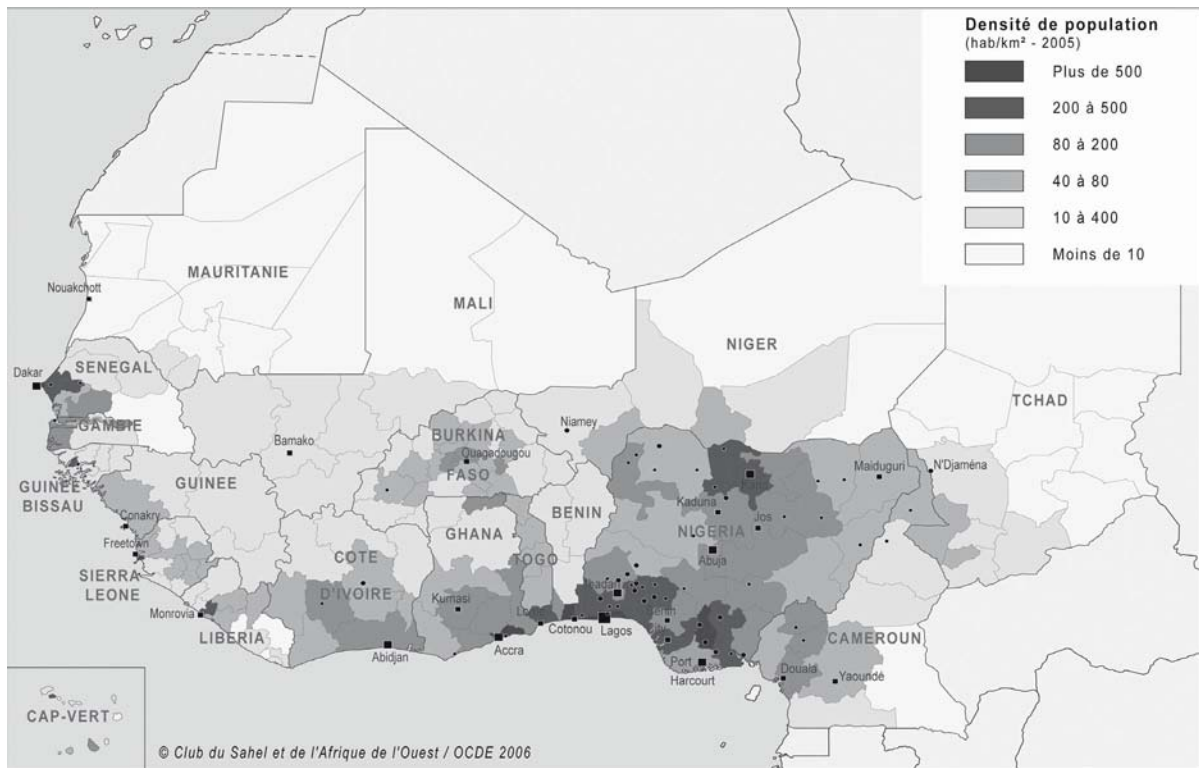
Accordingly, between 1960 and the late 1980's most African states generally perceived national and regional security concerns in terms of external threats of subversion or attack from foreign interests. Thus, the OAU and the sub-regional organizations including ECOWAS viewed national and regional security in terms of the protection of the sovereignty and territo-

rial integrity of member states, and non-interference in the internal affairs of states⁵.

However, the challenges of regional security during the Cold War period, although by no means small, were not as destructive in scope and consequence as those that have plagued West Africa since the beginning of the 1990's. The focus or preoccupation with maintenance of national security through the protection of the status quo or the regime in power which was pursued during the Cold War period laid the foundation for the new types of conflict that was unleashed across West Africa as soon as the Cold War ended. The end of the Cold War implied the end of superpower interests in protecting tyrannical governments and in propping up governments that were not

5 The OAU Treaty of 1963 and ECOWAS Treaty of 1975 variously provide for the protection of national sovereignty, territorial integrity, and non-interference in internal affairs as key objectives and fundamental principles.

Figure 62.2: Population Density in West Africa in 2005. **Source:** © Sahel and West Africa Club, OECD 2006; at: < <http://www.oecd.org/data-oecd/7/32/38506438.pdf>>. Permission to reproduce has been granted by OECD.



performing, while helping to suppress opposition by citizens and groups in those countries (Imobighe 2001: 43-45).

The exit of the superpowers and the change in the political and security equation in many West African countries led to a change in the type of conflict and security challenges facing the sub-region. Rather than the threat of external attack or inter-state conflicts, West African countries, beginning with Liberia in 1989, started to experience internally generated conflicts. These conflicts are the results of internal disconnections and discontents that have been suppressed for very long. The sources and root causes of these conflicts include: ethnic and religious disputes, violent political and factional contests, identity and self determination agitations by groups and nationalities, poverty and limited economic opportunities resulting from bad governance and political corruption among others. Invariably, the expression of widespread discontent with the political and economic status quo in many African states erupted into violent conflicts causing wanton destruction of lives and property from Liberia to Sierra Leone, Guinea Bissau, Guinea, Senegal, and Côte d'Ivoire.

The scale of violence and the attendant problems saw the OAU and ECOWAS struggling to salvage the sub-region from sustained conflagration. On the back of the intra-state or what can be described as region-wide conflicts, West Africa was held prostrate by a number of debilitating security challenges. These security challenges include:

1. The proliferation of small arms and light weapons which fuels and escalates the scale and horror of conflicts across the sub-region;
2. The problem of mercenaries and child soldiers which continues to wreak havoc on the social and moral fabric of the affected societies, while spreading conflicts and laying the foundation for future instability in the sub-region;
3. The dehumanizing problems of refugees and internally displaced persons which continue to threaten the stability of the whole sub-region as human misery and poverty spread from state to state in the sub-region;
4. The alarming spread of HIV/Aids as consequence of atrocities and exposure in the areas of conflicts;
5. Increase in the activities of cross-border criminal groups, militias, and mercenaries who continue to

pillage communities in the conflict areas as they spread criminality via trafficking in arms, precious minerals, drugs, and children and women; and

6. The duo of conflict and poverty, which hinder the realization of meaningful development. Conflict takes away resources that would have been used for economic development and the provision of essential infrastructure. This in turn means that a cycle of poverty and underdevelopment is entrenched as the endless cycle of conflict further impoverishes the people.

The foregoing depicts the spectre of security problems that plague countries across West Africa. The scale of the violence and destruction is so deplorable that the world through the UN and other international donor organizations could not but come to the aid of the suffering peoples of West Africa. However, the commendable and proactive efforts of ECOWAS as well as the experience gained in tackling these security challenges since the beginning of the 1990's have ensured that in this case Africa was not just waiting for external help.

62.3.2 The ECOWAS Mechanism for Peace and Security

ECOWAS has recently adopted a *Convention on Small Arms and Light Weapons, their Ammunition and other Related Materials*, which is aimed at addressing the small arms dimension of the sub-region's security challenges. Before now, the main security framework of ECOWAS was embodied in the *Protocol Relating to the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution Peace-Keeping and Security* adopted in December 1999. Before that protocol was adopted in response to growing conflicts across the sub-region, ECOWAS had adopted various other instruments that sought to govern questions of peace and security in the sub-region. Among these instruments were:

- The *Protocol on Non-Aggression* of 1978 which sought to create assurances that there would be no act of aggression or subversion between and among West African states and elicit a commitment to peaceful resolution of disputes. This pact was not however implemented because some members, especially the Francophone states, were not convinced that it could guarantee their protection from aggression.
- The *Protocol on Mutual Assistance in Defence* of 1981 commits member states to peaceful resolu-

tion of disputes and mutual assistance in case of external aggression. This protocol spelt out elaborate structures and procedures for joint action against aggression, but it was not also effectively implemented because, again, some members, especially the Francophone ones, were more committed to a parallel framework for mutual defence which they had established in 1977 under the aegis of the *Communauté économique de l'Afrique de l'Ouest* (CEAO). The *Accord de Non-Aggression et d'Assistance en Matière de Défense* (ANAD) committed these states to an exclusive Francophone mutual security and defence arrangement.

- The *Declaration of the Moratorium on the Importation, Exportation and Manufacture of Light Weapons* of 1998 was adopted by ECOWAS in response to the growing problem of proliferation of small arms and light weapons which was noted to be responsive to the spiralling conflicts in the sub-region.

In spite of the limitations in the implementation of the foregoing ECOWAS instruments, when confronted with the escalating and alarming violence in Liberia, the organization responded with a novel initiative under the Protocol Relating to Mutual Assistance on Defence. The initiative was the establishment and deployment of the ECOWAS Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) to intervene, save lives, and restore peace to war torn Liberia in July 1990. Although the initiative was a very dicey and difficult one, the experience and the success of ECOMOG in Liberia emboldened ECOWAS. It marked a new chapter in the ECOWAS approach to dealing with sub-regional security challenges and it set the tone for the establishment by ECOWAS of a more elaborate and robust regional mechanism for peace and security.

The *Protocol Relating to the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peace-Keeping and Security* was adopted in 1999 to specifically provide a comprehensive mechanism and structure for preventing, managing, and effectively ending West Africa's seemingly endless cycle of conflicts. ECOWAS leaders were convinced that the mechanism would institute adequate and pragmatic structures for dealing with the whole gamut of conflict prevention, resolution, and peace and security in the sub-region (Ibn Chambas 2004: 32-34; 2005: 14; Aning: 2002: 534-537).

The 1999 Protocol established a mechanism for comprehensive and collective prevention, management, and resolution of conflicts in the sub-region, placing emphasis on preventive actions, including an

early warning system. The objectives of the mechanism covering the whole range of internal and external security issues include:

- The strengthening of cooperation in the areas of conflict prevention, early warning, peacekeeping operations;
- The control of cross-border crime, international terrorism, and proliferation of small arms and anti-personnel mines; and
- The maintenance and consolidation of peace, security, and stability which are the core security challenges confronting ECOWAS member states.⁶

In pursuance of these broad objectives, the mechanism is endowed with structures that would effectively address all types of conflict situations in the sub-region:

- The *Authority of Heads of State and Government of Member States* is the apex decision-making organ of the mechanism. It undertakes general oversight of the activities of the mechanism.
- Directly responsible to the Authority is the *Mediation and Security Council*. It comprises nine member states and has the powers to take decision on all issues of peace and security on behalf of the Authority of Heads of State and Government. The Council is also responsible for the implementation of all the provisions of the Protocol, including taking decisions and implementing policies on conflict prevention, management and resolution, and authorizing all forms of intervention and deciding particularly on the deployment of political and military missions among others.⁷
- The Mediation and Security Council is supported by a number of organs including, the *Defence and Security Commission*, the *Council of Elders* and the *ECOWAS Monitoring Group (ECOMOG)*:
 - The *Defence and Security Commission* is made up of representatives of member states from various armed forces and security agencies, such as: internal affairs and security; immigration; customs; drug/narcotic agencies; border guards, etc. It has responsibility for all technical and administrative issues and for

assessment of logistical requirements for peacekeeping operations.

- The *Council of Elders*, comprising eminent personalities, plays the role of mediators and conciliators in support of the Council's works.
- ECOMOG is the operational arm of the mechanism, which undertakes observation, monitoring, intervention, and peacekeeping missions. It is made up of contingents from national armed forces of member states.
- The Office of the Deputy Executive Secretary in charge of Political Affairs, Defence, and Security at the ECOWAS Secretariat assists the Mediation and Security Council by facilitating its work.⁸

Furthermore, in line with the preventive approach of the mechanism, the Protocol also provides for a *Sub-regional Peace and Security Observation System* also known as the *Early Warning System*. This system consists of the observation and monitoring centre and a number of observation and monitoring zones across the sub-region, which monitor conflicts through proactive early warning and signalling. Essentially, the ECOWAS mechanism integrates member states and their political and security institutions into a process that will monitor, cooperate, and intervene appropriately in cases of internal or external aggression or conflict, or any threat of conflict in any member state or in cases that threaten to trigger humanitarian disaster or are a threat to peace and security in the region. The Mechanism is even empowered to act in the event of serious and massive violation of human rights and the rule of law or an overthrow or attempted overthrow of a democratically elected government.⁹ The mechanism is comprehensive and can respond to and effectively stem the tide of conflicts in the sub-region. Of necessity, its early warning component relies on cooperation among member states both at the level of the Authority of Heads of State and Government and at the level of relevant national political and security institutions. This arrangement was predicated on the understanding of West Africa's security imperatives as shown by past and ongoing experiences across the sub-region. Since the 1999 Protocol entered into force ECOWAS has commenced its implementation through the establishment of its institutions and structures as well as their intervention and deployment in various conflict situations.

6 See Article 3 of the 1999 ECOWAS Protocol Relating to the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peacekeeping, and Security.

7 See articles 4 to 11 Ibid.

8 See articles 17 to 22 Ibid.

9 See articles 23 to 25 Ibid.

Moreover, in furtherance of the objective of establishing an effective regional security arrangement, ECOWAS has continued to improve its frameworks and mechanisms. In this regard, the Community in December 2001 adopted a *Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance Supplementary to the Protocol Relating to the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peace-Keeping and Security*. The supplementary protocol was aimed at complementing the 1999 Protocol by incorporating provisions that would govern issues relating to the prevention of internal crises and the promotion of democracy, good governance, the rule of law, and human rights. The protocol sets out various provisions for the conduct of member states in such areas as: the political process, the role of security agencies, role of women, children and the youth, economic issues and poverty alleviation, education, social, cultural and religious matters, the rule of law, human rights, etc. Its focus is to ensure good governance and free and participatory democracy that would contribute to peace-building across the sub-region.¹⁰ The protocol also includes provisions for sanctions against member states that violate its extensive provisions.¹¹

Furthermore, in recognition of the central role of the question of the proliferation of small arms and light weapons in the security of the sub-region, ECOWAS has also adopted the *Convention on Small Arms and Light Weapons, their Ammunition and other Related Materials* in June 2006. This Convention was born out of the determination of the member states to achieve the objectives enshrined in the 1998 *Declaration on the Moratorium on the Importation, Exportation and Manufacture of Light Weapons* and the subsequent *Code of Conduct for the Implementation of the Moratorium* adopted in December 1999. The Convention was also meant to strengthen the provisions of articles 3, 50, and 51 of the 1999 *Protocol Relating to the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peace-Keeping and Security* which seek to control the proliferation of small arms and light weapons in the sub-region. Its provisions prohibit various types of small arms and light weapons and lay down the procedures for controlling, managing, registering, and dealing with various aspects of importation, exportation, manufacture, transportation, and possession of these arms across

the sub-region.¹² Presently, the combination of the 1999 *Protocol on the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention*, the 2001 *Supplementary Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance* and the new *Convention on Small Arms and Light Weapons* embody formidable arsenal and mechanisms that would enable ECOWAS to face and effectively stem the tide of conflicts and in security in West Africa.

62.3.3 Problems and Challenges

ECOWAS has recorded remarkable success in swiftly realigning its focus and structures to “factor in the peace and security sector” (Ibn Chambas 2005: 16) in line with the security realities of the sub-region. The adoption of the key instruments discussed in the foregoing section is clear testimony of ECOWAS preparedness to comprehensively address the complex security challenges confronting the sub-region. However, despite the efforts of ECOWAS and the strength of its mechanism and instruments, there are still problems and obstacles that have continued to impede the achievement of sustainable peace and security in the sub-region. The following are some of the pertinent problems and challenges of regional security:

- The first among these problems is the question of political will and commitment to the ideals of ECOWAS, and the pursuit of good governance and democracy by member states. It has been established that one of the major causes of intra-state conflicts in the sub-region is poor governance, which creates the conditions of extreme poverty and discontent that in turn stimulate conflicts. Logically, the failure to promote good governance and democracy in member states poses serious challenges to the security of the sub-region. Therefore, there is urgent need for member states to adhere to the ideals of good governance and democracy in order to address the root causes of conflicts in the sub-region. The adoption of the *Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance Supplementary to the Protocol Relating to the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peace-Keeping and Security* is further testimony to this fact. Yet there remains

10 See the Preamble and articles 1 to 43 of the 2001 ECOWAS Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance.

11 See articles 44 to 45 Ibid.

12 See articles 1 to 28 of the Convention on Small Arms and Light Weapons, their Ammunition and other Related Materials.

the challenge for member states to apply the provisions of the protocol beyond mere lip service.

- The other challenge that is related to the question of the political will and commitment of the member states of ECOWAS, is the one arising from the continuing existence of organizations like the *Union économique et Monétaire Ouest Africaine* (UEMOA, formerly CEAO) and ANAD. These organizations have parallel objectives and focus vis-à-vis those of ECOWAS. This problem has continued to affect the attention and commitment of those Francophone member states to certain ECOWAS policies and programmes, and this has had considerable impact on the effectiveness of ECOWAS in addressing some of West Africa's security challenges.
- Another major obstacle to ECOWAS progress in tackling the sub-region's security challenges relates to availability of resources both in human and material terms. ECOWAS interventions in Liberia, Sierra Leone, and other conflicts are noted to have cost several billion dollars. This has largely been financed by a few member states with the support of the UN and some international donor organizations. This scenario places considerable burden on some member states while also leaving West Africa at the mercy of international donor and partner organizations. The other dimension to this question of resources is that available limited resources that West African states could have applied for developmental purposes have been diverted to manage and resolve conflicts across the sub-region. It is therefore pertinent to devise sustainable means of financing ECOWAS security initiatives, but even more pertinent is the need to prevent conflicts across the sub-region.
- Moreover, the efforts of ECOWAS in managing West African security have also been impeded by the problem of institutional capacity and performance of ECOWAS organs and institutions. While ECOWAS has instituted various structures (ECOWAS Parliament, ECOWAS Court of Justice, etc.), the performance of these organs within the larger goal of sustainable peace and security has remained very limited. For instance, the *ECOWAS Parliament* has not fully become operational as its members are not directly elected, as stipulated in its protocol, and it does not exercise legislative powers. Similarly, the Court of Justice's jurisdiction does not cover matters affecting citizens, rather it is limited to inter-state matters. These limitations impede the effectiveness of these organs in contribut-

ing maximally to the attainment of peace and security in the sub-region.

- Another major issue that has remained profoundly challenging in West Africa is the phenomenon of proliferation of small arms and light weapons. In spite of the adoption of the 1998 Moratorium on Small Arms and Light Weapons and the initiation of various disarmament, demobilization, and rehabilitation (DDR) efforts in all the post-conflict areas, the trafficking and circulation of these arms has remained a big challenge. They have continued to fuel conflicts as they are moved from one country to the other. An estimated 7-8 million arms are said to be in circulation in West Africa. In addition, the sub-region or indeed the international community has not been able to effectively tackle the supply side of the arms problem. It is hoped however, that the adoption of the 2006 ECOWAS Convention on Small Arms and Light Weapons which represents a determined response to the inadequacies of past efforts and frameworks would enable West Africa to deal effectively with the problem of proliferation of arms which has been a big obstacle to the realization of sustainable peace in West Africa.

62.3.4 Future Prospects

The foregoing problems and challenges notwithstanding, ECOWAS has demonstrated a clear sense of purpose and has indeed set the pace for other regional organizations in Africa in managing conflict and security challenges. From a tentative start, the organization has evolved and adapted to the realities in the sub-region, adopting various instruments and frameworks to deal with the emerging challenges. From ECOMOG as an experimental initiative to the present more comprehensive mechanism, ECOWAS has gained considerable experience and understanding of the sub-region's security dynamics. Therefore, in spite of the security challenges confronting West Africa, the following prospects can still be discerned:

- The first is that the political leadership of ECOWAS member states as well as the organization's technocrats have shown reasonable understanding of the problems. This sense of purpose together with the willingness to evolve and adapt is a good prospect for the future of ECOWAS. The Executive Secretary has stated the preparedness of the organization to build its capacity and to be the first to explore and implement effective ways of addressing West African security needs, including

the establishment of an African Standby Force (Ibn Chambas 2005: 16–20).

- The second prospect lies in the increasing democratization of countries in the sub-region. In view of the centrality of the question of democracy and good governance to the sustenance of peace and security in West Africa, the fact that many West African states are gradually embracing democratic systems of government is a welcome development. It is one that should be encouraged, nurtured, and sustained.
- Moreover, recent efforts at cooperation and harmonization of policies among national armed forces and security agencies in West Africa are also positive indications for the sub-region. For instance, the series of meetings among heads of internal security in ECOWAS member states that is focused on modalities for intra-community cooperation and the establishment of regional security information sharing is a welcome development¹³. Similarly, the progress being made in the work of the Defence and Security Commission towards the establishment of a West African Standby force is also laudable¹⁴. These efforts are testimonies to the progress of ECOWAS in addressing the security challenges of the sub-region.
- The initiatives to evolve a sustainable source of funding for ECOWAS are also signs of progress for the sub-region. The burden of financing the organization's many security initiatives is one that must be adequately met in a permanent and sustainable manner.
- Another prospect for the future in tackling West African security problems is the synergy that is being built between ECOWAS, the AU, the UN, and other strategic partners. This synergy is important to the goals and operations of ECOWAS in terms of resources, logistics support, and endorsement at the continental and global levels. These are crucial factors that would impact on ECOWAS initiatives, and on the success of these initiatives and precedents for managing conflicts in the rest of Africa. In another sense, mutual partnership and cooperation between ECOWAS and major development organizations would benefit ECOWAS by creating access for ECOWAS institutions and personnel to vital capacity building opportunities

which have the overall impact of improving the ability of ECOWAS to manage the region's security.

62.4 Conclusions

While there is no doubt that West Africa is faced with numerous security challenges, the collective experience of member states as well as that of the sub-regional organization over two decades of conflicts have been very useful. The West African experience has yielded understanding and preparedness on the part of member states and ECOWAS in tackling conflict and insecurity in the sub-region. ECOWAS has evolved frameworks and mechanisms that are being applied to manage West African security challenges. Although there remain some problems (significantly those of resources and small arms proliferation) that continue to hinder the organization's ability to manage West African security challenges, the prospects as noted in this paper are still very good. What is required is a commitment to sustain the efforts, structures, and trends already established.

13 ECOWAS Press Release No. 35/2004, 23 April 2004.

14 ECOWAS Press Release No. 41/2004, 21 May 2004.

63 A Regional Security Perspective from and for the Horn of Africa

Martin R. Rupiya and Alfred G. Nhema

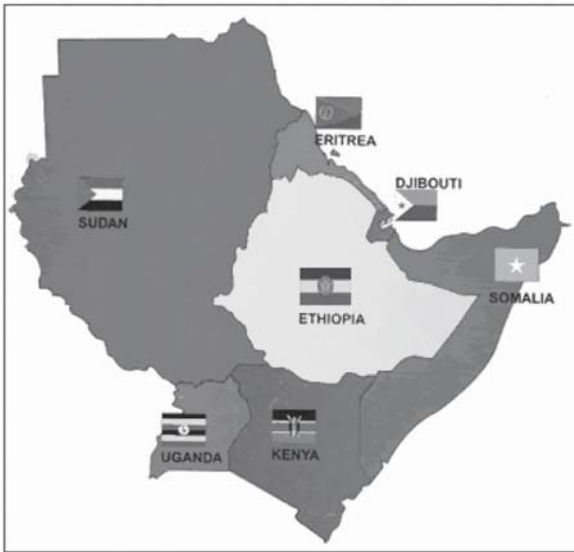
63.1 Introduction

The international security system is structured along ideological as well as regional and zonal foundations whose authority resides in institutions supported by states, as defined in the 1945 United Nations Charter. In this global structure, states constitute the first layer of responsibility, followed by regions. In regions there is a recognized centre whose mandate seeks to harmonize and give political direction to sub-regional and state security organizations. In Africa, attention towards creating a continental security structure have been spurred after the failure of the 1993 peacekeeping mission in Somalia with the hasty withdrawal of Western forces from the continent. However, since the 1990's Africa has hosted about 50,000 United Nations peacekeeping troops and, given the cost and frequent renewals of mandates, retaining this force on the continent was not only unsustainable but subject to external decisions if not interests. Thus, assured future African security lies in the creation of capacity from within the continent, amongst the sub-regions and nation states. To this end, the African Union, through its 'Peace and Security Council' and the 'African Common Defence and Security Policy', has sought to respond to continental security challenges, by motivating for the creation of an *African Standby Force* (ASF) of about 15,000 to 20,000 to be in place by 2015 and able to execute both a chapter 6 and chapter 7 mandate under the UN Charter. In fulfilling this aspiration, the AU has sought to act through its five *Regional Economic Community and Security* pillars (RECs), inherited from the 1970's Lagos Plan of Action urging the sub-regions to establish regional and integrated brigades. The current structure of the RECs is organized along the geographical entities of the continent from the a) North - *Arab Maghreb Union* (AMU), East - *Inter-Governmental Authority for Development* (IGAD), b) West - the *Economic Communities of West African States* (ECOWAS), c) Central - the *Economic Community of Central African*

States (ECCAS), and) Southern - the *Southern African Development Community* (SADC).¹ This discussion focuses on the Horn of Africa where Kenya and Uganda have overlapping membership as they are also party to the re-emerging *East African Community* (EAC). This dual membership by states is a significant structural defect as it is a serious conundrum to the centre, the AU. The latter is challenged as to how they can influence the harmonization of security policy based on the recognized pillars and not competing entities.

Against this background, the Horn of Africa remains one of the most volatile and conflict-prone regions in the global security system. The 'Horn'², comprising the seven states of Ethiopia, Eritrea, Djibouti, Sudan, Somalia, Uganda and Kenya (figure 63.1), is characterized by severe and debilitating environmen-

- 1 The authors are aware of the current reality and debates that have sought to expand the five RECs and include the East African Community (EAC), the *Common Market of East and Southern Africa* (COMESA) and the *Economic Community of Sabelo-Saharan States* (CEN-SAD) that speaks to the recognition of economic groupings rather than security zones. The decision to recognize the expansion was suspended during the 7th African Union Summit in Banjul, Gambia, 25 June to 2 July 2006. See: author: "AU Summit: African Leaders at their wits end", in: *Africa Today*, 12,8 (2006): 10-13. However, while the latter suspended the decision on the East African Community (EAC) application to be recognized as a REC {Regional Economic and Security Community} this has since been agreed to. Source: conversations with Uganda Minister of State for Defence in Kampala at the EAC Parliamentary Conference hosted by the Institute for Security Studies (ISS) on 30 November 2006.
- 2 The 'proper Horn' comprises Ethiopia, Somalia, Djibouti, Sudan and since 1991, Eritrea. Soon afterwards this also included members of the Inter-government Authority on Drought and Development (IGADD) later to become the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development in 1996; See Cliffe (1999: 89, 96); Gebremariam (1999: 175-176).

Figure 63.1: The Horn of Africa.

tal challenges; unstable political states facing serious internal challenges; exhibits manifestations of intense ethnic, religious and racial differences; is a region in which the competition between the Africa and the Arab World is a reality; is host to 'sinister international interference' from the global ideological East, West and the Arab worlds and more recently, has been victim to oil politics and machinations. In the above realities, only Kenya has remained a relatively coherent and stable state. The result of the severe and debilitating political, ethnic, religious and environmental conflict drivers that have succeeded in creating "complex emergencies" (Cliffe year: 89) that make up the conflict system that is specific to the Horn (Deng 2005: 261-262). Political intercourse in the Horn is characterized by intense competition at national levels, a tendency that has severely weakened efforts at creating national security institutions or foster national territorial control by authorities who themselves are isolated in each of the state capitals. The characteristic national instability has by extension undermined any efforts at creating a regional security mechanism. This fractured state in collaborative and common defence and security policy, has left the Horn vulnerable to outside adverse intervention. In the most recent initiative, failure to create a regional security alliance emerged following the 'temporary détente of 1991-93' between Ethiopia, Eritrea and Sudan. Even as this was being mooted, in 1991, the region witnessed the spectacular collapse of the Somali state, thus introducing the phenomenon of a 'collapsed state'.

The impact of the conflict drivers and levels of devastation have ranged from genocide in Darfur, protracted conflicts in southern Sudan going back to 1956 and characterized by three major civil wars, a civil war in northern Uganda since 1986, the 1998-2000 interstate war between Ethiopia and Eritrea, and the series of ethnic blood-letting in Somalia. The international security system has responded to these challenges to regional instability.

Currently, there are more than half a dozen international institutions in the global security system that grapple with possible solutions to the complex and multi-layered conflicts in the Horn. In late 2006, the United Nations Security Council (UNSC), the International Criminal Court (ICC) and the African Union (AU) and its regional protégé, Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), the European Union (EU), even the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) are, in different ways, currently try to find a solution for the crises in Darfur-Sudan, southern Sudan,³ northern Uganda, Somalia, in Ethiopia's domestic politics, endemic drought and famine as well as the external factor of the country's stalemated war with Eritrea. Meanwhile, Eritrean and Ethiopian troops have been marshalled along the disputed border, raising once again the possibility of an outbreak of hostilities. As Sorenson (1993) correctly asserts, the struggle for independence of Eritrea and the Oromo people has continued to undermine the stability of the Ethiopian state. The Oromo issues and population group holds sway in Addis Ababa as well as neighbouring Western Kenya, Eritrea and Sudan. This has the effect of forcing neighbouring governments to choose between supporting the Oromos or the sitting government in Ethiopia. The same is true of the Afars, an ethnic group with significant population groups in Djibouti, Ethiopia, Eritrea and Somalia whose perceived persecution has developed into one of the linkages that reflect the conflict system in the Horn. These ethnic grievance based developments have tended to upset the security stability of the region. Meanwhile, the hype and attention on Darfur has overshadowed the still troubling roll out of the Comprehensive Peace Agreements (CPA) in the rest

3 See: UNSC Resolution, "It is time to Act" [in Darfur], Security Council, 5520th meeting, 11 September 2006, SC/8823, at: <<http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2006/sc8823.doc.htm>>; as well as subsequent UNSC deliberations on 21 September 2006, SC/8845, at: <<http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2006/sc8845.doc.htm>>.

of Sudan, signed between the Sudanese People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A) and the government of Sudan in Khartoum. Southern Sudan and neighbouring Uganda have experienced a nearly 20 year-old fratricidal conflict with the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA). This civil war has spread significant regional implications and its actors operate in southern Sudan and in northern Uganda. After the re-election of Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni for a third term, a still fragile and uncertain peace process has evolved.

The region has also experienced persistent drought during 2005 and 2006 threatening the livelihoods of over 11 million lives in Ethiopia, Kenya and northern Tanzania. In Somalia, the War on Terror has come to roost, with the Islamists organized as the Islamic Courts consolidating power in Mogadishu and other towns by beginning to implement and enforce Shariah law. In response to the success of the Islamic Courts Ethiopia sent troops across the border and deployed them in Baidoa to challenge the Islamists.⁴ The Islamic Court leader, Sheik Hassan Dahir Aweys, has also warned against a mooted idea by IIGAD and the African Union to dispatch peacekeeping troops to Somalia and act against the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) of Abdullah Yusuf. Somalia and its regional neighbours have lost complete control of the sea and coastal regions, triggering an international intervention led by the United States when a tourist ship bound for Mombasa, Kenya was attacked in early 2006.

The impact of the war has been devastating, a situation exacerbated by the harsh environmental elements that are part of the regional phenomenon. For example, while population figures have increased, reaching 180 million (for the seven states making up IGAD (Sudan, Uganda, Kenya, Ethiopia, Somalia, Djibouti and Eritrea), food production has all but stopped, culminating in levels of extreme hunger amongst population groups. According to the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO), 40 per cent of the people in the region are undernourished with these levels reaching 70 per cent at country level in Eritrea, Somalia, and even Ethiopia.⁵ In this regard, endemic famine is found in each of the seven states at least once in every ten years. Furthermore, wars and civil wars in Sudan, Uganda and Somalia have wit-

nessed millions of casualties while forcing others into seeking refuge outside the region or in neighbouring states, and still internally displacing millions within their borders. The unsettling population displacement and dispersion left in place weak and unstable regimes with little or no capacity to deliver on national programmes, reinforcing the conflict system that has gripped the region.

Against the characterization of this protracted conflict of new military and armed manoeuvres and wars in the region, it is instructive to note that the regional security mechanism IGAD has more or less ceased to function. Stated differently, the seeds, roots, and potential for regional disintegration still exist and persist in the Horn.⁶

This chapter surveys key countries in the Horn to broaden the understanding of the regional conflict dynamics and to offer suggestions for possible solutions enhancing regional security. The analysis of each country and of the regional economic and security organization addresses similar key questions on the stability of the state or the central organ by examining dominant policies and political processes, assessing the internal security situation, the role of neighbouring states, measuring the geo-strategic position of a particular state in its relationship with the rest; questioning the country's regional commitments and finally, critiquing the position of external factors and actors since the 1990's.

63.2 Environmental Challenges in the Horn

A further debilitating dimension has been the severe environmental impact, such as floods, drought, locust swarms, and periodic epidemics such as the recent bird-flu that spread without national or regional responses. Between 1974 and 1984 the Horn had experienced a series of devastating droughts and famines. Reacting to global appeals on television screens, the international community encouraged the creation of the Inter-government Authority on Drought and Development (IGADD), responsible for coordinating re-

4 Bill Roggio, 23 August 2006: "Islamic Courts Consolidates Power in Somalia"; at: <http://counterterrorism-blog.org/2006/08/Islamic_courts_consolidates_po_1.htm>; accessed on 26 September 2006.

5 "The Scale and Impact of Food Insecurity - Food insecurity in the Horn of Africa", in: FAO, no date: *Report: The Elimination of Food Insecurity in the Horn of Africa*; at: <<http://www.fao.org/DOCREP/>>, accessed on 26 September 2005.

6 See the illuminating comparative study on Ethiopia, Somalia and Sudan by Markakis (1987); Gebremariam (2004).

lief and responses to the environmental impact. Some of the basic objectives included bringing about food security, the smooth distribution of relief and food aid across borders, and facilitating investment in infrastructure, water, and slowing down increasing desertification. For this authority, attention towards conflict resolution especially at a regional level was a major feature. However, a security and political role to IGADD resulting in IGAD was introduced in the mid-1990's after the state collapse of Somalia and in recognition of increasing regional clashes and conflicts. In retrospect, the conflict trend in the Horn has not only overshadowed the original intentions of IGADD but has since reduced regional interactions to a minimum.

In addition, the impact of environmental hazards has left nearly 40 per cent of the region's population with inadequate food supplies. In the autumn of 2006, an estimated 2.3 million Eritreans needed urgent food aid according to the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO); there has been at least three times this number in Ethiopia, 1.6 million in northern Uganda, 2 million in Kenya, and millions in Somalia, according to a recent call by its Transitional Government. Thus, six of the seven states in the Horn were unable to feed themselves. Food insecurity has been a significant factor showing the limitations of all states that culminated in an angry and agitated populace. Finally, the Horn has little or ineffective control of the sea, an area that has since been abandoned to piracy acts from Somalia. The result is that sea lanes along the Somali coast now constitute a high-risk zone for international trade and shipping, with direct implications for regional imports, exports, and security.

63.2.1 Country Assessment to Regional Security in the Horn

63.2.1.1 Somalia: A Collapsed State

The most insecure state in the Horn in the early 21st century has been Somalia. This dire situation has manifested itself at several levels.

- *First*, Somalia has no more central government. Since the collapse of Siad Barre's regime in 1991, its political, socio-economic control has been reduced to fiefdoms ruled by warlords. More recently, competition for political control has been divided between the local warlords, organized as Islamic Courts under Sheikh Hassan Aweys, which have resisted the regional initiative that resulted in Nairobi in the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) led by designate-President, Abdullah Yusuf
- *Second*, Somalia is experiencing acute food insecurity resulting from displacement of farmers and traditional trade routes due to the unending conflict.
- *Third*, the regional security body, IGAD has launched a peace initiative that involves deploying peacekeeping forces to allow for the revival of 'normal' political intercourse leading to an elected government.

While the TFG is part of the evolving process of this initiative, the Islamic Courts have interpreted this intervention as 'interference' and publicly pledged to fight any deployed peacekeeping forces. These contradictory positions have left IGAD paralysed and effectively removed the regional body from making any meaningful contribution. The declaration by Islamists, announcing the establishment of religious and ideologically informed military training camps, has since drawn the attention of the US *War On Terror*, casting the country as one of the areas where *Al Qaeda* operatives seek refuge.

- Finally, with the Somali state in crisis, this has created an opportunity for piracy to re-emerge and threaten the whole Indian Ocean coastline and offshore international trade and tourism. More recently, a tourist ship bound for Mombasa was attacked forcing the same to divert to Mauritius, losing business for neighbouring Kenya.

Somalia has taken itself out of the stability realm of the Horn and now constitutes a regional and international security challenge. How did this occur and what suggestions can be considered to reverse the trend? Before the fall of Siad Barre in 1990, Somalia was seen as: "the most promising in its potential to construct a nation state" (Gebremariam 2004) The country exhibited the most ethnic homogeneity with common ancestry in the capital Mogadishu, speaking one language and practising one religion (Gebremariam 2004). Yet, in 1991, the Somali state imploded (Cliffe 1999). Soon afterwards, a UN and United States strategy of peace enforcement in the form of the UN International Task Force and later the UN Mission in Somalia backfired after 14 American troops were killed and their bodies unceremoniously dragged through the dusty streets of Mogadishu. Ever since, Western nations have hesitated deploying forces on the African continent, leaving external inter-

vention to the regional – IGAD and continental – AU conflict mediation efforts that so far have not resulted in any tangible peace.

The former, using military means, have successfully taken control of the capital Mogadishu and of the important ports of Harardhere, Elher and Hoyobo, as well as Beletuein on the border with Ethiopia. A religious link has emerged with the Islamic Courts receiving significant material, including arms shipments from countries in the Arabian Peninsula. States have reportedly offered further professional military training to cadres loyal to the new dominant class.⁷ In contrast, this perceived support of regimes in the Horn by Arab countries has divided the international and regional response, culminating in the ‘re-imposition’ of a Cold War aura on the country. Meanwhile, the UN appears to have exhausted any capacity as well as interest by the permanent members of the Security Council to intervene. The vacuum has shifted the burden to the regional mechanism, the AU and IGAD, who have both shown serious shortcomings in influencing the conflict dynamics in Somalia. Somalia is a country that is likely to remain one of the core problem states in the Horn in the 21st century.

63.2.1.2 Sudan

The next assessment of states in the Horn focusing on their internal security as well as an ability to provide national and regional security is Africa’s geographic giant, Sudan. The security situation in Sudan is currently subject to UN Security Council and AU interventions, seeking to expand peacekeeping missions in Darfur and southern Sudan, reached under separate agreements. Political conduct and discourse in Sudan is “characterized by exclusionary and discrimination policies adopted by ruling elite at the expense of a large majority of indigenous people from political, economic and social activities of the nation” (Deng 2005: 262).

The nearly 40 years of conflict, around ethnic groups in the Arabic and Islamic North versus the Christian dominated Africans in the South has resulted in an estimated 2 million deaths since the 30 years’ war in Sudan that started at the end of the 1950’s, massive internal displacement, and population groups fleeing into exile. New causes of conflict have

emerged as further structural elements. There has been ‘international interference’ by supporters of each faction from different ideological camps, religions and interests. Since 1999, when oil was discovered, oil politics and wealth sharing has become a significant area of competition.⁸

On 9 January 2005, the war ended after the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) –also known as the Naivasha Agreement⁹ – was signed between the National Islamic Front (NIF) in Khartoum and the Sudanese Peoples Liberation Movement/Army (SPLAM/A) in Juba in the south.¹⁰ The CPA has confirmed the two-country perception that has always characterized the political, economic, and social dimensions of the country since its independence. For example, the racial and religious divide has been confirmed with the implementation of *Shariah Law* selectively, only to Muslims residing in the north. Each territory, the north and the south, will have its own flag as part of a Transitional Government (TG) of which 55 per cent interim authorities will be drawn from the Muslim north while the remaining 45 per cent will represent the non-Muslim Africans under the SPLAM/A.¹¹ Furthermore, the TG has a limited mandate, lasting until the referendum scheduled to be held in 2011.

The CPA has also addressed the sharing of the oil revenues from the wells in the south that have produced crude oil since 1999. Of this lucrative export commodity, revenues are to be shared equally. Two separate currencies will be used in a dual banking system¹² the Sudanese pound will be retained in the north and the Sudanese dinar in the south. Finally,

7 Bill Roggio: "Islamic Courts Consolidate Power in Somalia"; see at: <http://counterterrorismblog.org/2006/08/Islamic_courts_consolidates_po1.php or Billroggio.com/archives/2006/08/Islamic_courts_conso.php>. accessed on 26 September 2006.

8 Bishop Macram Max Gassis; “The Hidden Holocaust, interview in America”, in: *America Magazine*, 15 January 2000: 22; at <<http://www.americamagazine.org/gettext.cfm?articleTypeID=1&textID=483&issueID=272>>.

9 UNMIS - Comprehensive Peace Agreement referring to the 6 protocols signed in the Kenyan towns of Machakos and Naivasha at: <<http://www.unmis.org/English/cpa.htm>>.

10 “Country Profile: Sudan”, in: *BBC News*, 3 November 2005; See also, “Celebrations Mark First Anniversary of Sudan Peace Agreement”, in: *News, Voice of America*, 9 January 2006.

11 Address by Jan Pronk, Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General for Sudan: “Rebels, Religion & Oil, 27 December 2003”, in: *World Today* (Journal of the Royal Institute of International Affairs), 61,1 (10 January 2005); at: <http://www.sudantribune.com/article.php?id_article=1288>, on 30 November 2005

12 Shariah Law outlaws the charging of interest and Muslims are expected not to take out loans under any other condition.

the CPA provides for a complex, almost idealistic arrangement of force separation and integration between north and south to allow two armies to coexist with a decision to constitute a single entity during the interim period and after the referendum. As the 37-year-old war destroyed the minimal infrastructure that was in place, there has been little economic development that can be celebrated so far. Furthermore, there are considerable challenges to be overcome, such as the establishment of an integrated national army. This new institution should be responsible for national defence and participate in regional structures. As the CPA targets have not yet been implemented, the uncertainty has made Sudan a poor partner of other IGAD member states in the regional security context. Given the uncertainty of the implementation of the CPA, the outbreak of fighting in February 2003 in Darfur has further worsened the prospects.

In the Darfur province in western Sudan violence broke out between government forces, deployed from the capital, Khartoum and the three communities of the Fur, Zaghawa and Massaleit. The Darfur crisis has a long history going back to the slave trade between Arab slave traders and Africans tribes as victims. The community in Darfur relied on traditional methods to address grievances between nomads (African tribes) and Arab traders (camel bearing traders). This has changed after the succession of NIF in Khartoum headed by Hassan al Turabi supported by Lt Gen Omar al Bashir in 1989 who decreed that Sudan would become an Islamic state. In 2003, two local rebel groups, the *Sudan Liberation Army* (SLA) and a smaller organization, the *Justice and Equality Movement* (JEM) accused Khartoum of oppressing non-Arabs in favour of Arabs. Soon afterwards, both the SLA and JEM attacked government forces and installations, catching the regime by surprise. Lacking reserves to deploy in response, the available evidence suggests that the government then responded by arming, directing, and providing air support to militia groups of the *Janjaweed*, the 'devils on horseback', thus starting a war that has since gotten out of control and been condemned by the international community. This event has reached genocidal proportions by 2006.¹³ In the interim period, an estimated half a million people have lost their lives with another two million internally displaced by the *Janjaweed*, a highly mobile and horse-riding militia supported by the government, culminating in the intervention of the AU after a lukewarm response from the international community. In the crisis, over 2 million people were

displaced while an estimated 300,000 people have lost their lives.

A ceasefire was signed in April 2004 although fighting has continued unabated. The conflict parties participate in ongoing talks in the AU framework chaired by the Nigerian President, O. Obasanjo in Abuja. Based on deliberations in the UN Security Council, the African Union deployed monitors in July 2004 and later a force of less than 5,000¹⁴ in an area requiring a minimum of 15,000 according to a *BBC News* report of 14 July 2004.

The immediate effect of the Darfur crisis where the Islamic government in Khartoum is accused of supporting the Arab militia (*Janjaweed*), has created genocidal conditions scattering the local population throughout the country. In the harsh environment of Darfur, many are now located far away from the fertile and well watered regions, resulting in famine and poverty. Finally, the crisis has also drawn neighbouring Chad into conflict with Khartoum. According to a statement from N'djamena: "The Sudanese government is using the Chad deserters in the fight against its armed opposition".¹⁵

The problems related to Darfur threaten to unhinge the delicate CPA that has remained an agreement on paper since it was signed in 2005. Despite the presence of African Union peacekeeping forces in Sudan (AMIS) major forced migration has occurred. This dispersed, insecure, impoverished, and divided community is far from becoming a democratic society, a precondition for strong states in the epoch of globalization.

This realization only dawned after the recent upsurge of piracy off its coast.¹⁶

63.2.1.3 Ethiopia and Eritrea – "No-Peace-No-War"¹⁷

Italy as the former colonial power abandoned Eritrea in 1952, which was annexed by Ethiopia in 1962. This led to a fierce guerrilla war later joined by Ethiopian

13 Scott Anderson: "How Did Darfur Happen?", in: *New York Times*, 17 October 2004; see: Chin and Morgenstein (2005); HRW (Human Rights Watch), ICG (International Crisis Group) and Report of the International Commission of Inquiry on Darfur to the UN Secretary-General, 25 January 2005; see at: <www.un.org/News/dh/sudan/com_inq_darfur.pdf>.

14 See: "Executive Summary" of: "AU Mission in Sudan cannot protect civilians in Darfur without greater US and UN Support", in: Chin/Morgenstein (2005).

15 "Chad accuses Sudan of using its deserters to fight rebels", in: *Sudan Tribune*, 21 November 2005.

rebels against the regime of Haile Selassie and later against the coup leader, Colonel Haile Mariam, the leader of the Derg. In the early 1990's, Mariam fled as his Derg was losing on the battlefields. Thus both movements moved to the capital and claimed victory. In April 1993, in an internationally supervised referendum, 98.5 per cent voted for independence from Ethiopia and on 24 May 1993 Eritrea gained its independence.

The former allies who now governed in both Addis Ababa and Asmara soon became enemies over a territorial dispute on the 1,000 kilometre (625-mile) border. Others have also argued that on the Ethiopian side, the issue includes the access to the Red Sea. This resulted in a devastating two-and-half year war with 100,000 deaths¹⁸ that ended in May 2000 with a ceasefire. The problems emerged from decisions by international arbitration that gave Eritrea the town of Badme with an Ethiopian population of over 60 per cent. The majority of Ethiopian citizens in Badme have refused to come under Eritrean authority as the international arbitration has defined the town as part of Eritrea. Due to this intransigent position Addis Ababa refused to implement the 'forced' withdrawal of its nationals from Badme. Figure 63.2. shows the conflict zone between both countries.

This strained situation between Eritrea and Ethiopia reflects the regional security problems in the Horn as well as the neglect for internal democratic structures. Instead, each country prepares for war with its neighbour, forcing the local population to be placed under arms. Civil liberties are suspended and the maturing of democracies is delayed in this region. This conflict between Ethiopia and Eritrean repre-

sents the tendency of states in the Horn to resort to military means for advancing political objectives.

The tensions between Ethiopia and Eritrea demonstrate that strong states without democratic traditions are involved in destabilizing internal and neighbouring state competition. IGAD is one of the few Regional Economic and Security Communities (RECs) of the African Union (AU) where member states are still fighting each other. Officials of both states even refused to attend meetings convened by IGAD, thus defeating the purpose of this regional security mechanism. One of its main roles is to address conflicts between member states. These states have not adopted the suggested Common Defence and Security Policy of the AU. The forces from adversarial states are unlikely to work on the challenges of integration and coordination. An important dimension of this conflict is ethnicity affecting people on both sides of colonial boundaries. These ethnic groups pressure governments to adopt particular postures opposing regional integration and common security. This conflict involved the UNSC and culminated in the deployment of a peacekeeping mission as a first step in the monitoring of the ceasefire prior to a fundamental restructuring of the security relations between both states. In the foreseeable future this conflict will adversely influence the geo-strategic equation of the Horn.

63.2.1.4 Uganda: The Northern Conflict – Lord's Resistance Army (LRA)

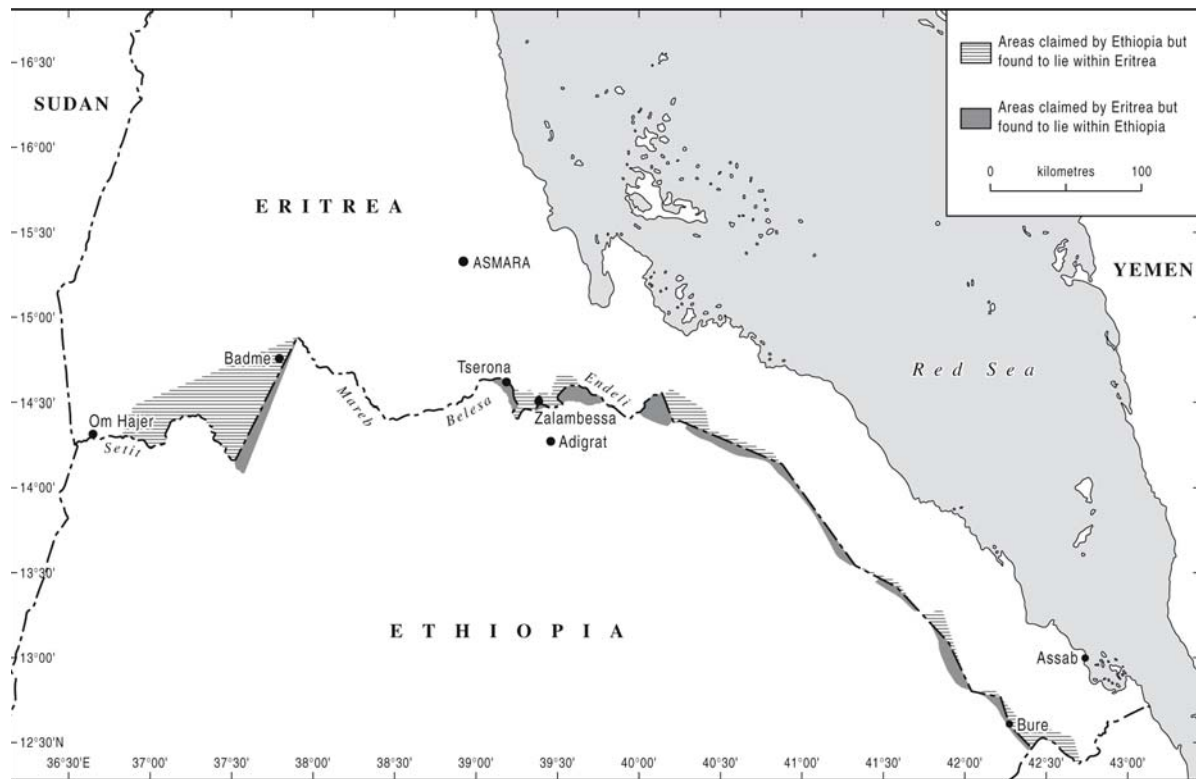
The last country in this review is Uganda. Since 1986 the conflict in northern Uganda between the *Lord's Resistance Army* (LRA) led by Joseph Kony and the Ugandan government has developed into a regional crisis, involving actors from the SPLA/M in Juba in southern Sudan and the Sudanese government in Khartoum.¹⁹ This conflict caused thousands of fatalities without a response from IGAD. The conflict began in January 1986 when President Yoweri Museveni, a southerner, headed the *National Resistance Movement* (NRM) that had come to power in Kampala by force. Soon afterwards, it is claimed, the new regime marginalized former soldiers and northerners, among them the majority of the Acholi, thus creating incentives for a major rebellion that benefited from the inherent social structure, culture and regional divisions

16 Charles J. Reinhardt: "Maritime Piracy: Sign of a Security Threat?", in: Mercer on Transport & Logistics: no date: 16-19, at: <http://www.mercermc.com/Perspectives/Specialty/MOT_pdfs/MaritimePiracy.pdf>; U.S. Department of State: "Public Announcement, East Africa" (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of State, 18 November 2005); "Pirate attack prompts action", in: *Maritime Industry News, Southern Africa Shipping News*, November 2005: 6; IMO (International Maritime Organization): "Report on Acts of Piracy and Armed Robbery Against Ships-August 2005" (London: IMO, 7 September 2005); "Kenya says Somali piracy raises shipping costs", in: HiiraarOnline (Reuters), 17 November 2005.

17 Correspondent: "War clouds again on the Horn of Africa", in: *Sunday Times*, 11 December 2005: 12.

18 SAPA-AP reporting: "'Drastic reduction' in Ethiopia-Eritrea border", in: *Guadianonline*, date; at: <URL>.

19 Ruby Ofori: "New Report Accuses Sudan of Aiding Ugandan Rebels", in: *NewVoiceAmerica*, 11 January 2006, citing an ICG report.

Figure 63.2: Eritrea and Ethiopia. **Source:** International Boundaries Research Unit, Durham University

“whereby the two regions competed for power and prestige. This divide, coupled with Uganda’s cultural acceptance of utilizing violence as a political tool created the conditions that gave rise to the insurgency of the LRA in 1986.”²⁰

With the *Lord Resistance Army* (LRA) this nascent rebellion later acquired a spiritual dimension of warlordism. This conflict acquired a regional dimension in the Horn. In the early conflict phase in northern Uganda both sides tried to enlist the support of opposing factions in the Sudanese war to strengthen their own positions. The LRA received support and rear bases from the Islamic government in Khartoum, while Uganda gave similar support to the SPLA hoping that they would destabilize the LRA’s rear bases.²¹ Uganda’s assistance for the SPLA was also briefly supported by the United States as part of its activities

against the Islamic government in Khartoum when US equipment for the SPLA flowed through northern Uganda.²² The impact of this war has been horrendous, what has hardly been noticed in the international media and community. UN Undersecretary General for Humanitarian Affairs, Jan Egeland, lamented in 2003: “I cannot find any other part of the world that is having an emergency on the scale of Uganda that is getting so little international attention.”²³

Over 90 per cent of the region’s population, 1.6 million people have been displaced with the majority huddling in refugee camps. Meanwhile an estimated half a million people have died. In a cruel war tactic adopted by the LRA, over 30,000 children have been abducted²⁴ and pressed into their ranks, including girls as sex slaves.

20 Uganda Conflict Action Network: “The LRA Conflict in Uganda: A Brief Overview”: 1; at: <<http://www.uganda/can.org/history.php>>, accessed on 30 November 2005.

21 Uganda Conflict Action Network: “The LRA Conflict in Uganda: A Brief Overview”; see also Katherine Southwick: “North Ugandan Conflict, Forgotten But Still Deadly”, in: *YaleGlobal*, 9 March 2005: 2.

22 See *The LRA Conflict in Uganda: A Brief Overview*, p. 2.

23 “The LRA Conflict in Uganda: A Brief Overview”, *op. cit.*: 1–2.

24 Katherine Southwick: “North Ugandan Conflict, Forgotten But Still Deadly”, *op. cit.*: 2; “The LRA Conflict in Uganda: A Brief Overview”, *op. cit.*: 1.

Which conclusions can be drawn from the security of Uganda in the Horn? The government of Uganda survived two major challenges. It partly prevailed against the civil war in the north and applied severe internal restrictions on political parties and participation outside the Movement (NRM). Due to its location on Lake Victoria, Uganda has abundant food supplies and food security. Within IGAD, the country offered to send peacekeeping forces to Somalia, a move that has been spurned by the Islamic Courts. Uganda has also overlapping membership in two RECs as a signatory of IGAD and its protocols, and of the East African Community, both with protocols on defence and security issues. This dual membership in two AU regional camps must be resolved if the AU and its African Standby Force (ASF) is to become responsible in the future for the continent's security.

63.2.1.5 Constitutional Crisis in Kenya

Based on the level of severity in both internal political, economic, and security cohesion as well as how this impacts on the Horn, the last country to be assessed is Kenya. In the past, Kenya has been considered the most stable and political cohesive country since independence in 1964. As a result, the country hosted many competing factions from all states in the Horn. For instance, the Sudan peace agreement was negotiated in the small town of Naivasha in Kenya. The recent efforts resulting in the TFG for Somalia were also negotiated in Kenya. Finally, the regional discussions on the tentative steps in 2005 towards creating structures within IGAD to complement the African Standby Force were also taken in Nairobi. Within the Horn Kenya has tried to export its stable political practice to its more conflict-ridden neighbours. While hosting refugees from almost every neighbouring state in the Horn, Kenya lacked the ability to impose a regional security umbrella, despite its relatively constitutional and institutional democratic practices and organs. These are still weak to support an aggressive external foreign policy aimed at dominating in this insecure region.

Kenya faces food insecurity and a diminishing ability to project political stability. In the autumn of 2006 over 2 million people were in urgent need of food aid and deaths from famine were reported. The association against desertification, drought and famine has failed to cope with these challenges as envisaged when it was set up in the mid 1980's. Finally, the relative prosperity in Kenya is now under serious risk from the piracy emanating from lawless Somalia threatening tourists in Mombasa and other areas in

the country. If this economic regression continues it will take Kenya back several decades of development.

63.3 IGAD as a Regional Security Zone in the Horn

The seven countries making up the Horn of Africa, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Djibouti, Somalia, Sudan, Kenya and Uganda, represent the most insecure region on the continent. Regional stability in the international security system relies on strong, politically stable and effective states whose foreign policies have largely abandoned the military option as a tool of first resort in disputes. Adhering to the principles of common and collaborative security, such a group of countries constitutes the first foundation for regional security. The above analysis has shown that most states in the Horn experience serious internal security challenges related to nation state-building. As a result of this internal strife regions have been depopulated and communities have been displaced within territorial boundaries. For instance, Uganda, Sudan, Somalia, Ethiopia and Eritrea are countries with huge internally displaced populations (IDPs) and hundreds of thousands either in exile or seeking refuge in neighbouring states. This has left regimes either with a 'collapsed' or very 'weak' state, unable to expand their influence and control over the whole territory of the country.

The absence of institutions and predictable conduct of government affairs has weakened attempts to establish a regional security mechanism. Somalia and Sudan have been unable to offer 'national' contingents to IGAD, and the forces of Ethiopia and Eritrea are preparing to resume fighting that was suspended in May 2000. In Sudan and Somalia political actors have publicly warned of dire consequences if forces from neighbouring countries should be deployed. Instead they preferred the African Union to solicit intervention and peacekeeping troops from outside the Horn. Against this background the offer of troop deployments by Uganda in Somalia were viewed as 'posturing' to the international community and not designed to serve any substantive purpose in addressing regional conflicts. There have been few concrete moves towards establishing a regional brigade of the mooted African Standby Force (ASF). Instead of coming up with an integrated brigade, states in the Horn are still suspicious of one another and, in some cases, have been actively planning to fight each other.

One conclusion for the expectations of the 21st century security is that the Horn will continue to be

an insecure area to which both the AU and the UN must pay particular attention in future. The Horn will remain a recipient of security aid until the current challenges of basic nation-state-building are overcome, including the establishment of 'national security institutions'.

as its interests begin to diverge with that of some influential international players, causing it to reduce its high profile intervention.

63.4 Conclusions

Of the seven states in the Horn of Africa at least five are countries confronted with unstable, factional, ethnically based, weak and 'collapsed' central governments. Lacking a coherent political direction from the centre manifested itself in the failures to create constituent nation states. The existing states lack national security institutions that are capable of linking and functioning under IGAD, the regional security mechanism. Furthermore, underlying the political upheavals in Ethiopia, Eritrea, Sudan, Somalia, increasing piracy along the Indian Ocean coastline, as well as the civil war in northern Uganda, the conflict system in the region has exacerbated the impact and effects of the structural environmental challenges. As we saw, these have reduced 40 per cent of the region's 180 million population to severe impoverishment, while leaving a further 30 per cent in the peri-urban areas also at the margins of survival. The environmental impact includes famine every ten years, flash floods, swarms of locusts, and increasing desertification whose impact is not being addressed in a structured manner. Third, the analysis has also shown that the reconceptualization of security in the international community does not reflect the prevailing experience and sentiments in the Horn

In fact, a major challenge has been to harmonize different peace initiatives from the international community to address the conflict in Darfur, in northern Uganda, the conflict between Ethiopia and Eritrea, and the religious bigotry that now characterizes players in Somalia and even the Sudanese conflict. Thus, in the 21st century, the Horn will still require to 'import conflict resolution and peace initiatives' from other regions, especially from other constituent parts of the AU.²⁵ Kenya, the regional island of stability, has recently shown 'mediation exhaustion' and especially

25 Irwin Arief: "Ethiopia, Eritrea use UN Assembly to trade charges", in: *Reuters*, 27 September 2006; see also: "Security Council extends UN Eritrea-Ethiopia Mission", in: *Sudan Tribune*, 27 September 2006; at: <<http://www.sudantribune.com>>; accessed on 28 September 2006.

64 Regional Security in Southern Africa Development Community: Perspectives on Security Challenges

Naison Ngoma and Len Le Roux

"We face neither East nor West; we face forward"

Kwame Nkrumah

64.1 Introduction

Regional security in Southern Africa has been of enormous significance since the onset of the modern state on the African continent in general and the sub-region in particular. In Southern Africa, with the geographical boundaries of the Southern African Development Community (SADC), the overall challenges facing Africa will to a significant extent apply to SADC. With the demise of the Cold War and in 1994 the onset of a more democratic regime in South Africa, regional politics and development are no longer largely dependent on the ideological divide of the East or the West but rather a function of more nuanced dynamics.

Southern Africa and the entire continent are confronted with severe challenges that impact on the sustainability of humanity. On 27 January 2005, Prime Minister Tony Blair argued that with three million people that have died in the Democratic Republic of Congo alone; with 300 million people in Africa without access to safe drinking water, Africa should be the world's key area requiring attention.¹ Only a month after the Asian tsunami of 26 December 2004 – with 200,000 to 300,000 victims² – Blair's speech was significant. Jeffrey Sachs, an advisor to the UN Secretary General Kofi Annan, described the situation in Africa as a "silent tsunami" every month.³ Although the magnitude of the challenges facing Africa is colossal, we focus our attention only on Southern

African or more specifically to the SADC. The chapter identifies as crucial security issues: sub-regional conflicts, democracy and governance, and regional institutional structures, which are charged with resolving conflicts, as well as 'new' security challenges, such as environmental and water issues, HIV/Aids, and security sector reform.

64.2 Sub-regional Conflicts

Analysis of instability in the SADC region has three dimensions: a) inter and intra-state violence of immense proportion; b) post-conflict challenges; and c) political differences that arise out of some deficiency in democracy and governance. Although the conflicts are very much rooted in the present, the 'seeds' may be traced to an earlier era. The region's colonial history and liberation wars in Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe), South West Africa (now Namibia), Angola, Mozambique, and South Africa may explain, albeit not justify the conflicts in the region. The conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), a former Belgian colony and personal territory of its king, is most severely affected.

64.2.1 Intra and Inter-state Violence

The DRC has been at war from 1996 to 2000, and again since 2001, albeit at the intermediate level (Eriksson 2002: 123). In excess of 3.5 million people

1 See: "Special Address by Tony Blair, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom", at: <<http://www.weforum.org>>.

2 See: "Tsunami death toll", at: <<http://edition.cnn.com/2004/world>>.

3 Michael Vincent: "Africa's Malaria epidemic a 'silent tsunami': UN", in: *The World today*, 18 January 2005, at: <<http://www.abc.net.au/worldtoday/content/2005>>.

have so far died from the indirect effect of wars; 3.4 million internally displaced people (IDP); and 17 million people are experiencing food deficits.⁴ Although the conflict in the DRC has been of a robust overt inter-state nature, this has reduced considerably after the signing of a common security commission which was designed to remove the armed groups in their common region with Rwanda and Uganda. However, the multiplicity of actors in the country and beyond, continue to make sustainable peace unlikely in the short- or medium-term. The threat by Rwanda – soon after the progressive developments during the Great Lakes Conference meeting – that it reserved the right to intervene militarily in the DRC should the threat by the Rwandan insurgents in the eastern part of the DRC not reduce⁵, underlines the complexity of the situation.

On the domestic front, the role of political parties in both the period leading to the planned UN supervised elections and the period soon after remain fundamental for the future stability of the country. Therefore the formula likely to bring about sustainable peace and security to the country is unlikely to be a ‘winner takes all’ characteristic of most election battles in the sub-region. Major opposition organizations, amongst them the Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo-Kinshasa (AFDL), the Congolese Democratic Rally (RCD), the Congolese Liberation Movement (MLC), and the Congolese Democratic Rally-Liberation Movement (RCD-ML), require a role in the function of any future DRC government. Also necessary in the formula for a peaceful DRC would be the *Mayi Mayi* and the *Banyamulenge* in the eastern part of the country. So too would individual players like Etienne Tshisekedi wa Mulumba of the Union for Democracy and Social Progress (UPDPS); Francois Lumumba of the National Congolese Lumumbist Movement (MNC), and Jean-Pierre Bemba, the onetime warlord and now one of the vice-presidents in the transitional government. To avoid a possible balkanization of the DRC, an active membership in regional groupings may contribute to its cohesiveness. Such membership would assist in strengthening the country’s vast commerce potential, contribute to the improvement of its communication infrastructure, and thus consolidate its sovereignty.

Although the June 2005 elections may have become a deciding factor whether the country will transcend its political and security problems, the nature of the DRC socio-economic and political landscape remains the major obstacle to peace and stability in the DRC and for its neighbours. Elections as a panacea for conflicts remain a rather discredited thesis. In the case of the DRC, a point was even made that all the country needed were elections, irrespective of how badly they were conducted.⁶ Elections are a tool of democracy but also the conditions under which they are conducted. Since the situation in the DRC has been highly unstable, it would be overly pessimistic to expect elections to serve as a tool of democracy at this time. The likelihood of an even more volatile political situation and consequently a further deterioration of the security situation is not just a certainty, but in the case of the DRC, it has been very real. What the country requires may be a longer time under a consortium of political actors who reasonably represent the country and offer an opportunity for democratic ideals to take root. Building a large military force of six brigades, as may be the plan by the South African and Belgian governments or building an even bigger national army of 32 brigades⁷ is unlikely to guarantee the peace the country requires. Sustainable peace in the DRC not only requires a non-violent post-election period but also a successful Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration (DDR) programme which is a long-term undertaking that forms a major component of the sub-region’s post-conflict challenges.

64.2.2 Post-Conflict Challenges

While the DRC conflict has been complicated due to the existence of several armies belonging to the several political movements in the DRC, the goal is to achieve a political solution supported by an effective military that is only possible after a successful DDR and integration of the massive number of civilians who are either internally displaced persons or refugees, and a successful security sector reform (SSR). Several states in the sub-region have undergone DDR with mixed results. Namibia and Mozambique have generally achieved a relatively smooth DDR process. South Africa and Zimbabwe are experiencing some

4 CNN “Africa Focus” interview on 14 November 2004 with Ambassador Swing, the UN Representative to the Great Lakes Region.

5 See at: <IRINnews.org>, 26 November 2004.

6 CNN “Africa Focus” interview with a DRC political commentator on 14 November 2004.

7 See at: <Irinnews.org>, “South Africa: ‘No funds for training Congolese troops’”, 29 November 2004.

challenges from an incomplete reintegration of ex-combatants. While the former has been able to keep the negative effects of an insufficiently completed DDR under relative check, the latter has not, despite a rather comprehensive DDR after its independence in 1980.

The incomplete reintegration of ex-combatants in Zimbabwe contributed in part to the political challenges the country has experienced since then, resulting in the demand for a robust approach to the country's land issue. Subsequent government policies on the matter, which have since seen radical changes to the landscape of what used to be exclusive 'white' commercial farmland. Regarded as "an outpost of tyranny", Zimbabwe has contributed to the perception of Southern Africa as an unstable region in which its states are regarded as cohorts with the 'undemocratic' tendencies of President Robert Mugabe and regional structures unable (or unwilling) to meet the regional challenges.⁸ The extent to which regional institutions fail to address these security concerns will be discussed below.

Among all post-conflict states Angola provides the most current scenario on the contribution of DDR to stability in the sub-region. After forty years of civil war, Angola is undergoing a very intensive reintegration process. However, with vast oil⁹ and mineral wealth, Angola has an opportunity of succeeding in an integration assignment that is more complex than originally presumed. Nevertheless, sustainable stability is a function of continuing good relationship between the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) government and the Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA).¹⁰ Such a relationship is closely linked to democracy and good governance.

64.2.3 Democracy and Governance

Democracy and governance are concepts that are prominent in the discourse in Southern Africa. While once the critical issue was the prevalence of single party systems, the present challenge is adhering to the practices of the principles of liberal democracy

arguing for plural political systems. Except for Swaziland that has remained a monarchy despite severe political opposition from within and outside of the country, all SADC countries have multiparty systems. But the level of democracy in the countries is not the same, as in the West, often considered as the custodian of democracy. While the states in the region espouse democratic ethos, they nevertheless make it fairly plain that the model they seek is not necessary domicile in a particular part of the globe. In the words of Kwame Nkrumah: "We face neither East nor West; we face forward!"

Whilst states insist on their own democracy, the challenge in the region is the manner in which non-governmental actors reflect their views. Without exception, the non-governmental organizations (NGOs) – particularly trade unions – have insisted on the application of the principles of democracy both at home and in the region, thereby exhibiting a form of solidarity that has until now been exhibited only at the state level. The robust response towards the political problems in Zimbabwe by the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) is indicative that on matters of democracy and accountability the peoples of the sub-region hold their states liable. Both governmental and non-governmental structures see some value in collaborative approaches in resolving issues.

64.3 Regional Institutional Structures

The states in Southern Africa have always acknowledged collaborative arrangements. Even at the height of the Cold War, in their opposing camps they tried to adopt collaborative approaches to the challenges facing them. Of contemporary significance are the developments of 1992 and 1996, resulting in the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the Organ for Politics Defence and Security (OPDS) – collaborative structures that sought to address the developmental, political, and security challenges. Despite developments in these structures, often the states in Southern Africa are perceived as not responding to regional challenges. The continued existence of the Zimbabwe African Union Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) government, despite numerous claims of undemocratic practices and bad governance, has been an indication of lethargic regional structures.¹¹

Despite the efforts of the SADC summit to operationalize the OPDS, the creation of the Strategic In-

8 See: "SADC inaction on Zimbabwe places aid at risk-US", in: *Business Day*, 25 February 2005: 4.

9 *Angola: Oil-backed loan will finance recovery projects*, 21 February 2005, at: <IRIN@irinnews.org>.

10 The death of Jonas Savimbi in 2002 seems to have opened a new possibility for a peaceful resolution in Angola.

dicative Plan of the Organ (SIPO), the Protocol on Politics, Defence and Security Cooperation, and the Mutual Defence Pact, which have all been designed to make that possible, have not yet been implemented. Thus, the critical challenge for the region is to use these structures which should enable Southern Africa to meet regional political, security, and defence challenges.

64.4 'New' Security Challenges

There are several other challenges Southern Africa is currently experiencing, such as international migration, environmental degradation, water, mercenaries, HIV/Aids, and security sector reform. While the choice of these issues reflect the writers' bias on what is higher up on the 'food chain', the prioritization of the issues does not.

64.4.1 International and Sub-regional Migration

Given a sub-regional population of 219.5 million and a territory the size of the United States of America, the SADC region can hardly be regarded as overpopulated. Nevertheless, the disposition of regional economic growth is not equally distributed, thereby leaving a few countries such as Botswana, Namibia, and South Africa as the destination of the bulk of sub-regional migration because of their relatively higher economic performance. At this level xenophobic tendency by some nationals of these countries against migrants – legal and illegal – is in part explained by the fear (usually ill-informed) of the migrants denying the locals the benefits of the ever-shrinking labour market. The intention to have a free movement of people in the sub-region shows the desire by the states to eradicate xenophobia.

It is notable that the Protocol on Free Movement of SADC Persons, which was to “enable citizens to seek to cooperate across national boundaries”¹² has yet to be operationalized. However, the signing of the protocol is a fundamental development consider-

ing the length of time it has taken to reach consensus on the matter and the relative poverty that has continued to plague most of the region, leaving in the process a few attractive destinations for those seeking a better living standard.¹³ With South Africa, Botswana, and Namibia exhibiting better economic performance, a general fear has been of people moving from the rest of the region to these countries. South Africa already has a significant number of illegal immigrants from Zimbabwe. While the signing of the protocol indicates trust among the governments in the region, the major test will be at the ratification stage when a wider support by other political actors is needed. Despite the overwhelming parliamentary support of the governments, opposition to the protocol is likely to be superficial, albeit 'loud', in view of the independent media.

International migration as distinct from regional migration sees the movement of people from countries outside the SADC. The outflows of people, often highly qualified professionals whose skills are greatly needed in their countries and in Southern Africa, has been negative for sub-regional development.¹⁴ Migrants generally come from conflict zones, such as the DRC and Burundi, as well as from economically depressed countries in Eastern Europe.¹⁵ The Southern African states have discussed to both harmonize their approaches towards international immigrants – primarily refugees – and the loss of skilled human resources they all suffer.¹⁶

64.4.2 Environment and Water

In a region that is experiencing serious drought, the management of the environment and water are crucial. Böge and Wirkus (2004) have argued that environmental issues have directly and obliquely lead to conflicts and that environmental degradation has

11 See “SADC inaction on Zimbabwe places aid at risk – US”, op. cit.

12 SADC *Communiqué*, 24 August 1996; Southern African Migration Project: “Draft Protocol on the facilitation of movement of persons in the Southern African Development Community (SADC), 8 May 1998. See also DFID, “Mainstreaming migration in Southern Africa”, in: *Briefing*, August 2004: p.3.

13 “SADC Draft Protocol on the Facilitation of Movement of Persons”, 16 August 2005; see also Moyiga: “Rights-South Africa: Not Quite the Welcome Mat”, in: *Inter Press Services News Agency*, 29 August 2005 and IOM International Organization for Migration: “Current Migration Themes in Southern Africa: An IOM Perspective”, December 2004.

14 See: DFID, “Mainstreaming migration in Southern Africa”, p.1.

15 See: <<http://www.country-studies.com/south-africa/english-speakers.html>>, and Neethling (2001).

16 See: International Organization for Migration: “Current Migration Themes in Southern Africa: An IOM Perspective”, December 2004.

increased (Swatuk/van der Zaag 2001). While this may well be the case for other parts of the world, these challenges facing the SADC region are not increasing.

In the past environmental degradation and management of the water resource has resulted in inter-state rivalry, such as the brief but serious differences between Namibia and Botswana in 1992 (Ngoma 2005). In the region, environmental and water challenges are of a transboundary nature, and hence may lead to serious inter-state conflicts (van Wyk 1998; Mafuta/Karuma/Chenje/Sherman 1999–2000). Environmental issues, particularly water problems, are among non-traditional sources of insecurity that may pose a threat to the Southern African region. However, the assertion of conflicts in the SADC region on transboundary water issues (van Wyk 1998) has been contested (Turton/Solomon 2000; Turton/Henwood 2002; Turton/Ashton/Cloete 2003; Ashton/Turton 2007). Several bilateral arrangements (joint water commissions and regional agreements) have been set up, such as the Limpopo and Maputo, Incomati, Pungwe, Pungwe, Umbeluzi, Kunene and Cuvelai; and the Zambezi river basin regime point to the transboundary nature (Lindemann 2008). The states have been keen to peacefully resolve all conflicts (SADC Protocol on Shared Watercourse System of August 1995). A revised Protocol was ratified in August 2000. Nevertheless, critical shortages of fresh water in South Africa experienced in 2004 and 2005 point to the ‘human security’ challenge posed by water scarcity.

There are many other environmental challenges that necessitate comprehensive rather than sectoral responses. Setting up corridors and transboundary wildlife parks have been an effective way of tackling some of these challenges. A key challenge facing the region is the need to ensure the participation of local people and to make certain that they benefit directly rather than adopting an exclusively state-centric approach.

64.4.3 HIV/Aids Pandemic

HIV/AIDS is one of the greatest threats to security and development. According to the Centre for Strategic and International Studies in the United States:

HIV/AIDS affects the institutions that guarantee national security and safeguard the international system as a whole. ... HIV/AIDS can be so pervasive that it assaults, as surely as prolonged conflict, the essence of the nation state: secure families, communities, eco-

nomics and political institutions, military and police forces (Schneider/Moodie 2002).

In the SADC region seven countries have prevalence rates above 17%¹⁷ (table 73.1); here the humanitarian crisis is particularly acute (Heineken 2003: 16).¹⁸ HIV/AIDS leads to a reduction in productivity, decreased life expectancy of professionals, increased health budgets, social dislocation and reduced capacity in the security sector, and the danger of exploitation of resulting gaps. Stigma, discrimination, and conflict over scarce resources threaten to increase political conflict and criminal behaviour (Mattes 2003: 10).

Table 64.1: HIV/Aids, prevalence of adult population and armed personnel in the SADC region

	Country	Proportion of adult population with HIV+ (2001)	Proportion of armed forces' personnel estimated to be HIV+ for year indicated
1	Angola	5.5 %*	50 % (1999)
2	Botswana	38.8 %	33 % (1999)
3	DRC	4.8 %*	50 % (1999)
4	Lesotho	31.0 %	40 % (1999)
5	Malawi	15.0 %	50 % (1999)
6	Mozambique	13.0 %	Not available
7	Namibia	22.5 %	16 % (1996)
8	South Africa	20.1 %	23 % (2002)
9	Swaziland	33.4 %	48 % (1997)
10	Zambia	21.5 %	60 % (1998)
11	Zimbabwe	33.7 %	55 % (1999)

Regarding the threat posed in Southern Africa by the diminishing capacity in the security sector due to HIV/AIDS, uniformed services are in many ways at the coalface of this pandemic, being particularly vulnerable to both contracting and serving as agents for its transmission. Reliable estimates of HIV/AIDS prevalence in Southern African armed forces are difficult to obtain, and its implications for the military are speculative.¹⁹ However, the Institute for Security

17 Southern African Humanitarian Information Network for a Coordinated Disaster Response (SAHIMS), “The impact of HIV/AIDS on agriculture”, 31 January 2005, at: <www.sahims.net/archive>.

18 Miriam Jooma: *ISS Situation Report*, 28 February 2005, p 6.

19 See: Robyn Pharoah, ISS Pretoria, unpublished paper for the project Phidisa research agenda.

Studies in Pretoria has involved representatives of the military in the SADC region in a book project on this pandemic. While it may not provide additional data, it signifies a radical shift on behalf of the military which previously had refused to discuss the matter, considering it as a sensitive internal security problem.

Preventing HIV/AIDS and political violence comprises “the two blades of the scissors required to cut the strangler’s cord choking Africa” (ICG 2004: I). Such a response should be bolstered by initiatives aimed at raising awareness on HIV/AIDS amongst military personnel. The next challenge for regional security is security sector reform.

64.4.4 Security Sector Reform

The goals of OPDS of SADC cannot be reached if the national security services of SADC countries are wrongly constituted, ill equipped, and badly managed, and if the sub-regional security mechanisms are ineffective. There is a need to examine the security sector and to initiate security sector reforms. But it is difficult to generalize the state of this reform both from a country and a sector perspective. In most countries more emphasis has been placed on defence transformation than on the reform of police and intelligence services, probably due to the greater capacity for violence inherent in the military and the corresponding possibility of disrupting the developing democratic processes in the region. South Africa has probably undergone the most comprehensive reform of the security sector that addressed transparency, accountability, effectiveness and efficiency, civil control and oversight, and the equitable representation of all within the security services. Botswana, Mauritius, Namibia, Tanzania, and Zambia have undergone substantial SSR processes but still lack the required transparency and democratic oversight.²⁰ Mozambique, Lesotho, and Malawi (Williams/Cawthra/Abrahams 2003) are all still implementing their SSR processes and must consolidate this in new policies, laws, and structures. Zimbabwe is an enigma in the sense that SSR gains of the past are currently being reversed in a state where the security services are highly involved in politics and ‘blind loyalty’ to the regime rather than to the constitution and the state²¹. Swaziland is still a monarchy where the security services are subject to the will of the King and where the fundamentals of

democratic oversight of the security services do not exist (Le Roux/Rupiya/Ngoma 2004: 23). Angola is entering the democratic era and SSR reform may soon be underway, whilst the Democratic Republic of Congo must follow after a democratic election.

SSR should improve the capacity of the security sector to render services and outputs in an efficient and cost-effective manner based on a clear definition and understanding of the desired outcomes as determined by the democratically elected representatives of the people. Two of the most important SSR issues are civil-military relations and effective governance of the military. These issues are essential for ensuring peace and stability.

64.4.5 Civil-Military Relations

Civil-military relations in the SADC region have been in a state of flux since the colonial period (Mtonga 2004). Civil society does not trust or like the military and sees them as a power unto themselves, not as serving the national interest but as wasting scarce resources that could be utilized for developmental purposes. On the other hand, the military in general perceive the civilians as ignorant on security matters and not trustworthy to share with them ‘the affairs of defence and security of the State’. These mutual misperceptions have been created and sustained mostly due to the lack of transparency and a discourse on military matters in the countries of the sub-region (Williams/Cawthra/Abrahams 2003). The essential challenges for healthy civil-military relations are:

- *Creating effective and dynamic political oversight over defence establishments* through parliamentary defence committees in the Constitution or other legislation. Their members must be able to execute their tasks with sufficient resources, access to military institutions, and programmes designed to enhance their understanding of defence and security matters. Similarly, political oversight requires civilian defence ministries responsible for political guidance and control of the military. Such ministries must be equally empowered by ci-

20 See: Republic of Zambia: *Report of the Auditor General on the Accounts for the Financial Year ended, 31 December 2002*.

21 See: statement attributed to Zimbabwe’s defence force commander, General Vitalios Zvinavashe, in: *Zimbabwe Bulletin*, 1/2002: “Position of the Military”, 9 January 2002, at: <<http://www.ind.home-office.gov.uk>>; see: Peta Thornycroft: “Mugabe puts military at the centre of Zimbabwe’s election”, in: *News Telegraph*, 3 March 2005, at: <<http://portal.telegraph.co.uk/news/main.jhtml?>>.

vilian staff members with high qualifications in strategic and military studies, and public and defence management.

- *Establishing transparency and accountability in defence management* are crucial for the allocation and management of resources at all levels of planning, programming, and budgeting. If defence resource allocation and management are not transparent, defence will never be able to achieve public support or the cooperation and support of the government. If defence is not accountable to government and the people, it will not be aligned with national interests and priorities. It will easily be corrupted and decision-making will be manipulated towards self-interests. Civil involvement and control of overall budget decisions, as well as careful auditing at all levels, can help ensure that resources are actually used to accomplish policy objectives. Nevertheless, the most effective solution to this problem is a commitment at all levels to national interests and objectives, and the development of clear and transparent policy, planning, programming, and budgetary processes and systems to implement them.
- *An informed civil society.* Not everybody wants to be a defence expert or be involved in the defence debate. But if civil society is ignorant of and uninterested in defence matters, it is impossible to create healthy civil-military relations and defence would in fact have a licence to 'go its own way'. Academic institutions, non-government organizations (NGOs), and the media should develop an expertise on defence matters to inform society and to influence governments in general and parliaments in particular. Academic institutions and NGOs may offer alternative options for improved defence policy and management.

64.4.6 Defence Management

Efficiency in defence management is essential in the SADC region as countries can ill afford to waste scarce resources on inappropriate, ineffective, and unaffordable military forces. Much is required to be done in this area (Le Roux/Rupiya/Ngoma 2004). Poorly managed forces are potential sources of instability and conflict. Efficient defence management requires:

- developing the capacity of the various departments of defence for policy formulation and strategic planning concepts and processes;
- good and transparent budgeting and management of public expenditure in the defence sector;
- appropriate role and function of the development between security agencies to improve national security management and cost-reduction/optimization;
- development of appropriate civic education practices within the armed forces;
- enhanced human resource management processes and practices in defence departments with special attention to professionalism, equitable representation, and activities of integration, rationalization, demobilization, and reintegration into civil society.

64.5 Conclusion

In spite of many achievements, regional security in the SADC region must be comprehensively consolidated. Although the number of states embroiled in conflicts has declined, the past and ongoing conflicts have been so intensive that the effects for states and the sub-region have remained very negative. The DRC is the only state whose conflict has remained manifest both internally and with its neighbours. Despite vigorous regional efforts and those of the international community, as well as some indications towards a democratic path, the situation remains grave. Some states which were previously involved in conflicts are faced with challenges of bringing about normality in their societies through programmes such as DDR. This chapter has identified Angola where political stability is closely dependent on its ability to conduct a successful DDR process.

The chapter has argued that the sub-region is not only willing to achieve democracy and good governance, but is also determined on its own terms. It has been observed that the pluralistic nature of sub-regional politics has allowed non-governmental actors like trade unions to actively insist that governments adhere to the principles of democracy and good governance, especially in their stand on Zimbabwe.

It has been argued that Southern Africa has been trying to develop institutional structures designed to ensure peace by the creation of the OPDS, SIPO, the Protocol on Defence and Security Cooperation, and the Mutual Defence Pact on which additional work is required. Other security challenges include interna-

tional and sub-regional migration with xenophobia as one negative side effect. Environmental and water issues have also been identified as a potentially major source of instability because of how these countries depend on these scarce resources. The states are conscious of the need to mitigate this instability.

Amongst the greatest threats to security and development are the HIV/Aids pandemic and incomplete SSR. The seriousness of HIV/Aids in the general population and its impact on the defence and security services has become a great concern for peace and stability. SSR has been identified to mitigate both the needs of the defence and security services and the demands for development with a democratic ethos. Although several states are undertaking substantial efforts to conduct appropriate SSR, much remains to be done.

65 The Security Problematique in South Asia: Alternative Conceptualizations

Navnita Chadha Behera

The security problematique in South Asia is undergoing a metamorphosis. Old paradigms are yielding way to new conceptualizations. The fundamental questions of who is being secured? – state or people – from what threats? – external powers, forces of globalization, sub-national actors or the oppressive authority of the state itself – and, through what means? yield radically different answers.

This chapter critically analyses the discursive and policy processes involved in shaping the changing security agendas of South Asian states by examining the role of important players – states and sub-state actors as well as international forces – and, their political choices in determining which problems may be included or excluded from its purview at any given historical juncture.

It begins by examining the traditional, state-centric notion of security rooted in the realist worldview of international politics. However, in view of the qualitatively different political character of states in the South Asian context, it highlights the importance of understanding the dialectic between security and insecurity for the state as well as its people as two distinct albeit related phenomena. The chapter discusses political forces influencing the processes of redefining the security problematique in South Asia and illustrates it with reference to economic, environmental, and political security issues in the region.

65.1 Traditional Worldview: External Security Dilemmas of the State

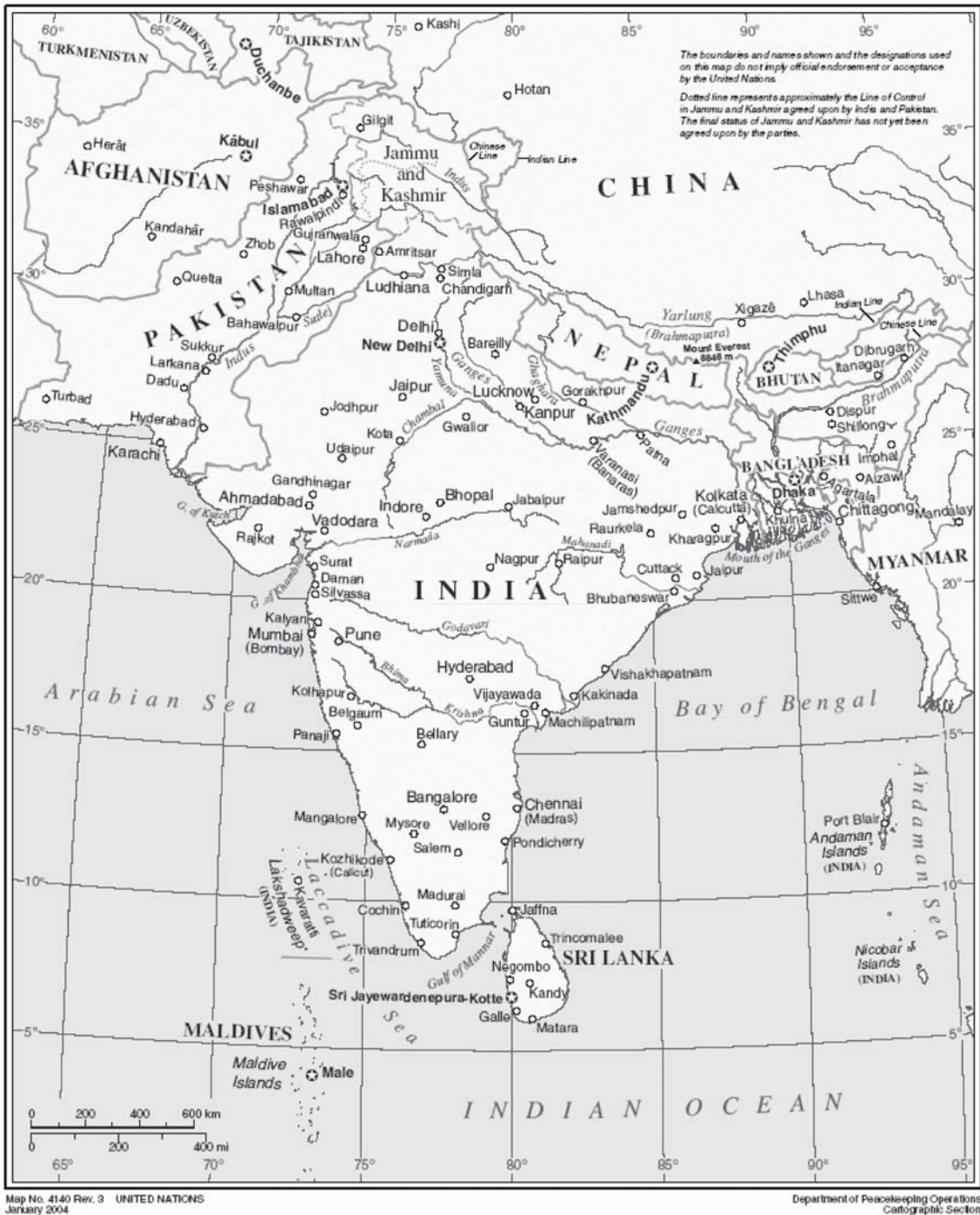
A state-centric approach has traditionally dominated the security debates in South Asia, which centred around securing sovereignty and territorial integrity of the state from external dangers and primarily through military means (chap. 29 by Khanat). This was grounded in a neo-realist worldview where power is seen as the ultimate arbiter of international relations

and a state is mainly concerned with power struggles among states and threats emanating from ‘outside’ its borders (chap. 37 by Baylis).

The balance of power within South Asia and outside; great power involvement and the security of smaller states and fears of Indian hegemony, thus, formed key areas of security studies in South Asia (Buzan/Rizvi 1986; Ayooob 1980; Singh 2000; Cheema/Bokhari 2004; Maniruzzaman 1982). These were partly a response to the Indo-centric character and asymmetrical and hierarchical power structure of the subcontinent (Muni 1980: 39). India occupies a dominant power position in terms of population, economic resource base, military strength, and the ability of its constitutional, political, and economic structures, making it the proverbial ‘Big Brother’ with all its negative connotations. Smaller states feel insecure in the company of the giant neighbour, a fear exacerbated by a number of developments over the years such as the division of Pakistan and creation of Bangladesh (1971), the annexation of Sikkim (1975), military intervention in Sri Lanka (1987), the commando operation in the Maldives to put down an attempted coup (1988), and the trade embargo against Nepal (1989). Also, Indian attempts to assert its ‘natural’ place in the power hierarchy of the subcontinent, and Pakistan’s search for military and strategic ‘parity’ with India resulted in “mutually incompatible perceptions and self-images of their power status *vis-à-vis* each other, as well as in the global context” (Muni 1980: 47). High levels of defence spending and arms procurement by India and Pakistan and a constant state of defence preparedness have created a highly militarized situation in South Asia (Figure 65.1).

South Asia is the only part of the world that has two nuclear-armed countries (also China) sharing disputed borders and locked in a political and military competition. Since the end of colonial rule in 1947, this region has been the battleground of several wars – India-Pakistan (1947–48); India-China (1962); India-

Figure 65.1: Map of South Asia. **Source:** The United Nations Cartographic Section, South Asia. 2007: <www.un.org/Depts/Cartographic/map/profile/seasia.pdf>.



Pakistan (1965 and 1971); ongoing armed confrontation between India and Pakistan in the Siachin glacier area (since 1984); the Kargil crisis (1999); and the continuing civil war in Sri Lanka. These conflicts, especially the protracted territorial dispute between India

and Pakistan over Kashmir, have intensified concerns for national security with overt military dimensions. Hence, the phenomenon of war in different variants – conventional warfare, limited war, proxy war, low-in-

tensity conflict, internal wars and so on – has been a major occupation of its security analysts.¹

Significantly, erosion of bloc politics and mitigation of ideological divisions as a result of the end of Cold War did not help de-escalate the India-Pakistan conflict because the latter had, over the years, acquired an independent logic and momentum. In this respect, South Asia has followed a different political trajectory from other parts of the Third World where the end of power games between the superpowers had radically altered their security agendas. In South Asia, on the contrary, the frequency of India-Pakistan military crises grew – the 1990 crisis in Kashmir; the confrontation in 1999, the military mobilization in December 2001, and the May 2002 military crises – and, the gap between them – from nine years between 1990 and 1999 to five months between December 2001 and May 2002 – had sharply narrowed.

Nuclearization of the subcontinent added yet another dimension to this equation. Most security analysts argue that the nuclear tests conducted in 1998 were a long-delayed consequence of India's steadily worsening security situation which owed as much to the freezing of the international nuclear order in the mid-1990's, as to the development of Chinese and Pakistani nuclear capabilities. While Indian nuclear tests were justified as a necessary move to "fill a potentially dangerous vacuum . . . [in] Asian balance of power" (Singh 1998: 42), Pakistan's decision to follow suit was explained in terms of seeking nuclear 'parity' with India, countering India's hegemonic designs, and as an attempt to restore the balance of power within South Asia.

The major concerns of such realist discourses are to explore the road map India and Pakistan might take to weaponization and induction of nuclear arsenal in their forces and, devising a nuclear strategy and a nuclear doctrine.² They also explore various ways

and means by which these states may seek to 'stabilize' and 'manage' nuclear deterrence through Confidence Building Measures and international treaties such as the *Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty* (CTBT) and the *Fissile Materials Cut-off Treaty* (FMCT).³ Others argue against the weapons of mass destruction and that the nuclearization of the subcontinent was an ill-advised and dangerous decision, with some advocating a reversal of this process. This is argued, both, on grounds of *realpolitik* and the morality at stake.⁴ Scholarly analysis that moves away from the positivist, neo-realist paradigm and draws insights from post-positivist theoretical standpoints such as post-colonial traditions of thought, feminism, and so on, remain on the margins of such security discourses (Nizamani 2001; Khattak 2002; Abraham 1998). These voices, however, acquire much more importance in understanding the internal security predicaments of the state which is discussed next.

65.2 An Alternative Paradigm: The State As a Source of Security or Insecurity?

Focusing its gaze 'inside' the state, this explores the dialectical relationship between security and insecurity (chap. 30 by Sahni). In the traditional conception, security comes from being a citizen of a state and there is "no security outside the state; no state without security" (Dillon 1996: 14). Citizens must be totally committed and show unwavering loyalty to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the state, which, in turn, promises to provide complete security to its citizens. Scholars forging an alternative paradigm of security question this fundamental premise because the state in the South Asian region has often proved to be a source of insecurity to its citizens – a phenomenon one cannot understand or explain without critically analysing the political character of the state (Behera 2002; Ahmed 2002; Mohsin 1997; Uyanogoda 1994; Krishna 1999; Chatterjee 2005).

By understanding the state as a given and unproblematic entity that is 'prior to' all intellectual inquiries in IR, traditional security analysts refuse to contend with the possibility that their 'security dilemmas'

1 See: Khan 1970; Maxwell 1971; Ayoob/Subrahmanyam 1972; Salik 1977; Sinha 1977; Ganguly, S. 1986; Sisson/Rose 1990; Palit 1991; Sen 1994; Bajpai/Cheema/Cohen/Ganguly 1995; Singh 1999; Ali 1993; Ganguly, R. 1998; Balasingham 1983; Hellmann-Rajanayagam 1994; Jacob 1996; Niazi 1998; Tellis/Fair/Medby 2001; Kargil Review Committee Report 2000; Raghavan 2001; Qadir 2002; Bammi 2002; Koithara 2003; Chari/Cheema/Cohen 2003; Behera 2000, 2006a; Dasgupta 2002; Swami 2004, 2007.

2 See Menon 2000; Chengappa 2000; Tellis 2001; Basrur 2005; Ahmed 1999; Singh 1998; Mattoo 1999; Rajagopalan 2005; Rajain 2005; Krepon/Gagne 2001; Khan 2000; Matinuddin 2002.

3 See Sridharan 2006; Ganguly/Greenwood 1996; Banerjee 1999.

4 See Ramana/Reddy 2003; Bidwai/Vanaik 2001; Chatterjee 1998; Nandy/Mian 1998; Bajpai/Mattoo 1996; Ram 2002.

(chap 3 and 40 by Brauch) are linked to the very character of these states in the region. This proposition demolishes the core thesis of the neo-realist paradigm, which attributes the security dilemma of the states to prevailing anarchy in the international domain. “Conceptual bifurcation of anarchy (international) and hierarchy (domestic),” in neo-realism “is based on the original Hobbesian thinking and makes no provision for internal security complexes” because the domestic is conceptualized as the sphere of freedom under the complete supervision of a legitimate authority (Chatterjee, forthcoming). Neo-realist analysis does not give an account of “how that authority is constituted, its condition of legitimacy, and the implications of the diverse contestations of identities that might conspire to fragment the state, thereby posing a threat to the state security” from within (Chatterjee, forthcoming).

65.2.1 Interrogating the State: Political Challenges from ‘Within’

South Asian states do not have the *kind* of European nation state that is assumed to be *given* in the neo-realist analyses, and the internal vulnerabilities of the state and the insecurities of its people are often rooted in the very processes of emulating a particular kind of state, a model of the Westphalian state denoting a unified, indivisible sovereign state with centralized political authority. The Western nation state had emerged within the largely homogeneous societies of Europe. A mechanical application of the nation state idea with its monolithic credo and unitary state structures, on the deeply multicultural societies of South Asia was structurally flawed. The whole process negated the diversity, humaneness, and freedom that were fundamental to their cultures. Trying to manage and enforce ideological and political conformity on the sub-nationalities in the interest of the nation-state, sought to “impose a monolithness and homogenization that were alien and alienating” (Wignaraja 1993: 27).

The modern nation state allows recognition of a single, presumably unified nation. This principle applied to a plural society, especially when governed through electoral democracy, is inherently problematic. The single nation tends to be identified with the dominant majority, with the state being the sole depository of political power, exercised by the ‘majority’, while minority communities tend to feel alienated and marginalized. Often this is despite checks and balances of a democratic system that protect individual

and group rights from the abuse of the majority (Behera 2000: 24). Those left out, therefore, seek to construct their own identity and create alternative spaces within or without existing state boundaries.

Put differently, the nation state in South Asia is not necessarily the provider of security to all its citizens, rather the state itself is the site of conflict between different nation-building enterprises and power struggles between contending social groups and elites. A more appropriate question to ask, therefore, is: Whose nation needs to be secured? and, Who controls state power?, both in terms of the dominant majority organized along religious, ethnic or linguistic lines or the elective versus non-elective institutions (Behera 1997). It is important to examine the assumptions, organization, reproduction, and dynamics of the modern nation-state in the South Asian region because this provides the key to understanding how the politics and mechanisms of these states produce *insecurity* for its *people*.

This may be illustrated with reference to the Sri Lankan conflict, whose defining characteristic has been the political incommensurability of Sinhalese and Tamil nation projects. One major reason for this is the Sinhalese nationalist commitment to maintaining the Sri Lankan state in the old centralized and unitary form (Behera 1997). The Sinhalese ideological construction of the Sri Lankan state is driven by the powerful idea of Sri Lanka being ‘our land’, *ape rata*. This “territorial possessionist idiom in the Sinhalese political discourse implies a condition of social appropriation of the state which is mediated by ideology,” and it also refers to a “collective self-understanding of a polity – a polity of ‘ours’ and not of an ‘other’” (Uyangoda 1994: 90). Sinhala nationalism, in this sense, is also an exclusionary ideology, the central question of which is: How can ‘our’ state power be shared with an ethnic ‘other’. Although there exist revisionist versions of unitarism, devolution of power for example, the hegemonic logic of mono-ethnicity has taken deep roots in the political thinking among Sinhalese as well as Tamil nationalist forces (Uyangoda forthcoming). They have struggled to exist in one nation-state, without being able to reconcile each other’s political claims to statehood. Consequently, they have found themselves locked in a self-destructive war for nearly two decades.

The case of Bangladesh makes it even clearer. The Bengalis of East Pakistan had launched a movement of secular and democratic assertion of linguistic and regional difference from Pakistan (despite a common religion), but after the creation of an independent

state of Bangladesh, its constitution imparted a distinct Bengali character to the state and declared Bangladesh to be a homogeneous and unicultural country.⁵ This proved to be deeply problematic for the forty-five different ethnic communities living in the state, and was particularly unacceptable to the hill people of the *Chittagong Hill Tracts* (CHT) who perceived their cultural identity and survival as a distinct community to be threatened by the imposition of Bengali nationalism and subsequently launched an insurgency against the Bangladeshi state, which in turn posed not just a military but a human and cultural threat as well (Mohsin 2001: 23–24).

Almost every state in South Asia has been confronted with broadly similar challenges to centralized authority, and no less important, to the hegemonic discourse revolving around the nation-state. Indeed the national question is the driving force behind most secessionist movements – those by Kashmiri, Assamese, Sikh in India; Tamils in Sri Lanka; Baloch in Pakistan; Chakmas in Bangladesh – and the Maoist insurgency in Nepal which might otherwise differ in character, support base and dynamics, but share in common an uncompromising opposition to the centralized political authority and unequivocal rejection of the legitimacy of the nation-state as presently constituted.⁶ At the core of such ethno-political conflicts are radically different claims to how the state power is organized and distributed (Uyangoda forthcoming). The task of a security analyst, therefore, is not to replicate (or copy) a Westphalian-style nation-state that has everywhere rendered its populace more *insecure* (than secure), but how to creatively experiment with new kinds of state and sub-state structures that accord more political space to its social communities, thereby enhancing peoples' security.

From a different vantage point, feminists have sought to reframe traditional constructs of state, sovereignty and political identity, and explain how mod-

ern states and the international state system depend in part on the maintenance of unequal gender relations in division of labour and power play. They question the state-centric conception of security that makes security effectively synonymous with 'citizenship' and allows no room to explore alternative answers to the question of 'who we are' and, of political identities woven around ethnicity, class or gender. Feminist analyses show that citizenship is historically and conceptually not a gender-neutral phenomenon (Menon/Bhasin 1998; Gardezi 1991; Kandiyoti 1991), nor is identity merely tied to territorial or nationalist conceptions (Hussain/Mumtaz/Saigol 1997; Thiruchandran, 1999). Unlike neo-realists who focus on threats from 'outside' the state boundaries, feminists highlight the structural violence of ethnic, class, and gender hierarchies. Taking gender seriously can, thus, yield radically different formulations of security where issues of social justice take precedence over matters of order.

In South Asia, the disciplines of anthropology, sociology, and history have integrated gender-aware analyses far better than that of international relations. The discourse on international security is also, slowly but surely, altering course from the state-centric models to taking into account the role of non-state actors and non-traditional security issues. However, the theoretical constructions of feminist analyses are only beginning to make its presence felt (Rajagopalan 2005; Chenoy 2002, 2005; Mohsin 2002; Ollapally 2004). The literature on women's involvement in conflict and peace processes have addressed several issues such as women caught in wars or internal ethnic conflicts (Goswami 1999; Banerjee 2003; de Alwis 1999; Guhathakurta 2001), especially testimonies of their experiences in conflict situations (Butalia 1998, 2002; Raychaudhury 2006; Khattak 2006; Khan 2006) and, understanding their role as fighters in militant groups (de Silva 1995; de Mel 2004). Women's role in peace negotiations (Manchanda 2001, 2004); gendered implications of conflict-induced migration and internal displacement (Behera 2006; Chakravarty 2004); and linkages between patriarchy and militarization (Chenoy 2002) have also been analysed. Feminist writings on the gendered nature of nationalism and state also debate issues that concern IR (Menon/Bhasin 1998; Butalia 1998; Thiruchandran 1999; Jayawardene 1986; Hussain/Mumtaz/Saigol 1997).

There is also a small albeit distinct tradition of neo-Marxist writings in the South Asian literature, including Dutt's formulation of "proto second tier imperialism" (1984); Vanaik's writings on globalization

5 Article 9 of the Constitution defined Bengali nationalism as "the unity and solidarity of the Bengali nation, which, deriving its identity from its language and culture, attained sovereign and independent Bangladesh through a united and determined struggle in the war of independence, shall be the basis of Bengali nationalism" (Mohsin 2001: 23).

6 Tambiah 1986, 1996; Phadnis/Ganguly 2001; Sinha 1991; Ahmad 1973; Krishna 1999; Behera 2000; Jeganathan/Quadri 1995; Chadda 1997; Dutt 1998; Bhaumik 1996; Thomas 1994; Swamy 1994; Bose 1994; Das 1992; Jahan 1973; Ponnambalam 1983; Gellner/Pfaff-Czarnecka/Whelpton 1997.

(2004); Harshe's (1997) work on imperialism that demonstrated how it has been at the centre stage of IR and critiqued several radical theories by examining their applicability to concrete empirical realities in the Third World; and, Alavi's concept of "the Muslim salariat" and "overdeveloped state" (1972, 1983; Halliday/Alavi 1988) in the context of Pakistan.

65.2.2 Economic Development, Environmental Problems, and Peoples' Insecurities

The nationalist leadership of post-colonial South Asia had envisioned the state as an agent of social change, economic progress, and transformation. Adoption of the Western models of economic development and its associated practices have, however, rendered many segments of their populace poor and insecure.

The modernization theories, for instance, eschewed any debate on the issue that development understood and practised as capital accumulation and commercialization of the economy for the generation of surplus and profit, involved the reproduction not merely of a particular form of creation of wealth, but also of the associated creation of poverty and dispossession of others. In other words, the development of the colonial masters had rested upon the impoverishment of their colonies. The replication of this model of economic development in post-colonial South Asia created new internal colonies such as East Pakistan, now Bangladesh, in Pakistan and, caused deep divisions in its societies. India, it is argued, has become effectively organized as a democracy of omnivores, for the omnivores and by the omnivores - the real beneficiaries of economic development who also have the clout of state power to ensure that the goodies come to them cheap, if not altogether free (Gadgil/Guha 1995: 45). This is a system in which the interests of the huge number of ecosystem people (4/5^{ths} of India's rural people who depend on the natural environment of their own locality to meet most of their material needs), and ecological refugees (those displaced by dams, mines, and deforestation and live on the periphery), can be safely ignored. The omnivores, who constitute only 1/6th of India's population, can capture the nation's resources by using the state apparatus, while passing on the costs of resource capture to the rest of the population (Gadgil/ Guha 1995).

Modern development has also given rise to environmental problems, which in turn have produced water, land, and food insecurities for people. The lack of water security (Shiva 2002) results from drying up of rivers and waterbeds, dams built for hydroelectric

purposes and, use of chemical fertilizers required for the *high-yielding varieties* (HYV) of crops. The fertilizers require a good deal of water to make them work, but at the same time they contaminate water, making water even scarcer, thus, creating conditions of water insecurity (Ahmed 2002: 97; Shiva 2002). The land security is related directly to the degradation of soil and its declining harvesting capacity. Farmers face an acute dilemma in using fertilizers: without chemical fertilizers, they cannot grow HYV crops; with chemical fertilizers, there is no sustainable land for a long period to grow crops! (Ahmed 2002). In the past about thirty thousand rice varieties were cultivated by the farmers in South Asia, whereas today, thanks to modern techniques and the desire for uniformity, only fifteen varieties are cultivated. The lack of food security arises partly from a combination of water and land insecurities, and partly from an excessive growth of population. The victims are either internally displaced or forced to migrate, as environmental refugees in neighbouring states often becoming a source of both intra-state and inter-state conflicts (Ahmed 2002).

Finally, imports of foreign technologies that are not suited to the local milieu have also caused environmental insecurities. While most South Asian societies have been organized around pluralistic patterns that match the diversity of hydro-ecology as well as human groupings, the mainstream water managers led by the civil engineering community have ignored the diverse social contexts of water to damage the foundations of social and community life. Nation states caught up in the 'development paradigm' have blindly adopted the modern technology of hydraulic engineering that brought with it a class of social carriers whose concept of dominating nature and controlling or harnessing waters was alien to the traditional practices that were based on actively adapting to nature (Mendis 1999: 121). This water-intensive, technology-intensive, and construction-led model of water development - the mainstay of the most South Asian states - has failed to address the basic sources of the sufferings of the people because it can not explain the social contents of water management or the institutional responses needed for just and equitable water supply. Modern hydraulic engineering, by being a top-down and expertise-based approach, relegated the farmer to a passive role, and has thus failed to deliver.

Gyawali (2001) recounts the stories of the Lunugamvehera or Udawalawe projects in southern Sri Lanka or the Eppawala Jayaganga in the northern dry zone which tell of resource manipulation that fail to

meet the stated objectives (they often fail to provide the water promised) and in the process alienate the farmers from the state itself. This dissatisfaction later erupted in the form of the *Janatha Vimukti Perumena* (JVP) uprising in Sri Lanka (Gyawali 2001: 175).

Likewise, in Bihar in India the embankment technology that “was ill-suited to the hydro-ecology of the land, was implemented with myopic ferocity and has left in its wake a peasantry impoverished and alienated from the state” (Gyawali 2001: 169-172). The Damodar Valley Project in Bengal and the tribal reaches of Bihar, the Mangla dam in the Mirpur area of Azad Kashmir (in Pakistan), and the Kaptai dam in the Chittagong Hill Tracts areas in Bangladesh have their own hidden tales about the delegitimization of the state in the eyes of those affected by dam building.

The economic worldview of development-as-material-progress has, however, come under increasing criticism. The ways in which development in South Asia has led to displacement of large masses of people, to genocide, ethnic cleansing, and conflict and struggle over resources; to environmental degradation and an end to peoples’ means of livelihood, demand a re-examination and rethinking of the whole concept of ‘development’. The uneven effects of top-down development, because of what some people gain and what others lose, calls for its reconceptualization and a critical examination of its structures in order to understand whose development it is, whom it benefits, what are its effects, and who suffers, especially in terms of the elimination of whole eco-systems, species, and indigenous knowledge and ways of being.

Unlike the traditional discourse on military security, there is much critical questioning of conventional wisdom in discourse on development and its implications for security, especially for peoples’ security. Western science and technology that did not take into account the adverse impact of development on both nature and people is now being critically evaluated in the South Asian context. Marginalized people, science, and ecology movements are now making visible the hitherto invisible costs of introducing the wrong science and technology. For example, while the big dams – the modern temples of development – totaling fifteen hundred in India alone, have brought water, irrigation facilities, and power to large parts of the country, they also have a dark side. They have displaced, according to some estimates, up to fifty-six million people; submerged millions of acres of prime forest land; led to the water-logging and salinization of vast areas; and destroyed estuarine ecosystems.

An alternative approach to water highlights “the dynamic interlinkage between physical water resource systems and the larger social economic and institutional context within which they are managed” because the “water use continues to take place within existing asymmetry of wealth, knowledge and information, conflict and struggle for power” (Ahmed/Dixit/Nandy 1999: 121). Such critical evaluation and the accompanying search for alternatives that are better suited to the local milieu in South Asia are creating epistemological and technological shifts that have enlarged the creative options for redefining development that is both sustainable and just (Gadgil/Guha 1995: 79). Advocating a *bottom-up* research strategy that would involve wide masses of people, scholars argue that if local communities are permitted to reassert control over the resource base, it would create a genuine demand for environment-friendly science and technology, lead to sustainable development, and enhance peoples’ security.

This idea of peoples’ security is somewhat different from the UNDP (United Nations Development Programme) and Canadian formulations of human security, which have inspired many writings in South Asia (Haq 1994; Human Development Centre 1999; Bajpai 2003, 2005; Chari/Gupta 2003; Basrur 2001; Abdus Sabur 2008). While these also seek to shift the focus away from state security, their fundamental parameters have mostly been set by the powers that be ‘outside’ the state and not by their own people, resulting in a flawed approach. First, in fixing their gaze on an individual’s security, these lose sight of a community or a social group’s perspective which, keeping in mind the political realities of the subcontinent, is a much more appropriate unit of analysis. Second, this continues to be ‘a donor-driven agenda’, tied to foreign aid or used selectively by the ruling elites to serve their narrow ends rather than to secure their populace from ‘freedom of want’ as proclaimed. (Khattak 2002: 173). She explains that

despite the link between foreign policy and development issues, in the context of human security, donors usually ascribe mal-development to selfish policies of particular governments, rather than to international structures. Hence, when human security issues are promoted, it is with unstated idea, that governments have failed and that at issue is governance rather than the binds in which governments find themselves upon taking over (Khattak 2002: 170).

They fail to realize that human security “cannot be completely disassociated” from state security in the South Asian context (Behera AD, forthcoming). Muni

also points to a “strategic bias” of such discourse directed “unmistakably” as they are, towards the developing countries. The implicit message being that “the developing states should focus on providing human security to their people leaving the management of global security to the major powers” (Muni 2001: 116). The debate on human security as distinct from peoples’ security must, therefore, contend with the politics of this knowledge by challenging the use of security for ideological ends.

65.3 Inclusions, Exclusions, and Redefining the Parameters of the Security Problematique

The preceding analysis shows that the way the concept of security is understood and used profoundly affects the way political life is conducted. Therefore, rethinking security requires an understanding of the power relations involved in the discursive domain as well as in the practical operation of the policy. It involves “challenging the use of security as ideology by asking ‘security specifically for whom?’ in the face of assurances of security for everyone” (Dalby 1997: 119). That is because a state-centric approach narrowly focuses on external and internal dangers to its sovereignty and territorial integrity, while a people-centric approach suggests the necessity of looking at the most vulnerable sectors of a population in terms of giving them access to food, shelter, basic human rights, and the environmental conditions that allow these things to be provided into the long-term future.

Extending this debate to the international domain, this chapter juxtaposes the voices emanating from within the South Asian region to international forces in order to understand their stakes and standpoints for including or excluding issues of economic security, environmental security, and political security within the parameters of the security problematique, and on what terms.

65.3.1 Economic Security

International forces both in terms of disciplinary influences (neo-realism) and institutional players such as the World Bank, UNDP, and other international finance institutions have always sought to exclude economic security from the security agenda by not recognizing it as a legitimate ‘security problem’ and subjecting it to ‘normal’ politics of market economy at

the national as well as international levels. During the Cold War, the

desecuritization of economic relations ... made economic penetration by the strong legitimate and threw political obstacles in the way of the weak, who viewed their security in much wider terms than just military relations did. For many states and the peoples on the periphery of the international system, the attempted liberal desecuritization of the political economy was itself a security issue. The self-serving qualities of liberal choices about defining the security agenda were seen as invidious ... but only the voices of the weak calling for a new international economic order supported it, and it was largely drowned out by the titanic military confrontation of the superpowers (Buzan/Wæver/de Wilde 1998: 210–211).

In the post-Cold War era, forces of economic globalization seek to achieve the same objective, that is, to desecuritize the issue of economic security. In the South Asian context, this becomes evident from the World Bank agenda for political reforms in the region, which as set out in its *World Development Report* (World Bank 1997a), is premised on the proposition that the state is a major barrier to economic expansion and growth. It identifies South Asia as an ‘overextended state’ which has been prone to ‘over-regulation’ of the economy and, the remedy is “to contract the role of the state’ in order to improve its ‘effectiveness” (Uyangoda 2001: 120).

This new theory of the state calls for it to focus on basic functions, that is, safeguarding the law and order, protecting property rights, managing the macro-economic fundamentals, and providing the very basic social services. This is radically different from the political economy of post-colonial South Asian states, which – shaped by the ideologies of decolonization and economic nationalism – had given rise to a broad social compact “that maintained a certain equilibrium of class interests in development strategies” through maintenance of an extensive public sector in the economy, priority allocation of public resources for social programmes that included poverty alleviation, rural development, health and education, and state-initiated generation of public employment (Uyangoda 2001: 127).

South Asia’s growing economic integration with the world economy over the past two decades⁷ has produced far-reaching changes in its “politics, social basis of the state, state-society relations, counter-state politics and inter-class relations” whereby the question of security has been reframed by “multiple insecurities engendered by the hegemonic change agent, global capital” (Uyangoda 2001: 163). The ‘reinvention of the

state' paradigm seeks to "disable the state from its social transformatory functions since the latter is being handed to global capital and the market. The removal of the state from that role of shaping social change and managing its consequences" has eroded the support base of social classes, which "cannot but feel abandoned, insecure and restive" (Uyangoda 2001: 129).

They are, however, strongly resisting such global pressures on the state to withdraw from its welfare roles. In fact, the critical inputs for new understanding of security are emerging from critical social movements, often focused on local issues but sensitive to the wider picture. They also raise fundamentally important issues concerning the possibilities of re-imagining political community and forging new 'solidarities', which act in ways that transcend the boundaries of blocs and states, working to promote international collaboration and cooperation, irrespective of state policies. This is not to argue that the states are redundant or that they are about to wither away. However, it does suggest that the creative energy for reformulating security comes from outside the entrenched bureaucratic structure of states. It also shows that security is no longer the singular preserve of security intellectuals and analysts.

65.3.2 Environmental Security

The issue of environmental security has also faced similar dilemmas, that is, whether it should be included in the security agenda and on what terms? In many ways, this has become the new battleground between the 'West' and the 'Rest' or more popularly, between the North and South over the shape of the new World Order. A key agenda of globalization, for instance, is the rapid *commodification* of every remaining aspect of life. This includes such pristine elements

of life – the commons – that have so far been outside the traditional market system: culture, fresh water, seeds, and the genetic structures of life. Most South Asian states have taken a stand that the commons have been clearly understood to be part of the cultural, spiritual, and biological inheritance of all people, and these should not be turned into commodities to be sold only to those who can pay for them. Under the World Trade Organization (WTO), however, virtually all life forms and resources are available for corporate ownership. Everything is for sale. The US and most of the developed nations find resistance from the South to the patenting of this kind of intellectual property outrageous, violative of the principles of free trade, and an inhibitor of the rights and prerogatives of global corporations. Vandana Shiva terms the bio-piracy through patents as the "second coming of Columbus," symbolizing new forms of imperialism (Shiva 1997: 5; 2008a).

By controlling living resources, the biotech industry is trying to replace the natural economy from which hundreds of millions of people have long derived their food and medicine directly, with market economy. The indigenous people, in particular, have been impacted in a particularly brutal fashion by economic liberalization and the theft of the water, food, and other resources on which they depended for their vital needs. They have been marginalized to the extreme and left to struggle for their survival in the brutally competitive 'market'. Already poor, but largely self-sufficient communities across the earth are being cast into deeper social and ecological poverty, as well as cultural dislocation, as their resources are appropriated to satisfy the seemingly insatiable demands of the world's ever-growing consumer societies (Barlow 1999: 12; Amin 1990). This perpetuation of existing international arrangements, coupled to international financing arrangements and the problems of the debt crisis, is likely to render many of the poorest of the planet even more insecure.

65.3.3 Political Security

South Asian states have experienced several insurgencies and secessionist movements waged by ethnic, linguistic, and religious mobilizations, many of which have also resorted to terrorism as a tool to achieve their political goals (Anand 1980; Sinha 1988; Joshi 1993). For years India fought a lonely battle by mobilizing support in various international fora⁸ on terrorism, but there were few takers of its concerns especially from the West. The terrorist attacks of 11

7 Pakistan and Sri Lanka were the first countries to embark on the road of economic liberalization reforms in the mid 1970's. India began the process of economic reforms in 1984 though it accelerated in 1991 with the implementation of structural adjustment programmes which began dismantling the structures and institutions of Nehruvian economic "socialism". In Bangladesh and Nepal the structural adjustment reforms were inaugurated during the latter half of the 1980's. Outside South Asia, Mexico was one of the first countries which experienced a structural adjustment programme due to the drop of the oil price and later faced a huge economic crisis in the 1990's. Then Russian, Asian, Brazilian, Hungarian and Argentinean crises followed.

September 2001 against the US fundamentally changed the political equations overnight, making terrorism the new bugbear of the 21st century. The world quickly rallied round US President George Bush's call for launching a global war against terror, and the United Nations Security Council passed resolutions, urging all countries to banish terrorism from their soil. The fact that the 11 September 2001 attacks were soon followed by an equally shocking terrorist attack against the Indian Parliament on 13 December 2001 provided an impetus to the Indian leadership's resolve to securitize the threat of terrorism to individual nations as well as the international order. With Pakistan joining the US-led 'war on terror', there was a new-found consensus among the South Asian states on the threat of terrorism.

However, in terms of responses to terrorism, South Asian perspectives differ quite radically from the US's highly militarized response in attacking the Taliban regime in Afghanistan and especially the Iraq war. Most South Asian states have learnt a hard-earned lesson on their own soil that terrorism cannot be eliminated through military means alone and, there is a need to address root causes of those conflicts that provide a political rationale for terrorism.⁹ India and Pakistan's peace process on Kashmir; Sri Lanka's experiments with democratizing and federalizing its polity; Bangladesh's accord with the Chakmas; and, redrawing of the Nepalese constitution in the aftermath of the Maoist insurgency – all point to a growing realization among South Asian states to recast the fundamental equations of new political struc-

tures, institutionalize power sharing mechanisms, and indeed, rework the associational basis of nation-state in South Asia.

65.4 Conclusions

There is no single regional discourse on conceptualization of security in South Asia though there are certain common threads in terms of issues as well as players. Reoccurring military crises between India and Pakistan and developments in the domain of nuclearization have led scholars to continue focusing on military aspects of their 'security dilemmas', though at the same time growing pressures from above – forces of globalization – and from below – ethnic groups and people themselves – have brought many political, economic, and environmental issues within the ambit of security debates. More significantly, the state in South Asia is undergoing a churning process. While imperatives of globalization are forcing the state to retrench especially in the economic domain, popular pressures from below are increasing, that is, people are making more demands on the state. This explains the growing demands for 'humanizing' the process of economic liberalization in India so that its benefits are equitably distributed among different segments of its populace, promoting economic security of all. In the political domain, securing the state from internal threats of secession and various insurgent movements calls for decentering the state in a manner that its diverse social communities and ethnic groups develop a stake in the polity by sharing political power. Recasting the state through political negotiations with Tamil rebels in Sri Lanka; regionalization of political forces in India; and constitutional measures in Nepal are providing critical inputs in not only transforming the internal security debates in the region but also tackling the growing threat of terrorism. Finally, there is a growing realization that global threats of climate change causing new environmental insecurities can best be met by local ideas, initiatives and technologies. This has led to a much better synergy between the state and sub-state actors, and their collective efforts as well as creative energies will continue to enrich the domain of security debates in South Asia with new and alternative conceptualizations.

8 India had sought to mobilize internationally in forums such as the UN, the NAM, and SAARC as well as in its bilateral dialogues with major powers. The SAARC countries had signed a SAARC Regional Convention on Suppression of Terrorism in 1987. India played a key role in evolving a NAM consensus against terrorism. The 12th NAM summit at Durban in 1998 unequivocally condemned any political, diplomatic, moral or material support to terrorism and reaffirmed that all member states have an obligation to refrain from organizing, assisting or participating in terrorist acts in the territories of other states. The Indian government actively supported the 1994 declaration adopted by the UN General Assembly on measures to eliminate international terrorism and its 1997 International Convention for Suppression of Terrorist Bombings. Most importantly, India proposed a Comprehensive Convention against International Terrorism at the 51st session of the UN General Assembly.

9 Saravanamuttu 2003; Uyangoda forthcoming; Behera 2006a; Banerjee/Kueck 2002.

66 Security Debates in East Asia since the End of the Cold War

Eun-Jeung Lee

66.1 Introduction

During the Cold War era, security issues in East Asia were relatively straightforward as a result of the East-West confrontation. However, with the end of bipolarity, security issues in the East Asian region have become more diverse and complex.¹ Political order in East Asia is not just a matter of China, Japan, and Korea. Their bilateral relations with the United States, and Washington's East Asian policies exercise a strong, if not predominant influence in the region (Howe 2005: 761-792). Russia continues to be an important player in the region. Thus, the geopolitical and strategic situation of East Asia is unique and, for instance, quite different from Europe.

The end of the Cold War has prompted a particularly lively debate over the meaning of security and the purposes of security studies as a field of enquiry. In East Asia too, discourses on security differ nowadays from traditional views of security with their emphasis on the prevention of anarchy and on the provision of national security through the use of military power. Contemporary approaches take a broader perspective, often incorporating economic, social, and environmental dimensions (Kim/Hyun 2000: 33-46; Tsunekawa/Oono/Ono/Akimoto 2004: 21-51).

In recent years human security has been included on the agenda of security studies. According to the United Nations' Human Development Report 1994² (UNDP 1994: 22-40), "human security" includes safety from chronic threats such as hunger, disease, and repression, as well as protection from sudden and harmful disruptions in the patterns of daily life. As such, human security represents a radically different approach to security from that presented by the traditional security paradigm (Tow/Trood 2004: 13).

Academic experts in Japan emphasize that this concept of human security has a significant impact on their theorizing and writing. Yet, taking a closer look, it becomes readily apparent that there exists a considerable gap between the academic conceptual debate and the security policy of the Japanese government. The latter is quite uninformed by the former and to a large extent is based on traditional concepts of security. The *National Defence Program Guideline FY 2005* of the Japanese government, for example, makes reference to China and North Korea as potential enemies. The same can be said about the enunciations of other countries in the region. In other words, outside the academic debates, security policy in East Asia continues to follow the patterns set in the 19th century and during the Cold War.

Against this background Mun Chong-in said: "We had hoped that the end of the Cold War would bring peace to this region. Instead the situation became worse. As a result, insecurity in this region has increased significantly."³ Certainly, East Asia faces a 'security dilemma'. Even the danger of another war cannot be excluded, as Tang Shiping observed: "As long as Taiwan question is not resolved peacefully, there is a real possibility that the United States and China could go to war."⁴ As a result Chong Uk-sik, an activist in the peace movement in Korea, asks himself, whether East Asia's security problem can only be solved by military means.⁵ In fact, in East Asia, in particular since the financial crisis of 1997-98, the forma-

1 East Asia in this chapter covers the Korean Peninsula, China, Taiwan, and Japan.

2 UNDP 1994; See at: <<http://hdr.undp.org/reports/global/1994/en/>>.

3 Mun Chong-in: "Tong-buga rul mununda" [Ask Northeast Asia], in: *Hankyoreh* [Korean daily newspaper], 17 May 2005: 8.

4 Shiping Tang: "The Rise of China as a Security Linchpin", in: *Asia Times*, 21 June 2003, see at: <http://www.cass.net.cn/chinese/s28_ytsnew/english/Articles/showcontent.asp?id=393>.

5 Chong Uk-sik: "Tong-buga anbo wa siminsahoe yokhwal" [Security in Northeast Asia and the Role of Civil Society], in: *Hankyoreh* [Korean daily newspaper], 15 June 2004: 18

tion of a multilateral security system is being discussed intensively.

This chapter reviews the East Asian post-Cold War discourses on peace and security focusing on the question, whether and to what extent traditional concepts of security have changed. It will be argued below that security discourses and policies in the region are still dominated by traditional concepts of security, even including the fabrication and projection of enemy concepts. Nevertheless, the debate has been extended to concepts of human security, multilateralism, and regional integration.

The chapter begins with a presentation of the traditional worldview prevalent in East Asia before modernization and its inherent security concept (66.2). Then the security situation and dilemmas that emerged with the end of the Cold War are presented (66.3). The next section (66.4) focuses on contemporary discourses on multilateral security frameworks in East Asia. Finally, the discourses on future security in the region are briefly touched upon.

66.2 Traditional Worldview in Northeast Asia

Until it collapsed under the impact of Western imperialism, China was the central pole in the East Asian international system. Therefore, one often speaks of *pax sinica*. Understood narrowly, *pax sinica* was based on the recognition and investiture of a king in each tributary state (Fairbank 1968; Nishijima 1983; Furuta 2003). However, according to Hamashita Takeshi the system is to be understood more broadly. It was “the external expression of hierarchical domestic relations of control, extending downward and outward from the imperial centre”, and in fact “an organic network of relations, between the centre and the periphery, which includes the provinces and dependencies of the empire, rulers of native tribes and districts, tributary states, and even trading partners. This tributary system in a broader sense constituted the arena in which the states and other entities of Southeast, Northeast, Central, and Northwest Asia operated in their relations with China” (Hamashita 1997: 114).

The basic idea of this tributary system is the worldview of *hua* (cultivated) and *yi* (barbarian).⁶

This worldview did not correspond to the distinction between centre and periphery or to an ethnic concept of *nation*, which excludes *others* as *yi*. Instead it is based on concepts of Confucian philosophy, that is on *lich'i* and *dechi* (to govern through morals and virtue).⁷ This involves the integration of others, i.e. of the surrounding world, into one's own world by means of morals and virtue.

This worldview of *hua-yi* is ‘self-centred’, not only for China itself, but also for other countries, which share it. As such the traditional world system in East Asia was not static, but dynamic and it shifted with the changing circumstances of *hua* and *yi*. It was quite possible that a people who were considered as *yi* by China, considered themselves not as *yi*, but as *hua* (Kim 2001; Choe 1997). This system was open for new developments, i.e. for the *other*. A member of the Korean *literati* wrote on this in the 18th century: “When the Law and the Institutions work properly, one has to accept even the barbarians as teachers” (Kang 1990: 246; translation EJL). This is in the vein of Confucius who says in Lunyu (chapter 9, 14), that he would prefer to go to the barbarians, if they are governed by more virtue. What Confucius wants to make clear is that *hua* and *yi* are not just a matter of power, but also one of culture, in this context of *li* und *dechi*.

Thus, the tributary system of the *pax sinica* regulated the power relations and the balance of power within the system through normative prescriptions of the Confucian view of good governance. As Sun Yat-sen believed, this system was based on mutual acceptance and recognition (Wang 2003: 189). When the normative and military power of *hua* was not accepted or recognized by the ones considered *yi*, war became a possibility. Yet, since the Tang Dynasty in the 8th century, interstate relations in East Asia were not dominated by military conflict. Unlike Europe the traditional world system in Asia was not based on continuing military conflict among states.

The East Asian countries were integrated into the tributary system by principles of hierarchic order. The investiture of their kings was a privilege of the Chinese emperor, yet these countries retained their sovereignty as political actors.⁸ Furthermore, the border between centre and periphery was not static. It could well happen that a peripheral state came to consider itself as the centre. That was the case of Japan and Korea in the 18th century.

6 *Hua* and *yi* are the Chinese readings of the corresponding characters. In Japan and Korea they are read as *ka* and *i*, and *hua* and *i* respectively.

7 *Toji* and *reiji* in Japanese, *tokch'i* and *yech'i* in Korean.

For such reasons Wang Hui believes that this tributary system of *pax sinica* was more complex than a simple centre-periphery relationship. It contained, for example, different forms, norms, and rights than in Europe (Wang 2003: 206–209). The international system in the West had, at least theoretically, the purpose of preserving peace through the mutual respect of the independence of states, whereby these goals were primarily achieved by reciprocal recognition of rules and norms among states. However, the emphasis of formal equality in reality could do little to reduce the inequality among states. Furthermore, “the very fact that 19th century European International Society was a hierarchical one in which states were differentiated in terms of their attainment of civilization suggests that there may have existed different modes of interaction towards uncivilized states” (Suzuki 2005: 146).

The tributary system of East Asia was built on the base of a normative-idealistic and realistic worldview at the same time, i.e. it contained Kantian and Hobbesian elements. Probably because of this, the political elite in China, Japan and Korea found it, under European pressure in the 19th century, so easy to comprehend the Social-Darwinist nature of European politics.⁹ For them the challenge was to become ‘civilized’, i.e. to become again *hua*. What it meant exactly to be ‘civilized’ gave rise to controversial discussions.¹⁰ In any case, the state was to be the principle actor. In view of the strong menace by Western states, the elites in East Asia openly pondered on the need of close cooperation among themselves. Yet, the quick

rise of Japan to the height of an imperialist power left little room for the acceptance of such ideas.

66.3 Revival of History in East Asia after 1989

The traditional tributary system finally collapsed with the defeat of China in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–95. East Asia came fully under the sway of imperial rivalries and did not find peace even at the end of World War II. By that time civil war in China was still continuing, while in Korea a new war broke out. The colonial period finally came to an end with the armistice agreement between North Korea and the United States. Its place was taken by the dividing line of the Cold War which ran right through East and South East Asia. A new world system was established. East Asia, as far as it belonged to the Western Alliance, was incorporated into the global policies of US governments and assimilated, more willingly than not, a large dose of American culture and ideology.

With the end of the Cold War the USSR disappeared and Germany was reunited. In East Asia, however, the Cold War structure basically is still in place. Chinese Communism has not been overthrown and Korea remains divided. Nevertheless, under the impact of rapid economic growth and globalization, East Asian societies are undergoing comprehensive transformation processes. New middle classes are on the rise and have become politically increasingly more active. Democratization has come a long way since the mid 1980’s. In South Korea, the democratic movement brought long years of military rule to an end in 1987. In Taiwan too, progress has been remarkable. The confidence arising from democratization caused citizens in these countries to aspire for more independence from American influence. Remarkably, at a time when the socialist bloc lost much of its power and appeal, both South Korea and Taiwan began making efforts to escape from the dominant US influence in economic, cultural, and diplomatic matters.

The heightened self-confidence of the people possibly is one of the most significant aspects of the post-Cold War period in East Asia. It found expression in the debate on ‘Asian values’.¹¹ The political situation in East Asia has changed considerably. China develops quickly into a new world power. Japan as the second most important economy is trying to gain more weight in international politics, militarily too. The South Korean government has announced that it

8 The first Ming emperor said in 1392, when the Chosun Dynasty replaced the Koryo Dynasty, that it was no concern for China what happened in Korea, because Korea was a sovereign state. The Chinese government confirmed this in 1866 and 1871 toward France and the USA: Even though Korea (Chosun) was a tributary state, it also was a sovereign state (Chong 2005: 96).

9 The secretary of the famous Iwakura mission which toured the United States and Europe between 1871 and 1873, wrote: “The flesh of the weak is eaten by the strong. Ever since the Europeans began sailing to faraway lands, the weaker states of the tropics have been devoured by them” (Suzuki 2005: 149).

10 On the one hand, ‘civilized’ was considered to be the same as ‘westernized’, on the other hand, for many Confucian intellectuals there was just one civilization, the Confucian civilization. The struggle between these positions played an important political role in the process of modernization of the East Asian countries. See: Kang 1990.

Figure 66.1: Map of East Asia. **Source:** Perry-Castañeda Library Map Collection, The University of Texas at Austin, at: <<http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/asia.html>>. The map was produced by the US Central Intelligence Agency and is in the public domain and does not require a copyright permission.



ought to play a more relevant role in East Asia. No doubt, questions of hegemony lurk in the background of all this.

In the early 21st century the overall political situation in East Asia is characterized more by competition and even conflict than by cooperation. In particular in the case of China and Japan historical reminiscences are easily evoked. Various nineteenth century-style border conflicts persist today, for example over the Korean peninsula, Taiwan, and the Kurile Islands. Furthermore, with respect to security matters, the frame of mind of the political elites of these countries is set in rather traditional terms: States, military power, and the *others* as potential enemies. To substantiate this, official documents and statements by members of the political elites will be reviewed.

The pointed rhetoric of Ishihara Shintaro, the popular mayor of Tokyo, sounds quite extreme. Ishihara said in November 2005 in Washington: “Wars are a war of attrition of lives. China holds no value at all

for human life and can start a war without any concerns. ... We are now in a state of tension far more dangerous than during the Cold War period when the United States and the former Soviet Union were at odds.”¹² The same is what Taniguchi wrote recently: “The United States and Japan have started preparing themselves to prevent the (Taiwan; EJL) Strait from becoming the site of an armed conflict and above all to prevent a situation from developing in which Japan and Korea would have to seek maritime protection from China. For this reason, Japan has begun to jointly manage the United States’ continuing hegemonic presence in the region. It is also for this reason that Japan-China relations have been and will continue to be in the state of a cold peace” (Taniguchi 2005: 456–457).

Yet, even the latest pronouncements of the Japanese government on security and defence are in a similar vein and depart from the principle that China is a latent danger. The *National Defense Program Guideline for FY 2005 and after* (10 December 2004), stated: “China, which has a strong influence on the security in this region, has been modernizing its nuclear and missile capabilities as well as naval and air

11 With Asia’s economy still booming in the mid-1990’s, ‘Asian values’ were eased by some politicians (Lee Kuan Yew, Mahatir, Ishihara, Mahbubani etc.) and contrasted with ‘Western values’. Soon a controversial debate within Asia ensued (for example Kim Dae Jung in 1994).

12 “Ishihara: Life respecting US no match in war against China”, in: *Asahi*, 5–6 November 2005: 24.

forces, and expanding its area of operation at sea. We have to remain attentive to its future course" (Japanese Defense Agency 2004).

This sort of characterization of China as a potential enemy may come as a surprise, particularly because the Japanese political establishment at the beginning of the 1990's parted from the assumption that the combination of Japan's economic leadership and multilateral institutions could sustain peace in the region. But the worries about the rise of the economic and military power of China and about North Korea's missile launch over Japan in 1998 have played an important role in shifting Japanese perceptions and priorities. There is a noticeable trend toward greater public acceptance of the Japanese Self Defense Forces (SDF) and of the alliance with the United States.¹³ Therefore, the *National Defense Program Guideline for FY 2005 and after* is based on this perception of a changed international security environment. It extends the 'Basic Defense Force Concept' of earlier post-war defence programmes by identifying international peacekeeping activities and counterterrorism as primary components of Japan's overall national defence strategy. Stepwise Japan would try to become a 'normal state' (Findings 2005).

These efforts of the Japanese government to become a 'normal state' are seen critically in neighbouring countries, as they perceive Japan as 'rightist-leaning' and as 'military expansionist'.¹⁴ In particular the Chinese government shows annoyance over this new positioning of Japan, which, in contrast emphasizes that the rise of China should not be seen as a threat for the region: "China's rise has generated a lot of attention, but the predication that China's rise will cause havoc in regional security has been an exaggeration of fear. While China's rise does pose significant economic challenges (and opportunities) for regional states, it has yet to cause any significant deterioration of the regional security environment."¹⁵

Even though the Chinese government emphasizes the peaceful rise of China, it says in its *White Book for China's National Defence 2000* explicitly that it does not exclude war in order to realize its aim, in particular with respect to Taiwan:

China's efforts in defence modernization are purely for self-defence. ... However, in view of the fact that hegemonism and power politics still exist and are further developing, and in particular, the basis for the country's peaceful reunification is seriously imperilled, China will have to enhance its capability to defend its sovereignty and security by military means.¹⁶

The readiness of the Chinese leadership to use military force was demonstrated recently when the *Anti-Secession Law* was enacted by the Tenth National People's Congress on 14 March 2005 in Beijing. Article 8 of this law states:

In the event that the 'Taiwan independence' secessionist forces should act under any name or by any means to cause the fact of Taiwan's secession from China, or that major incidents entailing Taiwan's secession from China should occur, or that possibilities for a peaceful reunification should be completely exhausted, the state shall employ non-peaceful means and other necessary measures to protect China's sovereignty and territorial integrity.¹⁷

Unsurprisingly, this law is seen in Taiwan as a direct menace of its security. Therefore it is of little avail that the real motive behind this law apparently was to warn President Chen Shui-bian not to declare officially the independence of Taiwan.

Prime Minister Wen Jiabao clearly stated another purpose of this law at a press conference. It ought to be seen as a reaction to "outside interference by a recent joint security declaration by the United States and Japan that listed a peaceful Taiwan Strait as a common objective." His remark "we don't want to see foreign interference, but we do not fear foreign interference" was greeted with roaring applause by the journalists, most of them Chinese.¹⁸ For many Chinese, it is a gratifying experience to hear such statements, as past humiliations suffered by Western powers and Japan are vividly remembered. At the same time their self-confidence has increased and with it

13 Whether China and North Korea actually pose a greater threat than the USSR did is another question. Chinese military capabilities still lag far behind the USSR's in 1989 (Pekkanen/ Krauss 2005: 430).

14 Yun, Duk-Min, 2005: "Japan's Dual-Approach Policy toward North Korea: Past, Present, and Future": SSRIC Web Forum, at: <<http://northkorea.ssrc.org/Yun/pf/>>.

15 Shiping Tang: "The Rise of China as a Security Linchpin", in: *Asia Times*, 21 June 2003, at: <http://www.cass.net.cn/chinese/s28_ytsnew/english/Articles/showcontent.asp?id=393>. A similar argument can be found in: Zheng 2005: 18-25.

16 See: "China's National Defense 2000", at: <<http://china.org.cn/e-white/2000/index>>.

17 The Anti-Secession Law adopted at the Third Session of the Tenth National People's Congress on 14 March 2005, in Beijing, at: <<http://www.china.org.cn/english/2005jlh/122724.htm>>.

18 Jim Yardley: "China Denies 'Taiwan' Law on Secession Is a 'War Bill'", *New York Times*, 14 March 2005.

the perceived right to occupy a hegemonic position. Tang Shiping assertively states: “regional states have gradually come to accept China’s rise as a reality that they have to live with” (Tang 2003).

Obviously, the relationship between China and Japan is of paramount importance for the security of the area. Yet, China and Japan’s fears of each other’s potential military power apparently have become an element of central importance in their relationship. Wang Xiaoshu, a vice president of the Shanghai Institute for International Studies, puts the blame on Japan. It has “accelerated military modernization, which de facto led to a regional arms race” (Wang 2004: 26). In fact, in terms of military expenditure Japan and China occupied in 2004 fourth and fifth place respectively in the world. South Korea was tenth.¹⁹ Taiwan spends annually more than 2 per cent of its GDP on military expenditure.²⁰ In North Korea the size of the defence budget is not known, but it must be extremely high. East Asia nowadays is the most heavily armed region in the world.

Even though the arms race is less direct and severe than during the Cold War, opinion polls in East Asia show that large segments of the public see the ongoing build-up of arms as a threat to their own security. Instead of making efforts to dispel mutual resentments, the political establishments often foster mental constructions of the others as enemies (Roy 2005: 197). Hence uncertainty and distrust are even on the increase. What happens is that these countries push themselves into a security dilemma unless active confidence building measures and security cooperation are enforced (Hwang 2003: 104; Wang 2004: 26).

The political elites in East Asia are quite familiar with these problems, not in the least because of numerous publications dealing with them. Especially after the Asian financial and economic crises in the late 1990’s the awareness of an objective need for new types of security mechanisms has grown. These crises were a key turning point in the discourses on multilateralism and regional cooperation.

one positive result of the unanticipated aftershocks of the late 1990’s and early 2000’s throughout Asia has been a transformation in definitions of, and debates

about, security around the region towards a more comprehensive notion of human security (Shaw 2004: 40).

Hence, we can observe an interesting phenomenon in East Asia. On the one hand, the other countries are perceived as a threat to one’s own security, while on the other, the de-escalating potentials of multilateral cooperation are widely discussed. The latter involve concepts of security of much broader scope and encompass issues such as national development, economic interdependency, environmental protection, the promotion of democracy and human rights. Yet these broader security concepts have their own problems and limitations.

66.4 Discourses on Multilateral Security Frameworks

During the 1990’s multilateralism in East Asia improved slowly, but significantly. At the regional level, several multilateral mechanisms have become institutionalized (table 66.1). There is a clear trend towards multilateral international cooperation which finds expression in organizations like APEC, ASEAN 10 plus 3, the Council for Security Cooperation in Asia-Pacific (CSCAP), the Northeast Asia Security Cooperation Dialogue (NEACD), the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO). In the area of Asian-Pacific security alone, in recent years more than 200 multilateral activities have taken place each year (Wang 2004: 26). An optimistic observer comments: “East Asia is taking smaller, more concrete steps towards regional political, security and economic ties” (Kurlantzick 2001: 19–28). There is a wide consensus among academic observers of international politics in East Asia that the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) played an important role in the peaceful dissolution of the Cold War. Therefore, they favour the creation of multilateral organizations in order to overcome the manifold security problems in the region (Kim 2004: 271–296; Zhang: 2001, 2002, 2004).

The role of the US is not ignored. Particularly in Japanese discourses the relationship with the US occupies such a prominent position that one can read often that Japan ought to overcome its position as an American satellite and develop its own concepts for an Asian Pacific era (Terashima 2003: 127–140; Hirose 2000; Kan 2003; Kan/Ishida 2005; Matsui 2000). Yet, the Japanese *Defence Program Guideline FY 2005* clearly states that the “close cooperative relationship between Japan and the United States, based on the Japan-US Security Arrangements, continues to play a

19 See SIPRI: “The 15 major spenders in 2004”, at: http://www.sipri.org/contents/milap/milex/mex_major_spenders.pdf.

20 See SIPRI: “The SIPRI Military Expenditure Database”, at: http://first.sipri.org/non_first/result_milex.php?send.

Table 66.1: Membership of Countries in East Asia in multilateral organizations and networks on security issues. **Sources:** <http://www.apec.org/apec/member_economies.html>; <<http://www.asean3.net/index.jsp>>; <<http://www.cscap.org/member.htm>>; <<http://www.wiredforpeace.org/>>; and <<http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/eng/topics/sco/t57970.htm>>.

Country	global	economic						
	UN	OECD	G-8	APEC	ASEAN +3	CSCAP	NEACD	SCO
China	(x)			x	x	x	x	x
Japan	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
Republic of Korea	x	x		x	x	x	x	
North Korea	x					x	x	
Taiwan	x			x				
Russia	(x)		x	x		x	x	x
USA	(x)	x	x	x		x	x	

Legend: x = member; (x) = permanent member of the Security Council of the UN.

key role for the security of Japan as well as peace and stability in the Asia-Pacific region” (Japanese Defense Agency 2004). While the Japanese government clearly has opted to collaborate with the US in the building of a strengthened alliance, the Chinese and South Korean governments show a certain fervour for building a multilateral security framework in East Asia.

The Chinese government announced a *New Security Concept*, whereas South Korea proclaimed that it wants to play the role of a ‘balancer’ in Northeast Asia and be less dependent on Washington. The essence of China’s *New Security Concept*, which was first presented to the ASEAN Regional Forum meeting in 1996 and since then revised several times, is the pursuit of “common security through mutual benefit and cooperation” (Shanghai Institute for International Studies 2005; Yan 1999). The related *Position Paper on the New Security Concept* contains the essential elements of wider security concepts as they are discussed elsewhere (Takagi 2003: 85):

Under the new historical conditions, the meaning of the security concept has evolved to be multifold with its contents extending from military and political to economic, science and technology, environment, culture and many other areas. The means to seek security are being diversified. Strengthening dialogue and cooperation is regarded as the fundamental approach to common security. The September 11 incident has glaringly demonstrated that security threats in today’s world tend to be multi-faceted and global in scope. Countries share greater common security interests and are more interdependent on one another for security.²¹

The core of this New Security Concept consists of mutual trust, mutual benefits, equality and coordination. It is, in the view of the Chinese government, the

theoretical framework for China’s participation in regional multilateral processes like ARF, SCO, ASEAN plus 3, and, recently, the Six-Party Talks on North Korean nuclear issues.

Denny Roy, an American expert on Asia-Pacific security issues, is critical of all this saying that this concept first undermines “what the Chinese would term US ‘containment’, but Americans might understand as US leadership” and second promotes Chinese prestige. In fact, he says “the NSC is a blueprint for peaceful power transition in Asia from US dominance to establishment of a purportedly benevolent Chinese sphere of influence” (Roy 2003: 70–71).

Tagaki Seiichiro, a Japanese expert on Chinese foreign relations and security issues in the Asia-Pacific region, on the other hand, claims that China engages itself only where it can play a leading role (Takagi 2003: 88). Yi Yong-gil, a South Korean security expert, notes that the number of countries that agree with the Chinese concept of multilateral cooperation is increasing. They see in the development of China potentials for themselves (Yi 2004: 140). The assessments of these experts differ because they take the position of their respective governments. The position of the Chinese and the Korean governments ought to be quite close in security matters.

The keen interest of the South Korean government in multilateral cooperation is due to the undiminished urgency of the Korea question.²² South Korea’s strategic posture was dominated for more than

21 See: “China’s Position Paper on the New Security Concept”: at: <<http://www.china-un.org/eng/xw/t27742.htm>>.

half a century by deterring the outbreak of war with North Korea. But, since the end of the Cold War, the prevailing perception of threat vis-à-vis the North has undergone fundamental change – especially after the 2000 summit in Pyongyang. Possibly the most important aspect of the summit was a shift in the South Korean perception of the North. Post-summit assessments have focused almost exclusively on the inter-Korean dynamics, South Korea's mid-long-term policy toward Pyongyang, and prospects for wide-ranging exchange and cooperation (Lee 2005: 14). As a result most studies on security issues deal with the subject of reunification. They usually point out that a multilateral security framework is necessary for a peaceful solution of the Korea question in order to soften resistance in the neighbouring countries against reunification – which unavoidably will change the security environment in North East Asia considerably (Kim 2004: 271–296).

Already in 1993 the South Korean government had emphasized the necessity of a multilateral security regime like a mini-CSCE or OSCE and proposed in 1994 the *Northeast Asia Security Dialogue*. With respect to regional cooperation the policy of the government of South Korea has become more concrete and more comprehensive since 2000. It proclaims a new East Asian era. The economic cooperation was to be intensified and Korea to play a central role as a hub. As this presupposes peace and stability, the security dialogue and political cooperation were also strengthened. Economic and security cooperation would reinforce each other. An East Asian Union could be formed similar to the EU (Kim/Yi/Choe 2005; Kim 2004: 272–273).

This position of the South Korean government is disputed not only by the US, but also internally, in particular by conservative circles, which hold that a strong adherence to the US is essential for the survival of South Korea. South Korea's economic strength by far was not big enough to play a leading role in the region. A country could only play the role of a 'balancer', if it can impose its will on others by its own supremacy (Song 2005: 78).

Others have doubted the true intentions and commitments of the Chinese and Korean governments to multilateral cooperation. Do they in reality aim at

hegemonic positions in the region? While the critics support realist positions, the governments argue in the idealist tradition of international relations theory. Most experts, however, remain sceptical whether a multilateral security framework in East Asia can be realized.

Their scepticism is usually based on the lingering memories of history before 1945, on territorial problems, on the visit of the Japanese prime minister to the Yasukuni Shrine, and on the Japanese school textbook dispute. In the final analysis, these problems and their interpretation and evaluation emanate from the prevailing nationalisms, which continue to play an important and ever increasing role in East Asia (Wang 2003: 220). The process of nation-building in East Asia is still continuing and has a strong impact on international relations. Constructions of nations, "imagined communities" (Anderson 1991), are always accompanied by fabrications of otherness. Remi Brague (1991) called such national fabrications "excentric identities". In East Asia national fabrications are built in opposition to each other. Thus, East Asia is "the high church of realpolitik in the post-Cold War world" (Tow/Trood 2004: 26). That leaves little room for the formation of a community like the EU.

An important reason for the formation of a multilateral security framework, let alone a community, is rooted in the lack of sufficient awareness in East Asia of the mutual dependencies in security issues and beyond. Tragic occurrences like the Nanjing massacre, Hiroshima and Nagasaki and the Korean War, unlike in the formerly warring states of Europe, apparently have not induced these countries to transcend the traditional worldview of states as sovereign political actors and to invest their energies into more security through integration and transfer of sovereignty. What drives collective memories in these countries is not the communality of suffering through wars, but the ever renewed remembrances of humiliations suffered.²³ This, obviously, cannot provide a solid basis for cooperation.

66.5 Future Perspective

East Asia is an interesting, but simultaneously frustrating case to human security advocates. Those countries

22 For further Korean discussions see the publications of IFANS (Institute of Foreign Affairs and National Security), at: <http://www.ifans.go.kr/ik_a003/ik_b011/ik_c006/iko3_02_sub01.jsp> and of the Korean Institute for Defence Analysis, at: <<http://www.kida.re.kr/>>.

23 In Japan too the memories of the sufferings of war are deeply engrained in public consciousness – to the point that Japan sees itself more as a victim than as an offender. See: Buruma 1994; Kim 2001; Kittel 2004).

are the world's major success stories for development and modernization over the past three decades, but the regional security situation hardly changed. Even though broader academic and political discourses on human security continue in these countries, and their governments have proclaimed new security concepts, security issues are basically dominated by traditional concepts, including the fabrication of enemy concepts. In this sense, East Asia may be an interesting testing ground for the relevance of traditional and human security approaches to regional security politics.

In South Korea one can observe a significant change in security concepts. 'Sunshine Policy' replaced the policy of deterrence, which had been pursued for several decades. While the military expenditure in East Asian countries has increased since 1989 (table 66.2), the share of military expenditure as a percentage of GDP has been falling for South Korea and Taiwan, while it has been stable for Japan, and increasing for China (table 66.3).

Table 66.2: Military Expenditure of East Asian Countries (1989-2004) in constant US\$ equivalents for 2004. **Source:** SIPRI 1990-2005; at: <http://first.sipri.org/non_first/result_milex.php?send>. The data have been compiled by EJL and are published with permission of © SIPRI.

Country	Military expenditure in constant US\$ of 2004 based on SIPRI			
	1989	1994	1999	2004
China	11463	13665	20200	35400
Japan	36574	40053	41439	42442
Republic of Korea	9955	11884	12672	14487
North Korea	27.1	32.1	19.5	27.9
Taiwan	7746	9514	7565	7211
Russia	137145	23172	12300	19400
USA	450972	357395	310326	455304

Still, nationalism in Korea is on the rise. In China, the defence budget increases year by year (table 66.2), while Beijing seeks control of natural resources in the region and elsewhere. This is accompanied by tides of nationalism, which also serve as a useful instrument to emphasize unity and to gloss over severe problems like unemployment, inequality and pollution. The Japanese armed forces are among the most modern and sophisticated in the world – and nationalism, even to the point of xenophobia, appears to be getting stronger. They are tainted with long-standing territo-

Table 66.3: Military Expenditure of East Asian Countries (1989-2004) as percentage of GDP. **Source:** SIPRI 1990-2005; at: <http://first.sipri.org/non_first/result_milex.php?send>. The data have been compiled by EJL and are published with permission of © SIPRI.

Country	Military expenditure as percentage of GDP based on SIPRI			
	1989	1994	1999	2003
China	2.7	1.9	2.0	2.3
Japan	0.9	1.0	1.0	1.0
Republic of Korea	4.1	3.1	2.5	2.5
North Korea				
Taiwan	5.1	4.6	2.8	2.5
Russia	14.2	5.9	3.5	4.3
USA	5.5	4.1	3	3.8

Against this background, it is hard to see how realist concepts of security could be overcome. They may even become stronger. Obviously, it would be salutary to deal with issues like conflicts over territories and resources, energy, pollution, infectious diseases, poverty, human rights, etc. in a multilateral framework. This could also increase mutual trust. Yet, it is precisely the lack of mutual trust that makes it so difficult to proceed in a multilateral manner.

How could this situation of lack of trust, competing national interests and nationalisms be ameliorated? One possibility appears to be popular integration from below: Tourism among the countries in East Asia is increasing, pop culture jumps borders easily and on a large scale, trans-Asian fan clubs have become normal, translation machines are used for trans-border communication in the internet, and, of course, consumption patterns become ever more similar.

The other venue appears to be the emergence of trans-Asian intellectual discourses. East Asian intellectuals like Chen Kuan-Hsing, Kang Sang Jung, Paek Yong-s, Sakamoto Yoshikazu, Wada Haruki, and Wang Hui think in terms of a common consciousness of an East Asian identity. This identity, according to Sakamoto (2005: 270–312), has to part from the recognition of the diversity of East Asian cultures and traditions and from the idea of human dignity and equal rights. Because all are equal, they are respected. Here lies the base of a civil society that transcends the borders of states and nations. This, of course, could go hand in hand with popular integration.

It is uncertain whether the 21st century will become an age of the citizen, in contrast to the nation states of the 19th and the 20th century, as Sakamoto hopes. Yet, it is quite clear that the activities of local and national, regional and global NGOs along with more progressive think tanks and media are increasing rapidly in East Asia. Through them longer-term, non-traditional issues have been put on the political and security agenda. These include cultural, economic, ecological, personal and social issues, as well as natural and technological threats to human development and security. In view of the rebound of more exclusive and antagonistic interstate relations it will be important for the future of East Asia, to what extent citizens and civil society can have an impact on the behaviour of their governments.

67 China and the New International Security Agenda

Alan Hunter and Liu Cheng

Revolution: 1966

As the Chinese people master Mao Tse-tung's thought, China will be prosperous and ever-victorious. Once the world's people master Mao Tse-tung's thought, which is living Marxism-Leninism, they are sure to win their emancipation, bury imperialism, modern revisionism, and all reactionaries lock, stock and barrel, and realize communism throughout the world step by step.¹

Peaceful Rising: 2004

President Hu Jintao said that though China has achieved impressive results in its development, there are still many acute problems, such as overpopulation, weak economic foundation, underdeveloped productivity, highly uneven development, and a fairly sharp contradiction between the country's ecological environment and natural resources on the one hand and its economic and social development on the other. Even with China getting stronger, Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao said, China's rise "will not stand in the way of any other country, nor pose a threat to any other country, nor be at the cost of any other country."²

67.1 Introduction

In 1989, two scholars from the People's Republic of China (PRC) described China as: "a regional power with global strategic significance and political influence" (Hao/Huan 1989: xxix). A contention in this article is that the PRC should now be understood as a global power in its own right, at least in economic terms, marking an extremely significant power-shift. However, this statement does not mean that China is a military threat to the U.S.; on the contrary, it is still very far behind the U.S. in military expenditure, tech-

nology, and power-projection. Our second argument is that Chinese leaders have publicly committed to making this power-transition a peaceful one. Such commitments may be a smokescreen for an underlying orientation towards violent conflict, but we argue that the PRC leadership would much prefer to maintain regional and global peace. We also suggest that there are significant challenges to China's security aims of transiting to a global power status while preserving peace. First, relations between the PRC, Taiwan, and Japan remain tense in the early years of the millennium, a triangular relationship that is a major flashpoint and one that could embroil the U.S. Second, China's economic expansion has led to environmental damage at home and competition for resources internationally. All the above issues should be understood within the context of Beijing's non-negotiable commitment to a 'One China' policy, discussed below.

Chinese leaders categorically reject suggestions that China's new power is a threat. The transformation of outlook is clear from the second of the quotes that open this chapter, when President Hu and Premier Wen reconfirmed China's peaceful intentions at the Boao Asian Forum in 2004. Western academic and popular assessments of China's new place in the world are ambiguous. Some writers (Terrill 2003) take a negative view of the Chinese regime, considering it unreliable, fragile, tyrannical and ambitious; others (Shenkar 2004) are much more favourable, recognizing that the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) government has presided over an unparalleled improvement in welfare. But neither faction denies its critical importance, since the role of China cannot be overestimated. It has the world's largest population and largest army, thousands of kilometres of land borders, and extensive offshore territorial rights. Its economic power influences every region in the world, including South America, the former U.S. 'backyard'.³

The Chinese security concepts are analysed from several perspectives: the traditional historical/cultural

1 Editorial of: *Jiefangjun Bao* [Liberation Army Daily], 7 June 1966, translated in: *The Great Socialist Cultural Revolution in China*, vol. 3 (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press): 11.

2 See at: <<http://www.china.org.cn/english/features/93939.htm>> 19 April 2006: 1-2.

heritage of imperial China, its self-perception as Central Kingdom of the world; the chaos of the early twentieth century; a massively bloody civil war; the hard-line communist period from 1949 to 1978; the period of stability and economic growth from 1978 to the present. New phenomena are China's global economic strength, business interests, and the Chinese Diaspora; the growth of militant anti-Japanese feeling, partly expressed in a unique form of 'e-nationalism' on internet forums; and the dangers of environmental meltdown. Nevertheless, Chinese governments since 1949, despite major shifts in internal politics, have had three key objectives in their security agenda: continuity of CCP rule; territorial integrity; and economic development. They have achieved all three, combining internal security with apparently rather skilful international politics. The authors believe these priorities will remain, and they require a peaceful international environment.

The methodology of this paper is to review fundamental Chinese security concepts (67.2) and the historical tradition that informs Chinese security policy (67.3). Hunt (1984: 10) argues that various security legacies of the past "hold up many models of statecraft, from the lofty imperial style to shrewd Machiavellian cunning. They teach the use of brute force, of trade and cultural exchange, of secret diplomacy and alliances of compromise and even collaboration with conquerors." The next two sections trace events and concepts through the periods of imperialism (67.4) and Maoism (67.5); followed by a detailed analysis of the transformations under Deng Xiaoping (67.6) and of the current leadership (67.7). Finally, major security issues in 2005–2006 are reviewed, including an important new emphasis on resources and environment (67.8), and the paper ends with conclusions and an outlook (67.9).

67.2 Chinese Concepts of Security

67.2.1 Stratagems and Integrated Strategy

Sunzi's *Art of War*, possibly written in the fourth century BCE, has inspired generations of Chinese strate-

gists. Sunzi argues that military action should be only one element of an integrated approach to security. More important should be diplomatic alliances; an emphasis on stratagems including deceiving putative enemies and undermining their home fronts; secret logistical preparations; winning over enemy civilians, soldiers, and leaders; avoiding defeats and casualties; maximizing victories; and predicting the aftermath of war before engagement. Lai (2004) observes that Sunzi's phrases have passed into daily language, for example *bing yi zha li* (war is based on deception); *yi ruo ke-gang* (use gentle means to overcome the hard and strong); *bi-shi ji-xu* (avoid the enemy's strengths and strike at his weak point). After decades of guerrilla warfare the CCP top leadership were certainly familiar with all such ruses. Lai contrasts this approach with Western emphasis on overwhelming confrontational force and technological superiority.

67.2.2 World Revolution and United Front

CCP leaders were also profoundly influenced by Soviet Marxism. The CCP itself was originally founded, funded, and directed by Comintern agents reporting directly to Soviet leaders; many Chinese communists were educated in the Soviet Union, which was the major supplier of military hardware until the 1960's; and domestic and international politics were conceptualized in Marxist terms even, or especially, when the Maoist regime broke off relations with the Soviet Union in the early 1960's. Two consequences were the promulgation of world revolution, and thus support for international revolutionary movements; and united front policies. For decades after 1917, the Soviet Union and its client states were desperately hoping for communist revolutions, both in West Europe and in the developing world. Chinese support to Ho Chi Minh, among others, was partly the promotion of China's national interest, but partly revolutionary strategy.

However, 'revolution' had a counterbalance, namely the concept of the united front, developed in the early years of Soviet Marxism. According to this strategy, communists should at times forge alliances with non-communists in the interests of fighting a common enemy (for example fascism), deferring confrontation within the 'progressive' camp until an unspecified later date. The united front approach was an aspect of Deng Xiaoping's reforms, when the CCP leadership secured a national consensus to promote economic development. The theory went through various incarnations, including Mao's efforts to unite the

3 For economic data on China, see at: <<http://www.economist.com/countries/China/>>; Saul Landau: "Chinese Influence on the Rise in Latin America", in: *Foreign Policy in Focus*, a joint project of the International Relations Center (IRC, at: <www.irc-online.org>) and the Institute for Policy Studies, Washington, DC; see at: <<http://www.fpif.org/fpiftxt/842>>.

Figure 67.1: Map of China, **Source:** http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/middle_east_and_asia/china_pol01.jpg. © University of Texas, Library; the map is in public domain; for copyright details see at: <http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps>>



developing world against domination by the two superpowers, which in the 1970's went under the rubric of the 'Three Worlds': the CCP conceptualized that the Soviet Union and the U.S. were a 'first world' of imperialist aggressors; West European and other affluent countries were a 'second world' sitting on the fence; and developing countries were a 'third world' that would oppose imperialism.

67.2.3 Peaceful Coexistence

In 1953, Premier Zhou Enlai formulated what became known as 'five principles of peaceful coexistence', which China still upholds. The principles are: respect

for territorial integrity and sovereignty; non-aggression; non-interference in internal affairs; equality and mutual benefit; and peaceful coexistence. These principles were agreed between China and India in 1954, and subsequently promoted by China in many Asian countries. Yahuda (1996: 224) observes that their interpretation changed in different contexts: for example they were basically disregarded during China's revolutionary phases, but revived in the 1990's. One aspect relevant to debates on humanitarian intervention and conditionality of aid is that the PRC government generally opposes interventions even for humanitarian purposes, and also regards issues such as corruption as 'internal' and the business of national

governments rather than targets for international scrutiny.

67.2.4 One China

'One China' is perhaps the most fundamental Chinese security concept at present, and likely to remain so. Regions in or close to the nation-state now known as the PRC have experienced various forms of local government, sometimes disputed: for example Inner Mongolia, Tibet, Xinjiang (Chinese Turkestan), Manchuria and Taiwan (occupied by the Japanese), Hong Kong and Macao (British and Portuguese colonies) etc. The 'One China' policy maintains that *all* the above territories, in their entirety, are integral parts of an indivisible nation state. Foreign intervention, support for independence movements, arguments for separate mini-states, will not under any circumstances be tolerated. Once this point is conceded, the Beijing government may be willing to show flexibility in resolving issues, as shown by the successful retrocession of Macao and Hong Kong under the 'one country two systems' slogan. The 'One China' principle was in effect recognized by the U.S. during Nixon's visit in the Shanghai Communiqué of 1972: "the United States acknowledges that Chinese on either side of the Taiwan Strait maintain there is but one China and that Taiwan is a part of China. The United States does not challenge that position."⁴

67.3 Traditional Security Perceptions

A five-phase historical model helps to conceptualize China's role in international relations (table 67.1).

Two further points should be emphasized from early China. One is the philosophical heritage of Taoism and Confucianism, both of which emphasize harmony and pro-peace thinking although from different starting points and with sectarian differences. Taoists propose that nature is pervaded by an essence, Tao, that unites heaven, earth, and humans. The cosmos is a system of dynamic equilibrium, in which humans are an integral part of nature. Confucians proposed that ethics is the primary tool for management of public affairs: rulers gain legitimacy through exercising moral standards in public and private. Both Confucianism and Taoism see man as one aspect of the cosmos, not

its master, and thus they hold that even powerful humans should behave with benevolence and respect to nature. These views are deeply rooted in Chinese culture.

Conversely, a tradition of monistic political control existed from a long series of wars fought in the central Yellow River region from 2000 BCE onwards. When China was eventually unified under Qin Shihuang (221 BCE), he insisted that there would be one centre of political control despite any temporary shifts in clan or local movements. For two thousand years or more we can see a tension between an ethics-based, civilian and rather inclusive approach to governance; and a top-down, authoritarian military system. Ter Haar (2000) offers a sinological perspective, demonstrating tensions between 'peaceful' and 'violent' cultures within Chinese elites. Seminal texts like Fairbank (1992) and Gernet (1982) explain traditional Chinese concepts of the sino-centric cosmos. They can be summarized in simplistic fashion:

- China is the Central Kingdom of the known world, the locus and guardian of an immensely valuable culture.
- Power is controlled internally at elite level by the dynastic Imperial Court and a highly centralized civil service.
- Power is controlled locally by complex negotiations between imperial officials, provincial governors, local landlords, wealthy merchants, and other people with access to resources.
- Religious organizations have no political influence, and almost all legal matters are settled by custom, often within clan associations.
- Radical power transformations usually arise from one of two circumstances: invasion from across the northern borders (e.g. the Mongol and Manchu invasions); or by regional peasant uprisings that assume national dimensions.
- History moves in a cycle, alternating periods of dynastic growth and decay, followed by overthrow and renewal under a new emperor.
- Limited territorial expansion undertaken but not consolidated. Sea expansion never a major priority, although voyages made to Japan, Africa, and the Americas.

67.4 The Century of Humiliation

The period from the 1840's to 1949 was a national catastrophe, with symbolic and actual disasters of all kinds (Spence 1992). In the 18th century, China was

4 See: "Shanghai communiqué", 27 February 1972, at: <<http://www.cnn.com/SPECIALS/cold.war/episodes/15/documents/us.china/>>: 1-4.

Table 67.1: China's international relations

Reference	Typical period	Status in region	Typical armed conflicts
Traditional	<i>Han Dynasty</i> (200 BCE to 200 CE); early <i>Qing Dynasty</i> (1650–1750)	Leader	Attacks by northern 'barbarians'
Chaotic	Late <i>Song Dynasty</i> (1200–1280); Late <i>Qing Dynasty</i> (1911) 1840's–1949	Victim	Mongol invasions Peasant uprisings Opium wars; civil war; Japanese invasion
Maoist	1949–1978	Disputed	USA resisted in Korean and Cold War; Russian power challenged post-1960
Constructive	1978–2000	Ascendant	Few significant conflicts; prolonged but low-intensity rivalry with USA.
Complex.	2000-	Leader	None so far; growing tension with Japan

one of the most powerful countries in the world; by the end of the 19th, a few thousand European troops could invade Beijing and rampage at will; forty years later it suffered Japanese occupation. Internal chaos and foreign pressures lay behind the collapse. Peasant movements destabilized the Qing Empire. Other internal traumas followed: the overthrow of the Qing regime in 1911, fighting between warlord armies through the 1920's, and decades of conflict between nationalists and communists. The numbers of casualties from civil conflict must run into tens of millions.

The first major foreign impact came from Great Britain which defeated the Qing military in the Opium Wars (1842 and 1860) when China was obliged to cede territory, resources, and legal rights to foreign powers. Colonial powers rushed to China, grabbing land, property, the right to impose taxes and deploy troops, and other concessions. Even these losses paled into insignificance compared to the Japanese occupation. Japan had already seized the island province of Taiwan in 1895, and gained control over parts of north-east China and other areas after 1918. In July 1937 the Japanese army launched a full-scale invasion that lasted until 1945. Far better equipped than any Chinese army, the Japanese conducted the occupation with terrifying brutality, leading to millions of casualties many of whom were civilian non-combatants. The only successful resistance was that by CCP guerrillas who tied down Japanese military units, and also used 'liberated areas' as testing grounds for radical social policies. To round off this awful period in China's history, the communist and nationalist armies then fought a civil war (1945 to 1949), again leading to millions of deaths, until the CCP eventually gained full

control of the country, except Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao, in 1949.

Lessons taken from this period include an overwhelming conviction that China should not allow internal conflicts to weaken the country. Never again should foreign powers be allowed to carve up China into concessions; Japan would be treated with suspicion, or profound hatred, for generations to come. Strong government and unconditional defence of territory became absolute priorities. Schools and media often discuss the century or more of humiliating exploitation inflicted by imperialist powers, a view of history that is rarely questioned.

To summarize the simple but powerful security concepts arising from this period:

- Internal disruption makes China a prey for foreign powers.
- Foreign powers, especially Japan, do not hesitate to grab Chinese territory whenever and however possible.
- The communist party was the only party to fight for national pride and integrity.
- 1949 was a landmark in Chinese history, when the Chinese people stood up and put an end to the humiliation.

67.5 Maoist Security Preoccupations, 1949 to 1978

In 1949, the CCP took power under Mao Zedong. The next thirty years were the period of 'Maoism' or 'hard-line communism'; in 1978 the new leadership around Deng Xiaoping started to implement political

Table 67.2: Relations between the USA, USSR, and China

	USA-USSR	USA-China	USSR-China
1949 to 1960	Cold War	Cold War Major conflict in Korea, 1950-1953	Cooperation
1960 to 1972	Cold War Limited détente 1963 – 1969; Détente 1969 – 1974;	Cold War	Rivalry, border disputes From 1966: Mao challenges the Soviet Union for leadership of international communist movements.
1972 to 1978	Cold War Limited détente 1975 – 1979	Détente (Nixon visit 1972)	Rivalry, border disputes Failure of Maoism as international alternative
1980 to 1989	Second phase of Cold War	Détente	Détente especially under Gorbachev (China visit 1989)
1989 to 2005	Limited cooperation	Contained rivalry	Limited cooperation, improving since 2000

changes that had transformed the country by the 1990's.

Even before 1949, Mao Zedong had declared: “We can and should adopt the strategy of destroying the imperialist regional domination thoroughly, step by step” (Mao 1991: 1434). The early PRC diplomatic strategy was to establish close relations with friendly countries, especially the USSR and its satellites, and at times to export revolution. In military terms, China had huge numbers in the armed forces, and became an atomic power in 1964. In Mao's view, alliance with the Soviet Union would avoid international isolation, protect the revolution, provide military goods, and fight against restoration of the former regime. However, China also insisted on its own independence: no outside interference in China's domestic affairs. China emphasized a friendly attitude toward other poor countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, following the ‘Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence’ (see above 67.2). Domestic security was assured by a pervasive, authoritarian state regime. Military security issues were dominated by the triangle of global geopolitics between the USA, the USSR, and China (table 67.2).

The Chinese government managed to avoid full-scale armed conflict with the two superpowers, while achieving its objective of maintaining territorial integrity and CCP control, although the country was often in turmoil due to Mao's domestic policies. To do so in the Cold War period was no small achievement, when the superpowers came close to using nuclear weapons; when they fought proxy wars including Vietnam and Korea on China's borders; and when the Soviet and Chinese parties were contending for the glo-

bal communist movement. China achieved this success while being far the weakest of the superpowers. To simplify, the CCP adopted one main strategy for internal security, and two for international (table 67.3).

Table 67.3: China's internal and international security strategies 1949 to 1978

Strategies 1949 to 1978		
Internal security	One-party rule, no opposition politics	
International security	Massive conventional military forces, plus nuclear deterrent after 1964	Diplomacy to avoid war with superpowers

Key concepts from the period:

- ‘Peaceful coexistence’, emphasis on non-interference;
- Conventional military and nuclear deterrent;
- Maintain peace despite superpower rivalry.

67.6 1978 to 2000: Foundations of China as Global Power

The new leadership under Deng initiated a remarkable series of reforms in 1978. By 2000, the reforms had led to a unique hybrid: a booming market economy in a communist state. It appeared a recipe for disaster, a system full of compromises and ambiguities, but it turned out to be a great success story: China emerged as world leader in some sectors of the

global economy, and the most powerful country in Asia. In 1980, Chinese entry into the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund was a symbolic acceptance of the capitalist system and a statement of the leadership's intentions. Twenty-five years later, in 2004, China was being considered for full membership of an expanded G-8, marking acceptance as a fully-fledged leader; it had already acceded to the WTO in December 2001.

Broadly speaking, political control at home was driven by consensus-building, co-opting of talent, and incentives, rather than heavy-handed dictatorship, although the latter could still be seen, notoriously in 1989. Internationally, although China paid careful attention to relations with the USA and the USSR, it had a far wider range of diplomatic activities: with the UN, the EU, and a series of Asian and other developing countries. Nuclear and conventional military deterrent were maintained, but they were no longer the sole or even predominant factor.

Two key areas were China's relations with the U.S., and its growing Asian role as regional superpower. The perception of a resurgent China provoked a lively foreign policy debate in the U.S. Conservative commentators regarded China as a threat to global security, and called on the U.S. government to adopt a strategy of containment analogous to that applied to the USSR during the Cold War. The declared policy of the U.S. administration was, however, to engage rather than contain China; and there was also a strong pro-China lobby in Washington. Despite this, the relationship between China and the U.S. was often tense and acrimonious. Chinese leaders sometimes expressed the view that the U.S. was attempting to undermine China's revival, and to destabilize its government; while China's large trade surplus with the U.S., and its poor human rights record, were viewed as serious problems by Washington (Hunter/Sexton 1999: 188-91). The two sides also had tense relations concerning Taiwan. The Beijing government is determined to prevent a Taiwanese bid for complete independence, and seems prepared to use force if necessary. The U.S., on the other hand, remains a firm defender of Taiwanese autonomy.

On the Chinese side, top leaders recognized the need for better relations. Deng Xiaoping himself stated on his 1979 visit to the U.S. that "we want to strengthen full economic cooperation with other countries. U.S.-China economic cooperation will be to the benefit of both countries"⁵; and he repeated his

message ten years later: "to develop friendship, to find areas of mutual benefit is the basis for U.S.-China relations" (Deng 1993). In December 1989, foreign minister Qian Qichen stated: "although there are some serious issues that are divisive between us, they cannot prevent the development of mutually beneficial relations between the two countries." And in November 1991, President Jiang Zemin told journalists on the eve of his visit to the U.S., that although there were various points of dispute between China and the U.S., the two sides' mutual benefit was still most important.⁶

Meanwhile Deng Xiaoping was elaborating his thesis that "peace and development are the two main issues facing the world." When Deng met the Burmese Prime Minister in October 1984, he stated: "In international relations there are two exceptionally important issues. One is peace, the other is North-South relations. These two factors influence the whole world situation; they have global, strategic significance." Deng proposed that peace and development should be the guiding principles for the creation of a new international economic and political order (Deng 1993: 96, 105). In early December 1988, Deng told a foreign visitor:

We should formulate a theory for a new order of international relations. The international and regional domination of the superpowers should be curtailed in the new international situation, they should adopt the five principles of peaceful coexistence rather than the politics of hegemony. Whether it is one country against another or one region of a country against another, we should all adopt the five principles of peaceful coexistence to handle relations.⁷

Meanwhile, relationships among the Asian powers had become fluid, as states determined policy according to their strategic interests, rather than lining up behind the superpowers. The principal players are China, Russia, Japan, the U.S., and India with a secondary tier of countries including Taiwan, Korea, Vietnam, Indonesia, Thailand, Malaysia, the Philippines, and Singapore, many of which have significant military capability. Military spending increased dramatically across the whole region in the 1990's (Kaldor 1996: 140), and has escalated further since then (SIPRI 2005). A number of flashpoints in the region could easily lead to armed conflict if mishandled. Apart from the Beijing standoff with Taipei,

5 *Renmin ribao* [People's Daily], 4 February 1979: 1.

6 *Renmin ribao* [People's Daily], 21 November 1991: 1

7 *Renmin ribao* [People's Daily], 30 December 1988: 1

Table 67.4: Overview of Chinese strategies in the Deng era

Strategies 1978 to 2000			
Internal security	One-party rule, but broadly consultative. Much improved freedom of expression and freedom of religion.	Limited tolerance for political opposition; occasional severe crackdowns, especially 1989 to 1991.	Attempts to keep the population 'on board' by economic success
International security	Conventional military forces and nuclear deterrent on standby; continuing diplomacy to avoid overt war with super-powers	Investment of top-level time and effort to ensure good relations with Asian neighbours. Integration in numerous international bodies.	No compromise on Taiwan, Tibet, Hong Kong.

there were repeated crises on the Korean peninsula, and disputes over oil in the South China Sea.

By the late 1990's, the PRC leadership had evolved a set of new security positions. They were officially unveiled in March 1997 at a meeting of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) Regional Forum, and subsequently reiterated. For example, in their joint statement at an April 1997 summit, President Jiang Zemin and Russian President Yelstin called for a "new and universally applicable security concept"; and in December 1997, Foreign Minister Qian Qichen outlined a "New Concept of Security" at the 30th anniversary celebration of the ASEAN (Finkelstein 2003).

According to Avery Goldstein (2005), although details of the new concept have not been fully articulated in formal declarations, it is discernible in policy statements and practice: one can infer it from Chinese grand strategy, as the Beijing leaders had in the past decade adjusted to the realities of the post-Cold War period.⁸ Goldstein believes the Beijing leadership recognizes four central realities that affect its regional and global security. First, the end of the Cold War did not lead, as many expected, to a multi-polar world in the military sense. Instead, the U.S. has emerged as a totally hegemonic, dominant military power. Second, although the PRC is growing very fast, in military and especially technical capacity it lags far behind the U.S. and its allies. Third, China's rise to power caused international anxiety: Asian states feared a massive expansionist neighbour; Western states feared, among other things, influx of cheap manufactured goods. Fourth, tensions remained high with Taiwan and Japan.

8 See: Avery Goldstein: "China's Grand Strategy and US Foreign Policy" in: Foreign Policy Research Institute, Philadelphia, PA, USA, 27 September 2005, at: <<http://www.fpri.org/enotes/20050927.asia.goldstein.china-grandstrategy.html>>: 2-5.

The grand strategy has two strands. The first is an active multilateralism designed to reassure Asian neighbours, and by extension the rest of the world. Beijing wants to enhance its reputation as a responsible and non-aggressive player on the world stage. Examples are repeated efforts to promote good relations within Asia, partly through ASEAN; attempts to play broker in the Korean peninsula stand-off; and new alliances with Russia and Central Asian states. Incidentally the Maoist regime aligned itself with repressive dictatorships overseas in the interests of, supposedly, uniting the Third World against the two superpowers. Similar pragmatism was apparent even in 2006, for example the warm relationship cultivated with Niyazov's regime in Turkmenistan but now with the promise of oil and gas, and cooperation against 'terrorists'.

A second strand is to nurture partnerships with the major world powers, especially the U.S., Russia, and the EU, despite inevitable tensions. While China lags so far behind in military capacity, it still attempts to build a working relationship with the U.S. in trade and investment; in defusing certain flashpoints like Korea; by contributing to weapon proliferation controls; and by participating in the 'War on Terror'. China seems still committed to these strategies, which appear to be a logical way forward in the international context, where China is a rapidly growing power, where it may be perceived as a threat, and where it cannot challenge the U.S.

Top Chinese leaders promoted the concept of international peace and 'new security' in many forums over the past decade: we just offer four examples here. On 16 December 1997, President Jiang Zemin stated at a meeting of ASEAN leaders that long-standing cultural traditions and shared aspiration to preserve peace and cultivate economic prosperity were strengthening mutual confidence and friendly cooperation between China and every Asian country.

China hopes that all Asian countries will be permanently good neighbours, good comrades, good friends

... Let us make a real effort and work hard together to promote excellent neighbourly and friendly relationships in the 21st century (Pan/Zhang 2002).

In March 1999 at a UN meeting in Geneva, Jiang Zemin repeated that international security should be based on mutual confidence and benefits, with equality and cooperation as core values, emphasizing mutual respect between nations. Political leaders should maintain excellent relations with no offences against the other party, no interference in internal affairs, equality without exploitation, adopting the five principles of peaceful coexistence in addition to the internationally recognized norms of diplomatic principles, as the political basis for maintaining peace.⁹

On 27 September 2004, at the UN General Assembly, Foreign Minister Li Zhaoxing pointed out that peace, development and cooperation are preconditions for development: "Saying Yes to peace, development and cooperation and No to war, poverty and conflict have become the strong appeal of people of all countries in the world." Li continued

"Peace and development remain the overriding themes of the times. However, the light of peace has not yet reached out to every corner of the world, and traditional and non-traditional threats to security interweave with each other. The danger of war is looming, and hot issues keep cropping up. ...To cope with security issues, all countries in the world should go beyond the differences of ideology and social system, stick to the new security concept featuring mutual trust, mutual benefit, equality and cooperation, promote democracy in international relations and solve disputes through peaceful dialogue."¹⁰

Finally, Hu Jintao at the High-level Plenary Meeting of the United Nations' 60th session, New York, on 15 September 2005 summarized China's current international security policy in four key points: multilateralism; cooperation; inclusiveness; and a major role for a reformed UN.¹¹ He concluded,

I would like to reiterate here what China stands for. We will continue to hold high the banner of peace, development and cooperation, unswervingly follow the road of peaceful development, firmly pursue the independent foreign policy of peace and dedicate ourselves to developing friendly relations and cooperation with all countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful

Coexistence.... The Chinese nation loves peace. China's development, instead of hurting or threatening anyone, can only serve peace, stability and common prosperity in the world.

Key concepts of the period have been:

- Maintenance of a peaceful environment to promote economic growth;
- Active multilateralism and participation;
- Careful management of relations with the U.S. and other major powers.

67.7 The New Security Agenda in the Twenty-first Century

China's outreach as a business power; competition for natural resources; and environmental impacts are somewhat shifting its security agenda as China has become one of the most important economic players in the world.¹² In the manufacturing sector, China is overtaking almost all competitors in clothing, footwear, household goods, and electric appliances. It is also moving into the major league in automobile manufacture, and plans for the future include much bigger aerospace and construction industries, and intellectual property including media output.

Another factor, easily overlooked by standard economic analysis, is the expanded migration from China. Some estimate a Chinese Diaspora of around 35 million at the end of the twentieth century, which has since grown rapidly, up from perhaps 20 million in the mid-1980's. The majority of them are working people, business entrepreneurs, economic migrants of varying levels of skill and resources. They are now present in most countries, including in North Korea. There are substantial Chinese communities in South America and in many African countries, where they work as merchants or operate restaurants, factories, shops or farms. Chinese companies also own and/or manage mines, infrastructure projects or industrial complexes.¹³

Two other important groups are students and tourists. Chinese students now constitute a significant proportion of all university students internationally, and they form the largest or second largest number of

9 See at: <<http://news.sina.com.cn/richtalk/news/world/9903/032785.html>>.

10 See at: <<http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/eng/wjdt/zyjh/t163560.htm>>.

11 See at: <<http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/eng/wjdt/zyjh/t213091.htm>>.

12 See: "The Dragon Tucks I", in: Economist online edition, 30 June 2005; at: <http://www.economist.com/displayStory.cfm?Story_id=4127399>.

13 See: The Chinese in Africa", 4 July 2005; at: <<http://www.channel4.com/news/special-reports/special-reports-storypage.jsp?id=310>>.

foreign students in Japan, the USA, the UK, Australia and Canada.¹⁴ Meanwhile, more Asian students are moving to China, usually studying Chinese language and then technical studies like computing, engineering or agricultural technology.¹⁵ This signals a growing intellectual and social bonding of elites that will increasingly include Chinese, and where Mandarin has become an international business language, especially in Asia. This phenomenon is reinforced by the growing number of tourists, both foreigners visiting China, and Chinese tourists going overseas. In 2004, more than 23 million Chinese took trips outside of China for personal reasons, overtaking Western tourism in countries like Thailand and Singapore. Chinese tourism into the EU is set to rise dramatically.¹⁶

Finally, there is the phenomenon of illegal migration. It is estimated that in South Korea alone there are about one million irregular Chinese migrants. Invisible and uncountable, there may be more millions in Japan, the EU, the USA and elsewhere. The great majority of these migrants are poorly paid, often working in construction, clothing sweatshops, or in the sex industry. A certain number of them are also in organized crime. Chinese gangs operate in the murky waters of international drugs, arms, and person-trafficking, competing for dominance with outfits from Russia, Korea, Pakistan, Latin America and elsewhere.¹⁷ Some analysts (Napoleoni 2003) have conjectured that illegal gangs generate a huge underworld of deniable transactions worth billions of dollars.

The Chinese Diaspora will surely face growing Sino-phobia. Cheap Chinese goods please consumers but threaten competitor producers. There were reports of popular outbursts of anti-Chinese sentiment, for example in Spain, Mexico, Morocco, and Roma-

nia. Incidents ranged from verbal abuse of Chinese merchants to burning of goods, police attacks, road-blocks, kidnapping and hijacks. Politicians are also cashing in on anti-Chinese sentiment by demanding quotas or high tariffs on Chinese goods. 'China-bashing' becomes an easy way for politicians in the U.S. or other countries to divert attention from structural economic problems, by focusing popular opinion on Chinese imports. If many countries become too dangerous for individual or family entrepreneurs, it may be that Chinese trade overseas will evolve into more large-scale, industrial or infra-structural programmes, perhaps in liaison with major international companies. We might then expect to see the Chinese state virtually obliged to protect them; to do so might require diplomatic pressure, international police efforts, or possibly non-conventional measures.

Such aggregation of wealth and population movement will translate into new phenomena. An obvious one already visible is the rising price of raw materials, especially steel, aluminium and oil, as China sucks in huge quantities for its manufacturing industries (Forney 2004). In the context of this new situation, Chinese security thinking can be summarized:

- A continuation of its multilateralist diplomatic orientation, while managing low intensity rivalry with the USA;
- Much greater diversification of international ties including global outreach through the Chinese Diaspora.

67.8 Key Current Issues

67.8.1 Military Expenditure

Based on basic data in the military expenditure databases of RAND and SIPRI for 2004, absolute military expenditures were estimated for selected countries (table 67.5).¹⁸

Such figures are admittedly problematic, for example official budgets do not reflect actual spending; estimates may not be accurate; and purchasing power makes comparisons difficult. Nevertheless, the U.S. military budget is probably more than ten times that of the PRC; and the U.S. and its closest allies (the UK and Japan) account for at least two-thirds of global military expenditure. Reports on China's assumed

14 See: Ronald Skeldon, China: From Exceptional Case to Global Participant", April 2004, in: *Migration Information Source*: 3; at: <<http://www.migrationinformation.org/Profiles/display.cfm?id=219>>.

15 See: Ministry of Education of PRC, <<http://www.moe.gov.cn/edoas/website18/info8021.htm>>, 3 November 2005 [in Chinese].

16 See: European Commission, External Relations: "European Union signs landmark tourism accord with China today in Beijing", IP/04/196 - Brussels, 12 February 2004, at: <http://europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/china/intro/ip04_196.htm>.

17 See: Bertil Lintner: "Illegal Migration in the 21st Century", in: YaleGlobal, 10 January 2003; at: <<http://yale-global.yale.edu/display.article?id=704>>: 2 of 2; "Illegal Alien influx may compromise security", 16 March 2005; at: <<http://www.foxnews.com/story/0,2933,150520,00.html>>.

18 See for data at: <<http://first.sipri.org>> and at: <<http://www.rand.org>>.

Table 67.5: Estimated military budgets for 2004 in billions of current \$ US.

Country	Official Budget	SIPRI estimate
United States	419	455
United Kingdom	59	47
Japan	46	42
China	30	35
Russia	14	19
Republic of China (Taiwan)	8	n/a

military capabilities are publicly available from many research centres (e.g. SIPRI in Stockholm, IISS in London) but also from the website of the U.S. Department of Defense¹⁹ and in many military and strategic journals.

Moreover, the U.S. is far ahead of any conceivable competitor in military technology. Chomsky (2003: 226–237) summarizes many fields in which the U.S. can deploy offensive armaments against which other nations have no defensive or counter-attack options: weaponry includes ballistic missiles, space-based weapons systems, hypersonic missiles, IT surveillance systems, and bio-weapons. According to a Pentagon document in 2002, the U.S. could launch almost instant, immensely destructive ‘unwarned attacks’ against any target on earth. Military analyst William Arkin concurred that “no target on the planet would be immune to American attack.” Presumably to preserve its superiority on weapons of mass destruction, the U.S. has pulled out of or refused to cooperate in several arms control efforts, including the UN Conference on Disarmament since 1997; it opposed all resolutions of the General Assembly of the UN calling for the “Prevention of an Arms Race in Outer Space”.

The Chinese leadership is well aware of this U.S. military superiority, and of the U.S. readiness to use force unilaterally without a mandate of the UN Security Council. The PRC will not match the U.S. in military investment and technology in the foreseeable future. Nevertheless, its armed forces are the largest and among the best-equipped in the world, and it maintains a credible nuclear deterrent and ICBMs, although due to strict secrecy there are no official state-

ments of its capacity. In a statement in 1995 China gave the following security assurances:

1. China undertakes not to be the first to use nuclear weapons at any time or under any circumstances.
2. China undertakes not to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear-weapon states or nuclear-weapon-free zones at any time or under any circumstances.²⁰

The PRC is willing to sign non-proliferation agreements for biological and chemical weapons.

67.8.2 International Multilateralism

China is now a major global power with interests on every continent. It is a permanent member of the Security Council of the UN, by far the largest trading partner of ASEAN, a leading member of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) with Russia and five Central Asian republics; and was an invited guest of the G-8 summit in Edinburgh (2005). In these and other forums, China advocates multilateralism and international cooperation, which it contrasts with U.S. hegemony and interventionism. It contributes to UN peacekeeping efforts, and is perceived as a peace-broker in the Korean peninsula. It also improved its positioning after 2000 by negotiating better relations with India, including a new land route into West Bengal due to open in 2006, and a massive investment area near Kolkata. Some commentators refer to India as the office of the next decade, and China as the workshop.

Two particular features of Chinese foreign policy statements in 2005 were a renewed commitment to maintaining a peaceful international environment; and also a renewed emphasis on multilateral ties, especially including ties with and assistance to developing countries. For example, the China Daily reported Foreign Minister Li Zhaoxing’s commitment to ‘peace, development and cooperation – the banner of China’s diplomacy in the new period’ and a series of ideas put forward by President Hu Jintao at the UN General Assembly in September.²¹

19 <<http://www.defenselink.mil/pubs/>>.

20 Cited by the Center for Nonproliferation Studies, <<http://www.nti.org/db/china/engdocs/npto495a.htm>>, 19 April 2006.

21 Reports on current diplomatic orientation can be found on the English-language website of: *People’s Daily* at: <<http://english.people.com.cn>>.

67.8.3 Environmental Security

Recently the Chinese public and scientists have been deeply concerned about 'environmental security' (*huanjing anquan*), ensuring the survival of the natural environment against the impacts of man-made hazards. Since 2003, the public debate intensified on the loss of agricultural land, pollution, and water-shortage: all classic symptoms of rapid industrialization. Xie Zhenhua, the chief of the Environment Protection Bureau, stated that the task of environmental protection in China will become more arduous. Paper-making, brewing, electricity generation, chemistry, logging, and metallurgy are all expanding rapidly: the inevitable consequence is environmental pollution and damage to the ecosystem. Moreover, coal will be one of China's main energy sources for the foreseeable future, and the Environment Protection Bureau called for urgent efforts to solve environmental problems caused by sulphur dioxide, nitrogen oxide, carbon dioxide, soot and dust. In the process of rapid urbanization, infrastructure construction has lagged behind, leaving trash dumps and untreated polluted water. Pollution is increased by waste electrical appliances, traffic emissions, untested new chemical products, and so on. In agriculture the improper use of pesticides, unregulated stock farming, and the increasing movement of factories to the countryside have all degraded rural environments. In addition, genetically modified plants and new chemical materials brought about by advanced technology can all bring potential hazards. As the economy develops, the task of pollution control becomes more difficult, yet more urgent (Xie 2005).

Environmental contamination is one potential for instability. The shortage of resources presents an even sharper challenge to social harmony, and even to national security. Water is indispensable, so the water shortage may cause conflicts of different types; influenced by other factors. China is one of those countries facing most serious water shortages. The situation is appalling especially in the Haihe and the Luanhe River valleys where the cities of Beijing and Tianjin are located: per capita water resources are close to those of countries such as Israel and Saudi Arabia. Fourteen per cent of the population (some 180 million people) do not have access to clean drinking water. In the most important river and lake systems in China, only 37 per cent of the water meets class III (acceptable) national standard for surface water quality; up to 38 per cent does not even meet the class V standard (minimum). In addition, the large

freshwater lakes, lakes in urban areas, and city groundwater tables are all at least moderately polluted. The threat posed to national health by water pollution is one of the biggest challenges confronted by the Chinese people. Environmental security has, at last, become a major political issue in China as particularly northern cities, including Beijing, face severe water restrictions and moreover suffer health epidemics like bronchitis from airborne pollutants.

Meanwhile there have been peasant movements to protest against land seizures, while others are concerned about loss of agricultural land to encroaching industry.²² It has always been an over-simplification to characterize China as monolithic, and in fact there is a very active and well-informed environmental lobby including many top scientists. There have been major political rows over development projects, famously the giant dam on the Yangtze River. They may increase continuously as the country tries to harmonize political stability, economic growth, environmental protection, and freedom of expression.

Even ministry officials dealing with oil and water resources join the public debate through the Internet and other media.²³ A recent publication (Zhang 2005) highlights many of the issues, arguing that the environmental crises and challenges facing all countries have now become a serious threat to their continued development or even their existence. There are many varied expressions of the crisis, for example lack of available drinking water; soil erosion and degradation of soil quality; desertification; overuse of pesticides and other chemicals in the rush to maximize production; deforestation, causing run-off from bare hillsides and contributing to river floods; scarcity of water in reservoirs; flooding of river plains leading to insecurity; exhaustion of irreplaceable minerals; exhaustion of energy resources and lack of development of renewables; lack of food in some countries leading to hunger, malnutrition and deaths; degradation of environments by chemical and other problems like acid rain; climate change; rising ocean levels.²⁴

China has been a hazard-prone country, suffering heavily during the past century under climate related extreme weather events (floods, drought, and

22 <http://news.zj.chinavnet.com/news/caijing/2005-7/20546515/20546515_8573650.html>, [in Chinese] 6 July 2005.

23 <<http://www.cnhydro.com/info/news/showContent.asp?id=3964>>, [in Chinese] 24 March 2006.

24 See at: <<http://www.fon.org.cn/index.php?id=2652>>, [in Chinese] for an overview of the hazards affecting China.

Table 67.6: Summarized Table of Natural Disasters in the People's Republic of China from 1906 to 2006. **Source:** EM-DAT: The OFDA/CRED International Disaster Database, www.em-dat.net - Université catholique de Louvain - Brussels - Belgium; created on 9 May 2006

	# of Events	Killed	Injured	Homeless	Affected	Total Affected	Damage US(000's)
Drought	37	3,501,400	0	0	246,890,000	246,890,000	1,845,832
ave. per event		94,632	0	0	6,672,703	6,672,703	49,887
Earthquake	102	784,728	228,051	3,792,667	16,776,502	20,797,220	8,001,033
ave. per event		7,693	2,236	37,183	164,476	203,894	78,442
Epidemic	10	1,561,487	0	0	9,823	9,823	0
ave. per event		156,149	0	0	982	982	0
Extreme Temperature	8	207	3,700	0	33,180	36,880	3,000,000
ave. per event		26	463	0	4,148	4,610	375,000
Flood	146	6,592,976	821,619	40,891,429	1,502,343,938	1,544,056,986	123,831,234
ave. per event		45,157	5,628	280,078	10,290,027	10,575,733	848,159
Slides	38	2,726	1,537	16,219	71,246	89,002	952,400
ave. per event		72	40	427	1,875	2,342	25,063
Wave / Surge	3	126	0	0	0	0	0
ave. per event		42	0	0	0	0	0
Wild Fires	5	243	221	300	56,092	56,613	110,000
ave. per event		49	44	60	11,218	11,323	22,000
Wind Storm	166	170,330	161,917	14,057,627	310,157,741	324,377,285	26,213,139
ave. per event		1,026	975	84,685	1,868,420	1,954,080	157,911

storms). The 146 floods recorded in the CRED data base for 1906–2006 killed 6,592,976, affected 1,544,056,986 persons, and caused economic damages estimated at 123,831,234,000 \$ US in China. However, the flood of 6 August 1998 alone killed 3,656, injured 123,000, made 15,850,000 people homeless, affected a total of 238,973,000 people, and caused damages estimated at 30 billion \$ US (table 67.6).

These issues indicate that human development has had a devastating impact on the environment. As the natural disasters during the past century illustrate, the negative impacts have consequences not only for domestic politics and economics, but also for international issues. They are even more frequent than political attacks from outside, more serious, long-lasting, and more wide-ranging. They approach in an insidious way, becoming more threatening but often not noticed until they suddenly explode and cause devastation to an unprepared population.

Zhang argues that damage from environmental challenges still do not raise the same concerns as do military issues and international conflicts. But these

threats are increasing, yet before they become apparent, people often ignore them. It may be relatively easy to cope with the changes in international relations or to handle the deployment of new military techniques and weapons, but it seems almost impossible to take care of the natural environment, to shift the relationship between humans and the environment, to repair or even to improve the damage that has been done.

For future generations, a country's security will depend on its stamina, its power of endurance. And this endurance will eventually revert to its natural environment, improvement and repair of damage. The Chinese government needs to adopt effective measures to protect and improve its environment. If a government continues to overlook these threats, because they are not overt military threats, then development will suffer, the country will lose its progress, and may have to rely on food imports. 'Biological security' refers to our fundamental existence; if the environment suffers irreversible damage, it is not just one sector or one aspect of society that suffers, but the very

basis of existence of the country and its people (Yu 2002: 11–14).

67.8.4 Resource Politics and Energy Security

As the developing country with the highest population, China's need for natural resources is enormous. Among the ten countries with populations over 100 million, in terms of natural resources China was second from the bottom: only Japan is worse off. Population growth would put even further pressure on resources. Without effective political handling of resource issues, shortages could become a great risk to the future of the country. So protecting the stability of national resources and environmental security is a crucial issue as to whether or not China can continue its development trajectory through the 21st century (Zhang 2002: 26–30).

There is a growing recognition of the increasing competition from China for access to global resources, particularly to oil and gas (Downs 2000; International Energy Agency 2000; Kalicki/Goldwyn 2005). Henry Kissinger recently mooted that competition over hydrocarbon resources will be the most likely cause of international conflict in coming years.²⁵ During an Asian summit in 2005, Hu Jintao stated that a Chinese priority is to achieve balanced and orderly growth by handling its energy issue well: China would focus on energy conservation and effective use of resources, as well as on new exploration and imports.²⁶ China must explore many options, on every continent, to satisfy its demand for oil and other resources (Liu 2002). In 2002, the government announced a new policy to encourage its three major national oil corporations to 'go out' (*zouchuqu*) to ensure secure energy supplies from overseas, through direct purchases, exploring and drilling programmes, constructing refineries, and building pipelines (Leverett/Bader 2005: 193). Chinese oil demand grew by almost 90 per cent between 1993 and 2002, now reaching about six million barrels per day, of which some 40 per cent came from imports. About 40 per cent of the oil demand growth worldwide during the past four years is attributable to China.²⁷

25 See: Caroline Daniel, "Kissinger Warns of Energy Conflict", in: *Financial Times*, 2 June 2005: 2.

26 See: <<http://www.china.org.cn/english/2005/nov/149119.htm>>, 19 April 2006.

27 US Department of Energy, "China Country Analysis Brief", 12 August 2005, at: <<http://www.eia.doe.gov/emeu/cabs/china.html>>.

In November 2004 Chinese President Hu signed 39 commercial agreements with Latin American countries; investments in Argentina alone mounted to US\$ 20 billion. This visit was followed by another in 2005 by Vice-President Zeng who signed a key agreement with Venezuela for oil and gas explorations; China also announced credits to Cuba. By 2005, China had offered more than US\$ 50 billion of investment to countries within the U.S. 'backyard'. According to energy analyst Saul Landau, there are several reasons why Latin American and Chinese governments actively welcome this kind of cooperation. The Chinese need to secure energy, food, and raw material resources for the continued expansion of their economy. For Latin America, China is a good buyer for products which can help them to raise prices; moreover, many governments reject Washington's free-market economic models, especially the leaders in Venezuela, Bolivia, Brazil and elsewhere. These new political leaders may not risk overt confrontation with the U.S., but they experiment with more friendly ties with China.²⁸

China has been pursuing a similar strategy in sub-Saharan African countries. Chinese businesses are active in many projects, including major infrastructure development, while corporations invest heavily in oil production, notably in the Sudan and Nigeria.²⁹ In December 2005 a fierce competition between China and the U.S. for African 'black gold' was observed.³⁰

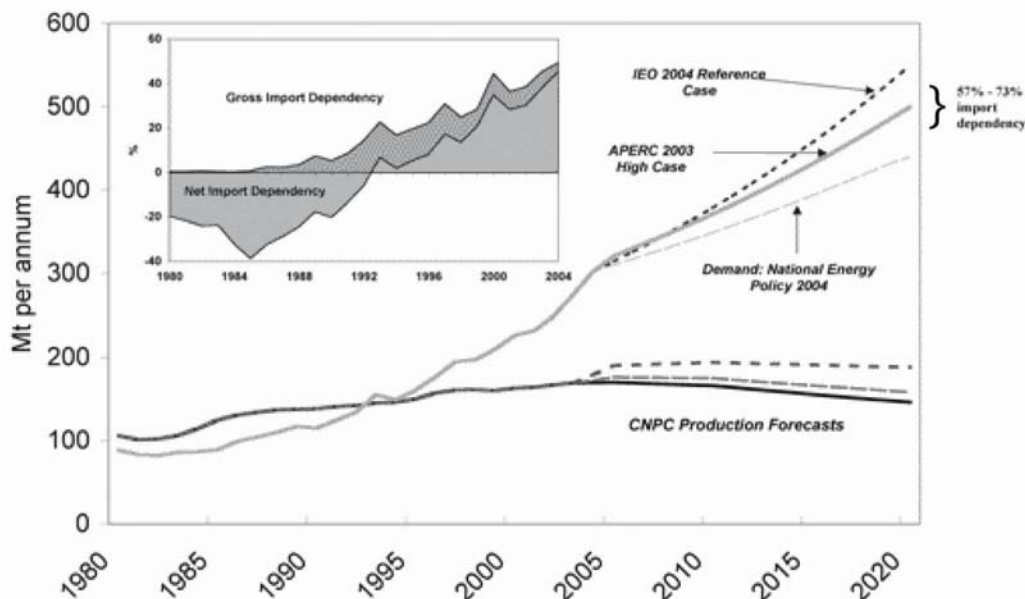
China's potential competition with the U.S. in West Asia and North Africa could be even more sensitive. According to Leverett and Bader (2005: 187) "the potentially explosive combination of a China less willing to passively accept the U.S. leadership and the prospect of competition between China and other states for control over vital energy resources poses particularly critical challenges to U.S. interests in the Middle East." China has established ties based on oil imports from, among other states, Oman, Kuwait, Algeria, Libya, and Sudan. With Iraq out of the picture

28 See: Saul Landau, "Chinese Influence on the Rise in Latin America", in: *Foreign Policy in Focus*, Washington, DC, 23 June 2005; at: <<http://www.fpif.org/fpifxt/842>>.

29 Joshua Eisenman; Devin Stewart: "Sino-Japanese Oil Rivalry Spills into Africa", Institute for the Analysis of Global Security, 19 January 2006; at: <<http://www.iags.org/NO119062.htm>>.

30 Thilo Thielke: "Gangsters and Africa's Black Gold Rush", in: *Der Spiegel* online edition, 7 December 2005; at: <<http://service.spiegel.de/cache/international/spiegel/0,1518,389138,00.html>>.

Figure 67.2: China's oil use growth since 1980 and projection until 2020. **Source:** Sinton/Stern/Aden/Levin 2005: 5. Reprinted with written permission by the copyright holder. Additional sources are listed in the original.



because of security concerns, China is trying to build firm relationships with Saudi Arabia, and especially with Iran. In the latter country, Chinese investments in partnerships could amount to US\$ 100 billion in the coming years.³¹ Meanwhile, Saudi Arabia had become China's leading foreign supplier of crude oil by 2002, and Saudi corporations were also investing heavily in Chinese refineries. Economic ties are backed up by frequent high-level exchange visits between Beijing and West Asian leaders (Leverett/Bader 2005: 192).

67.9 Conclusions and Outlook

China's security concepts and concerns may be summarized as follows:

- Chinese conceptualization of security is multi-dimensional, with deep imprints from the imperial past, the 'century of humiliation', and the Maoist era.
- The leap forward from 1966 to 2004, from revolution to cooperation is a political reality.
- Since China announced a 'new security concept' in 1997, a grand strategy of pro-active multilateral-

ism, regional engagement, and of negotiated positions with the U.S. can be observed.

- There is an overt, repeated commitment to a 'peaceful rising'. This may be rhetoric, but the Chinese leadership probably believes it needs decades of peace to consolidate its economic gains.
- On the other hand, it has a non-negotiable position on 'One China'.
- The Chinese military is very far behind the U.S., but strong compared to almost all other nations.
- The major flashpoint for armed conflict is with Taiwan, or Japan, or both.
- Energy security and access to resources are more important than ever before.
- Environmental security is high on the domestic agenda.
- Security is a 'sensitive' issue within the Chinese political discussion, and generally not an area with lively public debate or political controversy. On the other hand, there are lively public debates, especially on e-groups within China, about the environment, relations with Japan, and on many other issues.

The Chinese leadership has been committed to peaceful conflict management internationally over the past several decades, and there is no reason to suppose that they are looking for a major confrontation. One could foresee a few exceptions to this reasonably optimistic scenario. One is, if Western or indeed any

31 See: Jephraim Gundzik: "The Ties that Bind: China, Russia, and Iran", in: *Asia Times*, 4 June 2005; at: <<http://www.asiatimes.com/atimes/China>>.

powers attempted to use force or incite underground movements to split what the Chinese regard as national territory. Chinese leaders in the future may possibly be prepared to discuss local autonomies of various kinds, as indeed is practiced already in Macao and Hong Kong; but it is inconceivable that they would tolerate interference on Chinese soil.

A second, more probable and dangerous, is the chance of armed conflict over resources, particularly oil, between China and its neighbours. China claims the Paracel and Spratly islands in the South China Sea, and has demonstrated its willingness to use force to counter rival claims by Vietnam and the Philippines, notably when it occupied Mischief Reef in 1995. The Senkaku (Diaoyu) islands, northeast of Taiwan are also disputed between China and Japan, and there were fierce protests in both Hong Kong and Taiwan in 1996 when a right-wing group raised the Japanese flag on the islands.

Underlying the disputes over barren islands is the issue of oil. China is already a net oil importer and demand is set to grow massively: estimated to need imports of 10 million barrels per day by 2030. It is desperate to strike oil on what it regards as its own continental shelf, and determined to rebuff all counter-claims to the resources. Japan has no oil of its own, and its oil imports pass along sea-lanes which run close to the disputed island groups. Free passage along these shipping routes is a matter of vital national interest to Japan; conversely, control of these routes would allow China to exert pressure on Japan. China's friendship with Iran and other oil-rich Islamic states is a factor which could increase its leverage still further. The potential for conflict over shipping lanes in the South China Sea is an important reason for China to develop its navy.

Renewed claims to the islands by Japan in 2004 and 2005 led to outrage in China. With the long-standing hatred of Japan's wartime atrocities never far away, the Chinese population was in some ways more radical than its government in demanding military action in support of China's territorial claims.

A third danger is excessive nationalism. Large groups of Chinese – apparently quite independently of the government – have organized themselves into internet-based pressure groups which are demanding action, including military action, against Japan.³² On the one hand, it is quite heartening to observe a kind of grass-roots political movement using innovatory means to organize and express itself. On the other, it is unfortunate that its main concern at present seems to be a rather chauvinistic e-nationalism. One hopes

that the Chinese government, when it comes up against discontent at home for whatever reason, will not be tempted to divert popular anger from domestic to external enemies, something that other governments have sometimes achieved by media manipulation. In the late 1990's, a number of academics started to promote a somewhat radical nationalistic alternative to what they perceived as too rapid globalization: one of them, Professor Wang Xiaodong, has published and spoken on nationalist alternatives, including making presentations in the West. To date the government has discouraged this trend, but it remains a possible future development.³³

On the whole, we agree with Goldstein's tentative conclusions, namely that potential conflicts between China and the rest of the world (especially the U.S.) are manageable, and that common interests at present outweigh conflictive issues.³⁴ Whether this will remain the case depends on skilful security assessments in Beijing and around the world.

32 Lin Xiaoshan: "Lingyizhong shengyin: cong hulianwang kan dangdai zhongguo qingniande guojia minzu yishi" [Another voice: Chinese young people's e-nationalism], in: *Dangdai wenhua yanjiuwang* [Contemporary Cultural Studies], 15 May 2005, at: <<http://www.cul-studies.com/article/theory/200505/1295.html>>.

33 See <<http://www.guardian.co.uk/china/story/0,7369,1445560,00.html>> for an interview with Wang.

34 Avery Goldstein: "China's Grand Strategy and US Foreign Policy", in: Foreign Policy Research Institute, Philadelphia, PA, 27 September 2005: 4 of 5; at: <<http://www.fpri.org/enotes/20050927.asia.goldstein.china-grandstrategy.html>>.

68 Security in the New Millennium: A Debate in the South Pacific on Peace and Security: Alternative Formulations in the Post Cold War Era

Kevin P. Clements and Wendy L. Foley

68.1 Introduction

During the Cold War, Pacific security issues were focused on the external security concerns of the larger nations that border the Pacific Ocean rather than on the small island states and territories themselves. The island populations have been characterized more often as passive victims of external international relations¹ than as the main actors in securing their region. There is, however, a growing literature focusing on security issues within the Pacific states and territories themselves.² This literature addresses regional concerns from political, economic, environmental, health, and social to military and law and order issues (Henderson 2005: 9; Lawson 2003: 7).

This chapter will first look at the present world order and how security is currently framed. It then turns to the issue of regionalism in the Pacific Islands, asking whether lessons can be learned from regions such as Europe, or whether the particular circumstances of the Pacific require different ways to address its micro and macro indigenous security concerns. A specific focus is given to the role of the Pacific Islands Forum in developing regional cooperation for security purposes.

68.2 The US Military Response to 11 September 2001

The terrorist attack of 11 September 2001 and subsequent terrorist events in different parts of Europe, the

Middle East, South Asia, and South East Asia propelled terrorism to the top of popular threat consciousness, even though the numbers of people killed in terrorist incidents (approximately 40,000) over the last fifteen years remain relatively low compared to other forms of armed conflict and of natural hazards. Terrorist acts, however, because of their randomness and arbitrariness, have provided important new justifications for political leaders all over the world to initiate new rounds of militarization, expand intelligence and surveillance capacities, and challenge many accepted assumptions about civil liberties, individual freedom, and constitutional law.

Far from advancing freedom and democracy, the war on terror (compounded by the wars in Iraq and in Afghanistan) has challenged 20th century concepts of collective, common, and cooperative security, and have also largely succeeded in marginalizing the concept of 'human security'.³ These relatively progressive concepts have been replaced in the US and in some of its allied states by a strident reassertion of 'national security' by military means.

Instead of supporting cooperative non-military solutions to problems or combining development initiatives with security in the promotion of 'human security', the United States initiated a quest for 'full spectrum dominance' on land, sea, and in the air. This has been accompanied by the promotion of uni-

1 This is particularly true in relation to nuclear testing in the Pacific.

2 See for example: Dorrance/Thakur/Wanandi/Vasey/Pfaltzgraff 1990; Polomoka 1990; Finin/Wesley-Smith 2000; Shibuya/Rolfe 2003; Henderson/Watson 2005; Dupont/Pearman 2006; Brown 2007.

3 Traditional security policy emphasizes military means for reducing the risks of war and for prevailing if deterrence fails. Human security's proponents focus to a much greater degree on holistic non-coercive approaches. These range from preventive diplomacy, conflict management, and post-conflict peace-building, to addressing the root causes of conflict by building state capacity and promoting equitable economic development. See at: <<http://www.humansecuritycentre.org/>>, 24 September 2006, p. 1 of 2.

lateral and pre-emptive exceptionalism in relation to armed conflict.

The chief casualties of these strategies have been multilateral agencies and all those interested in promoting more comprehensive approaches to security at national, regional, and global levels. At the Millennium Plus Five Summit in September 2005, for example, the attempt by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Kofi Annan, to combine the development, security and human rights agendas, in his report *In Larger Freedom*, was effectively sabotaged by the United States when its UN Representative John Bolton tabled 750 amendments to the draft final document two weeks before the Summit in New York. This signalled a strong desire on the part of the US and its closest allies to prevent the UN combining the Security, Peace, Human Rights and Development agendas in a new conceptualization of security. The present US government has an even stronger aversion to adding environmental sustainability to this integrated agenda.

Efforts to develop more holistic analyses and prescriptions for the security problems confronting the world, therefore, seem remote at the moment as long as the US feels that it is setting the global security agenda and wishes to do so primarily through assertion of its military dominance. US military might is now greater in terms of scope and lethality than that available to any other military power in world history.⁴ In 2005, the US was responsible for about 47 per cent of the world's military spending (SIPRI 2006: 302). The US has 13 military bases in countries around Afghanistan. It has a military presence in Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Georgia, all former Soviet countries. The US Defense Department employs 1.4 million people on active duty. It is the largest employer in the US with more employees than Exxon Mobil, Ford, General Motors and the General Electric Company combined. The Defense Department owns 40,000 properties covering 18 million acres of land. It operates a fleet of more than 15,000 aircraft, including 20 stealth bombers in service. The navy operates more than 1,000 ocean going vessels. The US Defense

Department buys enough fuel every day to drive a car around the world 13,000 times. The US headquarters at the Pentagon employs 23,000 workers and has 17 miles of corridors. The US spends an average of \$28,000 on research and development for each member of its armed forces, compared to the European average of \$7,000.⁵

The challenge facing the world community, therefore (or those parts which wish to endorse moves towards the international rule of law), is how to control this formidable power and determine what mechanisms and institutions can begin integrating the development, security, peace, human rights, and environmental agendas. This is important because a holistic approach to security, which places the safety of individuals at its heart, provides policy-makers with a better way of transcending Hobbesian security dilemmas than the rather tired realist perspectives on security. Holistic concepts of security have a better chance of doing this because they are committed to ensuring that basic human needs – for identity, recognition, inclusion, freedom, and welfare are satisfied on a sustainable basis. Meeting these needs will go a long way towards removing some of the basic sources of conflict.

68.3 The 21st Century: A Century of Regionalism?

The end of the Cold War provided an excellent opportunity to advance these objectives and to reconceptualize security in a more progressive direction. The fact that this opportunity has been squandered in an overreaction to terror and terrorist threat does not mean the end of the effort. On the contrary, it simply reinforces efforts to think about what sites might be more successful in promoting these objectives than those which are dominated by the militarily powerful states. If the surviving Cold War superpower is unwilling or unable to combine these agendas, what other states or intergovernmental bodies can do so? And are they able to lead and support the United Nations in its efforts to move towards a more comprehensive concept of security?

If the 19th and 20th centuries were the centuries of nationalism and imperialism, it is the present authors'

4 If military expenditures are used in market exchange rate dollar terms, in FY 2005 the US military expenditure of US\$ 478.2 billion were above the total of the next 14 top military spenders whose joint expenditure amounted to US\$ 361.6 billion. If one uses military expenditure in purchasing power parity (PPP) dollar terms, US defence expenditure equals that of China, India, Russia, France, the UK, and Saudi Arabia (SIPRI 2006: 302).

5 See: "US military might – the facts", *The Observer* (10 March 2002), at: <<http://www.guardian.co.uk/september11/story/0,,665109,00.html>>, 20 September 2006, p. 1 of 3.

contention that the 21st century will be the century of regionalism. The United Nations will only be able to fulfil its mandate as the institution dedicated to save “succeeding generations from the scourge of war” if it can surround itself with regional organizations capable of shouldering some of the conceptual and operational burdens of long-term peace building. Such a vision may be based on Chapter VIII of the UN Charter dealing with regional arrangements and agencies.⁶ This perspective was also stressed by Boutros-Ghali in his Agenda for Peace (UN 1992).

Of all regional organizations, the European Union, with all its imperfections, remains the best model of supra national integration. It has made most progress in combining the development-security-human rights and environmental agendas. It has done this by building on areas of economic commonality and through the development of trans-national laws and institutions that have persisted for the last 50 years and have managed to contain a wide variety of political differences as well. Although it has experienced some setbacks recently in relation to popular support for a European constitution, it has made progress on the development of a common foreign and security policy (buffeted a little by division over the war in Iraq) and initiated a range of conflict sensitive development policies aimed at the elimination of structural sources of conflict, while delivering high levels of emergency relief alongside short- and long-term development initiatives.⁷

It was severely challenged by the civil wars in Yugoslavia and by efforts to develop a common foreign and security policy, but it remains a project which should capture the imagination of all the x and y generations as they struggle to come to terms with modalities for guaranteeing structural stability in other parts of the world. Starting with the horrific experience of a global war, the founders of the EU focussed on economic interests, functional cooperation, and

then the development of political and judicial institutions to give expression to the common interests of (now 25) nation states. This was and remains a very impressive achievement indeed. The question confronting the Asia Pacific region (and here especially the South Pacific) is whether and how this experiment might be translated into different geographic, socio-economic, cultural, and political contexts.

68.4 Regional Security in and for the South Pacific

The hardening of state security systems post 11 September has restricted the space for regional initiatives a little, but there is no doubt that the EU and similar organizations remain an important inspiration for those seeking alternative approaches to security through the creation of action spaces for the promotion of human security using a variety of non-military developmental and diplomatic means. Realist solutions to both terrorist threat and war (as epitomized by the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq) are proving disastrous to the generation of a stable peace in the Middle East, and far from renewing confidence in military solutions are in fact accelerating a renewed interest in world peace through world law and the rediscovery of institutions capable of promoting high levels of multi-lateral cooperation across a range of different sectors.

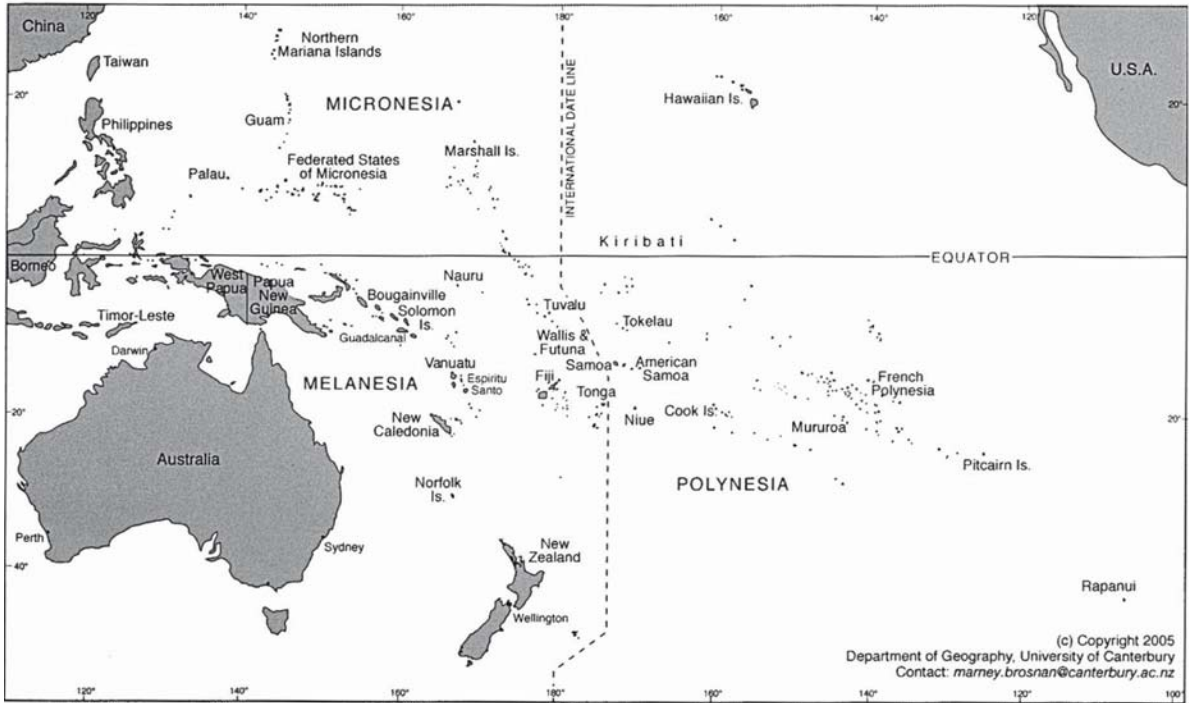
Regional organizations inevitably reflect the socio-economic, political, and cultural conditions of the state parties. This means that there are great resource differentials between all of them. But each in its own way is beginning to challenge narrow concepts of national sovereignty while expanding areas of sub-regional and regional cooperation. To be successful each regional member requires a degree of de-territorialization and de-borderization and some ceding of hard notions of national sovereignty. The more willing state parties are to move in this direction, the more likely they are to generate regional resilience and pre-emptive problem-solving capacities.

The South West Pacific is an interesting area within which to explore the role of regional organizations and alternative conceptions of security. Apart from Australia and New Zealand, (the two regional hegemon) most other countries in the region are relatively small in international terms (Crocombe 2001). The area has 28 island states and territories, covering 30 million square kilometres of ocean, of which only about 2 per cent is land.

6 See Chapter VIII of the UN Charter. There were two different concepts of regionalism considered during the planning process for the UN Charter, the regional perspective of Churchill that was to protect the British global influence and the view of regional cooperation expressed by the Latin American countries at the Chapultepec Conference in early 1945 (Russell/Muther 1958).

7 See for example: Ministry for Foreign Affairs: *Preventing Violent Conflict: A Swedish Action Plan* 1999: 24, at: <<http://www.sweden.gov.se/content/1/c6/02/01/61/aad1f9e6.pdf>>, 28 September 2006; Gomes/Sherriff/Lehtinen/Bossuyt 2001; Gaigals/Leonhardt 2001.

Figure 68.1: Map of the Pacific Region. **Source:** © Marney Brosnan, University of Canterbury, Department of Geography, reproduced with the permission of the copyright holder.



Populations in the regional states and territories range from over 5 million (for Papua New Guinea) to around 1,000 (for Niue) with a very approximate total of over 8 million for the region as a whole. The majority of the region’s population are sustained by subsistence agriculture with most people living in small communities and lineage groups. Despite its small population, the South Pacific is home to a quarter of the world’s total number of languages. The Pacific Islands are also ethnically diverse, with three sub-regional areas marked by their predominant indigenous Melanesian, Polynesian, and Micronesian populations (see figure 68.1). Melanesia, for example, includes Papua New Guinea, the Solomon Islands, Fiji, and Vanuatu as independent states, and West Papua (a province of Indonesia) and New Caledonia (shared sovereignty with France). It makes up approximately 85 per cent of the region’s population⁸ and holds most of the region’s land-based mineral and timber resources. It is culturally very different from Polynesia and Micronesia, and most of the Pacific conflicts of recent decades have occurred in Melanesia. (Dinnen/

Ley 2000; Finin/Wesley-Smith 2000; Reilly 2004: 479) as table 68.1 shows.

Table 68.1: Armed conflicts in the Pacific Islands Region 1980–2005, **Source:** Henderson/Watson (2005: 5).

Conflict	Years	Estimated deaths
West Papua independence struggle	ongoing	Over 100,000
Papua New Guinea highlands tribal fighting	ongoing	Several hundred deaths/year
New Caledonia independence struggle	1980’s	Over 50
Bougainville independence struggle	1990’s	Over 10,000
Solomon Islands conflict	2000–2003	200

The island states and territories all have some important strengths and resources which are generating a very particular type of resilience, and which make them anthropologically unique (Brown 2007). In the first place, all have important traditional subsistence sectors that sit rather uneasily with modern economic and political institutions. The clan, the village, and the

⁸ For information about Pacific regional populations, see at: <<http://www.spc.int/demog/en/stats/2004/2004%20Current%20Pacific%20population%20dynamics.doc>>, 28 September, p. 1 of 6.

province, therefore, are all much more important political units than the nation state.

The political status of the Pacific states and territories is also diverse and includes independent states, self-governing nations in free association with New Zealand or the United States, and others that are dependencies or integral parts of metropolitan powers including France, the United States, Britain, Chile, and Indonesia (Finin/Wesley-Smith 2000: 5). This heterogeneity provides some significant challenges to concepts of regionalism.⁹ Though regionalism is an ambiguous term (Hurrell 1995: 38), constructive theories of regionalism point to the central issues for Pacific regionalism – regional awareness and identity, based on a shared sense of belonging to the regional community (Hurrell 1995: 64). What is it that unites such a disparate group of states and peoples as those in the Pacific? How do people habituated to village and communal life connect to the newly independent states which sometimes sit rather uneasily on custom and tradition? How do these states and peoples deal with low economic growth rates, rising populations, pressures on natural resources, a large and youthful population which is either unemployed or underemployed, and weak governance systems (Henderson 2005: 9)? Are regional organizations – like the Pacific Islands Forum – which are essentially collections of states, able to add real value to development, peace, and the collective rights of individuals living in such environments? Can a regional organization in the South Pacific make the same sort of positive difference that the EU makes within Europe? In particular, can such institutions really help generate sustainable development, stable peace, and environmental integrity, or will they simply create another bureaucratic overlay that impedes the evolution of local and national solutions more likely to deliver these objectives?

How do politicians in the Pacific – seeking to apply Westminster principles to government – deal with the long established social and economic institutions that rely heavily on custom and tradition? This is particularly challenging when these traditional local institutions seem to provide more real security for citizens than do the institutions of the state. In the political crisis that engulfed the Solomons from 2000–2003,

for example, the capital, Honiara, was paralysed by conflict between groups from the neighbouring islands of Malaita and Guadalcanal (Moore 2004: 140), but the majority of the population (84 per cent) who live in villages managed to survive, maintain order, and deal with political and economic differences non-violently (Moore 2007). They could do so because of the strength and legitimacy of traditional institutions. This experience of high levels of communal solidarity challenges many taken-for-granted assumptions about the dependence of Pacific Island states on their larger neighbours to guarantee security in the face of adversity (Brown 2007).

Because regional organizations in the Pacific are not dealing with well-established European economic or political systems, they have to work at a different pace than those that are. Regional organizations in the Pacific are dealing with relatively emerging governance systems – some of which work well and others not so well (Brown 2007).

Most of the Melanesian states, for example, gained their independence only since the 1970s. This means that people in these states are still adjusting to what it means to be a nation and what it means to be a citizen. While they have a very clear sense of what it means to be a traditional actor in close knit communities, they are much more challenged by what it means to be a political actor within a transitional political system moving from customary to law-based rule. This dilemma makes it particularly difficult to realize both community and national interests within a regional organization. It also means that there is some bewilderment about how a regional organization can generate real security for citizens when many state institutions (especially those in Melanesia) have not demonstrated great capacity for doing so over the past 30 years. This may in fact be one of the challenges of thinking in terms of regional solutions to regional security problems. Does the effectiveness of a regional organization depend primarily on the strength of local communities, or nation state mechanisms, or a combination of both?¹⁰ If the local community is the major provider of real security, how does the regional organization connect with these fundamental building blocks of the Melanesian, Micronesian, and Polynesian communities?

9 Hettne's concept of the 'new regionalism' applies in the Pacific where the states need to cooperate in order to tackle global challenges (1996). This regionalism is multidimensional, involving trade, economic development, environmental and social concerns as well as security. See also the chapter by Hettne in this volume.

10 Narine (2005: 424), for example, indicates that in the experience of Asia, as long as states are in the process of state-building (creating a national identity from disparate local communities) they are less able to contribute to strong regional institutional structures.

68.5 Environmental, Economic, and Political Challenges for Human [and Livelihood] Security in the South Pacific

There are many issues that are common to the Pacific Island states and most of these cannot be dealt with at a national level alone. In relation to climate change, for example, countries such as Tuvalu will be inundated in a very short period of time if there is significant melting of arctic ice caps (Barnett/Adger 2003: 326; Dupont/Pearman 2006: 46–47). This is clearly not a problem that can be addressed by Tuvaluans alone. Faced with the prospect of environmental disaster they have no alternative but to (i) work with others to try and prevent the calamity from occurring and/or (ii) work to prepare for the worst case scenario which may mean the relocation of the entire population to another island state or to Australia or New Zealand. Regionalism, for Tuvalu, therefore is necessary to work through this difficult issue. The reality is that while there are many sources of optimism there are also many problems that can only be dealt with regionally and globally. Within Melanesia, for example, there is considerable political instability, significant challenges to food and economic security, and high levels of corruption which are often instigated from the highest levels of government. Most of these demand creative responses from bilateral and regional development agencies, and most require new ways of thinking about security and governance.

The powerful actors in the region, Australia and New Zealand and multilateral agencies, such as the UNDP, have focused on the strengthening of state legitimacy and effectiveness (particularly justice, security, and financial institutions). This has often been at the expense of more village level bottom-up development and security initiatives. Paradoxically this often results in a strengthened political elite and a corresponding subversion of the power of local influentials (traditional chiefs and decision-makers) who have been responsible for the protection of custom and higher levels of community well-being.

These 'traditional influentials' in Vanuatu, Fiji, the Solomon Islands, and Papua New Guinea are gradually beginning to provide some local resistance to the strengthening of corrupt political leadership and the seemingly remorseless power of an expanding global market with all of its positive and negative consequences.¹¹ This resistance manifests itself in relation to questions of communal land, land tenure, and how such arrangements can accommodate the demands of

modern capitalism without subverting and undermining the strength of local communities. Communally owned land, for example, is central to concepts of social and community well-being in the Pacific, but it is often viewed as a constraint to easy incorporation into global capitalism.¹² The demands of development, in this situation often strike at the heart of what has provided real security for citizens through time.

Individuals and politicians in the South Pacific have been forced to grapple with these two competing dynamics – one aimed at their incorporation into the global economy (often with quite disastrous consequences, e.g. Nauru's experience of having one of the highest per capita incomes in the world to now one of the poorest)¹³ and the other aimed at conserving the more fundamental sources of real communal security as manifested in the preservation of a strong sense of custom and tradition (Brown 2007).

In fact, the benefits of economic globalization and state-building have been very mixed for most Pacific Island states. Mining companies and logging companies, for example, have generated prosperity for a few but deep environmental and economic stress for many. Similarly the nationalist slogans of politicians and adversarial political parties sit uneasily on communal high context socio-cultural relationships¹⁴ and these have generated certain disillusionment with po-

11 For example, in Vanuatu, where 70 per cent of the prime land on Efate is reportedly leased to only a handful of foreign owners, the growing concern about people's future access to land for subsistence precipitated an urgent Santo Chiefs' Summit in November 2005, where all present agreed that any land that is leased to foreigners must only last 25 years instead of 75 years, which has been the practice. See: <http://www.vanuatu-daily.com/news/currentweek.php?subaction=showfull&cid=1151540545&archive=&start_from=&ucat=2&>, 28 September 2006.

12 It is argued by some development proponents that the solution to underdevelopment is to remove social formations that conflict with development understood as economic growth, and that customary land tenure is a stumbling block to development (Moore 2007), however, communal land tenure is of great importance to Pacific peoples both symbolically and also for subsistence livelihoods (see: Sullivan 2002).

13 In 1975 Nauru had the second highest per capita income in the world after Saudi Arabia, due to phosphate mining. By 1995, following the collapse of the Bank of Nauru, the country faced a serious financial crisis. Nauru continues to face serious economic and social challenges. See at: <<http://www.mfat.govt.nz/foreign/regions/pacific/country/naurupaper.html#Economic>>, 28 September 2006, p. 4–5 of 8.

litical processes and dynamics in Papua New Guinea, the Solomons, Vanuatu, and Fiji.

68.6 Regional Organizations in the South Pacific

In so far as there is a security debate in the Pacific it is now beginning to focus more on human and collaborative security rather than national security.¹⁵ It is in this context that the *Pacific Island Forum* (PIF) has endeavoured to articulate the benefits of regional solutions to national problems.

The *Pacific Islands Forum* was established in 1971, with only seven members including Australia and New Zealand. It was originally known as the South Pacific Forum but changed its name in 2004. It was established in order to promote issues of collective concern without challenging the sovereign rights of its members. By highlighting the principle of non-interference it affirmed a strong desire not to cede significant components of national sovereignty. It focused a lot of its early political attention on questions such as French nuclear testing, and was responsible for introducing and implementing the South Pacific Nuclear Weapons Free Zone. It also tried to work out how it might respond to issues such as secessionist movements in Vanuatu, the independence movement in New Caledonia, as well as signs of unrest in Papua New Guinea.

The principle of non-interference, however, often made it difficult for the Forum to intervene in these conflicts. Certainly it was rather incapacitated in relation to the Bougainville conflict¹⁶ and the different coups that have taken place in Fiji over the past 20 years (Shibuya 2004: 112). Since the beginning of the 21st century, however, there has been a growing recognition of the fact that if the PIF is to make any significant difference to some of the national and regional

challenges confronting the Pacific, then there has to be some softening of the principle of non-interference (Shibuya 2004: 112; Peebles 2005: 77). In recent years it has, for example, expanded its membership and developed a more proactive approach to intervention when confronted by instances of severe incapacity. The Forum now consists of 16 members. It has also granted observer status to a range of non-independent states and is reaching out to a wide range of civil society organizations as well. It sees its role primarily as a coordinating mechanism establishing communication and building effective relationships between a wide variety of Pan Pacific institutions such as the *Secretariat of the Pacific Community* (SPC), the *Pacific Islands Development Programme*, the *University of the South Pacific* (USP), the *Pacific Islands Conference of Leaders* (PIC), the *South Pacific Regional Environment Programme* (SPREP), the *Forum Fisheries Agency* (FFA) and the *South Pacific Applied Geoscience Commission* (SOPAC). It does this primarily through a group known as the Council of Regional Organizations in the Pacific (CROP). It also hosts the *South Pacific Chiefs of Police Conference* aimed at improving the professional development of police managers and executive leaders in order to address issues of regional crime. Table 68.2 shows the membership of various regional organizations. The different composition of each organization is influenced by historical and political alignments, and reflects the complexity of defining the exact boundaries of this region.

The Forum's inability to respond adequately to the crises in Bougainville and then in Fiji prompted Pacific Island leaders to work toward developing some strategies for dealing with these national security crises more effectively. In the Forum's 1992 *Honiara Declaration on Law Enforcement Cooperation*,¹⁷ for example, the main principles for law enforcement cooperation were developed. This was followed by the *Aitutaki Declaration on Regional Security Cooperation* (1997),¹⁸ the *Biketawa Declaration* (2000),¹⁹

14 In these small states, it is culturally problematic to publicly criticize the political elite who are often simultaneously neighbours, relatives, and chiefs (Quanchi 2007).

15 In the Pacific Islands Forum 2005 Pacific Plan, 'security' is defined (in line with the definition of the International Commission on Human Security) as the stable and safe social (or human) and political conditions necessary for, and reflective of, good governance and sustainable development for the achievement of economic growth. Issue Paper 7: Human Security and The Pacific Plan, see at: <www.pacificplan.org/tiki-download_file.php?fileId=156>, 28 September 2006, p. 1 of 2.

16 Bougainville, now an autonomous region within Papua New Guinea, suffered nine years of highly destructive civil violence from 1988 to 1997. This conflict involved a self-determination struggle against Papua New Guinea, but also attacks on mining interests and violence amongst different groups of Bougainvillians themselves (Brown 2007).

17 See the 23rd South Pacific Forum Communiqué, 1992, at: <<http://www.forumsec.org.fj/docs/Communique/1992%20Communique.pdf#search=%2223rd%20South%20Pacific%20Forum%20Communique%C3%A9%2C%201992%22>>, 28 September 2006, p. 13-17 of 17.

Table 68.2: Membership of various Pacific Regional Organizations

Country/Territory	Regional Organizations						
	PIF	SPC	PIC	SPREP	FFA	SOPAC	USP
American Samoa		X	X	X		A	
Australia	X			X	X	X	
Cook Islands	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Federated States of Micronesia	X	X	X	X	X	X	
Fiji	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
French Polynesia	(O)	X	X	X			
Guam		X	X	X			
Hawai'i			X				
Kiribati	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Marshall Islands	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Nauru	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
New Caledonia	(O)	X	X	X		X	
New Zealand	X			X	X	X	
Niue	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Northern Mariana Islands		X	X	X			
Palau	X	X	X	X	X	X	
Papua New Guinea	X	X	X	X	X	X	
Pitcairn Islands		X					
Samoa	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Solomon Islands	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Timor Leste	(SO)						
Tokelau	(O)	X		X	X	A	X
Tonga	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Tuvalu	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
USA				X			
Vanuatu	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Wallis and Futuna		X		X			

X = member (O) = observer (SO) = special observer A = associate member

and the *Nasonini Declaration on Regional Security* (2002).²⁰ Despite a 'strong reluctance' of Forum members to deal with internal issues of their neigh-

bours (Shibuya 2004: 111–13), all of these declarations were aimed at developing a regional response capacity so that the Forum or its designated members might be able to intervene in the event of a member state being unable or unwilling to deal with violent conflict within its own borders.

The *Biketawa Declaration* adopted in 2001 recognized "the need in time of crisis or in response to

18 See the 28th South Pacific Forum Communiqué, 1997, at: <<http://www.forumsec.org.fj/docs/Communique/1997%20Communique.pdf#search=%2228th%20South%20Pacific%20Forum%20Communique%20C3%A9%2C%201997%22>>, 28 September 2006, p. 13–14 of 16.

19 See the 31st South Pacific Forum Communiqué, 2000, at: <http://www.forumsec.org.fj/docs/Communique/Forum_Communique.htm>; also see: Henderson/Watson 2005: 16–18.

20 See the 33rd South Pacific Forum Communiqué, 2002, at: <<http://www.forumsec.org.fj/docs/Communique/2002%20Communique.pdf>>, 28 September 2006, p.11 of 22.

members' request for assistance for action to be taken on the basis of all members of the Forum being part of the Pacific Islands extended family" (Urwin 2005: 16-17). This was perhaps the first time that PIF leaders publicly acknowledged that the problems of one might, in certain circumstances, be the problems of all. This is a vitally important step in relation to the development of a more acute consciousness of the ways in which national and regional interests can coincide.

The *Biketawa Declaration* has provided the authority for considerable Forum intervention in recent years. It first deployed election observers to the Solomon Islands in the 2001 elections (Peebles 2005: 162). The Forum also established an *Eminent Persons Group*, of former leaders and diplomats, who travelled to the Solomon Islands in 2002 to consider a Forum response to the conflict (Peebles 2005: 63). The Forum then responded to a request from the Solomon Islands government in 2003 to intervene in the conflict. The resulting *Regional Assistance Mission to the Solomon Islands* (RAMSI)²¹ stabilized the country within three months and collected almost 4,000 weapons without a single shot being fired (Peebles 2005: 167). The mission's aims extended beyond the reestablishment of law and order to assist in the processes of emergency relief, development, and long-term nation-building. This generally positive experience suffered something of a setback in April 2006 when the unpopular election of Snyder Rini as Prime Minister precipitated violent riots in Honiara and the destruction of the largely Chinese commercial sector (Moore 2006: 4). The deployment of RAMSI has been generally positive although the limits of military intervention in the Solomons, as in Iraq, are plain to see.

The Biketawa framework was used again in 2004 in relation to a Forum intervention to design a process for dealing with Nauru's financial crisis when it realized that it was for all intents and purposes bankrupt. Although the Biketawa declaration provides criteria by which the Secretary-General (in collaboration with Forum Leaders) can initiate diplomatic and military action in response to a member country's problems, there is now widespread acknowledgement that the deployment of police and military after conflict has occurred is not where the PIF should be directing most of its efforts. On the contrary the military interventions have generated renewed momentum behind

discerning the long-term structural sources of conflict in the region and working to ensure that the underlying causes of tension are addressed.

To this end the Forum initiated, in 2000, a survey of the prospects for security in each of the Forum's member states, and developed the annual meeting of the *Forum Security Committee* as a place for conducting wide-ranging assessment of security issues affecting the region. This has resulted in a series of national and regional security assessments, all of which have stressed the necessity for a holistic approach to security combining equal attention to economic and social development, security, and good governance and human rights agendas.

Within this framework considerable attention has been dedicated to working out how traditional and modern leaders in all PIF states can govern with justice, wisdom, impartiality, and fairness – qualities which were largely taken for granted in traditional times but which have been rather subverted in modern times.

In order to ascertain how the PIF could play a critical role in relation to these objectives, Forum leaders decided to review Forum effectiveness in 2003. The *Eminent Persons Group* travelled the Pacific with a mission to find out, what sort of a Pacific member states and peoples wanted. This has given rise to the *Pacific Plan: For Strengthening Regional Cooperation and Integration*²² to promote peace, harmony, security, and economic prosperity. This has generated new momentum behind closer regional cooperation and deeper regional integration in order to advance the building of peace and the prevention of conflict. Among other things this plan is aimed at strengthening regional resistance to the more malign effects of globalization in the region. The dilemma this is highlighting is how to resist the more pernicious features of globalization without succumbing to a romantic idealization of subsistence past.

The *Pacific Plan* seeks to save the resources, harmonize the processes, and align the policies of the Forum's member states within a ten-year period from 2006. Its concept for regionalism is, "countries working together for their joint and individual benefit" (*Pacific Plan* 2005: 4) and it does not imply limitation on national sovereignty. The intention is that a regional approach should only be taken if it adds value to national efforts. The Plan's four guiding principles are

21 RAMSI was established under the Forum mandate and headed by Australia, with regional personnel staffing the mission (Moore 2004).

22 For the *Pacific Plan* and its background papers, see at: <<http://www.pacificplan.org/tiki-page.php?pageName=HomePage>>, 28 September 2006.

economic growth, sustainable development, good governance, and security.

The *Pacific Plan* is ambitious and wide-ranging and it remains to be seen how effective it will be in improving the security in the Pacific Islands region as it attempts to balance the economies of scale with the diseconomies of isolation. The Plan recognizes the need for “harmonization of traditional and modern values and structures” (Pacific Plan 2005: 7), however, it does not really begin to address the tensions at the interface of traditional and modern governance. It is recognized in the Plan’s supporting documents²³ that the current declarations and mechanisms previously introduced by the Forum to improve regional security will “need to be strengthened to ensure action plans are operationalized and monitored.” In addition, Crocombe warns that unless Pacific governments are prepared to devote a larger share of their national resources to regional activity, they will not be able to achieve the Plan’s goals.²⁴ Moreover, priority needs to be given to sharing the benefits of regional activity more equitably, as the benefits of regionalism so far have been uneven.²⁵ The top-down development of the Plan has also been criticized: regional civil society has made a statement regarding inadequate consultation, particularly with civil society in the development of the Plan.²⁶ This and the lack of a gender focus²⁷ will make it difficult to effectively realize the Plan’s human security aims. Gender equality and women’s empowerment are significant issues in the Pacific (Sepoe

2007), and require a systematic approach. Fortunately the *Pacific Plan* is designed as an evolving process (Pacific Plan 2005: 9) to be reviewed annually in the Forum meeting, so there is yet opportunity to address these weaknesses.

Ultimately the effectiveness of the Pacific Plan will depend on individual states making and implementing relevant policies. While the members each grapple with persistent issues including corruption, political and economic exclusion of large proportions of the population, tensions between traditional and modern governance, inequalities, low employment, and social service provision, their collective energies towards regionalism are likely to be drained by these domestic issues. That these issues are shared across the region, however, may also provide an impetus to address them within the regional framework.

The PIF is nowhere near as large or as elaborate as other regional organizations such as the EU, the African Union, and ASEAN, but its aspirations are similar and the gains from integration are comparable. It will be supported in this endeavour by its two strongest members, Australia and New Zealand, and by a host of other regional and multilateral players not the least of which is the EU itself and the United Nations, which acknowledges that the PIF is the organization that it wishes to connect with in relation to Pacific Affairs.

68.7 Summary and Conclusions

Although still in its infancy, the PIF is committed to ensuring that the Pacific is a zone of peace rather than one of instability. It has adopted a broad and comprehensive conception of security and it acknowledges the central importance of working with both traditional and introduced institutions in the achievement of higher levels of economic growth, long-term sustainable peace, and stability. The region is unique in that it is home to some of the world’s rarest language and cultural groups and it remains surprisingly resistant to whole scale incorporation into the global capitalist economy. The areas of subsistence agriculture, traditional rule, and customary procedure which are working to everyone’s benefit might in fact have very positive evolutionary value for other more ‘developed’ parts of the world.

If the PIF and other regional mechanisms can generate spaces for the coexistence of both subsistence and capitalist production and distribution, and legitimate traditional as well as introduced political and ju-

23 Pacific Plan [Regional Analysis] Security Summary: 284.

24 Pacific Plan Regional Analysis, International Context and Lessons from Other Regions: A Perspective Pacific Plan documents p. 291–313, available at: <<http://www.pacificplan.org/tiki-page.php?pageName=Pacific+Plan+Reporting+%26+Monitoring>>, 28 September 2006.

25 According to Crocombe, Papua New Guinea, with 65 per cent of the people of the region, has had least benefit from regional organizations. Solomon Islands and Vanuatu have also been marginalized. The main benefits have gone to the centre (i.e. Fiji). The emphasis on the Small Islands States is another example of imbalance – all Small Islands States together have fewer people than an average PNG province, yet few PNG provinces see any significant benefits from regional organizations (2005: Pacific Plan Regional Analysis, International Context and Lessons From Other Regions: A Perspective p. 299); Shibuya (2004: 108) gives the example of USP, the regional university, whose employment, scholarships and enrolments have favoured Fiji nationals.

26 See at: <<http://www.scoop.co.nz/stories/WO0511/S00044.htm>>, p. 1 of 4.

27 See at: <worldywca1.org/news_items/gender_focus.pdf>, 28 September 2006, p. 1 of 4.

dicial institutions, it might be able to make a major contribution towards a better understanding of security in our postmodern, post-industrial world. The prognoses of modernization theorists do not seem to have been realized in the Pacific. Tradition and custom have demonstrated considerable resilience and persistence. It seems clear, therefore, that new models for both national and regional development are 'hybrid' models combining the best of traditional and customary rule and decision-making with introduced democratic forms. In this process all member states of the PIF and the secretariat need to be strengthened so that collaborative holistic orientations to security might be conceptualized and implemented in the South Pacific.

69 Security on the American Continent: Challenges, Perceptions, and Concepts

Francisco Rojas Aravena

69.1 Introduction

The UN Security Council had to set up a peace enforcement mission in Haiti to prevent a civil war, which might spill over into neighbouring countries. The death toll is rising daily in Mexico and Central America due to cross-border fighting between rival gangs or *maras*. To establish the rule of law, the Brazilian government decided to send troops into Rio de Janeiro to stem a tide of violence associated with drug trafficking, which is using the weapons of war. In Colombia, the authorities announced that they were going to implement the 'Patriot Plan' to reclaim territories where the state lost jurisdiction decades ago from guerrilla forces. These decision-triggered fears in neighbouring countries, especially Ecuador, that conflict would spread across the border. Amid the sociopolitical polarization in Venezuela, the government arrested nearly a hundred Colombian paramilitaries accused of subverting national order. In Bolivia, against a backdrop of instability, the armed forces withdrew to barracks in protest against a military trial being transferred to a civil court. This happened during increasing mobilization against the policies of President Mesa. Bolivia's maritime claims against Chile undermined dialogue between the two countries. Argentina has been plunged into an energy crisis, which is exerting an impact on neighbouring states. For Chile, this meant launching a diplomatic and technical debate about fulfilling contracts and respecting commitments. From the perspective of the United States, threats from the region focus on the narcotics trade, which is being linked to international organized crime and thus to extremist and terrorist structures in the greater Middle East.

The scenario described above shows how, in the 35 countries of the American continent, there is a strong interplay between the security, governance, defence and development agendas, driven by a broad spectrum of stakeholders in a context heavily interlinked with international and domestic factors. The

focus of attention in Latin America and the Caribbean is the hemisphere itself, but also the sub-regional environment. Only Brazil defines itself as a global and regional player, which is why it supports initiatives such as the G3/BISA (Brazil, India, and South Africa) and the South American Strategic Area.

There are four sub-regions in Latin America and the Caribbean: in the north, the Caribbean (both Spanish and English-speaking) and Central America (7 countries) plus Mexico. Together these two sub regions make up the extensive Caribbean Basin (see fig. 69.1). South America consists of another two sub regions: the Andean nations (Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Venezuela) and MERCOSUR (Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay); to these we must add Bolivia and Chile as associated states (see figure 69.2).

69.2 International Security: Where Does Latin America Fit In?

During the present post-Cold War and post-11 September period, there is no clear vision shared by the various international players on the essential path forward for the international order. The attacks of 11 September 2001 in the United States, combined with subsequent terrorist attacks up to 11 March 2004 in Madrid, indicate that the main threat is international terrorism with its global reach. This is most widely perceived as the prime threat by countries belonging to the United Nations. However, perceptions of just how close and/or imminent this threat actually is differ substantially from one region of the world to the next.

In structural terms, the United States is perceived to be consolidating its hegemony by creating a hard power gap of such magnitude that it has no counterweight¹. This gives it more scope to wield its essential

1 Philip Bobbitt: "Better than Empire", in: *FT Magazine*, 13 March 2004.

Figure 69.1: Map of Central America and the Caribbean. **Source:** Permission granted by University of Texas Library, Austin, map is in public domain and not copyrighted; <http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/americas/central_america_ref02.jpg>.



tool of influence ‘soft power’ (Nye 2004). The re-ordering of the global hierarchy is taking place outside the traditional institutional mechanisms of multilateralism. The United States is building a de-institutionalized capacity for global control based on ‘ad hoc coalitions’. This translates into a policy of *radical unilateralism* using intervention and pre-emptive strikes as its means (Rojas Aravena 2002). It is not yet apparent whether this will be long term state policy or whether it is simply the political expression of a specific administration led by George W. Bush.

Through the UN Security Council the international community, including Latin America and the Caribbean, has granted the biggest coalition of states, with the United States at the helm, broad powers to combat terrorism, authorizing the intervention in Afghanistan for this very purpose. This, however, was not enough for the Bush Jr. administration. His obsession with Iraq prompted him to break that coalition and exercise unilateral power, with serious consequences for multilateral cooperation and stability in the region, including the one of international oil prices. A year after the intervention in Iraq, it has

been effectively demonstrated that, however great the hard power of the United States may be, establishing peace and political, economic, and social stability in Iraq – as in any other conflict – calls for the kind of legitimacy derived from institutionalized multilateralism backed by material support.

The region that feels the influence of the United States most directly is the American hemisphere. Even so, it is granted scant attention or priority. Latin America plays a marginal role in world affairs. The region has sought to adopt and maintain a low key position on strategic issues. It has been defined as a ‘region of peace’,² non-proliferation, free of nuclear arms, strategic carriers or warheads, and chemical and biological weapons. For the same reason, military spending in Latin America and the Caribbean is lower than in any other region of the world.³

2 Meeting of South American Presidents, II Summit: “Declaration: South America, Zone of Peace”, Quito, 2002.

3 See figures published by the: US ACDA up to (1997), IISS (2005), and by SIPRI (2005).

Figure 69.2: Map of South America. **Source:** Permission granted by University of Texas Library, Austin, map is in public domain and not copyrighted; download at: <http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/americas/south_america_ref04.jpg>.



Latin America does not pose a threat to any international players. Quite the reverse: it contributes effectively to global stability by participating in peacekeeping missions created by the United Nations. Peace is not maintained of its own accord. One or more states

must assume the responsibility and accept the burden required to uphold it (Kegan 2003).

On the American continent, the will of Latin America will not in itself suffice to preserve stability and peace. The will of the United States is an essential

condition. The change of track in US policy as it pursued its 'multilateralism *à la carte*' combined with a process of unilateral intervention beyond the pale of UN legitimacy has strained the opportunities for cooperation in implementing peace. Moreover, the United States is promoting partnerships that divide the region. This happened over Iraq, with seven countries condemning the invasion and seven supporting it, of which four dispatched symbolic military contingents (El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua and the Dominican Republic). US policies towards the region are perceived as stimulating the militarization of conflicts and the 'securitization' of the agenda (Flasco-Chile 2004).

In the light of these trends, and also of the external/internal influence which the United States exerts in every country in the region, Latin America faces the option of: a) splitting further in pursuit of sporadic advantages for individual countries; or b) establishing effective mechanisms for dialogue with high standards of transparency to address questions of common interest. There is no consensus on commercial integration (American Free Trade Area) and the region is divided on whether or not to support it. Brazil has campaigned firmly against the idea.

The region does not share a common position on reforming the United Nations. Support is expressed for principles and proposals calling for 'more democracy' and more 'participation' in decision-making, especially in the Security Council. Views have been expressed that the UN should be restructured to enhance its representational balance.⁴ At least three countries - Argentina, Brazil and Mexico - have announced that they will be seeking a permanent seat on the Council if it is enlarged. Competition has paralyzed the dialogue and proposals. Faced with the emergence of new threats which are non-territorial, asymmetric and transnational - the hallmarks of global terrorism - Latin America may display a number of vulnerabilities, but it is not a logistic springboard for planning acts of global terrorism, in spite of US insinuations to this effect.⁵

All the evidence collected since the attacks of 11 September 2001 indicates that cells linked to global

terrorism are not operating from Latin America. This is one area in which it is important to continue cooperation and the exchange of information to prevent Latin American territory being used to attack the United States or the European Union and their interests.

69.3 State Security: Accelerating Change

States remain the primary actors within the international order, but are not the only actors. Today they are obliged to share arenas of power and cooperation with non-state stakeholders, civil society organizations, multi and transnational corporations, and even individuals. This has brought a fundamental change in regional and global relations.

State security has traditionally been founded on two fundamental components: a) internal cohesion in organizing domestic power relations, including the formation of a government capable of asserting the rule of law, within a set territory and for the whole population; b) relations between sovereign states, whether they are competing or cooperating. These two components have changed substantially throughout the world in general and in Latin America in particular. Frequently different players compete within the same territory, thereby fragmenting society; this is the case in Haiti, Central America, and Venezuela. In addition, when state action fails to satisfy the demands of peoples or societies, domestic security and the capacity for governance are subject to vulnerabilities. This is illustrated by the situation in Bolivia, Ecuador or Peru, and in Central America.

However, the main focus of inter-state relations is founded on the capacity for sovereign decision-making and full territorial integrity. Traditionally, this was the pivotal factor in the perception of threats to security. Peace between states is Latin America's greatest asset and one which needs to be preserved. The principal threat to state security in this region derives from domestic vulnerabilities. An inability to satisfy the demands and needs of the population makes it harder to establish effective democratic institutional-ity and to move forward from *electoral democracy* to *civil democracy*, as formulated in the UNDP Report of 2004 (UNDP 2004a).

Progress in security and defence relations was achieved during the 1990's because the major disputes over state borders - between Argentina and Chile, Peru and Ecuador, Chile and Peru, El Salvador and

4 Group of Rio: "Cuzco Consensus", 24th May 2003, in: <http://www.resdal.org/ultimos-documentos/docs-presidentes.html>.

5 Speech by General James T. Hill, Commander of the United States Southern Command, before the House Armed Services Committee in the US Congress. 24th March 2004, in: http://www.americas.irc-online.org/reports/2005/0507creep_body.html.

Honduras – were resolved and strategic military competition eased between the major players, notably between Argentina and Brazil in the nuclear field. Agreements and cooperation have consolidated this scenario of broad inter-state stability, enabling South America to declare itself a ‘peace zone’. Maintaining proactive measures designed to consolidate peace between states is an ongoing task. If existing processes of economic complementarity do not evolve into strong, intensive processes towards association and integration, there will be a need to address all the aspects associated with territorial sovereignty, border demarcation and strategic balance.

The traditional conflicts have not disappeared. In fact, there is a considerable number of disputes linked to the underlying issue of territorial sovereignty. Taking all the sub-regions as a whole, there are more than forty situations relating to border disputes coupled with territorial claims and/or demarcation problems on land or sea (Griffith 2004). The principal active controversies concern Belize-Guatemala, Bolivia-Chile, Honduras-Nicaragua, Colombia-Nicaragua, Costa Rica-Nicaragua, Colombia-Venezuela, Venezuela-Guyana, Argentina-Great Britain, and the United States-Cuba. In addition, there are many dormant conflicts. The experience of the 1990’s shows that these border issues led to a broad use of force. On more than 25 occasions force was demonstrated by means of effective military deployment or a readiness to mobilize (Mares 2003). In the case of Ecuador-Peru in 1995, there was a brief war, and active international mediation was required to end it. This involved the United States, Argentina and Chile via the Military Observer Mission to Ecuador and Peru (MOMEPE).

In the light of these facts, it is essential to establish specific mechanisms for recognizing disputes, proposing alternative solutions, and designing effective measures to promote a climate of stability and trust. Regional institutionalization – born during the Cold War – is still weak. There are no early warning systems. On the other hand, major advances have been achieved when it comes to confidence and security building measures, resulting in a range of progress from protocol initiatives to joint military exercises. This process has now been underway for ten years (Eastman 2003). Twenty-one states have announced the implementation of confidence and security building measures of this kind, above all, exchanges of information and visits to military installations.

A large number of countries in the region have specified defence and security policies in the form of Defence Papers: Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Ecuador,

Guatemala, and Peru. There is now also more transparency on military spending, founded on national sources but adopting a standardized methodology (ECLA 2001). Argentina and Chile launched an initiative, subsequently joined by Peru and with support from CEPAL, which will permit the creation of a comparative framework to express military spending. This is a field with huge potential for expansion at the regional level. Deeper knowledge mitigates the distrust that arises around military spending and procurement.

The main perception of threat – notwithstanding the above – is no longer rooted in inter-state disputes. The transnational dimension is now a central feature. Threats are affecting several states at once, and such threats cannot be resolved within national borders. Moreover, players or agents who do not represent governments or states are provoking them. Organized crime is a fundamental player in the emergence of these new threats. *Intra*-state tensions, gaps created *within* society, against a backdrop of growing access to light arms, have prepared the ground for various non-state forces, notably organized crime with its international links, to challenge the state’s legitimate monopoly of force.

There is a need in the region to address post-conflict situations in order to stem the transfer of weaponry which otherwise occurs. In other words, effective action must be taken as soon as a state and its society are pacified, to withdraw as many arms as possible from circulation, to establish strict supply-side control, and to restore the state’s monopoly on the use of force. This is one of the tasks currently posed in Haiti, which never reached its completion in Central America, and which will constitute one of the pivotal elements in Colombia.

Urban violence causes more deaths in Latin America and the Caribbean than open conflict does. The region suffers 25.10 homicides per 100,000 inhabitants, a rate higher than in any other region of the world; more than 100,000 people are murdered every year, quite apart from other crimes such as abduction and robbery. We should point out, moreover, that there is a major gender gap and big differences from one country to another. The overwhelming majority of murder victims are young men. Rates are extremely high in Central America and Colombia. In the former, this is a consequence of the wars during the 1980’s and confrontations between cross-border youth gangs, known as *maras*. In the latter, it is the result of the present conflict, which has been dragging out now for almost 50 years. Brazil has witnessed a big increase

in violence. Two countries display very low levels: Chile and Uruguay, both less than 4.6. The IDB estimates that altogether these deaths cost the region 14.2 % of its GDP.

69.4 Human Security: Individuals and Communities

The concept of human security entered the world stage in the mid-1990's in a context when new paradigms were being sought to anchor changes in the international order, with growing theoretical and practical debate about the traditional concepts of security that inspired actions taken by countries for much of the last century. The academic community, but also some international organizations and even states, promoted the concept of human security to define new security challenges more appropriately and place individuals at the focus of attention. The origins can be traced back to the UNDP (1994a) Report on: *New Dimensions to Human Security*, which argues "human security centres on the human being." Human security, the authors continue, means that people are able to exercise their options in security and freedom and that they can be relatively confident that the opportunities they have today will not vanish completely tomorrow. In 2003 the report *Human Security Now* of the Human Security Commission was published (CHS 2003). Human security clusters different types of freedoms: 'freedom from deprivation', 'freedom from fear', and 'freedom to act on one's own behalf'. The report suggests that there are two basic strategies for achieving the objective described above: *protecting individuals* or *empowering individuals*. On the one hand, human security emerges in this sense as a concept which complements the notion of the state's territorial security. On the other hand, however, the concept challenges the 'doctrine of national security' by focusing firmly on individuals and human rights. Human security integrates a multidimensional perspective, which, in contrast to the classical concept of state security, places the emphasis on non-military factors and on cooperation. Canada and Chile have promoted this human security perspective. Both are members of the *Human Security Network* set up by 14 countries on different continents: Austria, Canada, Chile, Costa Rica, Slovenia, Greece, the Netherlands, Ireland, Jordan, Mali, Norway, Switzerland and Thailand, with South Africa as an observer.

At the Special Conference on Security in the Americas, which will be discussed below, the concept

of human security was taken on board after lengthy debate as a basis for the protection of the individual and respect for human dignity. This marked some changes in structural trends up to 11 September, with the implementation of concrete policies from the Network's agenda (mines, control of small arms, child soldiers, human traffic). These initiatives complement those relating to state security and will reinforce international security.

69.5 Latin America's Prime Vulnerability: (Un)governance

If we analyse the security and defence situation in Latin America in 2004, we can conclude that the main threats are rooted in domestic conflicts. The key risk factors in Latin America and the Caribbean are associated with lack of governance, instability, and weak democratic institutionalality. The evidence of the last 15 years indicates a high level of regional instability and, in many instances, overspill from national conflicts into neighbouring countries and beyond, triggering conditions in which inter-state issues may re-emerge and escalate. The tensions between Colombia and Venezuela, or indeed between Ecuador and Brazil, are some examples. The crisis in Haiti reflects a similar scenario in the Caribbean.

Instability has become a persistent feature of Latin America and the Caribbean. Political and economic crises accompanied by social upheavals have provoked the resignation of eight heads of state, 19 military crises or states of tension and five coups d'état. During the 1990's Latin America and the Caribbean witnessed more than twenty-five institutional crises. The most striking cases were in Paraguay, Haiti, and Peru. Since 2000 new hotbeds of tension have developed in Argentina, Bolivia, Ecuador, Peru and Venezuela, quite apart from the renewed eruption of crisis in Haiti.

Instability calls for action to reinforce democratic regimes and implement support mechanisms of the kind envisaged in the Democratic Charter for the Americas signed in 2001. There are very high levels of dissatisfaction with democracy in the region: 66 per cent in 2003. National and regional alternatives must be developed in order to reduce social divisions and combat poverty. Particular importance is attributed to formulating and implementing a plan for democratic governance, paving the way for stability, growth, and human development as a foundation for national and regional security.

69.6 Regional Security: Defining the Threats and Devising New Concepts

Major efforts have been undertaken on the American continent over the last ten years to establish a common concept of security, founded on shared values, which would facilitate effective political commitments in this area. The American Presidential Summits – in Miami in 1994, in Santiago in 1998, Quebec in 2001, and Monterrey in 2004 – reflected the priorities, with specific measures expressed by means of action plans. In the field of security, this protracted process culminated in the Special Conference on Security⁶ held in the District of Mexico in October 2003, where a new, broad, and multidimensional concept of security was proposed which emphasized non-traditional threats.

69.6.1 Identifying the Threats: Sub-regional Factors

By ranking perceptions of threats in the various sub-regions we can observe strong similarities around the key themes of overarching concern. These are: drug trafficking, terrorism, arms trafficking, organized crime, the environment and natural disasters, poverty and social deprivation, and guerrilla activity and subversive groups. Analysing perceptions of threat from the perspective of the region as a whole, we will note that in all their contributions the authorities stress drug trafficking and terrorism as threats. Second place goes to poverty and social deprivation, arms trafficking and problems relating to the environment or natural disasters. There is a third category, which includes organized crime, although this might also be associated with arms trafficking or with terrorism and drug trafficking.

Guerrilla activity and subversive groups complete the list. However, if we analyse perceptions of threats sub-region by sub-region, priorities vary after the top two. Poverty emerges as a strong factor in the Andean region and the Caribbean, whereas natural disasters are a major concern in Central America. Only the Andean countries attach mid-ranging importance to guerrilla activities, while these come bottom of the list

in the other sub-regions. The Special Conference on Security defined the key threats as:

1. terrorism along with cross border crime and related offences,
2. extreme poverty and social exclusion,
3. natural disasters, HIV/AIDS and other diseases, and environmental degradation;
4. illegal human trafficking,
5. attacks on digital security,
6. potentially hazardous substances in maritime freight,
7. weapons of mass destruction and their carriers.

The Declaration on Security in the Americas lists 36 commitments. At least 50 per cent of these are aimed at solving the concerns and challenges described above.

69.6.2 Establishing a New Concept

The Declaration on Security in the Americas adopted a broad approach to conceptualizing security, rooted in a notion of multidimensionality as the interlinking factor. This places the concept on a wider footing, applying conventional methods to tackle new, unconventional threats, including their political, economic, social, health related, and environmental aspects.

This new concept of security with its broad approach facilitated consensus at the Special Conference on Security. It embraced the worries of all stakeholders, from the superpower to microstates in the Caribbean. In fact, the United States facilitated agreement by accepting two paragraphs, indicating its dissent in a footnote (landmines and climate change). A very broad concept is, however, harder to operationalize. Tackling the security, defence, environmental, health and development agendas simultaneously is such a comprehensive task that a coherent programme of activities is highly unlikely. Nevertheless, given the satisfaction felt by the states who subscribed to the concept, it is conceivable that each sub-regional structure will permit the formulation of action plans which are tailored more precisely to requirements, specific perceptions of threat and the resources available to combat them.

69.6.3 The Principal Actors

Mexico played a pivotal role in drawing the agreements, managing – after a postponement – to move the Conference on and achieve consensus around the Declaration. Chile and Canada made proposals in

6 OAS/Ser.K/XXXVIII: “Declaration on Security in the Americas”, Mexico City, October 2003; see at: <http://www.oas.org/documents/eng/DeclaracionSecurity_102803.asp>.

which the concept of human security was a fundamental factor. The United States focused strongly on development, although without suggesting any specific additions. Brazil stressed the issue of poverty. The Caribbean countries made a clear case for the concerns of small island states, and Central America promoted its model of democratic security.

In debates about security and defence in the countries of the region, there are some differences of a bureaucratic nature between government positions. The delegations participating at the Conference included representatives of foreign and defence ministries but also officers of the armed forces. It should be noted that, with the exception of Peru, all South American countries sent their Minister or Deputy Minister of Defence along with their Foreign Minister. In three cases, all from the English-speaking Caribbean, the head of delegation was a member of the military. Sixty per cent of delegations from countries with armed forces included military personnel. The participation of civil society organizations was modest, but they were given a hearing, and some of their recommendations were incorporated. There is particular significance in the recognition by states of consultation with civil society organizations in applying a multidimensional approach to security.

Considering this conceptual breadth and the constellation of actors involved, we expect cooperation to develop on a bilateral and sub-regional basis. We should be aware that pronounced bilateralism, especially between such asymmetric stakeholders as the United States and other countries in the region, will limit the scope for multilateral moves, tending to foster 'multilateralism *à la carte*' and to fragment the response. Therefore, this security architecture founded on and developed by the sub-regions will be flexible, modular, and by nature cooperative and collective.

69.6.4 A Flexible Security Architecture

This flexible character, defined in the Declaration adopted by Defence Ministers in Santiago de Chile in November 2002, has emerged because "the region has gradually shifted towards a complex system of security, constituted by a network of old and new institutions and mechanisms of security, both collective and cooperative, which is hemispherical, regional, sub-regional and bilateral in its reach."⁷

The Miami Consensus – an outcome of the expert meeting on confidence- and security-building measures in February 2003 – stated that

- the development of measures to promote confidence and security is part of the emergence of a new flexible security architecture in the Americas, as they are a substantial and irreplaceable feature of a network of bilateral, sub-regional, regional and hemispherical agreements on co-operation elaborated to complement the security institutions forged by the inter-American system.⁸

By virtue of the consensus achieved between states, the Declaration on Security in the Americas⁹ recognized and formalized a series of instruments that have instigated the construction of new security architecture for the American continent:

- The present guiding principles for security in the hemisphere are derived from the United Nations Charter and the Charter of the Organization of American States.
- The key instruments for the prevention and resolution of conflicts and the peaceful solution of disputes are the Treaty of Rio (TIAR) and the Bogotá Pact, although it is imperative to review these and adapt them to present-day security and defence needs.
- The institutions and processes with an active role in this field are the Organization of American States and its Security Commission. The Presidential Summits and Conferences of Defence Ministers provide orientation and define priority issues.
- Within the Inter-American family, the bodies operationalizing the new architecture are the Inter-American Commission on the Control of Drug Abuse (CICAD), the Inter-American Anti-Terrorism Committee (CICTE) and the Inter-American Committee for the Reduction of Natural Disasters (CIRDN). The Inter-American Court of Human Rights also plays a role. In addition, there are links with the Inter-American Defence Council (JID).

69.7 Conclusions: The Security Trilogy

In the last decade, the countries and societies of Latin America have been absorbed in a process of deep reflection and reformulation surrounding concepts of security. There has been a conceptual shift from a

7 "V Conference of Defence Ministers of the Americas", Santiago de Chile, December 2002.

8 OAS/Ser.K/XXIX. "Declaration of experts on measures to foster confidence and security. Recommendations to the Special Security Conference", Miami, February 2003.

9 OAS/Ser.K/XXXVIII. "Declaration on Security in the Americas", Mexico City, October 2003.

Cold War perspective, with its sights set clearly on an enemy, expressed in the actions of a state and backed by powerful military weight, towards a new post-Cold War stage in which the threats are diffuse and transnational. The influence of traditional military factors has receded as a result, and many of these threats do not seem to be connected to state actors.

One of the major challenges, both intellectually and institutionally, has been to bring together the links in a conceptual chain that reaches from human to international security via state security (Rojas Aravena 2002, 2002a). The way in which this relationship is constructed will determine the ability to satisfy, operationalize, and implement at one and the same time the requirements of global and national security, as well as the security of individuals and communities. The essential nature of today's new international conflicts, centres on intra-state problems, demonstrates the need to explore a more appropriate definition of the inter-relationship between these three levels, especially given the impact of globalization. The new threats are by character transnational and they are part of the 'parallel globalization'. They involve actors and agents who for most part do not represent nations or governments, nor are they located in a clearly demarcated state territory. The risks and vulnerabilities that affect the security of one nation simultaneously - in the context of globalization and interdependence - influence the security of others, and so they cannot be exclusively resolved within the borders of one state. Wars have also changed radically. The great majority do not take place between states. Conflicts are intra-national with inter-state consequences. Their origins and driving forces are more likely to be socio-economic, ethnic, and religious or inspired by self-determination than the result of border disputes. Non-state actors have acquired a greater weight. Moreover, there are, growing calls for international inter-governmental bodies and NGOs to intervene. As a result, we are witnessing a further diminishing of state capacities in this field, especially in the case of states with relatively little power.

In this trilogy of human, national and international security, scenarios will determine which factor

has the greatest significance. By far the majority of cases where the state has power and influence, it will be under pressure to take responsibility for preventing a domestic situation from spilling across its borders into neighbouring territory, or from triggering major population displacements and, as a consequence, intra-state tensions. This reaffirms the continuing importance of states as the principal players on the international stage. In some geographical regions, especially Africa and the Caribbean, the centre of gravity will tend to lie more with international security and its key actors, those who have to respond when some states display weakness. The focus, then, is on the capacity of the international system to respond to crises in fragile or failing states, either to create stability or to initiate and promote cooperation and assistance during humanitarian disasters. In the case of Latin America, the key vulnerabilities derive from a crisis of governance throughout the region, which hampers the promotion of human security and produces, rather the opposite effect by generating opportunities for intense insecurity, reflected in a fear of violence and fear of the wide ranging dissatisfied needs.

Given the low level of conflict between states and a crisis of governance that falls short of humanitarian crisis, the international community pays little attention to the problems affecting Latin American countries. In short, Latin America and the Caribbean have enhanced global security thanks to denuclearization and their status as an inter-state Peace Zone. They weaken security because of their lack of governance. To achieve effective security, the conditions of one factor must be met at the same time as the conditions of the others. An international crisis is simultaneously a state crisis and a human security crisis, just as a crisis of human security is simultaneously a state and international crisis. Hence the need to construct a holistic, integrated perspective. For this we will need new terminology (Grabendorff 2003) and new concepts befitting this era which we cannot yet define, which is why we describe it variously as post-Cold War, post 11 September, and post-Security Conference.

Document 69.1: Excerpts from OAS: "Declaration on Security in the Americas". Source: OEA/Ser.K/ XXXVIII; CES/DEC. 1/03 rev.1 28 October 2003; Adopted at the third plenary session of October 28, 2003; full text at: <http://www.oas.org/documents/eng/DeclaracionSecurity_102803.asp>.

We, the States of the Americas represented at the Special Conference on Security, in Mexico City, committed to promoting and strengthening peace and security in the Hemisphere:

Recalling that the Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace, held in Chapultepec, Mexico, in 1945, proposed a plan to respond to the security needs of the Americas; ...

Recalling that the Summit of the Americas in Santiago, Chile instructed the Organization of American States (OAS), through the Committee on Hemispheric Security to: "follow up on and expand topics relating to confidence and security building measures; analyze the meaning, scope, and implications of international security concepts in the Hemisphere, with a view to developing the most appropriate common approaches by which to manage their various aspects, including disarmament and arms control; and pinpoint ways to revitalize and strengthen the institutions of the inter-American system related to the various aspects of Hemispheric Security culminating in" a Special Conference on Security, to be held within the framework of the OAS; ...

Recognizing that the states of the Hemisphere face both traditional threats to security and new threats, concerns, and other challenges that, in view of their complex characteristics, have meant that security is multidimensional in nature; and

Firmly convinced that, in view of the profound changes that have occurred in the world and in the Americas since 1945, we have a unique opportunity to reaffirm the principles, shared values, and common approaches upon which peace and security in the Hemisphere is built,

Declare that:

I. PRINCIPLES OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE CHARTER OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES

1. We reaffirm that security in the Hemisphere has as a fundamental basis the respect of the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and the Charter of the Organization of American States.

II. SHARED VALUES AND COMMON APPROACHES

2. Our new concept of security in the Hemisphere is multidimensional in scope, includes traditional and new threats, concerns, and other challenges to the security of the states of the Hemisphere, incorporates the priorities of each state, contributes to the consolidation of peace, integral development, and social justice, and is based on democratic values, respect for and promotion and defense of human rights, solidarity, cooperation, and respect for national sovereignty.

3. Peace is a value and a principle in itself, based on democracy, justice, respect for human rights, solidarity, security, and respect for international law. Our security architecture will help preserve it through the strengthening

of cooperation mechanisms among our states to address the traditional threats and the new threats, concerns, and other challenges facing our Hemisphere.

4. We affirm that our cooperation in addressing traditional threats and new threats, concerns, and other challenges to security is also based on shared values and common approaches recognized in the Hemisphere.

Salient among them are:

a. Each state has the sovereign right to identify its own national security priorities and to define strategies, plans, and actions for addressing threats to its security, in accordance with its legal system and with full respect for international law and the norms and principles of the Charter of the OAS and the Charter of the United Nations.

b. Representative democracy is an indispensable condition for the stability, peace, and development of the states of the Hemisphere. In particular, we reaffirm our commitment to the full observance of the Inter-American Democratic Charter and to its values, principles, and mechanisms.

c. Respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and good governance are essential for the stability, peace, and political, economic, social development of the states of the Hemisphere.

d. The constitutional subordination of all state institutions to the legally constituted civilian authority and respect for the rule of law on the part of all institutions and sectors of society are fundamental values

e. In our Hemisphere, as democratic states committed to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the OAS, we reaffirm that the basis and purpose of security is the protection of human beings. Security is strengthened when we deepen its human dimension. Conditions for human security are improved through full respect for people's dignity, human rights, and fundamental freedoms, as well as the promotion of social and economic development, social inclusion, and education and the fight against poverty, disease, and hunger.

f. Education for peace and the promotion of a democratic culture play a key role in the development of states, the strengthening of stability, and the consolidation of our Hemisphere as a region where understanding and mutual respect, dialogue, and cooperation prevail.

g. Social justice and human development are necessary for the stability of each state in the Hemisphere. Fostering friendly relations and inter-American cooperation for integral development strengthens security of the states of the Hemisphere.

h. The states of the Hemisphere reaffirm the importance of enhancing the participation of women in all efforts to promote peace and security, the need to increase women's decision-making role at all levels in relation to conflict prevention, management, and resolution and to integrate a gender perspective in all policies, programs,

and activities of all inter-American organs, agencies, entities, conferences, and processes that deal with matters of hemispheric security.

i. The security threats, concerns, and other challenges in the hemispheric context are of diverse nature and multi-dimensional scope, and the traditional concept and approach must be expanded to encompass new and nontraditional threats, which include political, economic, social, health, and environmental aspects.

j. Traditional threats to security and the mechanisms for addressing them remain important and may be different in nature from the new threats, concerns, and other challenges to security and from cooperation mechanisms for addressing them.

k. The new threats, concerns, and other challenges are cross-cutting problems that require multifaceted responses by different national organizations and in some cases partnerships between governments, the private sector, and civil society all acting appropriately in accordance with democratic norms and principles, and constitutional provisions of each state. Many of the new threats, concerns, and other challenges to hemispheric security are transnational in nature and may require appropriate hemispheric cooperation.

l. The states of the Hemisphere recognize different perspectives regarding security threats and priorities. The security architecture in our Hemisphere should be flexible and provide for the particular circumstances of each sub-region and each state.

m. The security of states of the Hemisphere is affected, in different ways, by traditional threats and the following new threats, concerns, and other challenges of a diverse nature:

- terrorism, transnational organized crime, the global drug problem, corruption, asset laundering, illicit trafficking in weapons, and the connections among them;
- extreme poverty and social exclusion of broad sectors of the population, which also affect stability and democracy. Extreme poverty erodes social cohesion and undermines the security of states;
- natural and man-made disasters, HIV/AIDS and other diseases, other health risks, and environmental degradation;
- trafficking in persons;
- attacks to cyber security;
- the potential for damage to arise in the event of an accident or incident during the maritime transport of potentially hazardous materials, including petroleum and radioactive materials and toxic waste; and
- the possibility of access, possession, and use of weapons of mass destruction and their means of delivery by terrorists.

It is the responsibility of the specialized fora of the OAS, and inter-American and international fora to develop cooperation mechanisms to address these new threats, con-

cerns, and other challenges, based on applicable instruments and mechanisms.

n. Subregional and regional integration processes contribute to stability and security in the Hemisphere.

o. Bilateral and subregional agreements and cooperation mechanisms in the area of security and defense are essential to strengthening security in the Hemisphere.

p. Conflict prevention and the peaceful settlement of disputes between states are essential to the stability and security of the Hemisphere.

q. States of the Hemisphere recognize the importance of dialogue and of other national efforts to achieve resolution of situations of internal conflict and attain reconciliation and a just and lasting peace. International, inter-American, and subregional institutions and mechanisms can perform, when requested by the state concerned, a valuable role in supporting national peace and reconciliation efforts.

r. Full respect for the integrity of the national territory and for the sovereignty and political independence of each state in the region constitutes an essential basis for peaceful coexistence and security in the Hemisphere. We reaffirm the inherent right of all states to individual or collective self-defense and our commitment to refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Charter of the United Nations and the OAS Charter.

s. The Hemisphere has made important advances towards the maintenance of peace. In order to guarantee that these are sustained, constant efforts are required to make effective use of the mechanisms agreed upon to prevent and peacefully resolve disputes or conflicts between states, in keeping with the OAS Charter and the Charter of the United Nations.

t. The states in the Hemisphere acknowledge the need to find prompt and peaceful solutions to the controversies that persist in the Hemisphere and undertake to make every effort to reach negotiated agreements based on justice and full respect for international law and treaties in force.

u. Confidence- and security- building measures and transparency in defense and security policies contribute to increasing stability, safeguarding hemispheric and international peace and security, and consolidating democracy.

v. We recognize the importance and usefulness of the inter-American instruments and agreements, such as the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance (Rio Treaty) and the American Treaty on Pacific Settlement (Pact of Bogotá), for states parties, recognizing the different security perspectives and commitments of the member states.

w. We reaffirm the objective of achieving an effective limitation of conventional weapons that will make it possible to devote the largest amount of resources to the economic and social development of the member states.

x. Solidarity among the American states, expressed through their economic, technical, political, legal, envi-

ronmental, social, and security and defense cooperation, contributes to the stability and security of the states and the Hemisphere as a whole.

y. The security of the Hemisphere is affected by the threats to global peace and security. At the same time, a stable and secure Hemisphere constitutes an essential component of world peace and security. Thus, the states of the Hemisphere have an important role to play in promoting international peace and stability, especially through respect for international law and support for bilateral, regional, and multilateral regimes for disarmament and non-proliferation of all weapons of mass destruction and arms control, as well as other agreements, and support for the security negotiations, mechanisms, activities, and processes within the United Nations framework.

z. We undertake to strengthen the multilateral system based on the Charter of the United Nations, the OAS Charter, and international law. We reaffirm the role of the United Nations Security Council as the organ with primary responsibility for maintaining international peace and security. We also reaffirm that the OAS, as a regional arrangement under Chapter VIII of the Charter of the United Nations, should make every effort to achieve the peaceful settlement of local disputes and should cooperate with the United Nations Security Council to maintain international peace and security in accordance with provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and the OAS Charter.

III. COMMITMENTS AND COOPERATION MEASURES ...

IV. INSTITUTIONAL ISSUES

70 Towards an Ethical Framework for Security

P. H. Liotta and James F. Miskel

70.1 The Common Meaning of Security

Although security¹ – as a basic concept – is frequently considered in the study and analysis of policy decisions, its essential meaning ought to be more widely *disagreed* than agreed on.² Commonly considered a basic concept in policy and academic debates, security is in stark reality a quantity that is not basic at *any* register. By couching emerging “non-traditional” concepts such as ‘environmental security’ and ‘human security’ solely on their relationship to potential or real threats, most often within a topology of power – and by using language that is inadequate to the often nuanced and almost always complex dynamics of such emerging identities – makes such concepts hostage to ‘traditional’ state-centred, national security paradigms. Most often such decision-makers only conceive of security concepts in power-dominant, state-centric mindset. The consequence has been that human and environmental issues tend to be ignored,

relative to national security, even when it is clear that some of the issues we ignore today will contribute to the national security issues we will face tomorrow.

There is a hazard, nevertheless, of adding the term ‘security’ to either environmental or human-centred concerns. Conflating national security, human security, and environmental security all within a distinct conceptual framework, furthermore, is not only precarious, it also entails potential hypocrisy. While admittedly a contentious claim, sure to provoke debate, the time has come to recognize some hard certainties in an increasingly complex, uncertain world.

Not all security issues involve ‘threats’; rather, the notion of ‘vulnerabilities’ is as serious to some peoples – and some regions – as the familiar ‘threat’ metaphor of armies massing at the borders. Equally, not all security issues need be directly linked to violence.

70.2 Distinguishing Security Aspects

Thus, an important acknowledgment should emerge here: those who form policy and make critical decisions on behalf of states and of peoples must, ever increasingly, focus on aspects of traditional ‘national security’, in which military forces will likely continue to play a pre-eminent role, as well as human security, in which ‘non-traditional’ security issues predominate – in which other approaches should, but do not always, take centre stage. If such premise proves true, and in a future where both ‘hard’ and ‘soft’ security will matter, those involved in policy decisions (and those affected by such decisions) will increasingly need to focus on aspects of *both* threats and vulnerabilities. There is a crucial need, then, to recognize the difference between these two categories.

A threat is *identifiable, often immediate, and requires an understandable response*. Military force, for example, has traditionally been sized against threats: to defend a state against external aggression, to protect vital national interests, and enhance state security. (The size of the US and USSR nuclear arse-

1 This chapter relies on earlier discussions by Liotta (2002, 2005) on threat and vulnerability in different contributions of *Security Dialogue*. The permission to use this material has been granted by SAGE and by the editor of the Journal.

2 In recent debates, including those in *Security Dialogue*, there has been a proliferation of descriptors added to the basic term ‘security’. Each of these descriptors lends a perhaps slightly different connotation as well. To speak of economic security, geographic security, gender security, cultural security, environmental security, ethnic security, military security, physical security, psychological security, political security, societal security, or human security, suggests specific (and probably necessary) recognitions as well as unduly privileges these recognitions with discrete identities that depend on, and often cannot exist without, other identities. Admittedly, some of these security distinctions establish important linkages to policy and security decisions. Two recent examples include Kay (2004: 9–25), and Hoogensen and Rottem (2004: 155–171).

nals during the Cold War made perhaps more sense than today because the perceived threat of global holocaust in the context of a bipolar, ideological struggle was far greater then.) A threat, in short, is either *clearly visible or commonly acknowledged*.

A vulnerability is often only *an indicator, perhaps not completely understood, linked to a complex interdependence among related issues, and not always suggestive of a correct or even adequate response*. While disease, hunger, unemployment, crime, social conflict, criminality, narco-trafficking, political repression, and environmental hazards are at least somewhat related issues and do impact security of states and individuals, the best response to these related issues, in terms of security, is not at all clear. While Canada, for example, has emphasized the relevance of 'human and environmental security' to 'high politics', and attempted to restructure its armed forces to meet these challenges, the relevance of military state-centred forces to address or 'solve' non-state-centred issues is questionable. One might reasonably argue that the Canadian option is not a practical course of action for states that have threat-based requirements for more traditionally-chartered and configured armed forces.

Moreover, vulnerability (unlike a threat) may not even be identifiable, in some circumstances. Even if it can be recognized, it may be *imperfectly perceived, often not well understood, and almost always a source of contention among conflicting views*. Compounding the problem, the *time* element in the perception of vulnerability must be recognized. Needless to say, this ambiguity can be maddeningly frustrating for decision-makers.

Some suggest that the core identity in a security response to issues involving human or environmental security is that of recognising a condition of *extreme vulnerability*. Extreme vulnerability can arise from living under conditions of severe economic depravation, to victims of natural hazards, and to those who are caught in the midst of war and internal conflicts. Efforts to long-term human *development* would thus make little to no sense and offer no direct help. The situation here, to be blunt, is not one of sustainability but of rescue. There is, admittedly, a further dilemma here that calls to mind the well-worn adage, "Don't give a man a fish to eat; instead teach him how to fish." Rescue efforts that take no action of development too often are only short-term palliatives and therefore may be repeated again and again. That the United Nations and non-governmental organizations have been dispensing relief in some countries for

more than a decade strongly suggests that there is wisdom yet in the old saw.

R. H. Tawney, describing rural China in 1931, described the extreme vulnerability among peasants through a powerful image: "There are districts in which the position of the rural population is that of a man standing permanently up to the neck in the water, so that even a ripple is sufficient to drown him" (Scott 1977: 1). In such instances, the need for intervention is immediate and the legal and ethical justification for humanitarian intervention is only questioned when the recipient state refuses to allow it.

But there are also cases of long-term vulnerability in which the best response is uncertain. We have termed these problematic conditionalities - which are most difficult for policy analysts and decision-makers, often driven by crisis response rather than the needs of long-term strategic planning - *creeping vulnerabilities*.³ Given the uncertainty, the complexity, and the sheer non-linear unpredictability of creeping vulnerabilities, the frequent - and classic - mistake of the decision-maker is to respond with the 'gut reaction': the intuitive response to situations of ambiguity is, classically, to *do nothing at all*. The more appropriate response is to take an adaptive posture; to avoid the instinct to act purely on gut instinct; and to recognize what variables, indicators, and analogies from past examples might best inform the basis of action (Courtney/Kirkland/Viguerie 1997: 66-79).

To be clear: avoiding disastrous long-term impacts of creeping vulnerabilities (which can evolve over decades) requires strategic planning, strategic investment, and strategic attention. To date, states and international institutions seem woefully unprepared for such strategic necessities. Moreover, environmental and human security, since they are contentious issues, often fall victim to the *do nothing* response because of their vulnerability-based conditions in which the clearly identifiable cause and the desired prevented effect are often ambiguous.

In essence, we have moved from the dynamic of the traditional *security dilemma* to encompass issues in the twenty-first century that will include as well a new *human dilemma*⁴ in specific geographic locations that require sustainable development and long-term investment strategies. Plausible 'creeping vulner-

3 We use the term creeping vulnerability to refer to gradually worsening conditions that continuously and progressively weaken the capacity of states as well as people in general to deal with hazards from the natural and political environments.

ability' scenarios deserving of attention thus might reasonably include:

- different levels of *population growth* in various regions, particularly between the 'developed' and the 'emerging' world – to incorporate disproportionate population growth – youth bulges – and unprecedented levels of urbanization unseen in human history;
- the outbreak and the rapid spread of *disease* among specific 'target' populations (such as HIV/AIDS) as well as the spread of new strains of emerging contagions such as SARS;
- significant *climate change* due to increased temperatures, decline in precipitation, and rising sea levels;
- the *scarcity of water and other natural resources* in specific regions for drinking and irrigation, and the compounding growth among populations dependent on transboundary water resources;
- the *decline in food production, access and availability*;
- progressing *soil erosion and desertification*;
- increased *urbanization and pollution* in "megacities" (populations of ten million or more) around the globe, with the recognition that in what we term the Lagos-Cairo-Karachi-Jakarta 'arc', over the next two decades most will migrate to urban environments that lack the infrastructure to support rapid, concentrated population growth (Brauch 2000: 283–286, 304–306);
- the *lack of warning systems* for ecological disasters in some of the same parts of the world that are most affected by urbanization, disease, and resource scarcity.

The 2004 earthquake in Indonesia and the tsunami it spawned, for example, caused enormous loss of life and created serious long-term economic consequences for the entire region. Most of the casualties and perhaps some of the property damage could have been avoided by a warning system similar to one that is already in place for the Pacific Coast of the United States. (Moreover, military forces from the United States and other nations were actively involved in the tsunami recovery effort and in the

4 We use the term human dilemma to refer to the difficult tradeoffs that must be made between actions that address near-term threats to the well-being of people and the actions that are required to remediate the gradually worsening conditions we have called creeping vulnerabilities.

United States the effort was seen as security related as most the of the areas were Muslim and improving relations with the Muslim world is seen as an objective of American foreign policy.)

These emerging vulnerabilities will not mitigate or replace more traditional hard security dilemmas. Rather, we will see the continued reality of threat-based conditions contend with the rise of various vulnerability-based urgencies. Paradoxically, creeping vulnerabilities will likely receive the least attention, even as their interdependent complexities grow increasingly difficult to address over time. Admittedly, suppositions here that insist on a distinction between threat and vulnerability become somewhat suspect in the so-called 'Age of Terror'. While no one doubts that certain states and actors are under 'threat' from Al-Qaeda and Jemaah Islamiyah, the shadowy nature of such loosely grouped networks defies the traditional sense of threat, even though there are obviously more immediate and more commonly acknowledged vulnerabilities. Loose terrorists 'networks' often display the following characteristics: the facility to operate effectively as a lateral (and noncentralized) network, the ability to learn, the capacity to anticipate, and the capability to 'self-organize' or reconstitute after they have been struck.⁵ As such, these networks operate on the fault line between threat and vulnerability, and too narrow a focus on either 'threat' or 'vulnerability' will only lead to frustration – and failure.

70.3 Security Examples

A powerful illustration of urbanization shifts as a creeping vulnerability is relevant to consider. Truly cataclysmic demographic changes will occur in the Lagos-Cairo-Karachi-Jakarta arc, where there will be astounding shifts in the global landscape that hinge on the 'flocking' of populations to urban centres. According to the National Intelligence Council's *Global Trends 2015: A Dialogue about the Future with Non-Governmental Experts*, as well as from data compiled by the National Geographic Society in its November 2002 issue, and the United Nations Population Division (in the 2001 revision), world population in 2015 will be 7.2 billion and most will tend to live longer than they do today. Ninety-five per cent of

5 For an extended discussion of this phenomenon, see: Liotta (2002: 47–56), at: <<http://carlisle-www.army.mil/usawc/Parameters/02summer/liotta.htm>>

the increase will take place in 'emerging' countries, and nearly all this population growth will happen in rapidly expanding urban areas (Central Intelligence Agency 2001).

The difference between urbanization in the emerging world and in the so-called developed world serves to remind readers that the centre of gravity of the vulnerabilities (and threats) associated with urbanization is in the Lagos-Cairo-Karachi-Jakarta arc. The real effect of urbanization, and where it will most rapidly take place, reveals itself in the projection for the year 2015, where the number of cities with population of over five million will skyrocket from eight (in 1950) to fifty-eight. Additionally, various population studies suggest that it could be possible to see more than 600 cities worldwide with populations in excess of one million inhabitants by 2015; in 1950, by contrast, there were only eighty-six such cities on the planet.

Given the extended example of urbanization as a creeping vulnerability, it should not be difficult to grasp why the other vulnerabilities listed above – youth bulges, disease outbreak, climate change and human impact, resource scarcity, soil erosion and desertification – are interconnected. As one factor tends to distort beyond control, other factors tend to follow.

These factors have contributed to the so-called 'feral city' syndrome (Norton 2003: 97–106), a phenomenon in which major sectors of a city are literally beyond the control of the government. Public safety, law enforcement, and other government services are not provided in these sectors, in some cases because the population of the city has grown too large, too fast for the government to keep pace. Feral cities will exist within states, nonetheless, clearly linked to the globalization process – with commercial, communications, and transportation links to the rest of the world. Examples include the *favelas* in Rio de Janeiro or ungovernable areas in Johannesburg and Gauteng Province in South Africa.

Violent crime and sexual offences, furthermore, now account for almost one-third of reported offences in many urban environments in the emerging world. In Rio de Janeiro, murder rates reach 60 per 100,000 residents; in Calcutta, 91 per 100,000; and in Johannesburg, 115 per 100,000 (United States Government, Interagency Working Group 2000: 58–72; United Nations Centre for Human Settlements 1996). In Rio, where the infamous Brazilian *favelas* have long been sites for criminal control and where policing actions are unable to cope or control activity within these feral zones, many *favelados* feel margin-

alized, live in a pervasive atmosphere of fear – as much afraid of police as of drug lords (Perlman 2002: 123).

In Karachi, the most violent and lawless city in Asia, 40 per cent of the population inhabit *katchi abadis* (slums), a fertile base for radical Islamism, and the city itself (Pakistan's largest and its biggest seaport as well) is a conduit for arms smuggling to the outside world. In Lagos, Nigeria, the city's population is equally expected to mushroom. Lagos suffers from high unemployment; massive youth bulges, and is the nucleus of constant turmoil. Indeed, fighting in Lagos between the Yoruba and ethnic Hausa is thought to have far more to do with poverty and lack of opportunity than ethnic hatred. Lagos is also the centre of Africa's international criminal network and pervasive crime and corruption have crippled the economy, contributed to social and political tensions, and undermined relations with major potential trading partners in North America and Europe.

A second example of creeping vulnerability, one in which outcomes do not *necessarily* lead to violence, can be found in the complex interrelationship between water use, agriculture, and the expectations of emerging societies and adapting lifestyles of the future. To briefly offer an example of this complex – yet potentially serious – creeping vulnerability, consider that in 1900, 1.6 billion people populated the earth; in 2000, that number reached 6 billion. In 1900, a male American had a life expectancy of 47 years; in 2000, that life expectancy reached 77 years. Notably, exploding water consumption from 1900 to 2000 – from roughly 500 cubic kilometres to 5,000 cubic kilometres – was not directly linked to increased population growth. Rather, the real 'explosion' in water usage, where over the past three centuries water consumption has grown by a factor of 45, suggests that the real culprit is water usage for agriculture (Montaigne 2002: 2–33). Seventy per cent of all water use accounts for agricultural purposes and accelerating demand for agricultural production is, of course, a direct function of urbanization. As cities expand, farms need to increase their output.

By the early 1960's virtually all available arable land was being exploited in one way or another. Since then, the world's population has doubled and incomes in many countries have jumped. This has caused the demand for grains – wheat, rice, corn – as other produce to surge and production has, in fact, tripled as agriculture has become more intensive, scientific, rationalized, and efficient. But a more produc-

tive agricultural sector comes at a price – greater consumption of water.

Developed states are particularly heavy consumers of water; but all urban centres cause water consumption to rise. As an example of how a ‘developed’ state uses water resources, consider these linkages: Eighty-two per cent of American cropland is not cultivated for crops that will be directly consumed by humans. Rather, these crops are grown for other food products – refined and processed foods, or for livestock feed. Indeed, eighty percent of the grain produced in the U.S. – wheat, rice, corn – goes to livestock. Much of the emerging world is following America’s example. In 1960, Mexico fed 5 per cent of its grain to livestock; today, Mexico feeds 45 per cent of its grain to livestock. Egypt went from 3 to 31 per cent over the same time period. China, with a sixth of the world’s population, has gone from 8 per cent to 26 percent (Manning 2004: 43–45).

These developments and trends argue that it is time to rethink security. For all the talk in policy centres and the academy about new world orders, networks of international dependence, and the shrinking of the nation-state’s power, the traditional definition of security has not been seriously challenged in the context of the trends that are going to shape the world in the next few decades.

70.4 Rethinking the Meaning of Security

In the classical sense, security – from the Latin *securitas* – refers to tranquillity and freedom from care, or what Cicero termed the absence of anxiety upon which the fulfilled life depends. Notably, numerous governmental and international reports that focus on the terms ‘freedom from fear’ and ‘freedom from want’ emphasize a pluralist notion that security is a basic, and elemental, need.

Yet in the once widely accepted realist understanding, the state was the sole guarantor of this anxiety absence: security extended downwards from nations to individuals; conversely, the stable state extended upwards in its relations to influence the security of the international system. Individual security, stemming from the liberal thought of the Enlightenment, was also considered both a unique and collective good. Adam Smith, for example, in *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, mentions only the security of the sovereign, who possesses a standing army to protect him against popular discontent, and is thus ‘se-

cure’ and able to allow his subject the liberty of political ‘remonstrance’. By contrast, M. J. de Condorcet’s argument, in the late eighteenth century, suggested that the economic security of individuals was an essential condition for political society; fear – and the fear of fear – were for Condorcet the enemies of liberal politics (Rothschild 1995: 53–98).

Moreover, despite the abundance of theoretical and conceptual approaches in recent history, the right of states to protect themselves under the rubric of ‘national security’ and through traditional instruments of power (political, economic, and especially military) has never been directly challenged. The *responsibility*, however, for the guarantee of the individual good – under any security rubric – has never been obvious.

It does seem significant that aspects of ‘non-traditional’ security issues that have long plagued the so-called ‘developing’ world – issues that include environmental degradation, resource scarcity, epidemiology, transnational issues of criminality and terrorism – can increasingly affect the policy decisions and future choices for powerful states and world leaders as well. As disparate as these ‘non-traditional’ issues may be, the ‘developed’ world is now confronted with similar, human-centred vulnerabilities that had often been present previously only for developing regions. The implications of this changing security environment for the analyst and policy-maker are therefore potentially profound.

The future may well require decision-makers to focus on a broad – and broadening – understanding of the meaning of security. The 1994 *United Nations Development Programme* (UNDP) report, for example, attempted to recognize a conceptual shift that needed to take place:

The concept of security has for too long been interpreted narrowly: as security of territory from external aggression, or as protection of national interests in foreign policy or as global security from the threat of nuclear holocaust. It has been related to nation-states more than people...Forgotten were the legitimate concerns of ordinary people who sought security in their daily lives. For many of them, security symbolized protection from the threat of disease, hunger, unemployment, crime [or terrorism], social conflict, political repression and environmental hazards. With the dark shadows of the Cold War receding, one can see that many conflicts are within nations rather than between nations (UNDP 1994: 3, 22–23).

In 2003, the Commission on Human Security expanded this concept to include protection for peoples suffering through violent conflict, for those who

are on the move whether out of migration or in refugee status, for those in post-conflict situations, and for protecting and improving conditions of poverty, health, and knowledge.⁶ The Commission operated under United Nations sponsorship but was technically an independent body. Its operating expenses were defrayed by Japan (see Shinoda 2008). The dark side of this proposition, of course, is that the ‘responsibility to protect’ may under certain circumstances also mean the ‘right to intervene’. It could also even constitute a moral ‘requirement to intervene’ which is, for example, implied in the toothless international convention on genocide. In the traditional topology of power, it may be inevitable that dominant states will intervene at the time and place of their choosing. And only for the reasons of their own choosing. Thus it would be reasonable at this juncture to inquire as to whether, in the current and future security environments, serious consideration should be given to the ethics of security and its place in the actions of states and actors.

According to H. Richard Niebuhr, a responsible ethic (which would encompass an ethics of intervention) embraces the Greek concept of *themis*, the law of the community that is based on the essential principle of justice; attempts to encompass an “interaction of response”, accountability, and social solidarity; and is driven by a social process that is responsive and accountable to nothing less than an “international community” (Niebuhr 1978: 52, 61–65, 88).

70.5 Responsible Security Ethics

Admittedly, a paradigm of responsible security ethics proves difficult, although its governing principles have far-reaching implications. Yet it does seem appropriate to ask whether or not there is a need, or even a possibility, for establishing a framework for ethical security action, including when to intervene. While some have focused on establishing ‘capabilities’ to determine basic economic, social, and human needs, it might also be appropriate to consider whether or not it is possible to establish an ethical framework for security as well.⁷ The driving force of responsible security ethics entails assessment of both the sovereignty of a state and the ‘responsibility’ of external states to provide support for a state’s continued survival. The Iraq intervention in 2003, in princi-

ple at least, was partially based on the belief that “social justice, participatory freedom, and economic development” would help “liberate” the Iraqi, remove Saddam Hussein from power, and mitigate the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.⁸ Even as Grayson emphatically stresses that treating (specifically human) security policy as an *ethos* – indeed even a *critical transformative ethos* – is essential (Grayson 2004: 337–343), it remains unclear why an ethos of national security, in principle, should be by any means markedly different from the practice of human security.

While Reinhold Niebuhr believed that disparities between states were inevitable and that states, like human beings, have an innate desire to dominate others, even Niebuhr, assented to the idea that “the goal of modern man must be a society in which there will be enough justice, and in which coercion will be sufficiently non-violent to prevent his common enterprise from issuing into common disaster” (Niebuhr 1932: 22). John Rawls adequately defined this “well-ordered society” in the broadest sense as “one designed to advance the good of its members and effectively regulated by a public conception of justice” (Rawls 1973: 453). Equally, Rawls emphasized the plurality of support for the common acceptance of the principles of justice and the essential requirement for institutions that satisfy these principles (Rawls 1973: 454). This ideal, as Timothy Garton Ash (1998: 64–65) notes, is also the essential complex tension that characterized twentieth-century Europe and ought to characterize the future order.

Oftentimes, paradoxically or not, moves toward resolution of human security dilemmas occur only after the application of force, most often national security military force. But this outcome may not prove true for some of the environmental and human security problems of the future (that are being created today). Thus, there is a true need to allow alternative

6 See: Commission on Human Security, at: <<http://www.humansecurity-chs.org/finalreport/outline.html>>.

7 For example of the ‘capabilities’ approach, see the draft report of the DAC Informal Network on Poverty Reduction. <<http://www.etcint.org/PDF/DAC%20vol%201.pdf>> (25 October 2004), as well as the UNEP report: *Exploring the Links: Human Well-Being, Poverty, & Ecosystem Services* (2004a) and Amartya Sen’s *The Standard of Living* (1987).

8 The concept that “social justice, participatory freedom, and economic development” are social and security stabilizers is taken from Ian Barbour (1993: 26). Barbour’s criteria comprise an appraisal of intervention and security as they apply to the relevant aspects of human values and social life.

perspectives to ‘corrupt’ one’s own thinking. Those who emphasize military security, most especially American analysts and policy-makers, at the expense of other security issues may fundamentally be walking into a self-fulfilling paradox: the more one seeks to avoid military intervention, the more one is driven to militarily intervene because of the failure to recognize contrary security issues and to deal with them in a pre-emptive or preventive manner. The old cliché that describes this trap is also an apt reminder: *If all you have is a hammer, then every problem begins to look like a nail*. Surely, as the interventions in Somalia, the Balkans, Afghanistan, and Iraq illustrate, traditional applications of military security may not be the best, and are certainly not the only, viable strategic instruments.

Although it is unclear how permanent or deep the damage was from the 2003 U.S.-European trans-Atlantic rift (over intervention in Iraq), there are warning signals. As Kagan notes, a crisis of legitimacy emerged in the 12 September era:

The fact remains that the Kosovo war was illegal, and not only because it lacked Security Council authorization: Serbia had not committed any aggression against another state but was slaughtering its own ethnic Albanian population. The intervention therefore violated the sovereign equality of all nations, a cardinal principle of the UN Charter and the bedrock principle of international law for centuries. During the Kosovo conflict, Henry Kissinger warned that ‘the abrupt abandonment of the concept of national sovereignty’ risked unmooring the world from any notion of order, legal or otherwise. Many Europeans rejected this complaint at the time. Back then ... before the Iraq war ... they did not seem to believe that international legitimacy resided exclusively with the Security Council, or in the UN Charter, or even in traditional principles of international law. Instead they believed in the legitimacy of their common post-modern moral values (Kagan 2004: 75).

In 2003, during the dispute over Iraq, those post-modern values did not seem to be universally shared or even understood. Moreover, if, in the future, the United States will always forego ‘international’ interests for the sake of ‘national’ interests, the rift will grow even wider.

All of these troubling outcomes are only exacerbated in the agony of those who are pushed aside, annihilated, or remain fortunate enough to flee (with nothing). In redrawing the map of the future, the focus, again, must shift to asking: What are the long-term consequences of failing to recognize creeping vulnerabilities? It seems pertinent to recall that the ‘preservation’ of displaced Arabs in refugee camps

following the 1967 Arab-Israeli War contributed to the *intifadas* of the last twenty years, the civil wars in Jordan in the 1970’s and Lebanon in the 1980’s, as well as international terrorist acts such as airline hijackings and the attack on Israeli athletes at the Munich Olympics in the 1970’s (Goldstone 2002: 3–21). The displacement of Hutus and Tutsis from the Rwanda genocide of 1994 is directly related to the ongoing humanitarian crisis in the Democratic Republic of Congo, where reasonable estimates place the death toll from conflict in excess of 3.5 million since ‘liberation’ in 1997. Indeed, the roots of a potential Balkan conflict twenty years from now can be found in the weak economic conditions, corrupt political institutions, and bands of angry young men with nowhere to go and nothing to look forward to in the streets and ruined foundations of Kosovo, Macedonia, Bosnia, and Serbia.

Thus, in considering whether such frameworks might be viable for the future, it is important to step away from applying such a template to only crisis response or conditions of extreme vulnerability. Arguably, the roots of the disasters in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo did not begin in 1998; rather, they began in the aftermath of the Second World War, and flared up, again and again, during the 1980’s – as illustrations of creeping vulnerability. Yet the consequence and the cost to the ‘West’ of not investing in the Balkans in the right way and early enough could be at least fifty years of political and military engagement – and economic assistance. In comparison, the reconstruction of Iraq is an even far more daunting task.

Although it seems attractive to insist on exclusionary concepts that insist on desecuritization, privileged referent objects, and the ‘belief’ that threats and vulnerabilities are little more than social constructions (Grayson 2004: 337–343), all these concepts work in theory but fail in practice. While true that national security paradigms can, and likely will continue to, dominate issue that involve human security vulnerabilities – and even in some instances mistakenly confuse ‘vulnerabilities’ as ‘threats’ – there are distinct linkages between these security concepts and applications. With regard to environmental security, for example, Myers recognized these linkages decades ago:

National security is not just about fighting forces and weaponry. It relates to watersheds, croplands, forests, genetic resources, climate and other factors that rarely figure in the minds of military experts and political leaders, but increasingly deserve, in their collectivity, to rank alongside military approaches as crucial in a nation’s security (Myers 1986: 251–257).

Ultimately, though, we are far from what O'Hanlon and Singer (2004: 77-99) term a global intervention capability on behalf of "humanitarian transformation." Granted, we now have the threat of mass casualty terrorism anytime, anywhere - and states and regions are responding differently to this challenge. Yet the global community today also faces many of the same problems of the 1990's: civil wars, faltering states, humanitarian crises. We are nowhere closer to addressing how best to solve these challenges, even as they impact issues of environmental, human, and national security.

Recently, there have been a number of voices that have spoken out on what the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty has termed the "responsibility to protect": the responsibility of some agency or state (whether it be a superpower such as the United States or an institution such as the United Nations) to enforce the principle of security that sovereign states owe to their citizens. Yet the creation of a sense of urgency to act - *even on some issues that may not have some impact for years or even decades to come* - is perhaps the only appropriate first response. The real cost of not investing, in the right way and early enough, in the places where trends and effects are accelerating in the wrong direction is likely to be decades and decades of economic and political frustration, and, potentially, military engagement. Rather than justifying intervention (especially military), we ought to be justifying *investment*.

70.6 Building on Security and Ethics

Simply addressing the immensities of these challenges is not enough. Radical improvements in public infrastructure and the professionalism with which public services are administered, particularly in states and municipalities (particularly along the Lagos-Cairo-Karachi-Jakarta arc), will both improve security and create the conditions for shrinking the gap between expectations and opportunity. Improved governance in terms of both the quality of public services and the distributions of those services throughout urban agglomerations is, in effect, the *sine qua non* for the investment that will be required to create economic opportunity.

Post-Cold War and post-September 11, 2001 history suggests that military intervention as the first line of response to human security conditions underscores a seriously flawed approach. Moreover, those

who advocate that a state's disconnectedness from globalization is inversely proportional to the likelihood of military (read, U.S.) intervention fail to recognize unfolding realities (Barnett 2003: 174-181). Both middle-power and major-power states, as well as the international community, must increasingly focus on long-term creeping vulnerabilities in order to avoid crises response to conditions of extreme vulnerability. Admittedly, some human security proponents have recently soured on the viability of the concept in the face of recent "either with us or against us" power politics (Suhrke 2004: 365). At the same time, and in a bit more positive light, some have clearly recognized the sheer impossibility of international power politics continuing to feign indifference in the face of moral categories. As Burgess notes, "for all its evils, one of the promises of globalization is the unmasking of the intertwined nature of ethics and politics in the complex landscape of social, economic, political and environmental security" (Burgess 2004a: 278).

It is still not feasible to establish a threshold definition for security that neatly fits all concerns and arguments and it would be a mistake to even assume that national security and human security and environmental security are ultimately harmonious. They may not be under prevailing perceptions of and assumptions about the factors that affect states, groups, and individuals. Too often the policies that traditional national security objectives call for conflict with sound human and environmental security policies or else cause human and environmental concerns to be ignored. This should not surprise, as there are also contradictions between the policies that human security and environmental security may call for, notably in the area of economic development. What is good for the security of individuals (jobs, construction of housing, office building and roads) may be bad for the environment. Thus articulating an ethical framework for security is presently a bridge too far.

Yet, these contradictions are not the crucial recognition here. To the contrary, rather than focusing on the security issues themselves, we should be focusing on the best multi-dimensional approaches to confronting and solving them. One approach, which might avoid the massive tidal impact of creeping vulnerabilities, is to sharply make a rudder shift from constant crisis intervention toward strategic planning, strategic investment, and strategic attention. Clearly, the time is now to re-order our entire approach to how we address - or fail to address - an ethical framework for security.

**Part IX Reconceptualizing Security and
Alternative Security Futures**

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Czeslaw Mesjasz

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71 Prediction in Security Theory and Policy

Czeslaw Mesjasz

71.1 Introduction

In religious writings and prophecies, legends, oracles and more or less rational considerations, the desire to reckon the future and eventually to possess capabilities to influence the future course of events has always been a fundamental human need resulting from the survival imperative. History of science is the history of human efforts to learn from the past and to test whether that knowledge could help in creating plausible expectations towards the future. This approach is especially important in any action-oriented social science – economics, management and particularly, due to the stakes involved, in any security-oriented considerations. In all international or internal considerations on security and in the ‘securitization’ approach two elements are crucial – prediction of threats (risk, dangers, disturbances) and designing of actions necessary to respond to those threats.

In the early 21st century the challenge of predictability has acquired a new significance in security theory and policy. Growing complexity of the world (whatever that complexity might mean) stirs a dramatic question: Are we living in a *Risk Society* (Beck 1986, 1992, 1999)?

From a widened and deepened security concept – associated not only with international relations (IR) – it could be observed that after the ‘prediction failure’ of the unexpected and unpredicted collapse of the Soviet empire, less attention has been paid to ‘technical’, policy-oriented considerations on security, including prediction of threats. Instead, stress has been put on more doctrinal considerations like, security for whom, how, and according to which norms.

The key question on what security is about was somehow lost from sight. However, newly emerging security challenges, including environmental security and threats of terrorism, have forced scholars and policy-makers to pay attention to prediction, sometimes with the use of sophisticated methods, like computer modelling of cognitive and decision-making processes

by would-be-terrorists and operations of their networks (Popp/Yen 2006).

This chapter provides a survey of most important challenges associated with prediction and risk in contemporary security theory and policy. Reflecting the deepening and widening of security, the survey also refers to fundamental problems of prediction in mathematics and physics, as well as in economics and other social sciences. An answer is sought for the question whether contemporary security theory can deliver better instruments of prediction in a ‘complex world’, or whether, despite new methods and lessons from the past, capabilities of prediction of instruments of contemporary security theory have decreased. Security policy in the contemporary, multi- or unipolar world is facing greater challenges than during bipolarity. In addition to prediction, the meaning of such terms as (un)predictability, predictive power, certainty, risk, and uncertainty are defined that are often neglected, and they are applied like ‘buzz words’. Such an approach is unacceptable in rigorous research and it could be even counterproductive in policy-making and in the process of societal communication.

The level of generalization or abstraction of the chapter is chosen purposively. It allows for more linguistically-oriented discussion. The discussed terms are applied as ‘central metaphors’ determining intellectual search and actions. It concerns both the utterance of ‘security’ discussed at length in other chapters as well as, for example, risk and uncertainty. They are just two examples of central metaphors being then subjects of discourse and operationalizations in terms of verbally defined cognitive procedures for thinking and action supported with mathematical models.

71.2 Risk and Uncertainty

The terms uncertainty and risk reflect relations between the past, the present, and the future. Uncertainty is the basic concept mirroring the future as unknown and unpredictable. In logical terms uncertainty

Table 71.1: Theoretical approaches to risk. **Source:** Author's research based on Bernstein (1996); Douglas/Wildavsky (1982); Gregersen (2004: 24); (Luhmann 1991, 1993).

	Epistemology	Type of theory	Key questions
Realism	Risk is an objective negatively assessed disturbance that can be measured independently of social definitions, but may be biased by subjective perceptions in the public realm	Technical sciences Economics and finance	What risks exist? How to measure (calculate) and manage risks?
Weak constructivism	Risk builds on objective dangers that are perceived and mediated through personal, social, cultural, or self-observing processes	Phenomenology 'Risk society' theory (Beck) Symbolic theory (Douglas) Attribution theory (Luhmann)	What is our attitude to dangers? How do we understand risk in today's society? How and why do we select risks among the multiple dangers? How do we observe our own risk-decisions?
Strong constructivism (Radical constructivism)	Nothing is a risk, but risks are fabricated by social decisions and negotiations	Governmentalist theory (Foucault)	Why and how do we fabricate particular risks?

means the state of not knowing whether a proposition is true or false. Risk, hazard, danger, and threat are normative terms, usually linked to negative consequences of possible future events.

There is no commonly accepted definition of risk. As for other concepts of social sciences, the divide between objective and subjective (probabilistic and contextualist) can be made in the discourse on risk. According to Kelman (2003: 6-7):

Physical scientists sought to quantify, to measure, to objectify, to calculate, to scientificify, to nail down risk. Risk can, and more importantly should, be made precise, exact, and accurate. Social scientists viewed risk as contextual and as a cultural construction. The act of measuring, thinking about, and seeking to understand and manage risk changes the risk. Risk definition depends on who defines. ... Risk becomes objective and exact within the culture which defines it. But that axiom, that fundamental geometry of risk, may be challenged and redefined. Risk is thus contextual and cultural, dependant upon the initial assumptions which can never be proved or disproved.

Problems arising from the objectivity vs. subjectivity of risk have been discussed by other authors. Shrader-Frechette (1991) distinguished three philosophies about risk evaluation: cultural relativism, naive positivism, and scientific proceduralism. The cultural roots of interpretation of risk have been also exposed by Douglas and Wildavsky (1982) who proved that statements about risk are as much (and often more) a reflection of deep social structure as they represent the world. It is worthwhile to underline that in most

cases, and in this chapter as well, the subjectivist (constructivist) views do not deny facts about risks in general, and certainly do not entail relativism with respect to specific well-characterized elements of risk, such as, for example, the statistical probability of events. Doubts about the very sense of probability are connected with deeper epistemological interpretations.

Differences in defining risks are not the only obstacle in describing relations between the past, the present, and the future. Semantic discrepancies between risk and uncertainty may be different in various cultures. Due to the size and scope of the chapter, analysis of their differences will be conducted solely in reference to the cultures where this discrepancy is congruent to 'risk' and 'uncertainty' in the English language. The first and most influential distinction between risk and uncertainty was established by Frank Knight (1921: I.I.26):

Uncertainty must be taken in a sense radically distinct from the familiar notion of risk, from which it has never been properly separated. ... It will appear that a measurable uncertainty, or 'risk' proper, as we shall use the term, is so far different from an unmeasurable one that it is not in effect an uncertainty at all. We ... accordingly restrict the term 'uncertainty' to cases of the non-quantitative type.

The above excerpt from Knight's work is very frequently quoted, but his economic interpretation of risk went deeper:

If risk were exclusively of the nature of a known chance or mathematical probability, there could be no reward

of risk-taking; the fact of risk could exert no considerable influence on the distribution of income in any way. For if the actuarial chance of gain or loss in any transaction is ascertainable, either by calculation *a priori* or by the application of statistical methods to past experience, the burden of bearing the risk can be avoided by the payment of a small fixed cost limited to the administrative expense of providing insurance (1921, I. II. 41).

Using the distinction proposed by Frank Knight it is necessary to remember that probability measures only perceived uncertainty. Therefore other attempts have been made to describe risk and uncertainty in a more rigorous manner. This idea of perceived and non-perceived (to know what we do not know, was reinforced by Keynes (1937), who pointed out:

By 'uncertain' knowledge, let me explain, I do not mean merely to distinguish what is known for certain from what is only probable. The game of roulette is not subject, in this sense, to uncertainty. ... The sense in which I am using the term is that in which the prospect of a European war is uncertain, or the price of copper and the rate of interest twenty years hence. ... About these matters there is no scientific basis on which to form any calculable probability whatever. We simply do not know (Keynes 1937: 213 ff).

The *formal* incorporation of risk and uncertainty into economic theory was accomplished in John von Neumann and Oskar Morgenstern's (1944) *Theory of Games and Economic Behavior* that gave a rational foundation for decision-making under risk according to expected utility rules with objective probabilities. Another view on risk was introduced into economic literature by Friedman and Savage (1948), who argued that any choice of options with multiple outcomes, each of which can be assigned a conditional probability contingent upon selecting a given option, is made under conditions of risk. Luce and Raiffa (1957) further clarified this approach, and many economists adopted the practice of treating risk not as a quantity but as a class of decisions. Although convincing at the first glance, the possibility of measurement of values of parameters describing a situation is not the only difference between the meanings of risk and uncertainty. Risk and uncertainty as well as differences between them can be analysed at five levels.

At the first basic, epistemological level, the difference between risk and uncertainty is non-existing. Bearing in mind all limitations of measurement and probability theory, scrutinized in the dispute about subjective and objective character of probability (Ramsey 1931; Holton 2004) paradoxes of probability¹ and fundamental barriers of computability (Chaitin 2001), uncertainty and risk seem impossible to distinguish.

This argument can be only strengthened when problems of uncertainty are associated with fundamental physical considerations taken from thermodynamics or upon time and space. The same conclusion can be drawn when a postmodernist or a radical constructivist approach is applied. At this level risk and uncertainty have the same validity and differences between them emerge solely in result if intersubjective discourse in which uncertainty describes situations where the outcome is partially or completely unforeseeable, with some possible outcomes involving potentially negative consequences – as perceived in the moment of utterance.

The second level of analysis exposes the intersubjective approaches to risk and uncertainty. Interpretations of present processes are the result of social discourse. In such a case a distinction between objective probability and Bayesian probability should be taken into account. Risk can also be determined by culture (Douglas/Wildavsky 1982), or as it is described in table 7.1.1, risk can be even 'fabricated' due to the power game within the society. Empirical research on heuristic biases and cognitive aspects of risk perception can also be included into considerations at this level (Slovic 2000).

The third level of comparison is determined by measurability. However, in addition to measurable risky states, two kinds of uncertainty can be distinguished. The first kind of uncertainty occurs when in theory approximation of probability is possible, but due to the absence of mathematical models, or absence of data, or insufficient computing power, the estimation of probability is limited. Such a situation can be illustrated with weather forecasting. Even if all consequences of a simplified 'chaos theory' are taken into account, it seems reasonable to expect that weather forecasting can be made more precise but, of course, never certain. The second kind of uncertainty occurs when it is not possible to make predictions with the use of any probability assessment, when the future states cannot be predicted due to their number, complexity, inter-relatedness, e. g. forecast of the fate of a unit – individual, state, company, etc. Sometimes such a situation is called "genuine uncertainty" (Lövkvist-Andersen/Olsson/Ritchey/Stenström 2004).

At the fourth level, differences between risk and uncertainty are stemming from additional valuation between those terms. Risk is treated as negatively valued expected state of the future events, while uncer-

1 See at: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Category:Probability_theory_paradoxes>; retrieved on 10 March 2007.

tainty is neutral, or at least more neutral than risk. To feel uncertain about the future is neither positive nor neutral, but at least not as negative as feeling in a risky position. The only positive or neutral stance towards the future may occur when an experiencing actor feels certain about the future course of events. In the intersubjective discourse such a course of events can be assessed positively, or negatively. In this case, however, an interesting paradox can be observed. What about the situation when a threat (danger) is, or better to say, seems to be certain (predictable). This paradox would require further analysis, but the declaration of certainty can be interpreted in such a case that expectation of a threat allows at least to make some preparations, or to resign. Unpredictable, or worse, unthinkable threats frequently seem as most dangerous and damaging.

At the fifth level of analysis differences between the use of the terms risk and uncertainty are defined in a purely arbitrary way. Risk does not always only refer to the avoidance of negative outcomes. For example in game theory and finance, risk is only a measure of the variance of possible outcomes and uncertainty in measurement is equivalent to acceptable error.

71.3 Prediction in Social Theory

71.3.1 Prediction and Human Knowledge

71.3.1.1 Prediction, Forecast, and Predictability

Leaving for further analysis the sense of causality and explanation, it may be initially stated that prediction is the key element of scientific reasoning (Popper 1974). Prediction is associated with forecast, predictability, and prophecy. In the basic meaning prediction is a statement or claim that a particular event will occur in the future. Narrowing the sense of prediction it may be added that the place and time of the event are known as well. The etymology of the word is Latin (from *præ*- 'before' and *dicere* 'to say'). A difference can be made between informal, or common sense prediction, and scientific prediction.²

Scientific prediction is a rigorous (often quantitative) statement about what will happen under specific conditions, typically expressed in the form *If A is true, then B will be also true*. The scientific method is built on testing predictions which are logical consequences

of scientific theories. Theories, in turn, are designed to allow for prediction of phenomena from underlying principles.

In some scholarly texts a difference is made between prediction and forecast with the latter being closer connected with a scientific base, namely a probability calculus. A distinction can be made between the contingent and non-contingent prediction or forecast. Contingent prediction, or conditional prediction, is based upon an 'if, then' assumption. In the non-contingent prediction the future events are depicted in a straightforward manner (Singer 1999).

Another typology allows distinguishing two types of prediction, an 'intentional' prediction and an 'outcome' prediction. The former concerns actions of an actor while the latter relates to the states independent from the actions of the predicting subject, so it is closer to forecasting.

Prediction can be also interpreted as a selection of one world from an infinite number of 'potential worlds' which can emerge from any given set of circumstances. This interpretation immediately brings about a question of causality. First of all it must be underlined that causality may be interpreted as objective when proved with logical or empirical evidence. At the same time causality has also an intersubjective character. Observers (participants) agree that a specific course of events has led to a specific outcome although it is not certain whether both cause and effect are unique and cannot be replaced.

Prediction is also associated with anticipation, i.e. expectation or making decision upon the predicted states of the future, beliefs, etc. Predictive power of a scientific theory is its ability to generate testable predictions. Theories with strong predictive power are heavily valued, because these predictions can often encourage the falsification of the theory. It is different from explanatory or descriptive power, by which already-known phenomena are explained by a given theory, in that it presents a new and novel test of theoretical understanding. Scientific ideas without *any* predictive power are known as 'conjectures', or, at worst, 'pseudoscience'. Because they cannot be tested or falsified in any way, there is no way to determine whether they are true or false, and so they are not afforded the label of 'scientific theory'.

Predictability is enhanced when some structural constraints exist. They could be of a static character (conditions, barriers) or they can take the shape of patterns in dynamics of a system (individual). It is especially valid for cyclical behaviour - assuming that the cause for circularity is known, evolutionary behav-

2 The definitions of prediction and associate notions were collected from internet encyclopedic sources, e.g. <<http://en.wikipedia.org>>.

our – assuming that the mechanisms of evolution are identifiable, which is not frequently the case, and path dependency – assuming that the impact of the past events on the future is known. Prediction is associated with explanation of the links between phenomena. Being aware of the differences between causal links and correlations it must be emphasized that causality is not necessarily associated with prediction. Causality may also be identified *ex post factum* and in such a case two situations may be identified:

- *retrospection*, i.e. an explanation of the links between the past events which not necessarily would be repeated in the future,
- *retrodition*, i.e. prediction based upon an assumption, ‘what, if’ in which the present knowledge of the developments in the past and of the actual state are used for predictions of different courses of events.

Predictability, meaning a capability of predicting, refers to the links between the observer and the observed. Making predictions depends on the capabilities of an observer to describe the phenomenon with the variables which can be observed and given appropriate meaning, including measurement. Any disturbance of this cognitive interaction, dependent on an observer or not, leads to the occurrence of uncertainty and risk.

Predictability is also related to contingency, especially in social sciences and policy. In contingency thinking it is assumed that we cannot plan since all is dependent on present, sometimes very small causes. However, it must be also recalled that even if the events are contingent, the humans must plan. Actions cannot be completely spontaneous (contingent). “We could not live and remain sane in a world that was totally composed of contingent factorsand while we adapt and modify our behaviour when contingency does occur, on a day-to-day basis we work on the (correct) assumption that all is not contingent (Webb 1995).

71.3.1.2 Certainty, Uncertainty, Risk, Determinism, and Indeterminism

While prediction can be associated with an observer (predictor) it is also necessary to refer to the state of environment, or of himself/herself he/she is relating in the cognitive processes. Here it is worthwhile to recall a well-known typology taken from decision theory and economics. According to already mentioned ideas of Knight (1921) uncertainty is randomness with un-

knowable probabilities, and risk is randomness with knowable probabilities.

If full knowledge regarding options, outcomes, and the various states of the world is available, the task of making a decision becomes a straightforward process of selecting the action whose outcome maximizes the decision criteria “decision-making under certainty conditions” (Luce/Raiffa 1957: 13). Certainty and predictability are frequently confused with determinism. As it was put by Sokal and Bricmont (1998: 140): “Determinism depends on what Nature does (independently of us), while predictability depends in part on Nature and in part on us.” So certainty of the observers may mean determinism, but not always. Deterministic phenomena are not always certain to the observers. The point is that we simply do not know the difference.

71.3.1.3 Limits of Prediction and Predictability

Since prediction can be viewed as a striving to achieve an ‘objective’ reality in an intersubjective discourse, therefore the limits of prediction can be also divided into two groups: objective barriers and constraints resulted from subjectivity.

In the case of objective barriers of predictability, the main argument concerns the use of mathematics. The most reliable prediction is always resulting from logical coherence of mathematical models of random (deterministic) and non-random phenomena. It also brings about an issue of computability. Recent discoveries show that computability has its limits – the world is infinitely complex so relying on mathematics, and especially on probability calculus in prediction has its limitations (Chaitin 2001).

Subjective limitations of prediction and predictability can result from limits existing at the level of individual and from social constraints. A closer look allows concluding that most if not all subjective barriers of prediction refer to social systems. It is obviously worthwhile to remember that the limits of prediction by individuals are frequently indiscernible from the social constraints

From numerous subjective constraints of prediction (predictability) the following ones should be mentioned:

- *natural limitations of observer* – physiological capability to identify and analyse variables representing phenomenon (phenomena) under scrutiny,

- *cognitive limitations* - framing and prospect theory (Kahneman and Tversky 1979),
- *socio-political influence* (external pressure, political correctness),
- *path dependency*,
- *self-defeating* and *self-fulfilling prophecies* - the impact of an observer/participant/predictor,
- *zebra principle* - the reasons are known afterwards, but could not have been predicted beforehand; it particularly concerns the cognitive and decision-making processes of political leaders (Webb 1995),
- *good prediction from false theories* (Singer 1974, 1999),
- *scope and time horizon* - broad long-term predictions are more susceptible for emergence of other unpredicted (unpredictable changes), - *bounded rationality* (Simon 1997),
- *inherent limitations of intersubjectivity* in post-modernist and constructivist approaches.

71.3.2 Prediction in Economics and in the Social Sciences

Similarly as risk and uncertainty, as a matter of fact, any category relating to thought and action is also determined by its context. Being aware of more universal determinants of the discourse on relations between humans and their future (Patomäki 2006), it is necessary to narrow the discussion on those aspects of prediction which link it to its role in security-oriented research.

Prediction in economics and in social sciences has some specific characteristics which make them different from other disciplines. There is also one important distinction between economics and social sciences which should be taken into account in a discussion on prediction and widened security agenda where economic security is considered.³ Prediction in economics of a positive (description and interpretation) and normative nature is directly associated with the epistemological paradigm of the discipline. Usually two or three of them are distinguished: a) neoclassical, b) historical, and c) institutionalist.

In the *neoclassical* paradigm economics is regarded as a kind of exact science which can be even become deductive and built upon axiomatic assump-

tions. Von Neumann and Morgenstern (1953: 7-8) argue that economists must start with the “very simplest facts of economic life and try to establish theories which explain them and which really conform to rigorous scientific standards”. They continue:

This preliminary stage is necessarily *heuristic*, i.e. the phase of transition from unmathematical plausibility considerations to the formal procedure of mathematics. The theory finally obtained must be mathematically rigorous and conceptually general. ... Beyond this lies the field of real success: genuine prediction by theory. It is well known that all mathematized sciences have gone through these successive phases.

Should economics achieve such a stage of development then prediction would be achievable in the same way as in other disciplines, e.g. physics. As we know after the almost 60 years of development of science, even in mathematized disciplines absolutely reliable prediction is unachievable. Therefore the above can be viewed as one of the trends of economic thought. Based on these assumption predictability in economics is guaranteed because of the rationality of actors - individuals and collectives. In a theoretical sense a rational actor is always able to optimize his/her choices. Both limitations stem from the concept of “bounded rationality” of Simon (1997) along with the prospect theory of Kahneman and Tversky (1979).

When economics is treated as a *historical* or *institutionalist* discipline then it shares all obstacles of prediction with other social sciences, where mathematical models are but only one of the methods of predicting future events. Prediction and behaviour of economic and social systems are also determined by the fact that their elements, i.e. individuals can make predictions and that there exists something that can be called a collective knowledge. A distinction can thus be made between causal systems and anticipatory systems.

In a causal systems there is an idea inherited from the behaviour of the mechanical systems of physics that imposes a high restriction degree to the analysis of the dynamic behaviour of a system. This idea is that the dynamical behaviour of a system is completely determined by its past. Such systems may even expose stochastic behaviour but it is still depending on past events in a system and in its environment.

In economic and social systems the basic elements (individuals) are endowed with consciousness. Although we know very little about its mysteries yet it is possible to built models which at least partly may mirror the behaviour of conscious individuals or social systems treated as learning systems. They are called

³ Economics is understood in the classical educational sense. There are also other fields where prediction plays an important role which are close to economics finance and management.

anticipatory agents and they constitute anticipatory systems. According to Rosen (1985: 339) an anticipatory agent is “a system containing a predictive model of itself and/or of its environment, which allows it to change [its] state at an instant in accord with the model’s predictions pertaining to a latter instant”. That is, anticipatory agents will act according to the past states of the system and according to the desirable and possible future states. Anticipatory systems can be then defined as systems that contain a representation of the system itself. An anticipatory system is a system which contains a model of itself and/or of its environment in view of computing its present state as a function of the prediction of the model. With the concepts of incursion and hyper incursion, anticipatory discrete systems can be modelled, simulated, and controlled (Dubois 1998).

Although social systems are also affected by the universal limits of predictability of ‘hard’ sciences, yet prediction of the future course of events in such systems is much more complex than in economics, at least in the neoclassical meaning. The main reason is quite simple. Social systems are not only tangible, physical, and/or measurable in a traditional sense but they also embody communication between individuals and collectives whose behaviour, in the final resort must be viewed as a manifestation of the unknown factor – human consciousness. That provides an additional factor to the complexity of social systems. It can then be proposed that as to understand better the systemic attributes of social systems, including of course, prediction, they should be treated as ‘complexity of complexities’. Predictability of behaviour of economic (social) systems can also be enhanced by two factors:

- *constraints* such as: systemic properties, psychological features of the involved actors (cognitive consistency), inertia of systems, path dependency⁴,
- *expectations* of rational behaviour of social actors although limited by bounded rationality.

71.4 Security and Prediction: A Conceptual Framework

71.4.1 Prediction and the Core Concept of Security

The need for prediction has always constituted an essential element of security-oriented considerations. A closer look at any theoretical attempts in IR and in related areas, of course with contemporary discourse based on postmodernism, shows that the need for prediction was either spelled out openly or was concealed in normative declarations. Because of an eclectic character of security studies, in the attempts to provide new insights on prediction and such associated terms as risk and threat, the following questions have to be raised:

1. What is the role of prediction in social theory?
2. Are there any specific features of prediction in security theory and policy?
3. What could be the sources of inspiration for investigation into possibilities and limits of prediction in security theory?
4. What methods of prediction drawn from other disciplines are particularly relevant to the needs of security theory and policy?

Disputes over the meaning of security put in doubt the search for any universal categories that could be used in all studies on security. The essence of the concept of prediction is, however, to a large extent universal and refers to all social systems and individuals. Therefore it can be proposed that as a point of departure for analysis of the role of prediction in security-oriented considerations the core concept of security can be applied (chap. 2 by Mesjasz).

71.4.2 Prediction in Security Discourse

71.4.2.1 Key Issues

By its very nature the need for prediction was always an inherent part of any considerations on international security, internal security, safety, etc. In the early writings, in a proto-theory of security in international relations, a successful prediction of threats, or limits of prediction, and resulting from them the possibility of counteractions, i.e. possibility of control of one’s own actions and potential actions of an enemy was always the key issue: Hobbes, Clausewitz, Sun Tzu, etc. In security theory, understood as a policy science, non-contingent predictability plays only a lim-

4 The constraints allowing for increased predictability are described in management by van der Heijden (1996).

ited role and contingent prediction (if, then) is dominating.

Development of security theory in a substantial extent can be reduced to the elaboration of methods of enhancement of capabilities of prediction of negatively valued disturbances – threats (risks, dangers), and improvement of understanding the reasons for their unpredictability. It concerns both warning against emergence of those threats, including long- and short-term predictions (early warning) as well as prediction of actions (policy-making) and reactions. It is worthwhile to remember that in some considerations on security the disturbance (of equilibrium) is equivalent to discontinuity, more or less abrupt but unpredicted (or unpredictable) termination of the present status quo.

The strive for improvement of predictability in IR and in security-related research, including also peace research, a scientific movement remaining for some time in opposition to 'orthodox' security studies, was expressed in the mathematization of theory and turn to empirical research based on statistical methods (Singer/Diehl 1990). It was also reflected in applications of early systems thinking and first order cybernetics since the late 1940's until the mid-1980's (Mesjasz 1988).

A broad survey of literature on prediction in security-related research during the Cold War would likely include hundreds of entries, but from the wealth of the topics some were of greatest importance. The main challenge in that period was associated with prediction and prevention of international conflicts in a bipolar and multipolar world, power transition, early warning systems, cyclical development in international systems.

The relatively simple international order during the Cold War allowing for applications of more or less mechanistic models of prediction has been replaced by a new world order after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Until the early 1990's the new order looked more benign than the Cold War world living under nuclear threat. It occurred later that the new world order has brought about new challenges weakening already limited capabilities of prediction of phenomena in international relations. The threat of terrorism, which by its very sense must remain almost unpredictable, added to obstacles to prediction in security theory and, of course, in security policy.

It may be summarized that in the early 21st century prediction in security-oriented studies is determined by the two groups of determinants. The socio-political factors are associated with the very character of

the social systems and the second ones, which can be called methodological, partly associated with the first group, which stem from the development of science in the recent 30–40 years.

71.4.2.2 Socio-political Determinants

Discussion on the limits of prediction in security-related social sciences can be conducted at several levels, beginning with epistemological and ontological considerations, e.g. Bernstein, Lebow, Stein and Weber (2000), and Patomäki (2006), and ending with specific examples of self-delusion in politics (Tuchman 1992). At the level of abstraction considered in the chapter, three broadly defined socio-political determinants of predictability can be taken into account.

First and foremost, it is the increased complexity of the world adding new constraints to the already well-known epistemological barriers of predictability. This new factor is well-defined in strategic management where mechanistic and rationalist expectations towards the possibility of strategic planning have been replaced by the visions of learning organization in the turbulent environment. Similarly, an unpredicted end of the Cold War has been widely analysed in many studies and is recalled herein solely as an example of a growing unpredictability of social and political phenomena. With regard to security it may be argued that growing complexity of the links between human activities and the natural environment makes prediction a key issue in the discourse on environmental security.

The term complexity has a large number of meanings (chap. 2 by Mesjasz), but for the use in analysis of prediction of social phenomena at various levels of social systems hierarchy, it can be depicted with such attributes as an increasing number of interacting units, increased flows of information, volatility of processes, acceleration of changes, increased intensity and scope of changes. These factors significantly undermine two traditional pillars of prediction – the possibility of reducing the relations to more or less simple causal and separable links, and the possibility of applying inductive reasoning based upon extrapolation of earlier trends. In a complex world with an overwhelming amount of information, it is becoming less plausible to expect that the past events will be continued according to the same patterns. This incapability of humanity to deal not only with prediction, but with comprehending the complex world, has received a catchy term, 'the ingenuity gap' (Homer-Dixon 2002).

The second socio-political factor, an unexpected and to a large extent unpredicted collapse of the Soviet empire, is putting in doubt prediction capabilities

not only of the security studies as a scientific domain. It also cast a shadow on the intellectual qualities of people involved in that field as well as on social credibility and legitimacy of institutions dealing professionally with prediction of security threats. After the end of the Cold War representatives of all areas of security-related disciplines have found themselves in a very discomforting intellectual position. Thousands of 'sovietologists' and 'kremlinologists' were faced by a fact that their analyses, or better discourse, proved almost useless in making at least partly successful long-term and medium-term predictions.

Only a few authors, a Soviet dissident, Andrei Amalrik (1970) and a sociologist, Randall Collins (1986) heralded the imminent collapse of the Soviet system. Amalrik's visions were based on intuitions while Collins' prediction was more rigorous, deriving from analysis of geopolitical forces standing behind the dynamic of change in the USSR. A majority of theoreticians and policy planners in economics and in politics, both in the East and in the West, were unable to make predictions increasing their readiness to implement new solutions after the collapse of the USSR. The reasons for such a course of events were assessed by several leading IR scholars (Gaddis 1992; Hopf 1993; Singer 1999).

Obviously, it was not the first time when security theory and policy were confronted with a surprising course of events. While not trivializing Angell's (1910) "Great Illusion", it must be underlined that his vision of the cost of war as a discouraging factor for wars presented almost on the eve of the World War was at least partly erroneous. And many similar examples can be found in ancient and in modern history as well, e.g. the vision of the year 2000 elaborated by Kahn and Weiner (1967).

The case of the unexpected and unpredicted peaceful demise of the Soviet Union can be connected with the third socio-political factor determining predictability in security theory and policy which results from psychological and social mechanisms distorting the processes of prediction by individuals and institutions. These mechanisms are associated with psychological, social, and political constraints. It frequently happens that some of the predictions are suppressed due to various mechanisms of inhibition at the level of individuals, e.g. routine or excessive self-confidence and lack of self-criticism. There are also numerous social mechanisms inhibiting prediction, various forms of more or less open censorship – political correctness, political and cultural constraints, institutional inertia, etc.

The above socio-political constraints are perfectly reflected in a comment made by Hopf in the discussion on the reasons for failures of prediction of an unexpected end of the Cold War. "Can anyone imagine a senior international relations scholar applying to the Carnegie Endowment in 1972 for a research grant to investigate the conditions under which Moscow would most likely voluntarily relinquish control over Eastern Europe?" (Hopf 1993: 207).

In an extreme form it may lead to a situation when some security scholars would refrain from elaborating scenarios since they might be afraid of preparing a 'politically incorrect worst case scenario'. Some more recent cases, e.g. confusion around the existence of the WMD in Iraq may only raise doubts if the institutions professionally involved in gathering information are not subdued to the mechanisms of political influence distorting validity of their data.

Emergence of global terrorism, sometimes on a mass-scale, is the fourth socio-political factor having an impact on prediction in contemporary security theory and subsequently, on security policy. Limited predictability or complete unpredictability are the essential parts of the methods of terrorist warfare. Due to its scale and increased complexity of social systems making them highly vulnerable to unsophisticated yet damaging threats, low predictability of terrorist attacks increases their social impact.

The fifth socio-political factor determining prediction in security theory and policy results from a kind of 'information asymmetry' existing in any social research and in any security-oriented research in particular. It is easy to come to the conclusion when reading the works in IR that the so-called empirical basis of research, and alas, theoretical generalizations, is in most cases based upon openly available sources – media, reports, etc. Even in not so much security sensitive considerations there are always the distortions resulting from natural barriers of social communication. However, in security discourse the barrier of secrecy is an inherent factor. Therefore any critically thinking analyst may feel discomfort realizing that his/her research on security sensitive issues may be put in doubt or even ridiculed when a true state of affairs is disclosed, say, in twenty or more years.

71.4.2.3 Epistemological Determinants

Prediction of social and natural phenomena in security theory has also been influenced by a rank of factors associated with the development of modern science. The first epistemological determinant influencing prediction not only in security theory as well as in

social sciences and in virtually all human knowledge, are the discoveries in mathematics, physics, and chemistry made in the 1970's and in the 1980's, which were labelled as science of complexity, chaos theory, far-from-equilibrium systems, etc. Although they are predominantly applicable in rigorous mathematical models which can hardly be directly transferred to the social sciences, they contributed to many writings on chaos, complexity, and non-linearity in the social sciences, including IR and security studies. In the discourse on security theory the concepts drawn from 'complexity science', chaos theory, and non-linearity were used not only as mathematical models, but they have become a source field for metaphors and analogies.

Complexity and chaos theory, particularly the latter, show that the concepts of equilibrium (typical for economics) and stability - used initially in the discussions on polarity, cannot be fine tuned so as to enhance possibilities of prediction. The impact of those ideas on security research has been and still is broadly discussed, although numerous simplifications in their applications often require further elucidation (Rose-nau 1990, 1997, 2002; chap 2 by Mesjasz).

Mathematical models based upon 'complexity science' and 'chaos theory' have undermined intuitional expectations of social scientists that more data and more sophisticated mathematical models could improve predictability of social phenomena. Numerous examples of references to complexity, non-linearity, chaos, some of them used correctly and many trivialized and simplified, can be found in the contemporary discourse on security (Alberts/Czerwinski 2002).⁵

Several widely popularized examples showing the consequences of non-linearity in various mathematical models of conflicts and arms races models were presented by Saperstein (1984, 1991, 2002). Another interesting example of applications of non-linear systems was presented by Alan D. Beyerchen (1992), who identified non-linearity in the theories of war developed by Clausewitz. In this work and in the similar ones, Newtonian, simple, coordinated classical war is viewed as an opposition of war treated as a non-linear phenomenon.

It is also worthwhile to underline that chaos theory by exposing sensitivity of changes to the initial

conditions (small cause-big effect), the famous 'butterfly effect', has allowed to reaffirm 'scientifically' a phenomenon which is self-evident, i.e. that frequently big changes are completely dependent on very small initial impulses (the 'Cleopatra's nose' idea of history).

The essence of the links between security discourse, predictability, and chaos theory is perfectly reflected in the following quotation drawn from a book published after a conference on the links between security and theories of complexity and chaos held at the US National Defense Academy in 1997 (Mann: 65):

The converse of this is that we perceive the chaotic as at heart threatening. For proof of this, we need not look at the upheavals of this century, but let's go back to the fundamental level of dynamical systems theory, the mathematical. Mandelbrot, in his wonderful book, *The Fractal Geometry of Nature*, describes the Cantor dust and terms it 'another awful mathematical object ordinarily viewed as pathological'. Further, he notes that 'many writers refer to [the graph of the Cantor function] as the Devil's Staircase'. We find this same genre of mathematical objects referred to as 'a gallery of monsters'; Mandelbrot himself creates a 'fractal dragon'. The irregular, the discontinuous, the extraordinary is threatening (see also chap. 2 by Mesjasz).

When presenting inspiration from chaos theory and complexity theory, or better, complexity theories on prediction-oriented security analyses, it is worthwhile remembering that already in the 1960's in sociology the first doubts on prediction in the social sciences were cast due to the Heisenberg Principle which was used to illustrate the impact of observer upon the subject of the study, and which was to a large extent frequently abused afterwards in the social sciences. Even at present works are appearing in which reference to the links between security issues, the first Gulf War, and quantum mechanics are made at a metaphorical level (Glynn 1995).

The second epistemological factor influencing prediction-oriented discourse in security studies was associated with the development of postmodernist and post-structuralist approaches. Taken in a simplified way, by putting stress on subjectivity, intersubjectivity and discourse, postmodernism denies any possibility of prediction (Hopf 1998; Der Derian/Shapiro 1989; Webb 1995). This research approach developed in several so-called critical writings on security rejects the possibility of prediction, even with the use of mathematical models, since mathematics is also regarded not as an objective instrument of identification of in-

5 In social sciences it is frequently forgotten that non-linearity may have three interpretations and that a non-linear system is not necessarily chaotic (Sokal/Bricmont 1998: 140-145).

variants in the social phenomena, but as a social construct (Albert/Hilkermeier 2003).

In one of the most influential books on security (Buzan/Waeber/de Wilde 1998) postmodernism, in not an orthodox form, is the foundation of security as an 'act of speech' and of 'securitization'. These authors do not deny possibilities of prediction, they simply do not express their views on that topic. The fact that security is becoming a subjective category moves attention from traditional approaches to enhance predictability to the investigations into cognitive processes, social communication, and decision-making processes. This makes prediction even less feasible, since it becomes dependent on the studies of mental processes of individuals, not only on key decision-makers but also on all actors involved in the securitization processes.

There were also several attempts to make a synthesis of the concepts of complexity and chaos with the ideas of postmodernism. Some of them referred to the limits of prediction in non-linear or chaotic discourse, yet they cannot be treated as a useful contribution to security theory. On the contrary, in some cases they were based on superficial, simplified, and scientific speculations (Sokal/Bricmont 1998).

Herewith associated is the third factor - the broadening and deepening of the meaning of security. While for a narrowly defined state military security predictions based on more or less advanced mathematical modelling including, for example, game theory or statistical research, seem legitimate, for numerous interpretations of security in different sectors any universal methods of prediction do not seem relevant. In such a case only specific methods applied to more or less precisely defined issues may help in identification of the future states of the world. It should be taken into account that broadening and deepening of the sense of security is frequently associated with 'securitization'. Thus the aforementioned limitations of prediction in intersubjectivity must be taken into consideration.

The fourth epistemological factor influencing prediction in security study is also associated with its broadening and deepening. Inclusion of environmental issues into security concerns creates necessity to elaborate methods allowing for prediction of those natural phenomena - spontaneous, or human-induced. Here traditional instruments of prediction in social sciences must be supplemented by knowledge from natural sciences.

71.5 Conclusions: Could We Better See Future Threats, Risks, and Vulnerabilities?

Many studies and ideas on prediction may raise hopes that in the 21st century enhanced predictive capabilities of modern science could improve theory and policy of security, but the predictability of threats and risks may be rather moderate (Glenn/Gordon 2006). When discussing the reasons for the failure to predict the collapse of the Soviet Union, Gaddis (1992) exposed the methodological constraints - insufficient attention paid to some methods, while Hopf (1993), and to a lesser extent Singer (1999), referred to social constraints. Excluding critical studies that doubt any possibilities of prediction in security theory and policy, it is worthwhile to review methodological and socio-political factors of predictability.

71.5.1 Increased Social Complexity and Theory of Dynamic Systems (Complexity, Chaos and Associated Methods)

Although social complexity is difficult to define even in its intuitive form as a large number of elements with many interactions, it definitely influences negatively any predictions. Similarly as in other normative domains of social theory, e.g. management theory, stress is being shifted from classical methods of prediction to the studies of learning systems, analysis of cognitive phenomena, and applications of methods from some domains of complex systems studies (anticipatory systems and the like) in modelling cognitive processes and decision processes of decision-makers. Although they do not give exact models, they provide good approximations of some processes, and what is more important, they can be used as a very inspiring source of metaphors and analogies. The prediction of unpredictability, i.e. undermining any expectations for significantly improved methods of prediction in studying inter-state security, can be seen as one of the most significant contributions of chaos and complexity theories to the development of theory and policy of security.

The impact of metaphors and analogies drawn from chaos and complexity has now permeated the language of such terms like bifurcation, chaos, non-linearity, etc. Paradoxically, it may be concluded that it is not important if they are always applied in a correct manner. It is important that they sensitize policy-makers to unexpected consequences of their decisions. Computer simulation models using intensive

war gaming may permit more reliable and plausible predictions. Based on available data any of the contemporary models provides an opportunity to assure a high level of exactness of probability of future threats.

There may be some models of dynamic systems used in secrecy for military and political purposes, especially in the USA. Such models could be fed with more accurate data than models for civilian or academic purposes. Looking at the political problems in Iraq, the differences between promises, declarations, expectations and reality, those models do not have too high predictive power, unless the goals of the war are different from those declared beforehand. There might have been correct predictions of the situation in Iraq resulting from those models, but they were ignored in the political process.

The dynamic systems models can be useful in 'medium-level' war games used in training, for instance of pilots. The relatively low aircraft casualties during the Gulf Wars on the US side shows that the methods of coordination based on computer modelling permitted the improvement of the processes of prediction, and eventually the coordination of flights.

71.5.2 Prediction, Broadening, and Deepening of the Security Concept

A broader and deeper meaning of security is undoubtedly changing the potential for prediction. Due to the growing complexity of the world it is impossible to expect unified methods and approaches to prediction in security studies. While for inter-state relations older paradigms – realist (neorealist), liberal and/or pluralist – may provide new insights for prediction, for societal and environmental security other approaches may be more relevant for prediction.

For societal security an approach based on learning systems seems particularly relevant. For environmental security methods from natural sciences may provide necessary support. Here long-term scenarios on threats and vulnerabilities are frequently being used as a strong countervailing argument for 'thrill-mongering', or 'in the long run we all will be dead'. The concept of human security creates even more challenges for prediction. Due to its vagueness and universality, prediction in case of human security embodies most factors limiting security in other sectors, and therefore requires a separate study.

71.5.3 Socio-political Barriers to Predictions

An introductory survey of the main determinants of prediction in security-related research was used as a point of departure for answering a question on the role of limitations of prediction. Two interrelated categories of limitations have been identified – the socio-political factors and the epistemological factors.

In conclusion, epistemological factors, arising predominantly from a better understanding of the sense of complexity of social systems, are relatively well known. The discoveries in mathematical complexity theory and in thermodynamics permitted a decrease in expectations towards a better prediction achieved due to more data and refined mathematical modelling and/or computer simulation.

The second conclusion is that, in addition to these well-known epistemological barriers, prediction in the contemporary security discourse is still predominantly hampered by socio-political constraints. Despite the spread of democracy and freedom of speech, such barriers as secrecy, political correctness, influence of politicians on the media, sometimes self-censoring by the media, culture-based cognitive limits, make too many predictable threats, risks, and vulnerabilities unpredictable, or even unthinkable. As the case of 11 September 2001 has shown, a terrorist attack by one airplane was treated as predictable, but an attack committed at the same time by four groups of suicide hijackers was considered unthinkable. Not because of technical impossibility of prediction of such an event, but due to socio-political constraints, including inefficiency of operations of relevant US Government agencies and carelessness in exercising already existing procedures of pre-emptive control.

The sense of socio-political barriers in prediction in security-related theory and policy can be reflected in the term 'politically correct worst case scenarios'. Due to the above constraints, scholars – perhaps to a lesser extent, but policy advisors, policy-makers, and journalists, are frequently tempted and/or forced to present the visions which have to conform with the norms of their superiors/co-workers/clients/general public. This chapter offers a preliminary warning against preparing 'politically correct worst case scenarios'.

72 Climate Change and Security in the 21st Century

Heinz-Dieter Jopp and Roland Kaestner

72.1 Introduction

Based on a workshop on *Climate Change and Security*¹ this chapter addresses the following scientific questions that are relevant for the planning of the *Bundeswehr* (German Armed Forces) until 2040: Does climate research allow the identification of highly affected regions due to specific impacts? Do other scientific disciplines offer indications for possible major regional impacts for population change, settlements, use of resources, food production, etc.? Can models and theories refer to possible implications for economic, social, and political developments? Do major interactions between the identified factors result in further findings on climate change? Can the risks involved be assessed, and what are the implications that may be concluded for global and regional security for Germany and Europe? Can the findings obtained be used for conceptual ideas for the preparation of the *Strategic Future Analysis* of the Study on Capabilities

and Technology in the 21st Century (SFT 21) of the *Bundeswehr*?

The dialogue during the workshop took place in an open, constructive, and creative atmosphere. This was owed mainly to the fact that the participants either had a scientific background in the fields of climate research, the social, geographical, political, and economic sciences, or in the practical application of business, political consultancy, the military, and futurology, and that they were looking for a coherent approach to finding solutions.

This chapter is organized in seven parts. After a brief review of the relevance of climate change for 'Strategic Future Analysis' (72.2) the global and regional climate change impacts for communities are discussed (72.3), including the geographic framework of climate change and its consequences (72.4) and the security impacts of the transformation of global regions (72.5), especially the projected climate change impacts for European Security (72.6), and finally a few conclusions are made (72.7).

1 This chapter is based on a workshop on *Climate Change and Security* organized by the Command and Staff College in cooperation with the Centre for Transformation of the German Armed Forces (*Bundeswehr*) and the German Development Institute (GDI) in Hamburg, 30 October to 1 November 2006. The workshop had two purposes: 1. to examine whether the previous scientific findings on climate research would allow the Strategic Future Analysis of the *Bundeswehr* to be scientifically based; 2. to examine, in relation to the previous analysis of the studies on the Armed Forces, Capabilities and Technology in the 21st Century (SFT 21), for the years 2030 and 2035 whether the previous findings would be confirmed, and additional findings could be obtained from the workshop. New findings on methodology and content would be used for the 2040 SFT 21 follow-on study to be prepared by 2010. This workshop was to examine - as part of an interdisciplinary approach - the regional impacts of climate research for economic, social, and political developments, and to discuss their implications for global and regional security, but also for the security of Germany and Europe.

72.2 Strategic Future Analysis and Climate Change

Security Scenarios: a planning tool for armed forces and society. The *Strategic Future Analysis* of the *Bundeswehr* uses scientific findings as guidance for decision-makers in political, military, and defence industry. Part of the analysis relies on the experience and insights provided by external and internal studies. The results of the *Strategic Future Analysis* should sensitize decision-makers for possible actions and alternatives and provide them with options for shaping the future on capabilities of the armed forces. But they are advised not to anticipate solutions. The objective of enhancing the long-term planning of the armed forces can only be achieved when they are conceived as a product of the role they will play at the international level, taking the relevant social conditions into

account. Therefore, the analysis on which the findings are based must embrace more than the efficient options of warfare under military considerations. In this context the basic assumption is that the armed forces mirror their respective social environment.

The term '*Strategic Future Analysis*', raises the question of what we can know about the future. This chapter assumes that, contrary to the natural sciences, the social sciences cannot make projections of future events based on general laws. Thus, the analysis of future trends – as commonly used in the social sciences – is no substitute for fundamental laws. The shortcomings of sociological projections are due mainly to the complexity of these events, their interlocking nature, and the qualitative character of sociological terms. It is impossible to forecast events with the same precision as in classical physics (Popper 1979: 30). Since we are very much a part of social events and can use projections to influence future events, there is no scientific basis on which to make detailed social projections (Popper 1979: 11). The future is unknown, and all players involved help in shaping it. Yet this future will also be determined by the laws, basic parameters, and also by evolutionary options in cosmology, biology, and civilization. Although future developments can be projected through a greater differentiation of the processes involved, none of these processes can violate the laws and basic parameters that are associated with the three evolutionary processes mentioned previously. This means that the number of perceivable futures is finite, since not everything that may be foreseen is realistic. Considering the evolutionary processes as foreseeable futures enables the defence planner to draw up an action map and to examine why certain developments, contrary to our expectations, will have followed a different course.

Collective human action can, where there is a consistent repetition, be subsumed as trends. Trends are developments which move in recognizable directions that are defined through the analysis and experience of past events. They allow statements to be made on an unknown, insecure future environment clearly defined in terms of time, space and relevance, and they may describe potential events, spaces, and structures. Trends allow reducing the complexity of the world to a few essential features. Yet the evaluation of the comprehensive literature that deals with security issues has revealed a rather large number of trends and trend projections, something that initially ran counter to the intention of reducing the complexity of the world, and that coexisted in a state of disarray in terms of quality and quantity. Trends and trend projections require to

be given a structure and hierarchy so that they could be applied to the conclusions that had to be drawn and to the trend interactions that had to be defined.

The previously mentioned civilization process may offer an explanation by linking trends in different fields. Scientific analyses contain manifold explanations of the civilization process (e.g. Adam Smith, Immanuel Kant, etc.). In this chapter a definition by Norbert Elias (1991) will be used. He defines the process as the “plans and actions, emotional and rational impulses of the individual that consistently interlock in a friendly or hostile fashion. The fundamental interlocking of all individual plans and actions can lead to changes and designs that are neither planned nor created by one individual alone. The interdependence of the individuals results in a specific order, an order that is more forceful and stronger than the will-power and reason of all individuals that make up the order” (Elias 1991: 314). This civilization process will change the behaviour and feelings of the individual towards a specific direction.

With this in mind, the instrument of the *Strategic Future Analysis* analyses a broad spectrum of trends and their relevance for security and the armed forces derived from scientific research in different disciplines and the fields of their application. The ‘civilization development’ model helps assessing the trends and organizing them into trend fields (Part III of FSA, chap. 2). This is done by defining these seven trend fields that cover all trends and trend projections:

1. demographic developments,
2. development of the resources and the environment,
3. development of sciences and technology,
4. cultural developments,
5. social developments,
6. economic developments,
7. political developments.

These trend projections result in an analysis that shows how individual trends, but also their effects may impact on future warfare and security scenarios. The trends and their theoretical explanations will be deduced from publications from various disciplines, databases, and studies of national and international establishments, as well as from other publications. They offer an inexhaustible potential for the Strategic Future Analysis at different levels of abstraction and with highly differentiated options to reduce complexity as defined by Luhmann (1968, 1973).

The results obtained from the trend analysis will be translated into security scenarios and descriptions

of a fictitious security-relevant environment of the future with a time horizon that goes beyond the Bundeswehr planning process of approximately 15 years. Some trends are long-term in nature (e.g. demographic trends), where abrupt changes are unlikely to occur. Other trends may have a shorter range and can change relatively fast when fresh trends emerge. The latter is particularly true for complex trends such as globalization which makes their assessment more difficult. Moreover, there are only few findings concerning the relations and interaction between the various trends. These deficits can be removed only by long-term empirical research. The permanent monitoring of complex trend-setting factors and their impact that define a specific development will create the necessary prerequisites for conducting the relevant research. This means that the process of the Strategic Future Analysis must be continuous in nature.

The scenario technique that is being used for the Strategic Future Analysis is a method that will help to systematically develop and subsume isolated conceptions of possible changes in individual or linked development factors in order to create detailed scenarios and models, i.e. possible and probable 'futures' that are comprehensible for others as they are being shaped. This reduces the complexity of the matter and at the same time counters the danger of reducing the future to merely one single development aspect (the pitfall of the monocausal link).

Hence, scenarios are neither projections that revert to quantitative information from the present or the past and that by forward projection of current structures and behavioural assumptions estimate future developments, nor are they utopia and fantasy. In fact, the scenario technique links quantitative data and information with qualitative information, assessments and opinions so that the result offers a sufficient number of detailed descriptions of one or several possible future situations from a holistic perspective that allow a verifiable assessment and evaluation of any given issue. The scenario technique helps develop a well-defined *event space* for the future with regard to specific issues and the resulting number of possible events that can be expected and in turn indicate options for action.

72.3 Global and Regional Climate Change and Its Challenge for Local Communities

As a contribution to the 2040 SFT 2I future analysis, selected scientific results are discussed with regard to

the link between climate change and social developments (72.3.1), and model of causal links between climate change and security (72.3.2).

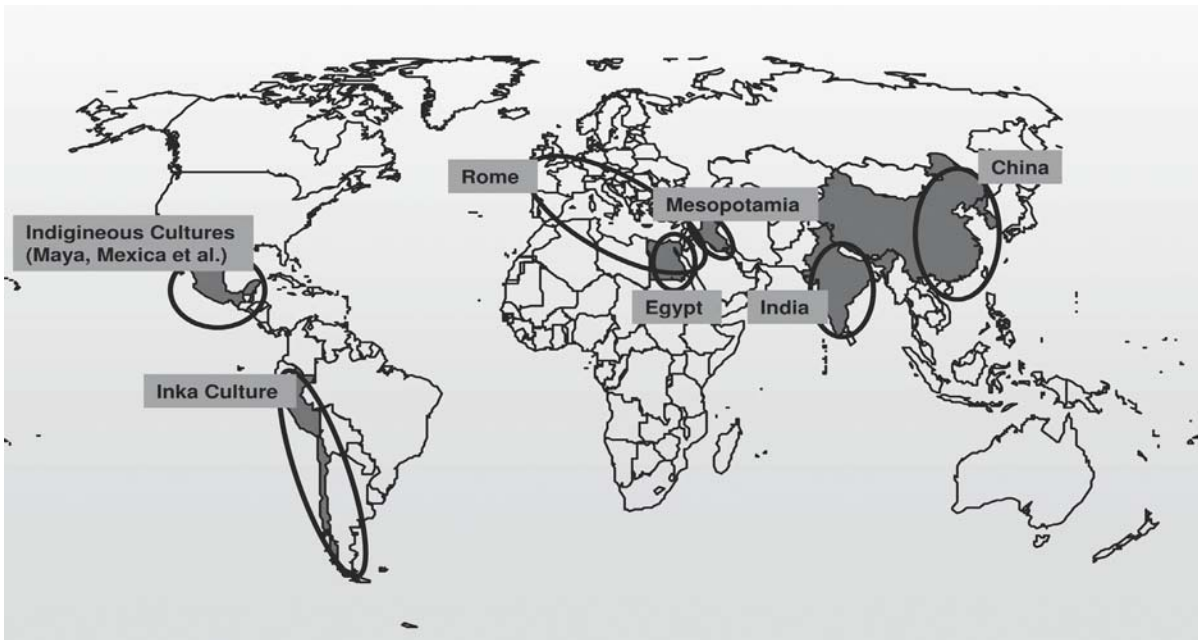
72.3.1 Link Between Climate Change and Social Developments

According to the IPCC (2001, 2001a, 2001b, 2007) during the 20th century the average temperature rose by 0.6 °C. For the 21st century climate researchers have projected a global temperature rise of between 1.5 and 5.8 °C, should conditions remain unchanged (IPCC 2007, Summary WG I: 14). The temperature rise of the 20th century and the temperature average for the 21st century is the result of an anthropogenic climate change that will impact on many parts of the world. The main effects will be (Max-Planck-Institut für Meteorologie 2006: 5):

- projected temperature rise until 2100 in the northern regions in Europe, in Siberia, North America, specifically in Canada;
- regional changes in rainfall patterns with consequences for the water table;
- melting of glaciers and arctic regions, causing rising sea levels and effects on oceanic circulations;
- rise in the number and intensity of extreme weather events (e.g. storms, floods, drought, heat waves, etc.) that will be typical for certain regions;
- a further rise in the sea temperature with consequences for ecosystems (e.g. coral reefs, changes in regional flora and fauna, etc.);
- a sea level rise of 30 to 40 cm by the end of the century (Max-Planck-Institut für Meteorologie 2006; WBGU 2007: 38 refers to a sea level rise 2.5–5.1 m by 2300).

Climate change and extreme weather events will have major consequences for the affected regions. The general assumption is that climate change and changes in the weather affect natural and anthropogenic ecosystems. Warm and humid climate periods in prehistoric and historic times favoured cultural developments and human settlements (Blümel 2002, 2008), while periods of a climate pessimum led to unstable weather and seasonal patterns, and a high variability of the climate and low temperatures resulted in regionally aggravated aridity. At lower latitudes the drop in temperature and less rainfall resulted in drought periods and desertification, as well as the degeneration of savannah areas used for hunting and pasturing (Blümel 2002, 2006, 2008).

Figure 72.1: Cultures and areas of high density population. **Source:** own design by authors.



Favourable climates (particularly in medium latitudes) implied:

- very good conditions for agricultural societies in thermal hygric terms;
- reliable and predictable seasons, also multiple harvests;
- establishment of villages and towns, rise in trade and commerce, and the introduction of the division of labour;
- vertical social structures;
- architecture as a sign of prosperity;
- cultural exchanges and foreign trade relations (Blümel 2008).

Periods of climate pessima or 'unfavourable' climate periods (medium latitudes) caused:

- bad harvests, supply crises, famines and epidemics;
- population losses;
- break up of social structures, social unrest, wars;
- withdrawal from habitable areas, increase in desertification;
- migration, large-scale population movements ('vandalism');
- few major achievements in architecture (Blümel 2008).

A palaeographic retrospective is not generally suitable for drawing analogous conclusions, but it may be quite useful for discussing deficiency analysis, climate

models, geographic differentiation, the assessment of space potentials in order to arrive at regional theorems with regard to the consequences that climate change is likely to have on societies, and for developing complex adaptation strategies that take all these aspects into account.

Modern societies are not any longer agricultural, but rather industrial or post-industrial societies with a highly aggregated agricultural sector. This means that the latter is rather vulnerable when affected, yet rather efficient when not affected. However, the current overall population (above 6 billion) and the rapidly increasing population growth (of about 9 billion by 2050) have led and will continue to lead to a drain of land resources. The latter is accompanied by surface changes (e.g. forest losses, larger agricultural areas, expansion of urban and industrial areas, etc.) and high energy and water consumption. These factors intensify the degradation of the countryside. The areas of interest for civilization settlements are coastal regions and flood plains. Here the first advanced civilizations (figure 72.1) developed and even today countries with such settlement patterns are the most powerful or are candidates for growth.

The population growth commencing during the 19th century meant that these areas became densely populated (see figure 72.2). At the same time, they were always at risk from natural disasters such as flooding, storms, etc., and human settlements therefore rather vulnerable.

Figure 72.2: Current Population Density. **Source:** CIESIN, Columbia University (permission from the copyright holder was obtained).

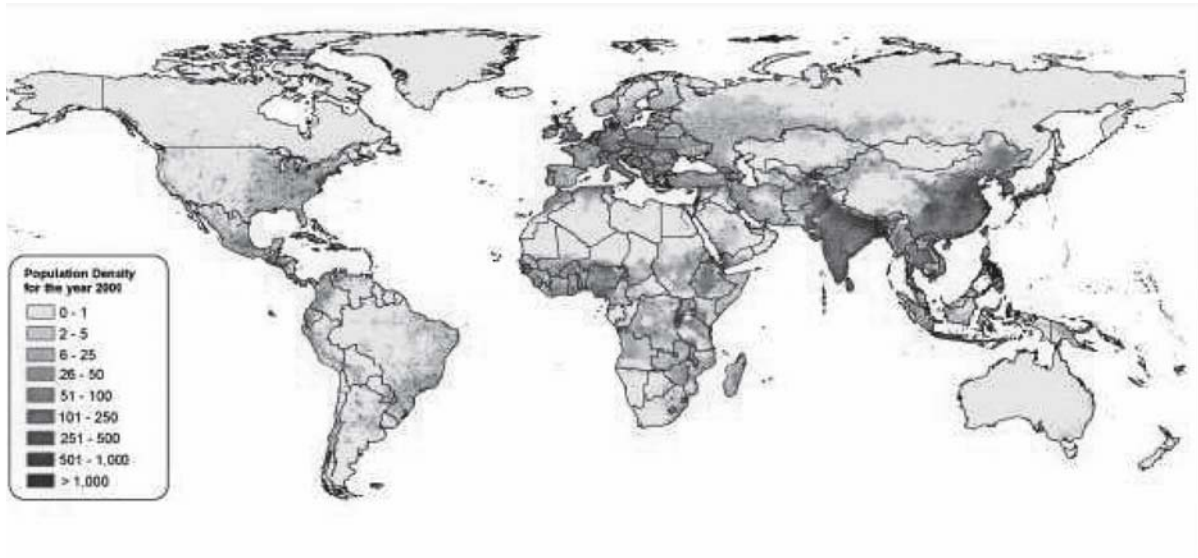
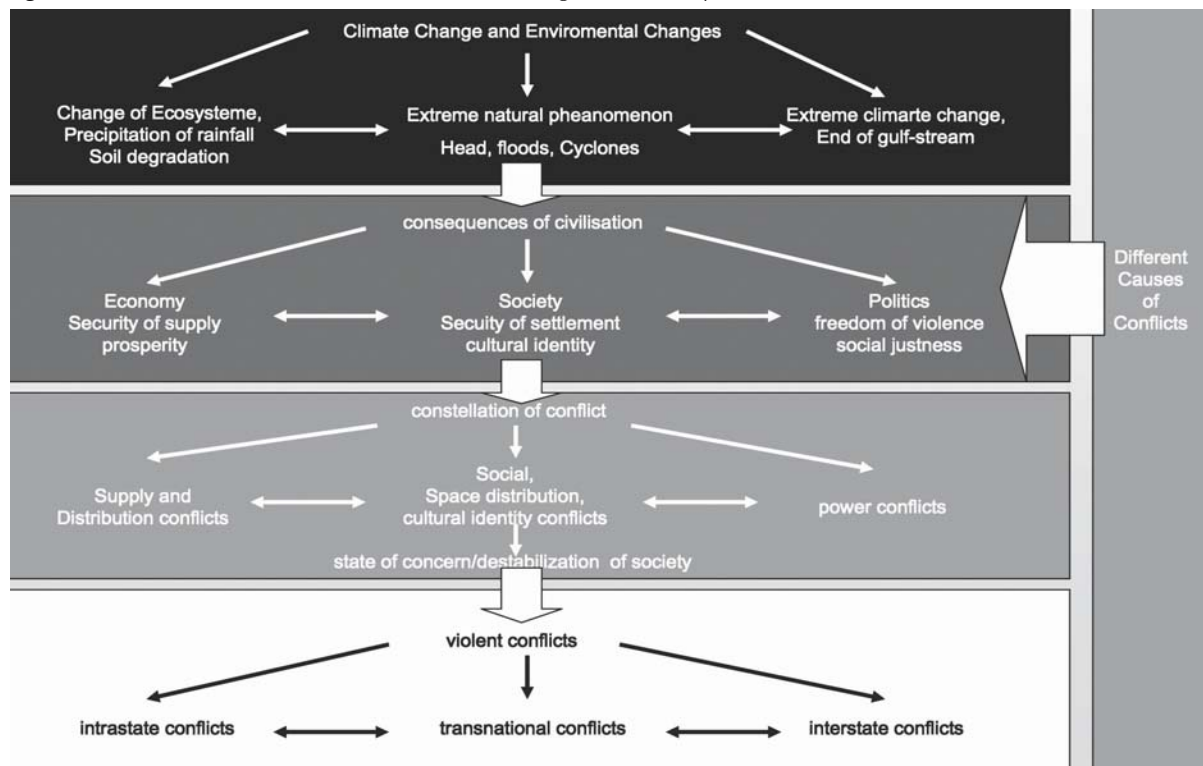


Figure 72.3: Model on the Link between Climate Change and Security. **Source:** the authors.

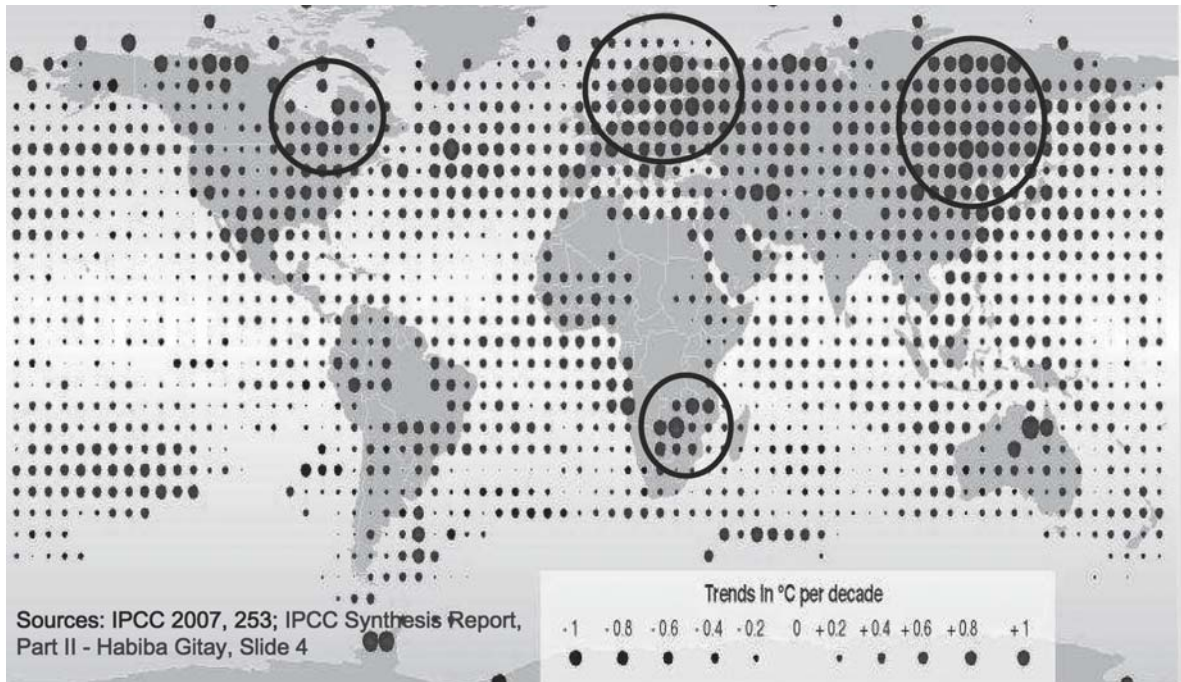


72.3.2 Causal Link between Climate Change and Security

These climate change impacts for central areas of human societies will be discussed based on an enhanced basic model of the German Development Institute

(WBGU 2007: 104; figure 72.3) that can be described as follows: Climate change and its associated environmental changes impact on the ecosystem, cause extreme weather events and natural disasters, and may enhance the potential for abrupt climate change that may trigger a cessation of the Gulf Stream (Schellnhu-

Figure 72.4: Geographic Distribution of the Warming Process. **Source:** IPCC 2007, 253; IPCC Synthesis Report, Part II - Habiba Gitay, Slide 4.



ber 2006), or regional glacial periods (Blümel 2002). Such events impact on civilizations in the form of climate optima or pessima (see above). They challenge the security within societies, leading to conflicts that may result in violence. Extreme changes in the utilization of space may, in addition to poverty-related migration and qualitative changes within populations, also push marginalization and eventually social and political disintegration.

On the background for these claimed linkages, the following question must be asked: Who in what form will be affected by climate change and what are the consequences for the economic, social, and political developments? The geographic framework offers clues as to potential future areas of conflict or triggers of conflict, e.g. for environment-related migration.

72.4 The Geographic Framework of Climate Change and Its Consequences

Climate change impacts affect regions differently. Figure 72.4 suggests that temperature increases will be most severe in Central Europe, Eastern Siberia, in the eastern parts of the US and Canada, and in the southeast of Africa. Northern latitudes will be more affected than southern latitudes.

The distribution of the expected precipitation suggest that “in humid climate zones (tropical areas and geographical areas at medium to high latitudes) precipitation will be on the increase, in dry climate zones (subtropical areas) on the decrease, and the precipitation intensity and the resulting threat of flooding will rise worldwide” (Max-Planck-Institut für Meteorologie 2006: 5; IPCC 2007, WG I Summary: 13), with the consequence that certain regions will be endangered by droughts (figure 72.5), with a direct impact on agriculture and water reservoirs.

A comparison of the potential drought zones with the current agricultural areas (figure 72.6) shows that there are considerable shifts in the areas previously used for agriculture.

Hence, large parts of North America that are the granaries of today’s world will no longer be able to deliver (e.g. Alcamo/Endejean 2002; Alexandrov/Hoogenboom 2000). Parts of Southern Europe (Spain, parts of France, Italy and Greece) and Eastern Europe will cease to be used as extensively utilized agricultural areas (M. Parry, co-chair of WG II of IPCC, 2002-2007). The areas in North Africa, the Near and Middle East that are used for cultivation will no longer be sufficient to feed the rapidly increasing populations in this region (Brauch 2006). But also major cultivation areas in India and China will lose their previous importance for agriculture and suffer massive

Figure 72.5: Potential Drought Zones 2040-2070. **Source:** WBGU – German Advisory Council on Global Change (2007). Written permission of the copyright holder has been obtained.

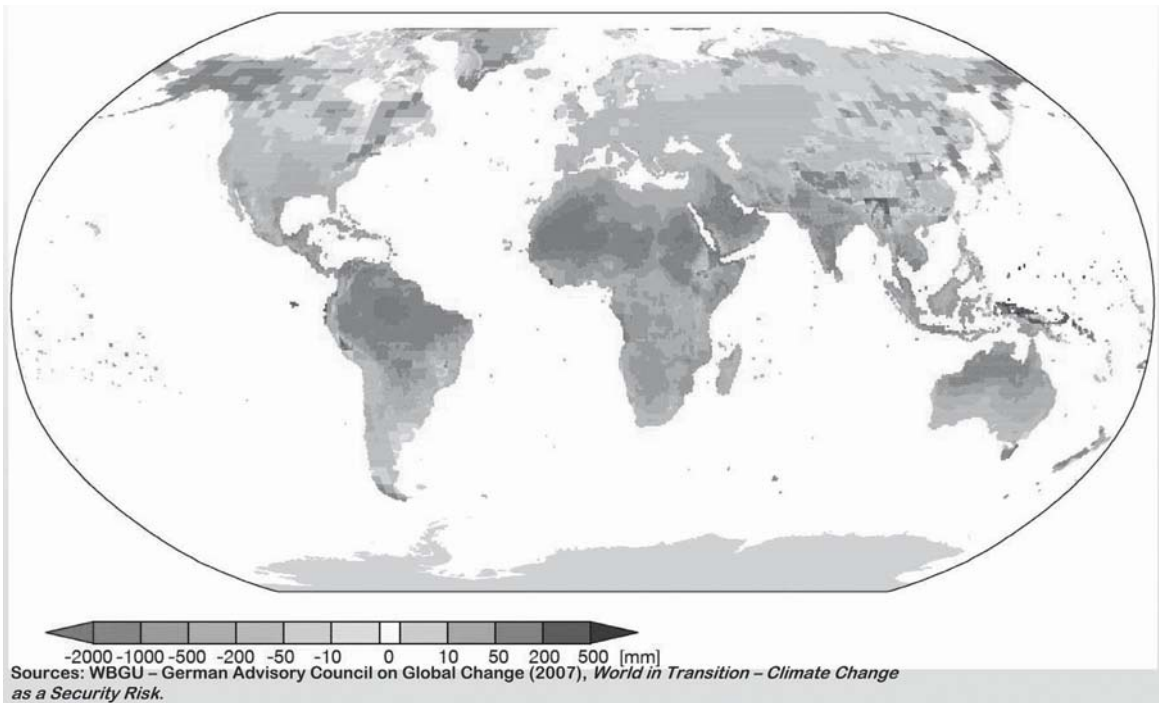
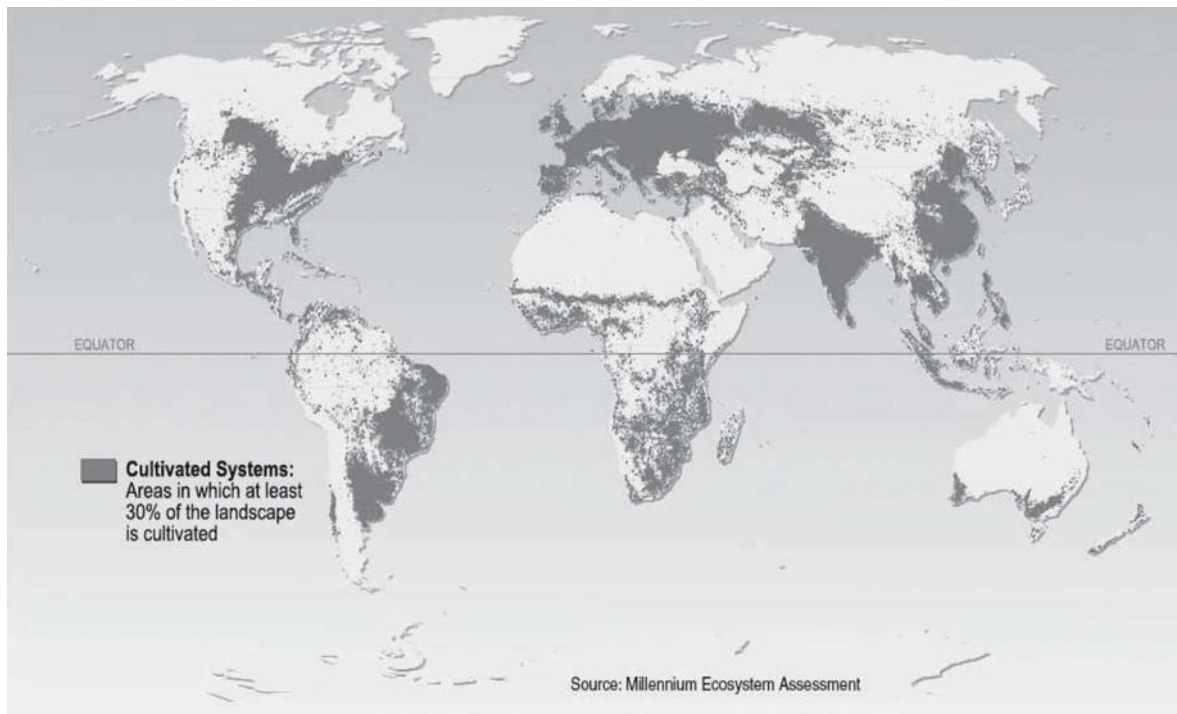


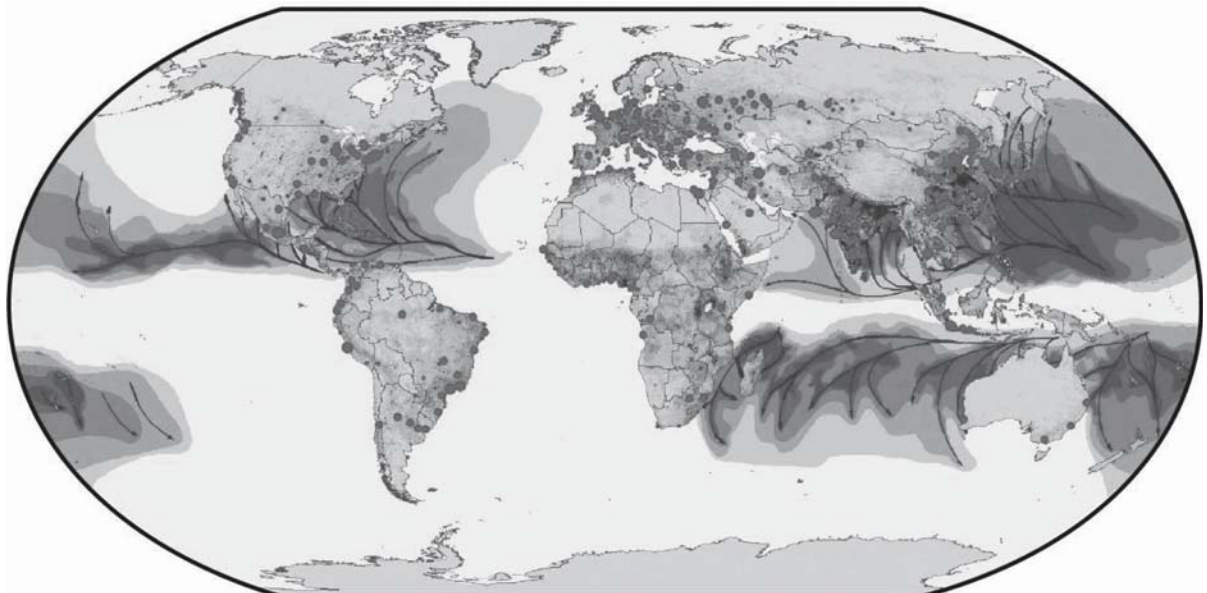
Figure 72.6: Major Agriculturally Utilized Areas. **Source:** Millennium Ecosystem Assessment. Written permission of the copyright holder has been obtained



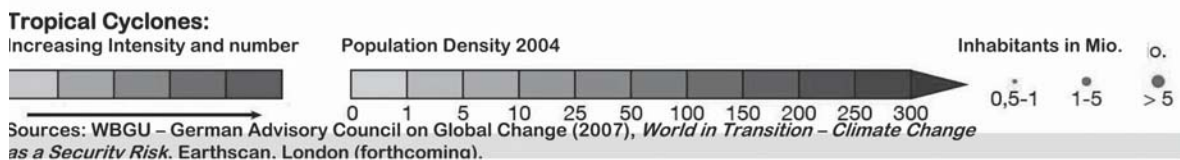
water problems (IPCC Special Report 1997: 14-15; IPCC 2007: 8-9). By contrast, there could be addi-

tional agricultural potentials for parts of North America, Europe, and the eastern parts of Siberia.

Figure 72.7: Population Density 2004, Urban Centres, Tropical Cyclones, and Regions with First-time Occurrence of Tropical Cyclones. **Sources:** WBGU – German Advisory Council on Global Change (2007).



Risk of Tropical Cyclones for urban Environment



However, there is a need to analyse whether food that nowadays is simply a ‘distribution’ problem may become scarce, given the global population growth to 9 billion by 2050 (e.g. UN 2001, 2007). Similarly to the time after the great glacial period some 30,000 years ago, South America may see a massive retreat of the rainforest and the Amazon region may become a steppe (Schellnhuber 2006). Some highly fertile agricultural areas may be lost, and South America would have to secure its food through imports (Jones/Thornton 2005; Robledo 2003; IPCC Special Report 1997: 11) Large sections of the Central African rainforest may also be lost (IPCC 1997). With the rapidly increasing population in Sub-Saharan Africa and chronically bad governance, favourable conditions for positive growth scenarios are unlikely to occur despite, or because of the richness in natural resources in several Sub-Saharan countries.

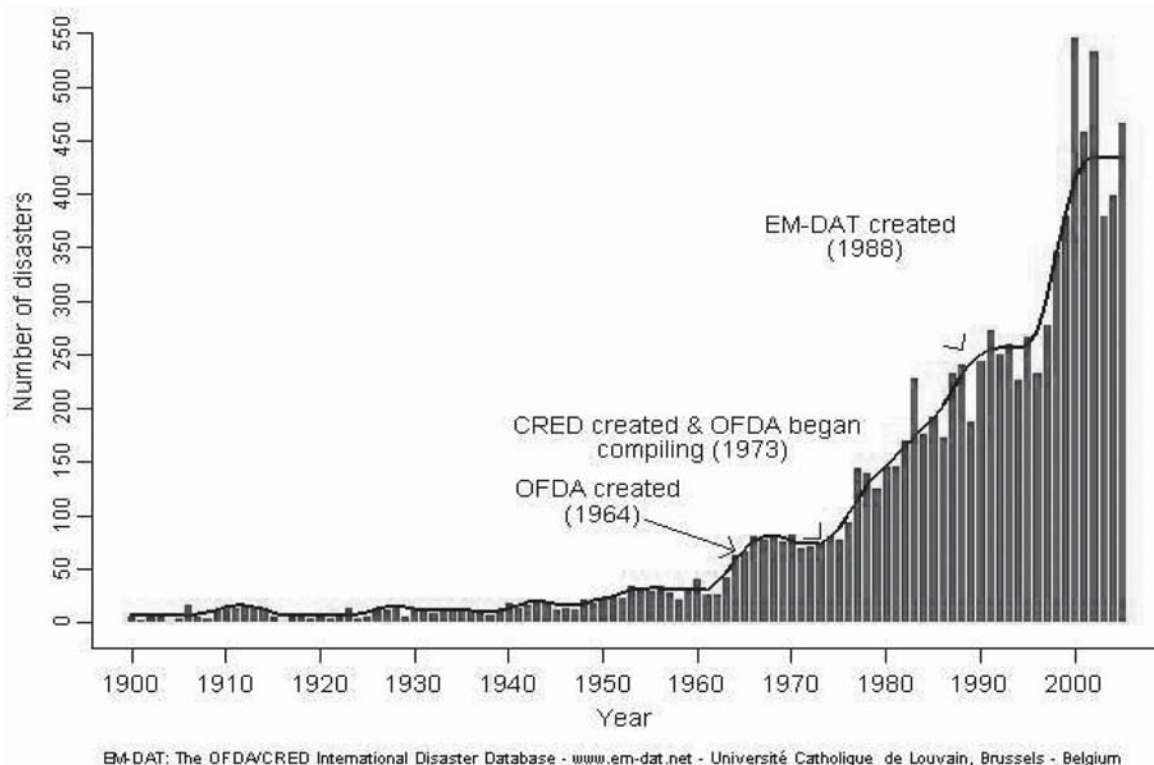
Extreme weather conditions such as heavy rainfall, storms, and heat waves carry further risks for densely populated regions as Hurricane Katrina (The White House 2006a) has shown, and even our modern complex societies with their ‘just-in-time’ supply mechanisms may suffer severe crises. Such a process could

undermine the trust the society has in the state as a problem solver. This could result in a temporary or permanent loss of law and order.

While the storm intensity in the Mediterranean Sea may decline, the study of the Max-Planck-Institute of Meteorology expects an increase in winter storms in Central Europe (Max-Planck-Institut für Meteorologie 2006: 5). In the summer, heat waves and resulting forest fires may be a major threat for the affected populations and highly detrimental to national economies. Hurricanes will threaten the densely populated regions of the US east coast and the southern west coast, the European conurbations, and the densely populated coastal areas of East and Southeast Asia. Natural disasters (see figure 72.7) and the associated costs for national economies will increase considerably (Stern 2006: 122–127).

The frequency and intensity of extreme weather may affect also post-industrial nations with their complex mechanisms and result in a loss of law and order. Less developed nations will, to a varying degree, be hampered in their attempts to cope with the effects. If one assumes an increase in extreme weather events such as drought, water scarcity, and tropical cyclones,

Figure 72.8: Natural Disasters since 1900. **Source:** EM-DAT: The OFDA/CRED International Disaster Database - www.em-dat.net - Université Catholique de Louvain - Brussels - Belgium. Written permission of copyright holder has been obtained.



EM-DAT: The OFDA/CRED International Disaster Database - www.em-dat.net - Université Catholique de Louvain, Brussels - Belgium

and takes their impact on agricultural and settlement areas into account, severe regional threats caused by climate change may be expected within the next 30 years (see figure 72.9)

India and China that are already seriously affected by soil degradation, drought, and water shortage will face serious additional challenges due to their projected population growth (by 2050: for India ca. 1.6 billion, and China ca. 1.4 to 1.5 billion, UNPP Database 2007) and the consequences of climate change. Whether the currently projected economic growth will be sufficient or can be sustained, and whether the implications of the serious environmental challenges may threaten social cohesion, are vital not only for these two countries since if adverse developments with a decline of law and order should occur, this may have far-reaching consequences for the OECD world, leading to increased migration, loss of export and import markets (collapse and regionalization of globalization).

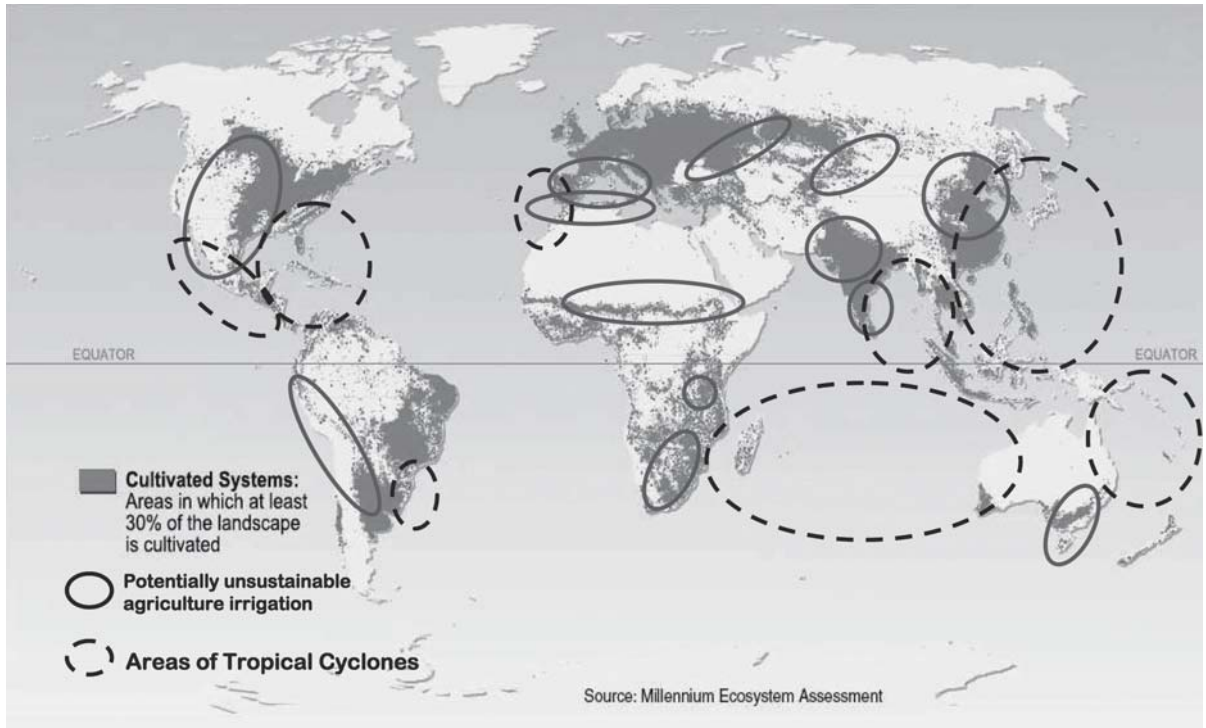
While the role of the US, Southern Europe, and parts of South America as leading suppliers of agricultural products worldwide is likely to significantly decline, there are no recognizable successor countries.

Although the agricultural prerequisites in Central and Northern Europe as well as in Canada and Eastern Siberia may improve, there is currently a lack of interest (Europe) or a lack of basic parameters (Siberia: population, know how). Moreover, it is unclear whether this would balance any possible losses and achieve the economic growth that is required to sustain a worldwide population of about 9 billion in 2050. .

72.5 Security Impacts on the Transformation of Global Regions

Given the security challenges already identifiable in the various regions, climate change has become an additional burden of considerable magnitude. The loss in significance projected for the US as the world's granary may contribute to a further decline in influence that has already occurred for several reasons (Alcamo/Endejean 2002; Alexandrov/Hoogenboom, 2000). Canada, Europe, and Siberia may in this field gain in importance, particularly for the new major food importing countries such as India and China. However, this would also mean that the food import-

Figure 72.9: Geographic Distribution of Drought, Water Shortages, and Tropical Cyclones. **Source:** Millennium Ecosystem Assessment with own Informations Written permission of copyright holder has been obtained.



ing countries would be exporting their water related problems. For security policy this means that both countries rely on a worldwide functioning of the agricultural market which may increase their willingness to cooperate in the field of security policy in the long run.

For several South American threshold countries the following scenario is foreseeable if the massive and rapid retreat of the rainforest both due to deforestation and as a consequence of climate change should continue in Brazil, the current challenges posed by the economies of violence and social decline may be aggravated by an insecure food situation This would make the two previously mentioned problems worse.

Europe does not present a uniform picture. Southern Europe will see a significant loss in food production and will be in need of subsidies. The failure to meet that demand could mean that further European integration may be severely hampered. The problem is aggravated further by the fact that the EU population will experience foreseeable qualitative changes as by 2025 some 20 per cent of its population may be Muslims (CIA 2004: 83). This figure may increase if the migratory pressure from the Greater Middle East continues to rise. To accomplish the needed integration,

the EU will have to achieve an outcome unique in history since the epoch of the migration of peoples.

The possible economic marginalization of several regions in Europe and the marginalization of certain sections of its national populations could push the EU to its limits in terms of political integration. This may be exacerbated by immigration and a failed integration of Muslims into the European society. Should the EU fail to achieve this internal integration, it may no longer be a security-producing global factor. The loss of the EU Europe as a global anchor of stability would have a dramatic impact: one of the richest regions worldwide with the financial potential to support a stable world order and one that appears to benefit rather than suffer from climate change would no longer be an effective global actor.

In the Russian Federation the previously harsh climate of Siberia, in particular of Eastern Siberia, is likely to change in such a manner that in addition to its raw materials the region may also become a new area for human settlements. Whether the population in this region will exploit the situation in cooperation with Moscow or independently will depend on the internal cohesion of the Russian Federation. This could either lead to Russia becoming again a global power with an increased focus on Asia, or to the independ-

ence of the rich Siberian region with considerable potential for growth due to the improved conditions for regional settlement. A prerequisite for either scenario would be a large number of immigrants in search of personal opportunities. Currently Asia has no shortage in well-trained people.

The Greater Middle East region with all its problems described in detail in the *Arab Human Development Report* (UNDP 2003) make the region even more susceptible for the consequences that are to be expected from climate change. These are likely to aggravate the social, economic, and political problems of the region. The political systems characterized by their low degree of stability and the absence of their willingness to ensure good governance will, as a consequence of climate change, further intensify the intra-societal and economic antagonisms with a tendency to showing strong signs of disintegration. This will further contribute to making the region one of the most unstable regions worldwide. The projected increase in the number of young people (youth bulge) and the almost absent capability of the political systems to offer a perspective for their young people will lead to more emigration and more internal and/or exported violence (government controlled or non-government controlled economies of violence). This may also be a likely scenario for countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, thus intensifying the present tendencies to migrate to Europe.

China and India will experience rising problems such as water shortage, drought, soil degradation, and extreme weather situations which means that the availability of food will increasingly depend on imports. This also means that a large number of jobs in the subsidized agricultural sectors could be lost. As a result, the ranks of the unemployed could swell, constituting a further threat to the internal stability of the two countries. Despite the fact that both countries had experienced economic growth in recent years, offering hope for self-sufficient economic and social developments, the pressure emanating from climate change may lead to a rapid social transformation, but this also carries the risk of destabilizing the political systems. The effects would be a major turbulence in Asia, but also for the rest of the world. In a world defined by high mobility, the migration from both countries (in particular as brain drain) may confront the affected regions with the burden to adapt to a degree that would be impossible to achieve. By contrast, regions like Siberia due to climate change may offer new settlement areas and thus this region could benefit from immigration.

72.6 Projected Impacts of Climate Change for European Security

What does this mean for Europe? The overview of the security challenges (Figure 72.9) with which various regions of the world will likely be faced with suggestions that the security of Europe may be affected sooner and more intensely than anticipated.

From the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) many causes that are likely to impact on the security of Europe may originate (Brauch 2006). The youth bulge projected for the region will markedly intensify the pressure of migration on Europe and require Europe to accomplish large-scale integration. Thus, the Muslim populations within the EU may be expected to increase significantly in the near future.

A further disintegration of the Russian Federation would affect Europe's energy supply and the security of its strategic nuclear weapons and their unintended proliferation would be raised again. A smaller Russia would have fewer energy resources and raw materials and a population of only 60 to 80 million people. If the current trend of de-industrialization continues, Russia could have considerable problems to meet the needs of its population. Organized crime, migration of the well educated, and an economy of violence could be possible consequences. All these possible developments would also affect Europe.

The integration of the Russian Federation into the international economy through the reconstruction of parts of its industry and the introduction of information technology and other modern commercial sectors would create ideal conditions and make Russia an interesting partner for the EU.

The recent high economic growth experienced by China and India could, as a result of climate change and its associated impacts, slow down markedly and thus intensify the will of parts of their population to emigrate. Should its strategy of achieving internal stability through economic growth be unsuccessful, China could pursue, albeit temporarily, a strategy of confrontation in order to sustain cohesion on the domestic front. This would have far-reaching implications for the global order. The EU could be faced with having to choose between security and economic interests.

The consequences of climate change for Sub-Saharan Africa could mean that the political leaders of the region that are already overburdened, are faced with additional problems that would make their failure even more probable. Economies of violence at a re-

Figure 72.10: Political Developments in Geographic Regions. **Source:** the authors.



gional level and migration as a consequence thereof would be a major challenge for Europe.

The consequences of climate change could dramatically affect the prospects of South America to catch up with OECD nations. Political institutions are already competing with criminal, but also with the political and social organizations for the societally and economically deprived. Should the consequences of climate change reveal the inability of the political class to provide prospects for their populations, these will look for alternatives. The likely implication would be a rising migration pressure for North America, particularly towards the US.

Over the next thirty years the latter may lose its previous cohesion. This would have significant implications for its role as a global political player. The discussion of its imperial power politics may become obsolete, due to its internal problems. The US will be seeking partners in all parts of the world that could help decrease its financial burden as a regulatory global power. This suggests a new form of hegemonic power that is forced to accept the rise of other regions in order to be relieved of its financial and additional burdens. The other regions could include Europe (EU), China, and India. The result could be a multi-polar world order that deals with the world's problems (scenarios) in a climate of either coopera-

tion or confrontation. A significantly weakened role of the US as a global power would mainly affect the European Union that would then be required to spend more money on world order (development) or world disorder (security).

The overall difficulties that the political systems (community of states) will experience in exercising their control function as a result of climate change and the associated consequences will be aggravated further by the projected migration pressure due to poverty, famine, and epidemics caused by water shortage, drought, and soil degradation. Migration movements could reach the scale of the population movements of the 4th, 5th, and 6th centuries. Migration in combination with economies of violence, international organized crime, and the tendency towards a diminishing feeling of solidarity between the poor and the rich could - through the privatization of violence - create regions characterized by the absence of the state's monopoly on the use of force.

72.7 Conclusions

The primary objectives and results of this chapter - based on a workshop on climate change and security - are highlighted with regard to their relevance for the

Strategic Future Analysis. The intention of the workshop was to present the current status of long-run analyses in the field of climate research in order to derive possible security implications. An important objective is the advancement of the applied methods and the enhancing of the tools used for the Future Analysis. The issue to be examined was whether climate change has previously been sufficiently reflected in the Strategic Future Analysis. With this in mind, the intention is to show the major corridors that can be used for future development paths with a time horizon of up to 30 years. They will then have to be applied to potential war scenarios.

War and its instruments are understood as a mirror of social developments, that is, the transition from post-industrial societies to information and knowledge societies will be the starting point for the analysis. The model 'social changes and the sociological processes' will be the basis that generates not only linear developments, but also allows retrograde developments. The overall process has produced an ever increasing complexity, with the latter entailing susceptibility to conflict and, in the shape of interaction, the vulnerability of societies.

It may be concluded that the results of climate research, in conjunction with historic findings on the experiences of societies where such phenomena have occurred, give rise to the hope that valid explanations for future development potentials can also be found in the field of security. Therefore the results should be used not only to answer the question of how they might affect certain regions and impact on local conflicts, but also of how they might help identify the type of conflict and possibilities to prevent it.

In security terms, climate change offers a number of corridors showing how strategic resources can be used. The security phenomena will be analysed at various levels including specific countries and regions. Such regions are the EU, the Greater Middle East (controlling about 70 per cent of fossil energy resources), East Asia, Southeast Asia, the Sub-Saharan region, and Central and South America. The projected climate change should therefore initiate intense discussions on the security scenarios that have been developed so far. These offer lessons learned for the *Future Analysis* of regions, types of conflicts, and of the direct and indirect implications for the security of the affected societies.

Heikki Patomäki

73.1 Introduction¹

What are the conditions of, and possibilities for, global security in the 21st century? Have we learnt anything from the late 20th century peace and security studies? In the aftermath of the end of the Cold War, two main lessons suggest themselves.² The first lesson is liberal democracies do not fight each other (Doyle 1986; Russett 1993a; MacMillan 2004). Perhaps the liberal democratic zone of peace could be further expanded? Perhaps democratization of states will eventually lead to planetary peace? On the other hand, the second lesson seems to be that security is not solely about the objective absence of threats of political violence and war, but also involves politics of securitization and desecuritization (Wæver 1989a, 1995, 1996a).

1 I would like to thank Hayward Alker, Kari Laitinen, Katarina Sehm-Patomäki and Teivo Teivainen for very helpful comments on the first draft of this paper, and for Robyn Milburn for editing the final version. They bear no responsibility for the final outcome.

2 The hypothesis of democratic peace was widely acclaimed in the West (and up to an extent also elsewhere) after the end of the Cold War. Since that point, it has been accepted perhaps by most European and North-American policy-makers, while being widely discussed and also debated among scholars. The theory of securitization has, in turn, been highly influential in European critical security studies since the early 1990's even if less well-known in the US or elsewhere in the world. I have obviously learnt something from both. However, the approach of this paper owes perhaps more (i) to the tradition of peace research as exemplified by the works of Hayward Alker (1988, 1996) and Johan Galtung (1977, 1996) and (ii) to critical realism both as a philosophy of science and as a social and political theory (for an introduction, see Bhaskar 1989; Collier 1994). From a critical realist perspective, I have elsewhere discussed and assessed the four methodological and theoretical lessons of Alker's long learning process (Patomäki 1997, 2002: chapter 2); and analysed the development and, also, methodological problems of Galtungian peace research (Patomäki 2001a).

Actors can bring about securitization by presenting something as an existential threat and by dramatizing an issue as being an absolute priority.³ By revealing the politics of security, the post-structuralist theory of securitization stresses the responsibility of actors for their speeches and actions. The moral seems to be that it is only by resisting the temptations of securitization that the political conditions for a security community can be created and maintained.

Perhaps the key to global security lies in furthering the process of democratization of states and reversing processes of securitization within states? However, over the years, many scholars who have adopted a long-term perspective have argued for a major structural transformation of the international system. Given the destructive powers of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction, John Herz (1957), Hans Morgenthau (1961), Daniel Deudney (1999a, 2000), and Alexander Wendt (2003), among others, all have argued for a global monopoly of legitimate violence. In their view, it is inconceivable that a few nation-states could legitimately retain the exclusive right over possession of nuclear weapons for the next 50, 100 to 200 years; moreover, as long as a few separate states possess and control nuclear weapons (while simultaneously some others are trying to acquire them), it is possible that these weapons will eventually be

3 For instance, the post-9/11/2001 US-led 'war against terrorism' involves wide-scale securitization both in the US and globally. In fact, the wars against terrorism and drugs were first initiated in the 1980's, during Reagan's administration. At that time, they led to military actions in Latin America (Colombia, Panama, Peru) and Middle East (Libya), among other things. From a post-structuralist perspective, David Campbell (1992) has argued that after the end of the Cold War, a strong quest, if not functional necessity (for identity-political reasons), emerged to replace the USSR with new enemies such as other civilizations and Islam in particular, failed states, rogue states, international terrorism and drug trafficking.

used. The future of humanity may thus depend upon the transformation of the international or world system into something akin to a Weberian world state.

Consider the scenario of the next 200 years told by Warren S. Wagar. Wagar's book, *A Short History of the Future*, relies in part, on the concepts and contentions of the world systems analysis. Wagar does not claim to be able to predict the future; rather, his project is about writing a plausible and fully fledged, single-path scenario of a possible future based largely on extrapolating from the past future trends. Wagar (1999: 9–95) envisages a world economy where capital is concentrated in an ever fewer number of global megacorporations. Inequalities continue to rise. The Global Trade Consortium (a future version of the WTO) becomes even stronger, to a point where it is preparing most of the regulation and planning on the planet while most citizens appear rather ignorant about its real powers. The sustenance of formal (*polyarchic*) liberal democracies takes increasingly repressive forms. Crime becomes a continuously acute problem particularly in the biggest megacities. The world's population continues to grow at a fast rate and most of humanity lives in big cities. Ecological problems – global warming in particular – are rapidly getting worse. The states at the centre of the world economy make a number of large-scale military interventions in the peripheries.

In Wagar's narrative, after a long-wave of economic growth in the first decades of the 21st century, a downward wave will begin in 2032. Within the first two years of the depression, the world GDP dramatically falls 25 per cent (in comparison, the Asian crisis of 1997–98 meant 'only' a loss of 6 per cent of potential world output). At the low point, reached in 2038 and again in 2043, the depression results in unemployment for half of the workers in the centre, and more than half in the peripheries. In Wagar's scenario, the low point of 2038 is followed by a weak and short-lived recovery, which quickly turns into a new deep downturn. This contributes to the sharpening and escalation of a number of deep-seated conflicts, particularly in the US. By this time, the US has become a society that is deeply divided into classes, races, and ethnic groups. A populist leftist woman, Mary Chávez, is elected President of the US in 2040. Her attempts to raise taxes to fund new social programmes cause an aggressive attack from the white conservatives. Her struggles also concern foreign policy. Chávez wants the US to refrain from the Confederated States of the Earth (replaced the UN in 2026) and disassociate the US from the hierarchical system

of global governance. The conflict between the President and Congress escalates and leads to an insurrection.

The EU recognizes Senator Ruggles as the legitimate leader of the US, yet Chávez crushes the armed rebellion. Chávez aligns the US with the poor nations. The EU, along with the Pacific Community, terrified by the spectre of collapse of the global order, makes a surprise nuclear attack against the US and its semi-peripheral allies. However, two US nuclear submarines and some US planes in the air escape attention and rounds of retaliation ensue. Moreover, as soon as the Indians realized that no world authority remains to stop them, they initiate a nuclear war against Pakistan. Most of the Northern Hemisphere and the Indian Subcontinent are devastated. Out of 9 billion people, only 2 billion survive, most of them in the southernmost regions. Both the nuclear winter and collapse of world trade make life miserable for most survivors for many years to come.

The surviving countries begin to build a new world order, but on the basis of the old system at first. However, the World Party – secretly founded well before the Catastrophe – starts to gain ground. Gradually, countries and regions start to join the new democratic and socialist Commonwealth, occasionally through a violent struggle. The final skirmishes between Commonwealth militias and local resistance groups take place in 2068. The new world state is governed by a democratically elected world parliament, and it is built on a more sustainable ecological basis than its predecessor. In Wagar's story, the socialist world state is transitory, lasting about 100 years; it will eventually be replaced by a community of smaller political communities, some of them living outside planet Earth and reaching further into space by 2300.

Should anything like the catastrophe of 2044 ever happen, in retrospect, what will be said about the most popular security theory of the late 20th and early 21st century? The theory of democratic peace would have failed for two reasons. *First*, although most states, including the EU, remained formally democratic in Wagar's story, in the first decades of the 21st century democracy did not exist (anymore) as a reality of political choice. Global free trade, global finance, and related non-democratic systems of global governance dominated the world and regulated the states. A one-sided focus from the existence of periodical two- or multiparty elections, and a few basic rights within separate states thus misled the theorists of democratic peace. *Secondly*, the theory of democratic peace failed to recognize the political economic conditions

of a security community. In the early decades of the 21st century, conflicts and wars occurred only in the global south, gradually the structural conditions for a major conflict evolved to include the centres of the world economy. The Great Depression of the 2030's and the subsequent ups and downs suddenly transformed the US identity – by means of democratic elections. Finally, it appeared the voters were experimenting with some reality of choice. In search of support for its leftist-populist economic policies, the new US Government became an ally for many of the transformative movements and states of the global south. This triggered a process of securitization. The EU leaders started to present the US developments as an existential threat. The Europeans argued that if we do not tackle the challenge of President Mary Chávez and her policies, everything else will be irrelevant; thus they sided with the conservative part of the Congress in the armed conflict in the US. However, this alliance initially led to a strong reaction by the Chávez regime – that survived the violent challenge – and soon led to the dramatic escalation of the conflict.

What follows below is an attempt to outline a better way of studying possible futures of global peace and security. *First*, I will explain in more detail what is wrong with the theory of democratic peace, particularly as a guide to a more peaceful world (73.2). Next, I will discuss the role of time and future in social sciences (73.3). Further on, I will analyze how causal complexes – including prevailing narratives, relations of power, political economic developments, and organizational responses to them – can be systematically modelled and how these models can be used as a basis for scenarios of possible futures (73.4). Securitization is only one component of a complex process. A scenario is always conditional on the actions of relevant actors. Actors and actions are structured at many levels. I will conclude by analysing the arguments for a world state (73.5). In the end, must humanity construct a world state to survive, for the sake of global security? Is a world state as 'inevitable' as Wendt (2003) claims and as Wagar (1999) seems to assume?

73.2 What is Wrong with the Theory of Democratic Peace?

The theory of democratic peace is reliant on the identification of what appears to be a strong and enduring constant conjunction: liberal-democracies do not fight each other.⁴ The argument is that X (liberal-democratic regimes) explains the absence of Y (war, organ-

ized violence between two states). A background assumption must be that Y is a normal thing to occur,

4 In the late 18th century, soon after the French Revolution, Immanuel Kant (1983 [1795]) argued that the republican constitution of states would guarantee their freedom and peacefulness (although republicanism was for him only one of several necessary conditions for a perpetual peace). By constitutional republicanism Kant meant basically liberal-democratic rule by the capable and free, i.e. property-owning, males, conceived as rational citizens who are not willing to bear the consequences of wars, such as loss of life, property, and money. Famously, President Woodrow Wilson took over the idea and advocated it during – and also in the immediate aftermath of – the First World War. However, it seems that he did this also in reaction to the war, since Germany was at this time redefined negatively as 'autocratic' (see Oren 1995). The Kantian hypothesis existed in the collective memory of the discipline of International Relations throughout the 20th century (it was strongly criticized for instance by Kenneth Waltz, 1959). Yet it was only in the 1980's, during the "third wave of democratization" (Huntington 1993), that it re-emerged as a major point of reference. Although Michael Doyle's (1986) path-breaking article discussed the Kantian hypothesis of democratic peace less empirically and more in terms of political theory, the bulk of scholarship has been devoted to testing the general correlation by means of empirical-statistical means. For instance, R.J. Rummel (1985) maintains that the more liberal freedom individuals have within a state, the less the state engages in foreign violence. This claim is based on quantitative and allegedly unequivocal empirical evidence (see also e.g. Gleditsch 1992). However, it is worth stressing that, ethico-politically, the theory of democratic peace has also resonated well with the ideological Neoliberalism of the regimes of Ronald Reagan, Margaret Thatcher, and their followers since the early 1980's. Particularly after the end of the Cold War, the democratic peace theory became the basis of both celebrating the inherent peacefulness of the West and, simultaneously, justified NATO-countries' attempts to spread liberal-democracy and free-market economics elsewhere in the world, also by means of violence. Thus, former US President Bill Clinton (1994) maintained shortly after the end of the Cold War: "Ultimately, the best strategy to ensure our security and to build a durable peace is to support the advance of democracy elsewhere. Democracies don't attack each other." Current (from 2001 to 2008) US President George W. Bush (2005) is even stronger on 'promoting democracy' on these grounds: "And the reason why I'm so strong on democracy is democracies don't go to war with each other. And the reason why is the people of most societies don't like war, and they understand what war means.... I've got great faith in democracies to promote peace. And that's why I'm such a strong believer that the way forward in the Middle East, the broader Middle East, is to promote democracy."

and that X is the mechanism or thing that explains why it does not occur in this special situation. Moreover, statistical demonstrations of the democratic peace theory are dependent on the particular theoretical categories adopted and the related data coding procedures (Alker 1996: 338–353). The democratic peace hypothesis assumes statist and legalist categories of significant violence; such as, defining ‘war’ in a way that does not count the United States’ covert operations to overthrow democratically elected regimes or the use of transnationally constituted military force within countries (Barkawi/Laffey 1999: 414–415). It is also inclined to code ‘democracy’ in a way that excludes, for example, Milosevic’s Yugoslavia (Serbia) of the 1990’s from the list of allegedly democratic countries (Serbia was bombed by liberal-democratic NATO-countries in 1999). Moreover, a cross-sectional correlation does not translate into a universal causal push in the desired direction. As Jack Snyder (2000) has argued, in some contexts democratization may actually increase the risk of nationalist violence.

Although the correlation is not as pure as some advocates of the theory would like us to believe, and although liberal democratization may sometimes contribute to increasing violence, the cross-sectional correlation does exist (Goenner 2004, accounting for some but not all aspects of theory-dependency of democratic peace data). Various mechanisms to explain this correlation have been suggested, often boiling down to: (i) constraints on political leaders imposed by democratic mechanisms of checks and balances and public opinion, and (ii) an ideology implying a liberal-democratic distinction between friends and enemies. From a critical realist perspective, it is the very idea of a constant conjunction that is problematic (Patomäki/Wight 2000; Patomäki 2002). Constant regularities are only obtained in a closed system; as will be explained below, the world is anything but closed. This suggests that it cannot simply be factors internal to democracies that are responsible for this apparent constant conjunction. Here the *explanans* and, up to an extent, the *explanandum* of the theory changes. For instance, what has been the role of the shared beliefs in the ‘invisible hand’ of free trade and markets, particularly in the core areas of the world economy (the OECD world), and the related Kantian civilizing effect of commerce? What is the overall and possibly changing causal complex that tends to make the 20th (and perhaps also 21st century?) relations between capitalist, Western-minded liberal-democracies peaceful?

Even if a mechanism (perhaps of a Kantian form) or a structured complex were identified, it would still only be transfactorially operative in an open system. This means that there must have been something about the other relevant complexes and processes that were also playing a causal role. Hence, the real tendency of the causal complex may have more to do with something else, which may or may not be internally related to liberal democratic procedures per se. Thus, an adequate analysis must also focus on relations and processes other than the mere presence of liberal-democrat procedures and characteristics, to form a whole picture using the relevant parts of the geo-historical whole in question. If there is anything to explain, it must be explained in terms of real tendencies and real workings of spatio-temporal causal complexes in open and therefore changing systems.

What is an open system? Bhaskar (1978: 76–85) defines an open system negatively in terms of the absence of a closure. Without a closure, there can be no constant conjunctions. In a closed system, extrinsic and intrinsic conditions remain constant. That is, although extrinsic influences into the system or complex under study are possible, they remain constant, and although the constitutive units are not strictly speaking atomistic (intrinsic changes may also occur in principle), their structure can be taken as a given or constant or always isomorphic. In laboratory experimentation, scientists can create artificial closures in order to identify the causally powerful mechanisms that work transfactorially, due to their causal powers, in open systems outside laboratory as well, where no regular associations or constant conjunctions occur.

Social scientists cannot create artificial closures in the same way. Plus, the rate of intrinsic change seems to exceed anything found in nature. Already by the mid-1970’s, even the most dedicated positivists had to admit that the project of finding universal invariances – or constant conjunctions – in society was loaded with difficulties. By elaborating upon the implications of the *ceteris paribus* clause, Johan Galtung used this as an opportunity to bring in the critical theoretical or dialectical idea that society can also be transformed by human activities. He started by declaring that there are no iron laws in social science:

A conception of science that does not conceive of data as the final arbiter in scientific controversy is at the same time a science conception that sees empirical reality as flexible, ‘laws’ as rubber laws rather than iron laws, and sees potential reality as relatively easily brought into being; transformed into empirical reality. But that makes prediction problematic, to say the least, and the basic thesis of this chapter is that absolute pre-

diction in social sciences is meaningless: there are no absolute invariances valid for the future. Formulated briefly: there are no laws in social science. (Galtung 1975b: 72)

What Galtung fails to do here is to spell out more generally the essential ontological qualities of society. Social systems are open; in general, neither the intrinsic nor the extrinsic conditions of closure are applicable. Social entities – including socio-historically formed social actors plus their understandings and relations – can and do change, and any social whole, specified in whatever manner, is susceptible to extrinsic influences, including influences from non-social layers of reality (physical, biological, ecological etc.). In the sense that every event has a real (structured and complex) cause, ubiquitous determinism holds, but causation does not have anything to do with constant conjunctions. Causation is about the production of outcomes by means of reflective social actions. Socio-historically formed human/social beings and their contextual reasons for action are also causally efficacious.

However, what we could call contrastive demi-regularities, or demi-regs, are pervasive in society (Lawson 1997: 204–213). ‘An increasing portion of the world’s population lives in cities,’ ‘since the late 19th century, wars between liberal-democratic countries have been much less frequent than inter-state wars between them and others, or inter-state wars between others,’ ‘the global economic growth has been steadily slowing down since the 1960’s,’ ‘average unemployment rates in western industrial countries were higher in the 1990’s than the 1960’s,’ ‘measured in incomes in constant dollar-terms, global disparities have been growing rapidly since the early 1960’s,’ and so on. This would seem to indicate that the clear-cut dichotomy between open and closed systems is not plausible. In fact, almost all systems can arguably be somewhere in-between absolutely open and absolutely closed systems, i.e. they are also closed to a varying degree (Töttö 2004: 269–84).

It is not however sufficient to find the contrastive demi-regularities, and then, specify the conditions of their continuation. Rather, these empirical facts and their meaning and implications should, *first*, be critically examined. For instance, what are the definitions of ‘democracy’ and ‘war’ in the theory of democratic peace? *Secondly*, and even more importantly, there should be a movement towards analysing the deeper social structures and causal complexes that generate these manifest phenomena. It is thus necessary to explicate the causal powers and liabilities of social ac-

tors (as pre-formed, complex, intra- and interrelated systems) and structures (as internal and external social relations) that are often organized as systems. A system should perhaps be given an autopoietic and processual definition. While social systems and organizations are open in many important regards, they tend to be reflectively self-producing. Their own operations, through external feedback, as well, ensure, within limits, their future continuation (Mingers 1995). A large-scale demi-reg can be indicative of a widespread pattern of unintended consequences of social actions. Autopoietically, it can also result from active and reflective self-regulation and self-production – memory-based reactions to external feedback by means of responding and internal restructuring – against the widely prevailing tendencies of decay, forgetting, irregularity or disorder (entropy).

In the social worlds, human memory and social communication are the mechanisms capable of producing the outcome that rule practices and systems that transcend time, place, and the biological existence of human beings. However, rules, regulations, and organizing principles cannot be more exact and clear than the meanings circulated, stored, and transformed within the practical social world, and in embodied in actors and social practices. Shared meanings can also be contradictory. Actors also hold conflicting theories about social meanings, practices, and institutions, and these are connected to differentiated horizons and horizon-constituted interests in human societies. Autopoiesis is therefore always ambiguous and at least potentially political.

73.3 Time and Future in Peace and Security Studies

Conventionally, studies in social science have focused on examining the past. Given this temporal orientation, it is no wonder that hardly anyone anticipated the end of the Cold War before it actually happened. Even though the Cold War was at the centre of attention for decades, its end came as a total surprise to most researchers. This raised the question of whether social sciences should also be able to say something about the future. Most often, this question was conceived merely in terms of testing the validity of existing theories, for example, whether theories of Political Science or International Relations predicted the end of the Cold War.⁵

Contrafactually however, consider the possibility that we had knowledge of a large number of relevant

and stable law-like social regularities, perhaps also comprising laws of development and change, in addition to simple regularities. Suppose further that we had good reasons to be confident that the thus identified causally determinist system will continue to prevail unchanged into the (distant) future. We should thus be in a position to predict the future. Largely for these reasons, many of the 19th century social scientists, such as, Thomas Malthus, Auguste Comte, Karl Marx or Max Weber thought that they could anticipate the future, yet they did not articulate the idea of studying the future in its own right. However, at the dawn of the 20th century, H.G. Wells argued that the future of humankind is no less a suitable subject for scientific inquiry than the past and the present. Wells proposed a new field of study, what is now known as 'futures studies'. Both for Wells, and later, for the pioneers of futures studies in the 1960's, the basis for confidence was in the idea that causal regularities are universal. As Wells maintained in 1902 (at the time when he became a socialist and started to advocate world government):

Suppose the laws of social and political development, for example, were given as many brains, were given as much attention, criticism, and discussion as we have given to the laws of chemical combination during the last fifty years, what might we not expect. (Cited in Wagar 2004: 38)

A century later we know not only that this project failed, but also why it had to fail. Prediction is fundamentally problematic because there are no truly constant conjunctions. As explained above, at best we can have knowledge of a restricted number of spatio-temporally bounded, contrastive demi-regs. Notwithstanding the lack of stable regularities, the whole point behind peace and security studies is that they should contribute to the better understanding of the conditions of future peace and security. Prediction is not possible, no conjunction is eternally constant, and the most apparent regularities tend to be unstable (either misidentified or liable to a change). Hence, our knowledge of one is limited, even if relatively stable, demi-reg, such as the democratic peace hypothesis, cannot be relied upon as the foundation for thinking about the conditions for a future, peaceful global order. Moreover, albeit for different reasons, the post-structuralist theory of securitization is of limited value: although it can illuminate the constitutive effects of security-talk and thereby some aspects of the

process of escalation of conflicts, it does not have much to say about the wider context, causes, and consequences of securitization.

Building upon "the systematic possibilism" of Hayward Alker's "Orwellian Lasswell" (1996: 257-263), my argument is, instead of trying to predict the future, peace and security studies should be concerned with the conditions of generating possible futures and modelling them in terms of scenarios and stories. The point of systematic modelling of possible futures is to reveal various - particularly unintended - consequences of social actions and their potentially cumulative or transformative effects. Social actions presuppose and reproduce or transform social structures.

Since I have developed closely related ontological and methodological ideas elsewhere (Patomäki 2002: chap. 2-5; Patomäki 2005b), I will proceed to outlining the basic notions of future-oriented global peace and security studies. First, both politics and organized violence require organized social systems. I will adopt the metaphor of organizations as complex responsive processes of relating: "the relations processes of communication, within which people accomplish joint action, are actively constructing the future as the living present and that future is unknown in advance" (Stacey/Griffin/Shaw 2000: 188).

Organizations that are actively constructing the future do not usually - depending on their organizing principles - have any clear boundaries and can be intra-, trans-, and interrelated (however closed they sometimes try to make themselves). Modern sovereign nation-states are organizations, but so are for instance their ministries. Other relevant organizations include international organizations such as the OECD, multinational corporations and banks, secret associations of radical Islam, the Brazilian movement of landless farmers, or members of the International Council of the World Social Forum. Organizations - as complex responsive processes - are not only responding but also learning. Learning processes may also lead them to revise their identity, goals, and strategies.

What is particularly interesting for social scientists are the limits of self-production of organizations and systems, and the conditions of continuation of contemporary demi-regs. These limits and conditions may also have to do with impediments to, and pathologies of, learning. Interests and power tend to interfere in communication and learning processes. Bhaskar distinguishes three ways in which interference between a subject's interest in an object and his knowledge of it could operate (1979: 74). It could operate consciously,

5 See for instance Allan and Goldmann 1992, including also Patomäki 1992; and Gaddis 1993.

as in lying, semi-consciously, as in the wishful thinking of the incurable optimist or the special pleading of a pressure group, or unconsciously, whether or not it may subsequently become accessible to consciousness. The conclusions of the unconscious mode of interference can be either rationalizations of motivation; or they can constitute mystifications or reifications of social structure (ideologies). Bhaskar's schema can be seen as an articulation of Marxist ideology-critique.

We do not have to assume that only one mode of action – strategic action – prevails, or that interests can be defined narrowly in terms of money or property ownership or anything similar. More generally, interests can be layered – surface level interests are justified in terms of deeper background discourses – and are explainable in terms of geo-historical processes. For instance, repression and violence stemming from defending a particular established interest can be an outcome of a pathological learning process. For Karl Deutsch a learning process is pathological if it leads to 'a change in the inner structure that will reduce rather than increase the future learning capacity of the person or organization'. He goes on to argue that:

[...] will and power may easily lead [...even] to self-destructive learning, for they may imply the overvaluation of the past against the present and the future, the overvaluation of the experiences acquired in a limited environment against the vastness of the universe around us; and the overvaluation of present expectations against all possibilities of surprise, discovery, and change (Deutsch 1963: 248).

Also various fallacies and illusions play an important role in the construction of social and economic realities. As Jon Elster puts it, "to explain the economy, one must also explain how the economic agents – and, following them, the political economists – arrive at incorrect beliefs about how it works" (1985: 127). The same thing applies to politics. There are structurally-induced illusions about how the world works, and these play a key role in economic and political processes. These illusions, as sub-varieties of ideological thinking, include illusions as local and particular knowledge in contrast to understanding the totality of social relations and processes. Things may appear to one actor in a particular position in a way that reflects the essence only from the actor's limited point of view; this may be distorted, or one-sided.

- An important case is the *narcissism of collective memory*: actors only see themselves and their

own unique suffering in the mirror of history (Chandhoke 2003: 161–165).

- A closely related case is that of a symmetric situation of *Manichean dualism of good and evil*, and the related concrete struggles, where the involved actors are incapable of seeing how their conception of the other mirrors images of the other's conception of them; furthermore, Manichean dualism generates strategic actions, yet actors often remain incapable of seeing how their actions contribute to sustaining the other's conception (Aho 1990).
- Moreover, a typical strategic illusion induced by a particular position, and its limited point of view, is that of the *fallacy of composition*: what is possible for one actor in a given moment is not possible for all or many simultaneously. For instance, a state may try to keep a 'security margin' by keeping itself somewhat better armed than its (potential) military competitors. However, if all relevant states – or even two of them – tried the same the result would be an arms race.⁶

These illusions, as sub-varieties of ideological thinking, include also reification and naturalization of embodied and culturally varying mental processes or of historical social processes, in contrast to understanding their geo-historical essence, including one's own role in contributing to the relevant social outcome. Three subcategories can be distinguished:

- First, an actor may *fail to see the particular image schemas, categorical structures, prototypes, frames, or metaphors* that give rise to particular forms of reasoning and social relations (including self-other relations). Human thought is mostly unconscious, abstract concepts are largely metaphorical, and embodied reason is emotionally engaged. Many of the reasons generated by the embodied mind, often inconspicuously, are efficient causes of actions (Lakoff/Johnson 1999).
- Second, the *effects of social processes may be presented as being outside the reach of human influence*. Although the precise definition of reification is theory-laden and contested, the basic idea is that the human mind, social relations, and processes are presented independently of actors and actions, and thereby thing-like or natural, due to ontological miscategorization (Archer 1995: 136,

6 On the fallacy of composition, see: Elster (1978: 97–106); for Richardson's arms race model, see: Rapoport (1960: 15–30).

148, 198). Reification may also stem from sweeping generalizations made on the basis of relatively short-term and/or spatially limited trends. Trends can also be seen as external things because their underlying social causes are not properly understood. Underlying causes of trends may also include one's own role in bringing them about. Many claims about 'globalization', for instance, fall into this subcategory of illusions as reification of social processes.

- Third, even when actors' awareness develops and they stop seeing the social context in mere parametric terms (as an 'external thing-like environment') and become aware of the strategic interactions and game-like situations between actors, they may still *reify their own and others' interests and options* (Elster 1978: 159). For instance, governments may recognize that 'globalization' is a Prisoner's Dilemma game, where states compete in attracting investors through means of neoliberal reforms and future commitments; however, because of the reifications of interests and strategic options, they still do not know how to resolve the contradiction between individual and collective rationality (and this reification may also be the result of other interests playing a role in the communication and learning processes).

Given the interference of power and interests in the social learning processes; the tendency towards pathological learning, which may involve processes of securitization and social construction of enemies; and given also the role of various illusions and ideological discourses; it is possible that the complex responsive processes to a variety of economic and political developments may lead to an increasingly counterfactual, and thereby possibly, destructive outcomes.

From this perspective, we can see the point and significance of the study of possible global futures. The point is to build analytical scenarios, grounded on explanatory modelling of contemporary demi-regions and trends in terms of actors (either embodied or corporate, the latter being reflectively organized social systems), modes of action, rules and regulations, practices, and resources, all in terms of social wholes often organized into social systems. With well-grounded analytical scenarios we can study possible and likely consequences of various learning processes and their consequent actions. Actions may have unintended consequences, possibly with systematic cumulative effects. Scenarios are also conditional stories, or temporal narratives. Relevant conditions include:

(C₁) *Conditions imposed by two 'orders of constraint' which shape and select policies of organizations*, including states or regional federations (Patomäki 2002, 55–56 partly based on Alker 1996):

- (a) The first comprises factors which set a boundary on the scope and diversity of the narratives (or scenarios) the organization is capable of generating. In Foucauldian terminology, discourses are bound by the way they characterize the field of possible objects, establish the way language functions with respect to objects, and the position of the speaking and acting subject. These in turn are shaped by the available set of key image schemas, categorical structures, prototypes, frames, metaphors, and narrative structures embodied in the actors that are positioned within the relational organization.
- (b) The second involves the mechanisms of choice, which select and amalgamate the narratives under consideration. This is a matter of the form and the method of localization and circulation of discourse(s) within the organizations. Prevailing official discourses are often adopted from other organizations, frequently by mimicking apparent successes, but practices usually reflect more specific geo-historical and cultural understandings as well. Dimensions of power, including the Weberian capacity of an actor positioned within a social relationship to carry out his/her own will despite resistance, and organizational structures come into the picture here.

(C₂) *Conditions that stem from the socially framed and defined day-to-day problems of the relevant actors*. Usually these have to do with the political economy of production or destruction, and, perhaps increasingly more often, with the ecological consequences of production and destruction. Problems faced by modern citizens – civil society is also a space of communication – and organizations typically concern contrastive trends of growth or decline, such as: the availability and legitimate distribution of employment and resources, relative power and control over forces of production and destruction, and (the lack of or potential for) freedom of self-expression, self-realization, and self-determination in the confines of prevailing forces and relations of production and destruction. Problems defined and faced by actors are discussed in terms of collective memories, prevailing ideologies, and available stories that may implicate vari-

ous illusions. In order to analyse conditions C_2 , it is necessary to first grasp both the underlying economic processes, and then, the communicative process of representing (aspects of) them as problems. The latter is of course closely related to conditions C_1 .

(C_3) *Conditions created by the responses of other organizations related to 'us'*. These can also be modelled in terms of C_1 and C_2 of the particular organizations and consequent learning processes that may be pathological and involve various illusions. Consider securitization as a communicative process of relating. In contrast to the post-structuralist theories of securitization, security talk is not solely self-referential. Security statements are usually related to external realities; therefore, their rhetorical success is not only dependent on the meanings, fears, and hopes they can evoke but also on their capacity to interpret external situations and circumstances in a culturally meaningful way. Particularly, developments in the political economy are important in the formation of temporal relational contexts of action. Moreover, authority's, asymmetric access to security-information and privileged access to mass media, i.e. relations of power between the speaker and his/her audience, play a key role in determining the success of securitization (Balzacq 2005: 182-184). Another limitation of the post-structuralist theory of securitization is that it has thus far focused only on one isolated organization in time instead of the geo-historical processes of interactions between organizations, seen as complex responding processes of relating. Other organizations' forms of responses and relating are part and parcel to the external circumstances. Conditions C_3 bring this dynamic to the forefront.

(C_4) *Conditions of structural power*. By structural power I mean the reproductive and transformative effects of contextual social action on internal and external relations of positioned practices, thus affecting the capacity of actors to produce effects. Unintentional consequences and impersonal effects of action are playing an important role in this structuration (Patomäki 2002: 113-17; Guzzini 1993; Barnett/Duvall 2005). Although conditions of structural power should also be analysed in terms of C_1 - C_3 , it is important to emphasize that the reproduction or transformation of the conditions of social action always presupposes structures and implies power. The specification of rele-

vant C_4 is also a matter of concrete empirical research. A few examples should suffice to illustrate the way these conditions work. For instance, political parties, political opinions, and politicians require some popularity among citizens in democratic welfare states, yet the capacity of states to transform social contexts by means of taxation and regulation is constrained by the potential responses by domestic and transnational corporations (e.g. in terms of investment strikes). On the other hand, corporations, political parties, and states may be intra- or trans-related through, for instance simultaneous or successive positioning of individual actors, or interrelated through relations of financial (inter)dependency, or through systems of industrial and technological planning, as seen in the military segment. In turn, the responses (C_3) of corporations to the talks and actions of states-actors depend on the everyday problems they are facing (C_2) and on the stories that they are telling (C_1). On the other hand, possible corporate stories are constrained by relevant internal and external relations of power. These are liable to geo-historical changes. To illustrate further, in the late 20th century, both states and corporations have increasingly been conditioned by globalizing finance. Financial capital tends to be allocated collectively, in accordance with the expectations generated by the investors' shared frameworks of interpretation ($C_3 \rightarrow C_1$). Many of the financial actors are positioned where they cannot avoid affecting the outcomes, independently of their will. The dealers and fund-managers make their far-reaching investment decisions on the basis of their largely shared discursive understandings of the world, which usually presuppose the essentials of orthodox economic theory and the so-called Washington consensus (C_1). Similarly, the credit-rating agencies - Moody's and Standards & Poor in particular - base their assessments on models which presuppose the validity of the basic tenets of orthodox economics and Washington consensus. Because of the level indebtedness, competition to attract investments, and the widespread fear of sudden financial capital flight, the discourses of financial actors have non-intentional power effects over both states and other economic actors (through C_3 to C_2). On the other hand, relations of financial dependency may, in some ways, be translated into bargaining resources in the negotiations between states, as done in the context of the WTO. There are various feedback

effects, for example, conditions C_4 through C_2 (responding to the day-to-day problems) and C_3 (relating to the responses of other organizations) – can play an important role in the selection conditions of C_{1b} , thus co-generating self-understandings, self-other relations, and collective learning that may also amount to various illusions and pathological learning processes.

With this analysis, we can explicate the assumptions of Wagar's story of the events and processes that led to the Catastrophe of 2044. What exactly are the conditions C_1 - C_4 assumed by Wagar? Wagar presupposed that the illusions of local and particular knowledge, in contrast to understanding the totality of social relations and processes, prevail among the key decision-makers both before and at the time of the deep economic depression of the late 2030's. These one-sided and short-sighted illusions combined with structurally induced ideological understandings of how the capitalist world economy and its governance work, determine the counterfactual responses to the economic slump. Furthermore, reification of socio-economic processes play a part in the processes of securitization and construction of enemies. Moreover, Wagar assumed that struggles over the distribution of resources within the US, where inequalities have been on the rise for decades and conflicts over class- and identity-based self-expression and self-realization abound, eventually leads, under the stressed economic circumstances of the late 2030's, to new self-understandings and redefinition of the US identity. Elsewhere in the core of the world economy, the prevailing global order of economic liberalism is equated both with the preconditions of growth and security. Hence, President Chavez's populist-leftist redefinition generates novel Manichean self-other relations and dramatic processes of securitization. In the context of economic depression and widespread unemployment, the armed conflict within the US heightens the actors' emotions and existential concerns, both in the US and elsewhere. In this temporal context, fear, suspicion, and miscalculation ground the European decision to attack.

On the other hand, by analysing C_1 - C_4 in terms of contemporary realities, we can also see that Wagar's narrative is only a possibility among many, and may lack plausibility in some important regards. For instance, Wagar's assumptions concerning prevailing trends in world economy may be false, since there is no long-term upward swing (fifth Kondratieff-cycle) in sight in the early 2000's; therefore, it may well be that instead of populist-leftist redefinition of the US, the

contemporary problem lies rather in the dialectics of securitization and oligarchization in the US, stemming largely from responses to its political economy dependencies, competitive positioning, and financial problems. Moreover, depending on other organizations' response to the early 21st century, the US project of achieving total global military dominance, its growing frequency to resort to neo-imperial unilateralism, and depending on a number of political economy contingencies such as the possibility of the collapse of US dollar, new tensions, and a possible arms race, may emerge between the US and other (possibly evolving) superpowers such as the EU and/or China, with Brazil, India, Japan, Russia, and a few others such as some Islamic states playing some role, possibly as allies. Based on a scrutiny of contemporary conditions C_1 - C_4 , consequents possible, and likely developments should be modelled systematically in order to learn from possible futures.

73.4 Is a World State Necessary?

In his story about the Catastrophe of 2044 and its aftermath, Wagar underlines that the post-1945 era, the late global or planetary-nuclear era of jet airplanes, rockets and missiles, satellites and nuclear explosives, may continue until its destructive powers are finally actualized in a nuclear war (cf. Deudney 2000: 90). Indeed, in Wagar's story, it is only after the huge catastrophe that humanity finally comes to its senses and establishes, even if only after years of further struggles, a democratic socialist world state⁷. Wagar in fact thinks that his key point is not dependent on any specific turn in the story depicted in *A Short History of the Future*:

the world has had more than half a century to get it right. After what appeared to many observers as the greatest catastrophe in human history – the Second World War – humankind may have enjoyed an unprecedented opportunity to build a stable, just, and integrated world order. It did not. The catastrophe was apparently not great enough. Too much had survived intact. For the most part, although certainly not entirely, we went back to business as usual. Capitalism, which had already begun to globalize in earlier centuries, resumed its globalizing ways, and every nation went back to pursuing its 'vital national interests.' Now the last and only chance for humankind – in all likelihood – is a catastrophe that will shake civilization to its foundations. (Forthcoming)

This is, of course a theme that has occupied many great minds in peace and security studies particularly

since the 1940's (in 1913, H.G. Wells imagined in *The World Set Free* a planetary nuclear war in 1958–59 between regional powers⁸) (see Wagar 2004: 143–147).

7 The idea of a federalist world state is sometimes falsely associated with Immanuel Kant (as is the idea of collective security). Kant advocated republican institutions within the state, worldwide free trade, and a loose system of international contracts and multilateral negotiations that he called the League of Nations. There may have been precedents in other times and places, but in modern Europe the idea emerged basically in the mid-19th century (and simultaneously in the Middle East between 1852 and his death at 1892, Bahá'u'lláh, founder of the Bahá'í Faith, set the establishment of global unity, obtained via a global commonwealth of nations, as a key principle of his new religion). While it is possible to find scattered remarks on the will-be world state by 19th century poets, novelists, religious leaders and philosophers, it really came up as a major political idea only immediately before and during the First World War. One of the key advocates of the world state during the early decades of the 20th century was H.G. Wells (1866–1946). Wells was a popular British author of numerous essays and books in science fiction, drama, politics, and various scholarly fields. In 1902, in his non-fictional *Anticipations of the Reaction of Mechanical and Scientific Progress upon Human Life and Thought*, Wells proposed a world republic, an idea which he started to cultivate in many of his writings that appeared before the First World War. Some of his later books developed the idea to various degrees, including *A Short History of the World* (1922), *The Open Conspiracy* (1928) and *The Shape of Things to Come* (1933), and sold hundreds of thousands, or even millions of copies. Wells was also responsible for giving the idea of a nuclear chain reaction to Leo Szilard, a physicist, who also wrote Albert Einstein's famous summer of 1939 letter to President Roosevelt about the urgency of developing an atomic bomb. However, Szilard was strongly moved by Wells' horrifying vision of a future nuclear war and advocacy of a worldwide movement to create a world state. After the Second World War, Szilard became a key organizer of the emerging transnational peace movement. Moreover, Szilard was well networked and he knew both Hans Morgenthau, with whom he worked at the University of Chicago, and Raymond Aron, with whom he exchanged ideas. It is likely that Aron's and Morgenthau's discussions on the world state were, at least in part and indirectly, responses to Wells, although Aron and Morgenthau do not spell this clearly out in the references of their major works. On the other hand, in the US of the late 1940's, Emery Reves' *The Anatomy of Peace* was probably better known than Wells' works. In his bestselling book, Reves argued that only "a common sovereign order of law" and "a world government" would secure mankind from self-destruction (1947: 242–244).

Morgenthau (1948/1961) argued in his *Politics Among Nations* that a world state is eventually necessary: "the experience of two world wars within a quarter of a century and the prospects of a third one to be fought with nuclear weapons have imparted the idea of a world state an unprecedented urgency" (Morgenthau 1961: 501). Continuing, "there is no shirking the conclusion that international peace cannot be permanent without a world state" (Morgenthau 1961: 513). His conclusion was to advocate the Mitranyan functionalist path to "the creation of an international community as a foundation for a world state" (Morgenthau 1961: 536). Similarly, John Herz (1957) concluded that because both increasing economic interdependence and the emergence of massive air power and nuclear weapons, territorially sovereign states had become dysfunctional; "[t]he meaning and function of the basic protective unit, the "sovereign" nation-state itself, have become doubtful" (Herz 1957: 473). Further on he states, "one radical conclusion to be drawn from the new condition of permeability would seem to be that nothing short of global rule can ultimately satisfy the security interest of any one power, and particularly any superpower" (Herz 1957: 491).

In the immediate aftermath of and Western euphoria over the end of the Cold War, these discussions were almost forgotten for a while. However, approximately ten years and a number of limited-scale conventional wars later, the problem resurfaced in IR literature. Wendt has now gone so far as to argue "that a global monopoly of violence – a world state – is inevitable" (Wendt 2003: 491). Leaving aside his mechanistic, organistic, Darwinistic, and systems-theoretical metaphors and analogies, Wendt's argument is essentially about the tendency for military technology and war to become increasingly destructive, and about learning from the consequent experiences and vulnerabilities: "the scale of surviving states may have been efficient for many centuries, but ballistic missiles and nuclear weapons are now making them obsolete as well" (Wendt 2003: 508). However, on par with security concerns, is the Hegelian logic of recognition:

This reflects Hegel's teleological view that the end of the state is not just to protect its members' physical security, but to make their subjectivity possible, which

8 "Certainly it seems now that nothing could have been more obvious to the people of the early twentieth century than the rapidity with which war was becoming impossible. And as certainly they did not see it. They did not see it until the atomic bombs burst in their fumbling hands" (Wells 1913: 117; cited in Wagar 2004: 147).

cannot be fully realized until all are recognized as equal and an impartial judge exists to enforce this status against criminals" (Wendt 2003: 513).

In my opinion, arguments concerning the (urgent) need for a world state should be presented in terms of a systematic futures studies, based also on empirical research, rather than in terms of – at least in some regards anachronistic – philosophies of history. For instance, is it possible to construct a plausible, systematic scenario, grounded on empirical evidence and explanatory models of contemporary demi-regis, structures, mechanisms, and systems of developments leading towards a large-scale nuclear war in the foreseeable future? If the answer is yes, then the arguments of Morgenthau, Herz, Wendt and many others assume acute and immense importance. Indeed, it seems that although Wagar's scenario may fall short of being plausible in its entirety, parts of his story can be revised without changing the main conclusion, i.e. that the planetary-nuclear era is likely to continue (only) until its destructive powers are actualized in a nuclear war within the next 10–50 years.

Under some plausible assumptions, a catastrophe could be rather close. For instance, there are good reasons to think that the world economy has been locked in a long downward phase; since the 1960's, decade after decade, there has been less growth globally, and more unemployment and under-employment in industrial and human capacities. More 'globalization' seems to mean less economic growth; therefore, various further crises and slumps are possible in the near future (Patomäki 2001: chap. 1–3; Patomäki 2005). Simultaneously – given the contemporary hierarchies, divisions, and inequalities – interests of positioned actors and asymmetric power relations tend to shape the communication and learning processes of many organizations, including states and regional political formations. Although this can be shown in detail only through systematic empirical research, it seems that pathological learning processes and various illusions prevail in a number of key contexts. Moreover, there are also other possible paths towards a nuclear war other than the one depicted by Wagar. Just consider the role of China, and India, Japan and Russia, plus the possibility of a new fragile power-balancing system of regional superpowers in the Americas, Europe, and Asia. In the contemporary nuclear-planetary era, a war of mass destruction seems to be a real possibility, and it may prove even more destructive than Wagar's story.

Even under these circumstances, a Weberian world state is neither inevitable nor (necessarily) de-

sirable. I think Wendt is right in prioritizing the emergence of a universal security community before taking any further steps towards a world state, "[m]embers of the system must no longer routinely perceive each other as physical threats, and expect to settle their disputes peacefully" (2003: 505). Indeed, as many political analysts have argued over the years, a world state, as such, is no guarantee for peace. Without a pre-existing and underlying political security community, a world state could easily become either a totalitarian monster, sustained largely by massive violence, and/or precipitate a global civil war with no less detrimental consequences (Aron 1962: 725–766; Morgenthau 1961: 514–518). Raymond Aron warned also about the dangers of believing in a strict logic of history leading inevitably towards the final stage of human development:

The fanaticism I oppose [...] is of the ideologists of [the 20th] century, simplifiers and 'perfectionists', who believe themselves to possess an infallible formula for prosperity and justice [and peace] and who will accept any violence in order to attain this luminous goal. To doubt these models has nothing to do with vulgar scepticism. It is, on the contrary, to rely on reasoning that confirms the imperfection of all social orders, accepts the impossibility of knowing the future, condemns the vain pretension of drawing up the schema of an ideal society (Aron 1962: 757).

Therefore, in his search of the potential political foundations for a world state, Morgenthau stressed the gradual development of a world community of moral judgements and political actions, and stressed the importance of mechanisms of peaceful changes for resolving political conflicts (Morgenthau 1961: 521–536). To take Morgenthau's cautiously presented idea a little further, and to use it in terms of the theory of securitization, it can be argued that desecuritization entails an opening out of peaceful politics. Furthermore, as I elaborated earlier, the process of establishing mechanisms of peaceful change and opening up shared world political spaces amounts, by and large, to the democratic transformations of systems of global governance (Patomäki 2003: 366–71; Patomäki/Teivainen 2004). Democratic world politics also presupposes the prospect of (some agreements over) redistributive justice since political struggles and attempts to change the rules and principles may concern not only recognition of equality and difference but also substantial (re)distribution of socio-economic opportunities and resources (Patomäki 2001: chap. 4). Moreover, apart from concrete strategies for democratizing systems of global governance, it is equally important to find functional and non-central-

ized ways to reflectively and democratically regulate, steer, and plan the world economy in order to preclude economic collapses, crises, and depressions that may trigger, among other things, processes of securitization, enemy-construction and large-scale (possibly catastrophic) violence (see Patomäki 2005).

73.5 Conclusion

The democratic peace hypothesis does not provide a firm or fixed ground for global security. Moreover, the concept of securitization, although helpful in analysing some aspects of the processes that are relevant to global security, is of limited applicability. The idea of a world state has thus re-emerged as a key reference point in scholarly discussions about global security. However, I have argued in this paper that instead of hasty and potentially dangerous visions of a unified world state, it is better to ground one's response to problems of global security on concrete scenarios as narratives about possible developments of temporal relational contexts – as conditional stories – that are based on explanatory models of contemporary realities. Future-oriented peace and conflict research should also be seen as a pluralist and politically reflective early warning system, based on long-term analysis of social processes and structures. We, however defined, and others can and should learn from possible future catastrophes. It is equally vital to develop realist strategies for concrete future transformations in order to avoid paths that are likely to lead towards a catastrophe – i.e. visions of other possible futures.

Avoidance of a major catastrophe is obviously not the only aim. In general, it is the task of peace and security research to show how the trends and real tendencies of history can be overturned to act consistently in a way that will prevent the transformation of peaceful politics into violence and will promote the transformation of potentially, or actually violent situations into peaceful and democratic politics.

Despite the real possibility that a war of mass destruction will end the planetary-nuclear era, it must remain an open question for the time being whether a world state (in some sense) could become a meaningful and desirable option at a later world historical point (and not only for reasons of global security). As public time unfolds and new vantage points open up, we and others may be able to imagine possibilities that are not seen now. One thing is certain, Wagar was right in his story when he made the world state last only for 100 years. There is no end to history, nei-

ther now, nor in the year 2250 – or in the year 10000 for that matter – unless humanity succeeds in destroying itself (excluding for now other less likely contingencies). History of the human species must remain open-ended, no matter how stable the underpinnings of any particular set of institutional arrangements may appear to a given observer. Furthermore, also depicted in Wagar's *A Short History of the Future*, even the biological constitution of our species-being will gradually change, also by our own making.

74 Role of Prediction in Sustainable Development and Disaster Management

G.A. McBean

74.1 Introduction¹

The concept of sustainable development that “humanity has the ability to make development sustainable – to ensure that it meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (World Commission on Environment and Development 1987) brings together social, environmental, and economic considerations. In practice it means that societies need to look to the future and make investments now that will allow future generations to meet their needs consistent with those of present generations. Meeting the needs of future generations implies prediction – being able to foretell what will or might happen and how actions and decisions taken now result in differences in the future.

Prediction is used across the natural, environmental, social, and economic sciences. “Prediction is a statement or claim that a particular event will occur in the future. Narrowing the sense of prediction it may be added that the place and time of event are known as well” (Mesjasz 2005). The Oxford Dictionary defines the verb to predict as to “foretell, prophesy”. The noun *forecast* is defined as: “conjectural estimate of something future, especially, of coming weather”. *Conjecture* is the “formation of opinion on incomplete grounds”. The sense of estimate, future and incomplete information is certainly consistent with the sense of prediction of natural and human systems. Prediction is the process of looking ahead on the basis of incomplete knowledge of the present and with incomplete understanding of how the system works.

1 This research has benefited from discussions with Paul Kovacs, Dan Henstra and others at ICLR, Reid Basher of ISDR and members of the ICSU ad hoc Scoping Group on a natural hazards research programme. Research support was provided by the Institute for Catastrophic Loss Reduction and the Canadian Foundation for Climate and Atmospheric Sciences.

The theme of this chapter is that prediction can play a role in better planning for the future to make sustainable development a possibility. Natural disasters are part of that future and must be considered. Hence, the focus is on the role of prediction in the intersection of the disaster management and sustainable development. Natural disasters and their impacts on development are the topics of the next two sections. The approaches towards management of natural hazards and the role governments can or should play in that are the topics of the following two sections. Climate change and its stresses on development are considered next. The chapter ends with a discussion of types of prediction and the need to bring together predictions of both natural and social systems.

74.2 Natural Disasters

The recent devastating effects of the Indian Ocean tsunami, hurricanes Katrina, Rita and Wilma, and the earthquake in Kashmir are vivid reminders that natural disasters² are a global issue which result in great loss of human lives, livelihoods, and economic assets in both developed and developing countries. While very large events are, fortunately, fairly rare, the frequency of recorded natural disasters has been rising rapidly. From a global average total of about 10 per year in the period 1900–1940, to 65 per year in the

2 A disaster is defined by the International Strategy for Disaster Reduction (ISDR) as a serious disruption of the functioning of a community or a society causing widespread human, material, economic or environmental losses which exceed the ability of the affected community or society to cope using its own resources. A disaster is a function of the risk process. It results from the combination of hazards, conditions of vulnerability and insufficient capacity or measures to reduce the potential negative consequences of risk. See at: <www.unisdr.org>.

Table 74.1: Trigger events of natural disasters based on EM-Dat and MunichRe analyses. **Sources:** EM-DAT: *The OFDA/CRED International Disaster Database* (Louvain: Université Catholique de Louvain); MunichRe 2006: 2; see at : <www.munichre.com >.

EM-Dat		MunichRe	Cat. 1-2	Cat. 3-4	Cat. 5-6
Storms	23%	Windstorms	42%	42%	42%
Floods	33%	Flood	28%	34%	28%
Droughts	15%				
		Temperature and mass movements	14%	17%	18%
Landslides	4.5%				
Avalanches	0.7%				
		Earthquake-tsunami-volcanoes	16%	7%	12%
Earthquakes and tsunamis	7%				
Volcanoes	1.4%				

Category 1-2: small-scale to moderate loss (1-19 deaths; some damage)

Category 3-4: Severe to Major Catastrophe (20-500 deaths; damage range US\$50 m - 500 m based on period 2000-2005)

Category 5-6: Devastating to Great Natural Catastrophe (> 500 deaths; damage > US\$500 m).

1960's, to 200 per year in the 1980's, to almost 280 per year in the 1990's, it reached 470 per year for the period 2000-2003. Millions of people are killed, injured or displaced each year because of natural disasters (EM-DAT: OFDA/CRED, *International Disaster Database*, see at: <<http://www.em-dat.net/>>). The impacts of natural hazards have been increasing around the globe. In economic costs, the average annual amounts over a 10 year period have increased from US \$4 billion per year in the 1950's, to US \$13 billion per year in the 1970's and to US \$65 billion per year in the 1990's (see at: <www.munichre.com/>) and the costs are continuing to escalate in first years of this decade. Natural disasters in 2004 and 2005 are estimated to have caused economic losses totalling US \$145 billion and US \$185 billion respectively (MunichRe 2005: 11-12, 2006: 2; at: <www.munichre.com>).

Most disaster losses, whether measured in terms of the number of events, the lives lost or material destruction, stem from extreme weather-related events such as hurricanes, cyclones, other major storms, floods, landslides, wildfires, and drought (Berz/Kron/Loster/Rauch/Schimetschek/Schmieder/Siebert/Smolka/Wirtz 2001), although the statistics of natural disasters depend somewhat on the categorization criteria (Tschogl/Below/Guha-Sapir 2006). Both the EM-Data³ and MunichRe summaries (see table 74.1) show

that weather and weather-related events (including: floods; storms, which includes hurricanes, typhoons, tornadoes, mid-latitude winter storms; droughts and most avalanches and many landslides) trigger about ¾ of all natural disaster events. Earthquakes, tsunamis, and volcanoes comprise only between 8 and 16 per cent of all events but make a much higher percentage of major natural hazards and their impacts are a much greater fraction in terms of lives lost.

What is the explanation for these escalating costs? There are social and demographic factors. Global population has been increasing and there has generally been more exposure of people to hazards, meaning more people and communities are at risk. People are also living by choice or circumstances in more hazardous zones, along coasts, river banks, and mountain slopes. There has also been a growing inequality between poorer and wealthier sectors of society, and the poorer sectors are more vulnerable. There is more expensive infrastructure being damaged. In urban regions (and particularly in very large cities), the complex infrastructure systems that make life and economic activity possible, increase the vulnerability of populations to disruptions caused by natural haz-

3 See: EM-DAT: *The OFDA/CRED International Disaster Database*, Université Catholique de Louvain, Belgium, see at: <www.em-dat.net>.

ards. Commercial activities have become more interdependent and vulnerable, including relying more on the transportation of people and goods. Vulnerability to natural hazards is increased through human interventions, such as changes in land cover increasing risks of landslides or flooding, destruction of mangroves reducing protection of coastal areas to storm damage, and emissions of greenhouse gases into the atmosphere that change the climate. The increasing risks due to climate change will be discussed later.

74.3 Natural Disasters and Development

Although all countries have been impacted by natural disasters, the relative impacts usually are larger in human lives in developing countries and larger in economic costs in developed countries (Mileti 1999). In highly developed countries, the average number of deaths per disaster is 23, while the number increases dramatically to about 150 deaths per disasters in medium and to over 1,000 deaths per disaster in less developed countries (Mutter 2005). While the absolute dollar costs of disasters in highly-developed countries are large, the damage as a percentage of Gross Domestic Production (GDP) is much larger in the developing country (Handmer 2003). Development is then not sustainable. Part of sustainable development needs to be consideration of decisions being made now, including decisions to invest or not, and how they will alter societies' exposure to the risk and occurrence of natural hazards.

The 2000 Millennium Summit formally established a series of Millennium Development Goals (MDG) as a comprehensive and multi-dimensional development framework with clear, quantifiable targets to be achieved in all countries by 2015.⁴ In 2002, participants of the World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) in Johannesburg (South Africa) adopted a Summit Plan of Implementation as part of the strategy to meet the Millennium Development Goals⁵ which drew strong connections between international development and natural hazards. The 2005 World Conference on Disaster Reduction in Kobe,

Hyogo (Japan) noted the intrinsic relationship between disaster reduction, sustainable development, and poverty eradication, and called on governments to strengthen global disaster reduction activities⁶.

74.4 Disaster Management

Disaster management is defined by the *International Strategy for Disaster Reduction* (ISDR, at: <www.unisdr.org>) as the

systematic process of using administrative decisions, organization, operational skills and capacities to implement policies, strategies and coping capacities of the society and communities to lessen the impacts of natural hazards and related environmental and technological disasters. This comprises all forms of activities, including structural and non-structural measures to avoid (prevention) or to limit (mitigation and preparedness) adverse effects of hazards [<http://www.unisdr.org/eng/library/lib-terminology.home.htm>].

Since natural hazards occur and will continue to occur but their exact timing and location will always be uncertain, dealing with them will always be a case of risk management (see Leiss 2001 for discussion of risk in general). The objective of society is to reduce the probability that the occurrence of a natural hazard leads to a natural disaster. Policies and strategies addressing all natural hazards result in sustained, deliberate measures, implemented well in advance of the event to avoid or reduce the impact of hazards.

There are different approaches (Godschalk 1991; Mileti 1999) to disaster risk management. *Mitigation* is the adoption and implementation of structural and non-structural measures to limit the adverse impact of natural hazards, environmental degradation, and technological hazards. This includes standards and codes to protect infrastructure, people, etc., from extreme events, based on an analysis of probabilities of events, which implies being able to predict the probabilities of future events, and the costs of implementation. It should be noted that mitigation in the climate change community has the meaning of reducing emissions to reduce the hazard, and is very different in meaning to climate change adaptation (which is essentially hazard mitigation).

Preparedness reflects the activities and measures taken in advance to ensure effective response to the

4 For: *Millennium Declaration and Millennium Goals*, see: A/57/270, at: <www.un.org/millenniumgoals>.

5 See: "Report of the World Summit for Sustainable Development", Johannesburg, South Africa, 26 August - 4 September 2002, A/CONF.199/20*, see at: <www.un.org>.

6 See: *Hyogo Declaration*, World Conference on Disaster Reduction 18-22 January 2005, Kobe, Hyogo, Japan.; extract from its final report, A/CONF.206/6; see at: <www.unisdr.org/wcdr>.

impact of hazards, including the issuance of timely and effective early warnings, based on predictions. Warnings (McBean 2000, 2002) advise people about impending events (e.g., tornado or flood). Predictions or scenarios identify anticipated climate events such as seasonal drought or long-term climate changes, respectively. Appropriate preparedness strategies will vary with the event. In the case of a tornado within the next 10 minutes, people should seek safe cover. For a river cresting within the next five days, preparations for evacuation and implementation of emergency actions can be taken. If a prediction or scenario predicts more tornadoes over the next year, decade or century, building codes can be changed and educational programmes and warning systems improved.

Response is the provision of assistance or intervention during or immediately after a disaster to meet the life preservation and basic subsistence needs of those people affected. *Recovery* is decisions and actions taken after a disaster with a view to restoring or improving the pre-disaster living conditions of the stricken community, while encouraging and facilitating necessary adjustments to reduce disaster risk.

Prediction of impending hazards will contribute to societal actions before (*mitigation and preparedness*) and during the events (*response*). Prediction can also make response and recovery more effective and lower the risk to the interveners. Prediction should also be seen as a key basis for disaster management through reducing the impacts of hazards by providing information for effective decision-making, for increasing awareness of the impacts of hazards, and by demonstrating how disasters are affected by collective societal activities.

74.5 Role of Government and Approaches to Disaster Management

In the Report of the UN Secretary-General's *High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change* (2004), it is noted that "... it cannot be assumed that every State will always be able, or willing, to meet its responsibility to protect its own peoples and not to harm its neighbours."⁷ A fundamental and basic role

for government is the protection of its citizens, which has long been the basis for protective services like national defence, law enforcement, and fire protection. The relationships between human security and the natural environment are being reconceptualized (Brauch 2005). In discussions of human security concepts, Bogardi and Brauch (2005) have proposed that a pillar of sustainable development "freedom from hazard impacts" be added to the traditional visions of "freedom from want" and "freedom from fear" (Krause 2004: 43-46). Warning citizens of impending dangers of natural hazards makes prediction central to the role of government. It is recognized that the capacity for governments to provide warnings of impending dangers varies considerably, as does the social vulnerability to events.

Although response is an unavoidable reaction for governments, the emphasis in disaster management should be on prevention (mitigation and preparedness) since it has been shown (e.g., Mileti 1999) that investments in prevention can greatly reduce or eliminate the need for investments later in response and recovery. Thus, although investments in disaster mitigation-preparedness are consistent with sustainable development, most governments still make their major investments in response and recovery. Failure to take action on mitigation stems from a variety of economic, political, and societal reasons (Henstra/McBean 2005). Investments in mitigation where the benefits are only gained later if there is a disaster (which is uncertain for any location), compete for political priority with items of more certain and immediate political return. In federal government systems or where insurance or international assistance are major factors, the benefits of mitigation expenses, i.e., reduced costs for response and recovery, may not come to the government that makes the mitigation investment. The recent incident of Hurricane Katrina impacting on the city of New Orleans and surrounding areas demonstrates the possible impact of failure to invest (McBean 2006). An important part of sustainable development in the context of resilient communities and mitigation of the impact of natural disasters is the analysis of risk, since there will always be imperfect knowledge of the state of present and future environments and the potential for disasters.

7 Report of the UN, Secretary General (2004): *High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change*; see at: <<http://www.un.org/secureworld/>>; see also the chapter by von Einsiedel, Nitzschke and Chhabra in this volume.

74.6 Climate Change and Sustainable Development

In the broad scope of public policy discussions, two issues, sustainable development and climate change, are intrinsically linked, as noted by Runnalls⁸, President of the International Institute for Sustainable Development in Canada, "...climate change, [is] the greatest problem facing sustainable development today." This connection was also recognized in the *United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change* (UNFCCC) with its objective of "stabilization of greenhouse gas concentrations ... to enable *economic development to proceed in a sustainable manner*" (emphasis added by McBean; see at: <www.unfccc.int>).

It has been decadal-to-century predictions of a changing climate resulting from anthropogenic emissions of greenhouse gases that led to nations working together to reduce emissions and change that future through the UNFCCC.

In 2005, the Presidents of the academies of science of all G8 countries, as well as by those of China, India, and Brazil stated⁹ that "climate change is real" and that actions must be taken to "reduce the causes [and] prepare for the consequences of climate change". The Gleneagles G-8 Summit communiqué of 2005 stated "Climate change is a serious and long-term challenge that has the potential to affect every part of the globe."¹⁰ Although there are uncertainties, some extreme events are predicted to change with the climate with increased severity of their impacts (IPCC 2001b: 225).

74.7 Prediction and Predictability

As discussed in the earlier sections, prediction is a fundamental role for governments and needs to be used to reduce the impacts of natural hazards and to move towards sustainable development. Sarewitz,

Pielke, and Byerly (2000) have reviewed the role of science in decision-making.

74.7.1 Predictions in the Natural and Social Sciences

It is possible to differentiate, to some extent, between prediction of natural and social systems. For natural physical systems, there are sets of physical 'laws' such as those of Newton that are well tested and provide a basis for prediction. For example, highly accurate predictions can be made with high skill for long periods ahead in the orbits of the planets and, to a lesser extent, oceanic tides on earth¹¹. Tidal predictions (Lorenz 1993: 78-79) focus on the highly predictable response to regular forcing (the gravitational pull of the sun and moon) with superimposed small and unimportant irregularities. In contrast, for weather forecasting, the focus is on the irregularities, the day-to-day weather deviations, and not the highly predictable annual cycle, with the result of reduced skill. Despite difficulties, "[P]rogress in understanding and predicting weather is one of the great success stories of twentieth century science."¹² The skill of weather forecasts on all scales has been improving (Jolliffe/Stephenson 2003; Nichols 2001) and progress can be reviewed through the Joint Working Group on Verification¹³. Weather forecasting is now a major activity of all governments¹⁴ and for a substantial private sector. Predictions of the occurrence of earthquakes, also based on sets of physical 'laws', show increasing skill but due to the complexities of the relationships and the difficulties in observing the details of the present state, it is not yet possible to make predictions of the timing and magnitude of an event with high skill (Nigg 2000: 135-156). For biological, the skill is also low again due to

8 See: D. Runnalls: "Sustainable Development and Nuclear Waste", in: *NWMO Background Papers* (Toronto, Nuclear Waste Management Organization); see at: <www.nwmo.ca>.

9 See: "Joint science academies' statement: Global response to climate change", 7 Jun 2005, Ref: 08/05; see at: <<http://www.royalsoc.ac.uk/document.asp?latest=1&cid=3222>>.

10 See: "G8 Communiqué", at: <www.g8.gov.uk/servlet/Servlet?pagename=OpenMarket/Xcelerate/ShowPage&c=Page &cid=1094235520309>.

11 Skill is defined as a prediction's improvement over a baseline measure of performance; see: Hooke/Pielke (2000).

12 Board on Atmospheric Sciences and Climate, US National Research Council, 1998 : *The Atmospheric Sciences Entering the Twenty-First Century*. National Academy Press, Washington, 364 (p. 169)

13 See: World Weather Research Program (WWRP), Working Group on Numerical Experimentation /WGNE) of the World Climate Research Program Joint Working Group on Verification. <http://www.bom.gov.au/bmrc/wefor/staff/eee/verif/verif_web_page.html>.

14 The World Meteorological Organization, a specialized UN agency, coordinates activities among national meteorological hydrological services. For further information and connections to all national services, see at: <www.wmo.ch>.

the complex interrelations and difficulties in observation. In both areas, there are major international scientific efforts to increase understanding, leading to improved predictability¹⁵.

Conversely, to quote Galtung (1975c) “there are no laws in social science.” To develop the optimum disaster management strategy requires predictions of: the influence of human systems on natural (both physical and biological) systems; the occurrence and impacts of natural hazards as they may occur fully naturally or as a result of human influences; how humans will respond to the information that the hazard might or will occur; and how their actions will have consequences for the resultant impacts. Hence, predictions in the realms of natural and social systems are needed. This has been well recognized for some time in the natural hazards field. The title of the book “Disasters by Design” (Mileti 1999) stresses how much the impacts of natural hazards are due to choices or actions of humans.

74.7.2 Natural Hazard Predictions

The World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD)¹⁶ recommended:

“37. An integrated, multi-hazard, inclusive approach to address vulnerability, risk assessment and disaster management... is an essential element of a safer world in the twenty-first century. Actions ... (h) Develop and strengthen early warning systems ...”.

In its action plan¹⁷, the World Conference on Disaster Reduction called for “people-centred early warning systems” to be a key part of the response to the tragedies of natural hazards. The international community has clearly identified early-warning systems, which must be based on predictions, as a key response to global concerns.

Prediction of future states of the environment, including a range of hazards, requires predictions across a wide range of natural and social sciences. The accuracy of the prediction will be dependent on the cumulative uncertainties in each component of the predic-

tion system; this has been referred to as the “cascade of uncertainty”¹⁸. Accurate prediction, both of their natural occurrence and of their response to human influences, provides a new relationship with the future. A smog forecast for today allows individuals to respond in limited ways by adapting to reduce their exposure. A smog forecast for a few days allows individuals, industry, and governments to adapt by reducing emissions and, hence, reducing the smog level. These predictions of future states can or should lead to actions that change the outcome; fate can become a choice and choices can make the prediction wrong.

There are several types of predictions of hazardous natural events. Deterministic prediction uses information on the observed state of the system at an initial time t_0 to predict future successive states to some future time t_0+T . The sequence event is ‘determined’, to the extent the predictive model has skill. The atmosphere is what mathematicians call a dynamic, non-linear, chaotic system in which small differences in the initial state, time t_0 , amplify with time (Lorenz 1993: 102-110). Two initial states that seem very similar may become very different in time. This sets the limit of system predictability since the initial state cannot be known exactly.

A method of reducing the influence of the initial state is to make many predictions or simulations with slightly varying initial conditions. If there is high coherence among the simulations, higher confidence can be given to the prediction than when there is low coherence. This ‘ensemble’ prediction technique is now being widely used in weather predictions, for days through seasons, to improve skill and also to provide the user with information on the probable skill of the prediction.

Natural hazards can be generally put in two groups: geophysical (volcano and earthquake related) and hydrometeorological (weather related). Volcanoes and earthquakes are relatively sudden events, and at present skill in making deterministic predictions is limited. However, techniques to predict the likelihood of an event happening sometime in a forthcoming period for a given region are improving and can be used for risk mapping and alerting populations. Monitoring systems can detect when they occur and their further consequences can then be predicted.

15 See, for example, the International Geosphere-Biosphere Programme (<www.igbp.kva.se>) and the GeoRisk Commission of the International Union of Geodesy and Geophysics (<www.iugg-georisk.org>).

16 “Report of the World Summit for Sustainable Development”, Johannesburg, South Africa, 26 August-4 September 2002, A/CONF.199/20*, see at: <www.un.org>.

17 See: “Hyogo Framework for Action 2005-2015”, at: <www.unisdr.org/wcdr>.

18 IPCC Workshop on Describing Scientific Uncertainties in Climate Change to Support Analysis of Risk and of Options. Workshop Report; see at: <http://ipcc-wg1.ucar.edu/meeting/URW/product/URW_Report_v2.pdf>.

For example, when a volcano erupts, the resulting spread of dangerous ash plumes can be predicted; when an earthquake occurs, the creation and propagation of a tsunami can be predicted¹⁹. Hydrometeorological (weather-related) events can occur on time scales from minutes to decades to centuries. There is a general relationship between physical and temporal scales of the events. Small physical-scale events generally have short lifetimes and larger events last longer. Thus a tornado, very small-scale event, is formed, travels over a short distance, and then disappears in less than a few hours. Weather storms that generate high winds and precipitation amounts leading to flash floods, mud slides and the like, typically cover a region and last for days. Long-term issues include depletion of the ozone layer and climate change with global implications and century time scales. Weather-related natural hazards thus cover the scope from minutes to days and from seasons to centuries.

Meteorologists examine predictions over a large number of cases, comparing with observed future states (Murphy 1997), to give a measure of skill or as a function of the length of the prediction and the variables being predicted. The skill depends on the characteristics of the phenomenon. For small-scale, short-lived phenomena like tornadoes and thunderstorms, skilful deterministic predictions are only for minutes to hours. However, for major weather systems, there is skill for several days although it decreases as the length of the forecast increases. Lorenz (1993) has demonstrated that the theoretical limit for deterministic weather predictions is about two weeks. For floods, the skill depends on first the skill of the weather forecast and then of the hydrological prediction system. The impacts then depend further on the response of humans.

Beyond the deterministic limit, predictions of statistical quantities or probabilities are possible using statistical approaches based on the longer deterministic prediction time scales of the components of the coupled atmosphere-ocean system that naturally change more slowly than others. Since tornadoes are embedded in and largely determined by the large-scale weather system, a probabilistic forecast can be made that gives an increased risk of a tornado for the next day, then clarifies and refines the forecast as the risk becomes clearer and eventually a deterministic

forecast can be made. Prediction of these small-scale phenomena and their possible changing characteristics with climate must be approached by risk management techniques (McBean 2005). The large-scale features of the atmosphere adjust more slowly than the smaller-scale cloud-weather systems and the oceans, due to its large thermal capacity, adjust much more slowly than the atmosphere. Thus, one can use this information to extend beyond the atmospheric deterministic limit to provide predictions of the statistical occurrence of events. The ensemble approach, discussed above, is now widely used in seasonal predictions. These could be that a region will be warmer or colder than 'normal' or wetter with risk of floods, or drier with risk of drought. This provides useful information but does not predict the sequence of events over the prediction period, just that more warm days will occur, for example. Some skill in predictions for several seasons is possible for some events. This approach of cascading forecasts and increasing clarity of the risk of a hazardous event needs to be part of the prediction system for reducing the impacts of natural hazards.

Internationally coordinated research programmes in atmospheric-climate science are now underway to improve prediction skill in these areas. THORPEX, with its objective of reducing and mitigating "natural disasters by transforming timely and accurate weather forecasts into specific and definite information in support of decisions that produce the desired societal and economic outcomes" is aimed at one day to two week high-impact weather forecasts for the benefits of society (<<http://www.wmo.int/thorpex/about.html>>), and the World Climate Research Programme has as an objective determining to what extent climate can be predicted and the extent of human influence on climate (<<http://www.wmo.ch/web/wcrp/wcrp-home.html>>).

74.7.3 Predictions of Human and Weather and Climate Interactions

The role of prediction is to provide warnings, information, and advice on the future occurrence of a natural hazard, its impacts, and possible responses (figure 74.1). This information needs to be timely, accurate, and communicated such that it reaches the targeted audience. Responses to the information can include to do nothing, which may invite a disaster or to adapt behaviour and activities to reduce or eliminate the danger. Thus, adaptation is focused on reducing the impacts. The possible responses will depend on the

19 The GeoRisk Commission of the International Union of Geodesy and Geophysics provides updated reviews of the science and predictability of these hazards (<www.iugg-georisk.org>).

time and resources available that may be applied towards adaptation. For a tornado the time may only be minutes whereas for climate change, it is decades. Another approach is to try and change the hazard. This could be a smoggy day (as discussed above) or a changing climate over the next decades. Changing the hazard, called mitigation in the climate change community, also depends on the resources and time available. Further, it probably requires joint action by several or all states. Part of the ongoing process is the feedback on what actually happened (the hazard and its impacts and responses) which can lead to improved prediction and response systems.

Figure 74.1: Role of prediction in providing warnings, information, and advice on the impacts and possible responses.



Responses can include: adaptation - to reduce the impacts; mitigation - to change the hazard; and no response - failure to respond - increasing the likelihood of a disaster. If time permits and as part of the ongoing process, there should be feedback on what actually happens and the responses, leading to improved prediction systems.

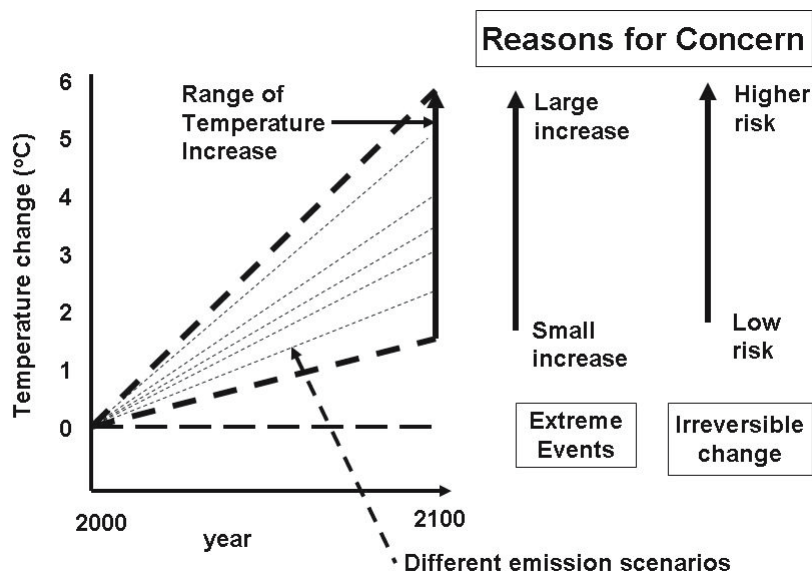
These types of predictions require understanding and predictive skill for social systems and their interactions with natural systems. In considerations of global security, Patomäki (previous chap. in this volume) states that social system “[p]rediction is fundamentally problematic because there are no truly constant conjunctions.” Instead he suggests the focus be with the conditions of generating possible futures and modeling them in terms of scenarios and stories. Through this approach, the consequences of social actions can be assessed through contingent predictions where contingent or conditional predictions are based upon ‘if, then’ assumptions (Mesjacz 2005).

It is useful to consider various approaches of predicting the future, based on the present. For some natural systems, the human system can be ignored or assumed unimportant, leading to a natural system prediction A1. For systems of significant human-natural interactions, an approach can be to use a series of scenarios, ‘if’ statements, to generate a series of predicted future human states and use those in the ‘if, then’ mode to predict the future natural states A2, A3, A4, ... Comparison of these predicted natural states provides a measure of the influence of the range of future human systems. In this sense, the human systems are considered independent of but influencing the natural system.

For air pollution, the approach can be: for all ‘if’ assumed values and spatial distribution of pollutant emissions, ‘then’ the air pollution concentrations can be calculated based on an atmospheric-chemistry model. One can also take the ‘if, then’ approach further, based on health-pollutant relationships, to project the impacts on human health. Then the prediction process can be, in a sense, reversed to work backwards to relate human health impacts (at some accepted level of risk) to atmospheric pollution concentrations to allowable emissions. This is a regulatory approach using prediction to limit emissions to meet human health and resulting air quality standards.

For other natural hazards, such as a flood, an “if, then” approach can also be used. The prediction system (figure 74.1) can be used to compare the impacts of various adaptation and mitigation options and to ascertain which is preferred. This information can not only inform governments but also the citizens to gain their support in actions to reduce impacts.

For climate change, it is recognized that there are a “broad range of future environmental trajectories” (Munn 2002: xii) and these must be mapped out to see the range of possible futures. The importance of human activities has been assessed through a series of ‘if, then’ scenarios constructed through the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC 2001). Using assumptions on population growth, industrial transformation, degrees of internationalization, and other factors, national and global emissions of greenhouse gases were predicted for many different socio-economic scenarios (IPCC 2000; Swart/Mitchell/Morita/Raper 2002). Each emission scenario was then used with several different natural-system climate models to produce an envelope of possible future global temperature changes (figure 74.2). The spread of the envelope is due to uncertainty in both the emission scenario (a social sciences prediction) and in the

Figure 74.2: Scenarios of global climate change over this century.

These are based on socio-economic scenarios of future emissions. Each emission scenario is used with several different natural-system climate models and an envelope of possible future global temperature changes is produced, with the spread due to both uncertainty in the emission scenario (a social sciences prediction) and uncertainty in the climate models (natural science prediction). Corresponding to the range of possible temperature changes are estimated 'reasons for concern'. The risk for extreme events, those weather-related hazards that can cause disasters, rises from an small increase (relative to the recent climate) to large increase and the risk of irreversible change rises from low risk to higher risk as the global temperature change increases from 1.5C to 6C. **Source:** A schematic based on Figure SPM-2 of the IPCC Climate Change 2001 Synthesis Report (IPCC 2001b)

climate models (natural science prediction). Corresponding to the range of possible temperature changes are estimated "reasons for concern". The risk for extreme events rises from an increase (relative to the recent climate) to large increase as the global temperature change increases from 1.5°C to 5.8°C.

Whereas the natural cycles of greenhouse gases had previously been considered separately from the physical climate system, new results have shown that the changing climate leads to alterations of the natural greenhouse gas cycles such as to amplify the rate of climate change (Cox/Betts/ Jones/Spall/Totterdell 2000). There is additional uncertainty in scaling from the global to regional and local results and further to implications from extreme events.²⁰ Communicating uncertainty can be in terms of likelihood or the chance of a defined outcome or in terms of level of understanding, and there are important differences that need to be clarified (and understood) by the sci-

entific community and understood in terms of the influence on decision-making by the political and public communities.²¹

With further understanding, predictions of coupled human-natural states, say C₁, C₂, C₃ ... may be possible, with the provisos for the difficulties in predicting human systems. A role of the scientific community will be to provide risk assessments that provide expert judgement on the relative likelihood of these scenarios, A_i through C_i, being realized.

74.8 Discussion and Summary

To make development sustainable, there is need for informed decision-making. Based on analyses of present and future consequences of decisions, governments and societies in general need to take ap-

20 See: Beniston/Stephenson/Christensen/Ferro/Freij/Goyette/Halsnaes/Holt/Jylha/Koffi/Palutikof/Schott/Semmler/Woth 2006 (in press).

21 See: IPCC Workshop on Describing Scientific Uncertainties in Climate Change to Support Analysis of Risk and of Options. Workshop Report; at: <http://ipcc-wg1.ucar.edu/meeting/URW/product/URW_Report_v2.pdf>.

proaches regarding human activities. When social and economic actions are unacceptable, governments need to decide whether to regulate (including forbidding some actions) or to provide incentives to change behaviour. Another approach is 'education - engagement', providing the rationale and/or information through which people will make an informed choice of which actions are undesirable. A third approach is to 'warn and inform', providing information so that people can make informed choices. Predictions of integrated natural-human systems are a major part of determining which activities are unacceptable, which are undesirable, and which need to be modified. Hence, prediction or information on the future, linking action and effect, is a central basis for sustainable development.

In this sense, prediction's role in sustainable development and disaster management is analogous to its role in future-oriented peace and conflict research with its research leading to a "pluralist and politically reflective early-warning system, based on long-term analysis of social processes and structures" (see chapter by Patomäki in this volume). By learning from possible future catastrophes, it may be possible to develop strategies that avoid paths leading towards catastrophe.

For sustainable development and disaster management, there is need for an integrated all-hazards information and warning system that will predict future states of the environment and occurrences of natural hazards for today, tomorrow, next season and next decade, as they will naturally occur and how human influence are or may change the event. These systems must also include information to guide citizens in how they should respond to the information. This is the ultimate public good role of government - to protect its citizens. Through this approach disaster management will be effective and societies can move towards sustainable development.

Part X Summary and Conclusions

Chapter 75 Reconceptualizing Security in the 21st Century: Conclusions for Research and Policy-making

*Úrsula Oswald Spring and
Hans Günter Brauch*

75 Reconceptualizing Security in the 21st Century: Conclusions for Research and Policy-making

Úrsula Oswald Spring and Hans Günter Brauch

75.1 Introduction¹

A key assumption of this book is that the fundamental global contextual change in the international order caused by the end of the Cold War in 1989 triggered a reconceptualization of security that was deeply influenced by two processes of *globalization* and *global environmental change* (GEC). The scientific security discourse also benefited from new approaches in the social sciences (e.g. constructivism, post modernism, complexity studies, learning social systems, risk society, solidarity society, altermundism, etc.). Both the contextual change and the scientific innovation did not result in a scientific revolution (Kuhn 1962).

- With the *end of the Cold War* the bipolar international order and its prevailing military strategies and deterrence doctrines became obsolete, as did the justifications of high security expenditures (arms competition) due to the disappearance of the danger posed by the rival superpower and competing social, economic, and political system (systemic rivalry).
- This global change in the international order resulted in a geographical widening and intensification of existing political, economic, and cultural *globalization processes* (due to a rapid increase of financial flows, trade, services, information, and cultural exchanges) that benefited from modern transportation, information and communication technologies, and cheap fossil energy.
- With the Rio Earth Summit of 1992, the dangers posed by *global environmental change* due to human production and consumption patterns for the survival of humankind and for global and

human security were added to the international political and security agenda.

These changes have posed manifold new opportunities but also dangers and concerns for international and national institutions as well as for humankind and individual human beings. Since 1990, this threefold contextual change has gradually been ‘securitized’ by government and international organization officials as well as by academic security experts with the introduction of new concepts of security. This process has and will contribute to an ongoing reconceptualization of security in policy declarations and scientific discourses. This volume has conceptually mapped security from different scientific disciplines, societal and political perspectives with regard to its scope (*widening*), the actors, referent objects, and institutions (*deepening*) and sectors (*sectorialization*).

In many languages the term ‘security’ has been a ‘buzzword’, a value and goal of individual and collective action that has been used to address large objective dangers and subjective concerns, and to legitimize ‘extraordinary measures’ and the allocation of major resources (for police, military) as well as infringements of basic human and citizens’ rights. To provide and maintain *internal* (police, justice), *social* (welfare), and *external* (foreign policy, defence) security a major function and budgetary component of the modern Westphalian and interventionary state was based on its ‘monopoly to use force’ (Max Weber 1972). This ‘state-centred’ and narrow focus of security that prevailed in the ‘national constellation’ (Habermas 1998) and during the Cold War era has been challenged since 1990 and has contributed to three features of the reconceptualization of security and its social and scientific constructions:

- *Horizontal widening*: from political and military security to five dimensions (political, military, economic; social, environmental);

1 The authors are grateful for constructive and helpful comments to Patricia Kameri-Mbote (Kenya), Czesław Mesjasz (Poland) and Pál Dunay (Hungary).

- *Vertical deepening*: from 'state' to 'human' and 'gender' security as well as from 'national' upward to 'regional', 'global' and downward to 'local' security;
- *Sectoralization*: to energy, food, health, water, climate, and livelihood security (tables I.1., I.2).

These features are partly referred to in the declared extended security concepts of nation states as expressed in their national defence postures, white papers, and strategies. This is also reflected in shifts of the *securitizing actor* within the state (from defence to foreign, development, and environmental ministries) and from the 'state' to 'international organizations' and regimes (sectoral concepts) to 'epistemic communities', such as the IPCC whose third (2001) and fourth (2007) assessment reports addressed new dangers confronting humankind due to its interaction with nature. This shift in the securitizing actor, scope, referent objects, and sectoral applications of the security concept has already had and will have even more impact on the goals and means as well as on the institutions and strategies for achieving security.

This reconceptualizing of security has been both a political, societal, and scientific process where governments (executive, legislative), interest groups, lobbies, the media, and citizens are involved, but also a key topic of the scientific discourse where three approaches may be distinguished by focusing on a) *objective* security dangers; b) *subjective* security concerns (perception and interpretation of security dangers); and c) their *intersubjective* social constructions.

As the first of three volumes, this book focuses on *recognizing* and interpreting these changes and how they have been reflected in security concepts. The second volume on *Facing Global Environmental Change* will address the global and regional debates on environmental and human security as well as energy, water, food (FDA 2003), health, and livelihood security, while the third on *Coping with Global Environmental Change* will specify conceptually the nature of the security dangers and concerns posed by threats, challenges, vulnerabilities, and risks.

In this volume the term and the political and scientific concept of security has been reviewed in its relationship with three related concepts of peace, development, and environment (part II), in its manifold philosophical, ethical, and religious contexts (part III), with its spatial context and referent objects (part IV), and how the conceptual debate since the change in the global order in 1989/1990 has affected the scientific disciplines (part V) and dimensions (part VI),

as well as how this reconceptualization has affected international security institutions (part VII) and regional security debates (part VIII) and alternative security futures (part IX).

As any attempt to summarize the scientific arguments and assessments of the previous chapters would do injustice to its authors and their analytic capacity, these concluding remarks address the changes of the contextual factors (end of the Cold War, globalization, global environmental change) and how they influence the reconceptualization of security (75.2) and why this reconceptualization matters scientifically and politically (75.3). Then the major scientific messages of this book (75.4) are summarized, and desiderata for future research are outlined (75.5).

75.2 Contextual Changes as Determinants of Security Reconceptualization in Political and Scientific Debates

The perceptions and interpretations of the three contextual changes of international order (75.2.2), of globalization (75.2.3) and global environmental change (75.2.4) as well as their impacts on security dangers and concerns (75.2.5) and their conceptualization have differed between North (industrialized countries) and South (threshold and developing countries), but also within the Northern triad (North America, Europe, Asia-Pacific) and the four sub-regions of the South (Asia, Latin America and Caribbean; Sub-Saharan Africa and the Arab World).

75.2.1 Different Perceptions of the Changes in North and South

The interpretation of the three processes of a widening, deepening, and sectorialization of security are not shared by governments and scholars in North and South. Rather, pre-modern, modern, and post-modern concepts of sovereignty and security have coexisted (Brauch 2001). The political debates and the scientific discourses on the reconceptualization of security have differed among the OECD world representing the North, the BRIC countries (Brazil, Russia, India, China) and the threshold and developing countries in the South, but also among countries where democratic systems of rule existed and a political and scientific debate was possible, and authoritarian regimes that did not encourage such a public debate on security. Besides, a redefinition of the security inter-

ests has occurred in many states and in regional political and economic organizations in different parts of the world.

Within the OECD world, that is among its 30 member countries and the European Commission, differences in the assessment of these three changes and on the reconceptualization of security can be observed within the triad:

- *North America* (USA, Canada, and Mexico as a threshold country);
- *Europe* (EU: European Commission and Austria, Belgium, Czech Republic, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Slovak Republic, Spain, Sweden, UK and four non EU-countries: Iceland, Norway, Switzerland, Turkey);
- *Asia Pacific* (Japan, South Korea, Australia, New Zealand).

The differences among the three NAFTA countries are significant. The US, as the sole remaining superpower, has been a pace-setter in the formulation of security policies and of the political and scientific conceptual debate. During the 1990's the concept of 'environmental security' proliferated from the US to North and Central Europe and gradually globalized at a stage when the administration of G.W. Bush had returned to a narrow national military security concept prior to the events of 11 September 2001. In contrast, Canada became a major proponent of human security and was a founding member of the *Human Security Network* (HSN). As the only Latin American OECD and NAFTA member, Mexico is highly dependent on the US but - for language reasons - its cultural cooperation has also focused on Latin America and the Caribbean.

Within the Asia Pacific, the Japanese government has promoted the 'human security' concept, while simultaneously strengthening its 'national security' perspective. Among the Asian-Pacific OECD countries the reconceptualization and redefinition of national security interests differed.

Within Europe, especially in the EU (19 of its 27 states are OECD members), in four non-EU OECD states and eight non-OECD EU countries: Slovenia, Bulgaria, Romania, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Malta, Cyprus) as well as in the post Soviet and Yugoslav countries and in Albania the reconceptualization of security and of its national security interests differed.

The four BRIC countries (Brazil, Russia, India, and China) representing almost half of the world pop-

ulation with large natural and human resources are major regional economic and political powers with diverse security interests that are partly reflected in their respective national security doctrines.

For the large group of developing countries the security impacts of the three contextual changes have also differed significantly for the countries in:

- Latin America and the Caribbean and among OAS members;
- in North Africa and the Middle East (MENA) and of the Arab League;
- Sub-Saharan Africa (African Union) in West (ECOWAS), Central, East (IGAD), and Southern Africa (SADC) as well as Eastern and Southern (COMESA: Common Market of Eastern and Southern Africa); and
- Central, Southwest, South (SAARC), South East (ASEAN), and Eastern Asia and Oceania.

7.5.2.2 First Change: Towards a Post Cold War International Order

With the end of the Cold War (1989) the first peaceful change of modern global international order has taken place that was neither predicted nor foreseen by governments, intelligence services, nor by academic international relations experts (Gaddis 1992/1993). This global 'turn' had significant impacts on the security architecture and geopolitical map of Europe:

- With the end of bipolarity (of the East-West arms competition and systemic rivalry), the threat posed by the 'enemy' (communism or imperialism) dissolved, as did the Warsaw Treaty Organization and COMECON. Two multi-ethnic states dissolved without violence (e.g. the USSR during 1991, the division of the CSSR in 1993) and one with the most violent war in Europe since 1945 (in Yugoslavia 1991/1992, 1995, 1998). With this turn the arms competition, the dominant military strategies and doctrines, as well as nuclear targeting schemes between the blocs became obsolete.
- With the unification of Germany in 1990, and the two EU enlargements in May 2004 (10 new countries) and in January 2007 (Bulgaria, Romania), the geopolitical map of Europe changed. Many security tasks of CSCE/OSCE as a new regional arrangement under Chapter VIII of the UN Charter were shifted to NATO that extended its activities out of area and to the EU that took over some of the NATO tasks in South-Eastern Europe.

Thus, Europe as the continent where the Cold War started benefited most from its end, what is also reflected in governmental and scientific efforts for a reconceptualization of security. Here the *widening* and *deepening* of security is revealed in many regional and national security documents (strategies, white papers, policy statements). Nevertheless, as the case of the Iraq War has shown, many EU member countries differed significantly in the definition of their national security interests and relations with the US.

The political impact of the end of the Cold War for the two former superpowers was significant, facilitating in the early 1990's major bilateral (SNF of 1991, START I of 1991, START II of 1993/2000, the US does not want to extend START I beyond 2009), regional (CFE 1990) and global (CWC 1993) arms control and disarmament agreements, a reduction of military manpower and at least temporary defence expenditures. However, the peace dividend did not occur and since 1997 any progress within the Conference on Disarmament (CD) was blocked, and since then global military expenditure has again increased significantly (SIPRI 2007, chap. 8):

World military expenditure in 2006 is estimated to have reached \$1,204 billion in current dollars. This represents a 3.5 per cent increase in real terms since 2005 and a 37 per cent increase over the 10-year period since 1997. ... World military expenditure is extremely unevenly distributed. In 2006 the 15 countries with the highest spending accounted for 83 per cent of the world total. The large increase in the USA's military spending is to a great extent due to the costly military operations in Afghanistan and Iraq. ... Between September 2001 and June 2006, the US Government provided a total of \$432 billion in annual and supplemental appropriations under the heading 'global war on terrorism'. ... The overall past and future costs until the year 2016 to the USA for the war in Iraq have been estimated at \$2,267 billion.

The US national security and defence expenditures were rising and reached about 48 percent of global expenditures in 2005 (SIPRI 2006: 301). During the early 1990's, in the US the proportion of military expenditure for R&D rose proportionally compared with military procurement whose decline was partly compensated by increasing arms exports. The realist or Hobbesian mindset of the neoconservative Cold War security elite returned to power with the administration of George W. Bush, and thus the widening of the security concept during the Clinton Administration was replaced by a narrow national military security concept to which a new homeland security component was added after 11 September 2001. In June

2002, the Bush administration withdrew from the ABM Treaty of 1972. With the war in Iraq, issues of 'energy security' moved into the centre.

In 1991, the USSR dissolved into 15 sovereign states, of whom the Russian Federation remained the only nuclear power. During a partly chaotic transformation process, the old Communist system and its institutions were abolished and the economy privatized. Violent internal conflicts in the Caucasus (Chechnya) and a severe economic crisis occurred during the 1990's. In 1997, Russia joined the G-8 and due to huge oil and gas reserves, it strengthened its security position and reformulated its military and regional security interests. The Russian government announced in July 2007 to withdraw from the CFE treaty, and it previously indicated to terminate the INF treaty of 1987.

The impact of the turn in East Asia and in the Pacific was minor: the Korean division remained and with the self-announced nuclear status of North Korea, the Abe government in Japan has tried since 2007 to delete those articles in the Japanese peace constitution of 1951 that constrained its military build-up.²

After the Asian economic crises of 1997, the Japanese government adopted a human security concept focusing on 'freedom from want' to legitimize its development policy and to broaden its global influence.

The direct impact of the end of the Cold War on Latin America and on the Caribbean was limited. However, during the Cold War several leftist governments were toppled in military coups, often with direct or indirect outside encouragement to prevent an expansion of Soviet influence beyond Cuba (chap. 26 by Oswald). During the 1980's, the Latin American countries abolished their military and repressive regimes, and the neoliberal economic model constrained development. After three lost decades, Latin America has experienced a significant shift towards the left (Venezuela, Brazil, Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, Bolivia, Ecuador, Peru and Nicaragua). Within OAS, a conceptual regional security debate evolved and UNESCO encouraged an academic debate on human security in the Western hemisphere (Goucha/Rojas 2003; Rojas 2008 and chap. 69; Fuentes 2008).

In the Arab world, the global turn of 1989 facilitated two Iraq wars that may not have occurred during the East-West conflict when both superpowers

2 See a personal communication by Mitsuo Okamoto, Director, Hiroshima Center for Nonviolence and Peace of 17 May 2007: "So That Never Again Shall We Be Visited With The Horrors Of War".

competed for influence in the region and especially in Iraq and Iran, and respected the zones of influence of the other. With the end of the Cold War Russia discontinued the former Soviet support for some Arab regimes. As the major Middle East conflict remained unresolved and no democratization of existing regimes occurred, the security dialogue remained state-centred with a predominant narrow national and military security approach. In most Arab countries a narrow military and regime security concept prevailed. Due to its oil and gas exports and reserves, issues of energy security have played an increasing role. There has been only a minor scientific discourse on environmental (Selim 2008), energy (Selim/Sahar 2008), water (Adly/Ahmed 2008), and human security (Chourou 2005, 2008) within this region.

In Sub-Sahara Africa, with the end of the Cold War, the competition for influence by both superpowers with military and economic aid disappeared. As a consequence, e.g. the Barre regime collapsed and Somalia became a 'failed states'. This was initially a national security issue that has regional security implications due to the weapons proliferations resulting from the porosity of borders. With the disarmament in Europe, surplus weapons were illegally exported to regimes and warlords, and paid by income from precious natural resources (e.g. diamonds) resulting in many new armed conflicts. A positive change was the peaceful transformation of South Africa from apartheid to a multicultural democracy. In several other African states the security concepts and interests widened. Within the AU and ECOWAS, a continental and sub-regional security discourse emerged, including the establishment of multinational African forces for specific conflicts (Goucha/Cilliers 2001).

In Central Asia the former Soviet Republics became independent (Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan) and the Russian Federation and the US competed for geo-strategic influence in the region. Since 2003, the ENVSEC initiative of OSCE, UNEP, UNDP, with NATO as an observer, evolved in the Caucasus and Central Asia.

In the Cold War Afghanistan was contested by both superpowers. During the Soviet intervention, US intelligence services and some Gulf countries supported the Islamic opposition with money and modern weapons, thus laying the foundation for the Taliban. Since 2001 they have become the major opponent in the US 'war on terror' (Enduring Freedom) and the UN-mandated International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) led by NATO. Afghanistan has become another 'failed state' where neither the government nor

the foreign troops control the whole territory, and drug production and heroin exports have become a major source of income for warlords and Islamic rebels, often exchanged illegally for weapons.

In South Asia during the 1990's, India and Pakistan became two new nuclear powers. Different security debates and scientific discourses emerged, a realist security discourse focusing on key geo-strategic and military issues, but also a debate on environmental, human, energy, water, food, health, and livelihood security. In South East Asia, with the end of the Cold War, the division of the region was overcome when Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, and Myanmar became ASEAN members. Besides national security, a debate on regional and energy security issues has gained in importance. In some countries a regional scientific discourse on human security linked to cultural diversity has evolved.³ In East Asia, China and Japan, as well as North and South Korea, with a strong US presence, the security debate has focused both on narrow concepts of national and military security that was supplemented with a discourse on human security in Japan and South Korea.

While in Australia and New Zealand differences in the security interests and concepts have existed, for many small island developing states in the Pacific region, issues of environmental and human security (due to climate change) have become key issues of national and human survival (Kinnas 2008).

75.2.3 Second Change: Widening of Globalization since 1990

With the end of the Cold War, the processes of globalization that emerged since colonialism and imperialism, and that intensified since the end of the World War II, when the US promoted a global economic space based on the Bretton Woods institutions (World Bank, IMF). The General Agreement on Tariff and Trade (GATT) fostered the liberalization of financial flows and free trade. During the Cold War, embargoes on selected strategic goods as well as on science and technology were applied to East-West trade. The freedom of movement of people was limited for political and economic reasons.

With the end of the Cold War, the economic process of globalization widened, deepened, and glo-

3 As the only ASEAN country, Thailand joined the HSN where a scientific discourse on human security has prospered prior to the military coups in summer of 2006 (see Wun'gaeo 2003, 2004, 2008).

balized, with most countries joining as major global political and economic institutions. In June 2007, the United Nations had 192 member states, and the World Bank represented 185 member governments. As by January 2007, 150 countries had joined the WTO, among them three BRIC countries, while Russia became an observer. The 30 member states of OECD have a relationship with 70 countries.

The widening of the political, economic and cultural globalization was accompanied by a tightening of border controls and immigration policies in most OECD countries against citizens from developing countries. While the absolute number of migrants and refugees significantly increased from 75.5 million in 1960 to 190.6 millions in 2005, the percentage of migrants and refugees compared with the world population remained stable since 1990 (2.9 per cent).

As 120 out of a total 190 million international migrants moved to the more developed regions in North America, Europe, and to Australia, many OECD countries tightened their immigration policies and border controls. The US has even built a triple fence to prevent the immigration from and via Mexico. While the economic deterritorialization has grown significantly for economic transactions since 1990, the freedom of movements for human beings has been restricted between developing and developed countries, posing many new 'soft' security and human rights issues.

The widening of economic and cultural globalization processes has created new opportunities and security dangers. While financial transactions and trade has increased rapidly in China, India, and in many ASEAN countries that benefited from rapid economic growth and exports, other developing countries in Latin America, in Sub-Saharan Africa, and in the Arab world and in other parts of Asia have stagnated. The North-South gap has grown along with internal disparity, and it is unlikely that the Millennium Development Goals will be met by 2015 by many developing countries. With privatization, deregulation, and the intensification of economic competition, job and social security has also declined in many developed countries, thus contributing to a new poverty in the North.

Furthermore, globalization has contributed significantly to other new security dangers posed by organized crime and terrorist networks globally that have become invisible and deterritorialized actors exploiting the modern means of communication and transportation. They have in some countries partly penetrated the domestic security institutions (police, militias, military) and intimidated others (government, parliament, justice, people).

Despite different warning signals (The 9/11 Commission Report 2004; Strasser 2004a) many security institutions due to their traditional narrow focus on the threats posed by other states and their military have underestimated these new dangers. The US response to the events of 11 September 2001, by declaring a 'war on terror' and trying to globalize their vision and practice of homeland security, have been used to legitimize and to enforce new control measures that infringe human and citizen rights, and in some cases have openly disregarded and violated international humanitarian law. Thus, globalization has acquired a Janus-like quality that has become a focus of additional efforts to reconceptualize security since 2001.

75.2.4 Third Change: Coping with Global Environmental Change

Global environmental change (GEC) has increasingly become an issue of research in the natural sciences since the 1970's, and since the late 1980's also in the social sciences (Munn 2001). GEC includes the ecosystemic and anthropogenic factors and the interrelationship among water, soil (degradation and erosion, desertification and drought) and air (climate change, extreme weather events) with population growth. The analysis of the determinants of GEC requires a transdisciplinary approach with quantitative models or scenarios and qualitative case studies. The analysis of long time scales (start from photosynthetic life) and shorter cycles (Niño/Niña) showed that human activities based on a fossil energy fostered anthropogenic climate change (IPCC 2001, 2007).

The accumulation of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere gradually changed since the industrial revolution (1750 AD) and especially since 1945 when the global population grew rapidly, as did the consumption of fossil fuels (coal, oil, gas) for production, transportation, electricity, and heating that has impacted on an anthropogenic climate change with a significant increase of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere from 280 ppm in 1750 to 379 ppm in 2005 (IPCC WG I 2007: 2), what has resulted in a total increase of average global temperature by 0.76 °C between 1850–1899 and 2001–2005, and a rise of the sea level during the 20th century of 17 cm (IPCC WG I 2007: 5 and 7). Another danger has been the retreat of the ozone layer due to chlorofluorocarbon (CFF) and other gases from the 1970's onwards.

While these new dangers for human livelihoods have gradually grown, their perception (or social con-

struction) has been relatively recent, when the Reagan administration put climate change on the agenda of the G-7 in the autumn of 1988 and the IPCC was established in 1990 by the UN General Assembly as an advisory body for the WMO/UNEP and the climate change regime. The 'securitization' of climate change⁴, as a key issue area of GEC, has gradually emerged since 2000, and the IPCC, as a high level scientific epistemic community, has become a major new 'securitizing actor' that has addressed since 1990 in its four assessment reports (IPCC 1990a, 1996, 1996a, 2001, 2001a, 2007, 2007a, 2007b) a major new danger for the well-being, security, and survival of humankind as a whole.

The fourth IPCC Assessment Report (2007) dealt with the danger posed by climate change as an issue that requires 'extra-ordinary measures' to counter the severe dangers for humankind during the 21st century, although without any direct reference to security. In April 2007, the UN Security Council debated for the first time on climate change as a security issue. Several reports have 'securitized' it as an environmental, human, national, and international security issue.

75.3 Reconceptualization Matters

This volume has addressed primarily the impact of the global contextual change with the end of the Cold War, and to a lesser extent the impact of globalization and the shift towards a postnational constellation on the reconceptualization of security. The third contextual change that has been termed by Nobel laureate Paul Crutzen (2002; Crutzen/Stoermer 2000; Clark/Crutzen/Schellnhuber 2005) and others as the shift in earth history from the 'Holocene' to the 'Anthropocene', may be more severe than all previous changes in international order since 1648. This emerging challenge differs fundamentally from previous turning points in human history:

- It is commonly accepted that these changes cannot be predicted by linear extrapolations of past trends. It has become obvious for analysts and policy-makers that the interactions among its key determinants (e.g. climate change, soil erosion, water scarcity and degradation; population change, envi-

ronmental problems associated with urban and rural systems) are non-linear, dissipative, or chaotic both at the level of natural language considerations (analogies and metaphors) as well as in more rigorous approaches (mathematical modelling and/or computer simulations).

- As the countries that have contributed most to climate change with their accumulated greenhouse gas emissions since 1750 and are projected to contribute most until 2025, 2050 or 2100, and those countries that may be the primary victims of hydro-meteorological extreme weather events due to their high degree of environmental and social vulnerability are not identical, this poses new global equity problems and confronts humankind with a world risk society (Beck 1986, 1992, 1999, 2007).
- Neither the realist (Hobbesian) mindsets of the past that rely on military force and economic and political power nor the military as a key instrument can cope with this new security danger but may rather intensify it, a fundamental paradigmatic shift in security thinking is needed during the 21st century that requires a continuing process of reconceptualizing security, and of rethinking security strategies and tools and a redefinition of security interests.
- This new set of security dangers and concerns requires a change in the security mindset and in the security institutions, from a 'state'-focused security dilemma' to a human-centred 'survival dilemma' (chap. 40 by Brauch). To cope with this new dilemma for human beings new complex survival strategies are needed that require a simultaneous approach that links bottom-up with top-down policy strategies.
- The debate between those who address 'climate change' as a danger for US national security and those who have addressed it as an issue for international and human security refer to different securitizing actors and instruments: the role of the military establishment vs. the role of international organizations and regimes as well as social movements and epistemic communities (see chap. 40 by Brauch with detailed references).

The securitization of climate change is just one of the several GEC determinants that have become objects of the rethinking on security, as for example desertification (Adeel et al. 2006; Diallo 2008); water (World Water Forum in 1997 in Marrakesh; 2000 in The Hague; 2003 in Kyoto; 2006 in Mexico City), popula-

4 See: Brauch 2002, 2004c; Schwartz/Randall 2003; Purvis/Busby 2004; Barnett/Adger 2005; Bohle/O'Brien 2007; Gilman/Randall/Schwartz 2007; CNA 2007; Wisner/Fordham/Kelman/Johnston/Simon/Lavell/Brauch/Oswald Spring/Wilches-Chaux/Moench/Weiner 2007.

tion (Worldwatch Institute 2005; Polunin 1998), food (FAO 2005), and urbanization (UN Habitat 2002).

75.4 Key Messages of this Book

The chapters in this book address the linkages between the natural and social sciences from multidisciplinary perspectives. In epistemological terms, Prigogine and Stengers (1984, Prigogine 1997) applied thermodynamic and mathematical models to open, self-regulating and dissipative systems. Their approach stimulated complexity studies in the social sciences permitting to grasp complexity as an outcome of interactions of often invisible dynamics (Adams 2001: 25).

The narrow military and national security approach has been unable to cope with these complex phenomena and therefore a comprehensive methodological approach is needed where quantitative and qualitative methodologies reinforce each other, including quantitative surveys relying on databases, geographic information system (GIS) tools, on experiments and participative observations and practice of social movements, on conflict evaluations, on policy analyses, and on structured and focused comparative case studies (George/Bennett 2005). In addition, the analysis of the manifold positive, negative, and complex outcomes can offer a scientific base for developing policies and measures for dealing with future insecurities and uncertainty.

75.4.1 Cultural, Philosophical, Ethical, and Religious Diversity in Security Thinking

During the past three millennia of thinking the oriental civilizations in India and China developed highly controversial theories where metaphysics was transformed into moral codes of behaviour and sustained by religious doctrines. Despite different value systems in East and West, for several thousand years patriarchy has emerged as a dominant social practice linked with underlying factors of violence (Reardon 1985). The patriarchal and monotheistic religions (Christianity, Islam, Judaism) claiming absolute truth fostered competition, conflicts, violence, and religious wars.

The concepts of peace and security (chap. 4 by Wæver) have gradually evolved in different cultural and philosophical traditions (part III of the book). In the UN Charter (1945) both concepts were applied to the international domain (chap. 35 by Bothe). While Oswald (chap. 10) compared and interpreted the evo-

lution of the peace concept in the Indian, Chinese, the European, and indigenous American traditions, the subsequent eleven chapters reviewed the evolution and use of the security concept focusing on the religious and philosophical traditions in East Asia, in the three monotheistic religions, and in the Greek, Roman European traditions, as well as in Africa in pre-Colombian America and in contemporary Brazil.

Five chapters analysed in detail the evolution of the security concept in South and East Asia during the past two to three millennia, specifically in Buddhism and Hinduism (chap. 11 by von Brück) and in contemporary political philosophy in India (chap. 15 by Dadhich), in Chinese, Korean, and Japanese philosophy and ethics (chap. 12 by Radtke), in Confucianism in China and its influence on Korean (chap. 13 by Lee) and Japanese thinking (chap. 14 by Okamoto/Okamoto).

This eastern tradition that has influenced the contemporary thinking on security of nearly half of humankind is contrasted with the monotheistic traditions in the thinking on security in Jewish theology (chap. 16 by Eisen), in the Greek, Roman, and European or Western philosophy and Christian ethics (chap. 17 by Arends), and in Arab and Muslim thought (Hanafi chap. 18).

Jacob Emmanuel Mabe (chap. 19) traced the influence of old Egyptian thinking on security, the oral tradition in different parts of Africa, and of contemporary African philosophers. Georgina Sánchez (chap. 20) reviewed the emergence of the history in Mesoamerica while Domicio Proença and Eugenio Diniz offered an analysis of contemporary security in Brazil.

The diverse roots of security concepts that influence contemporary thinking of more than five billion people living outside of Europe and North America are mostly unknown and ignored in the dominant security discourses in political science, international relations, and strategic studies that has been used to legitimize the policy agenda of the sole remaining superpower (chap. 23 by Harle/Moisio).

The cultural richness of the diverse roots of contemporary thinking on security, reviewed in the twelve chapters above, contrasts with Huntington's (1993, 1996) misreading of the cultural dimension that has been used by authors in the strategic debate to replace the old enemy image of the Cold War with a new claimed threat posed by the Confucian and Islamic cultures against the West (see critique by Aydin/Acikmese in chap. 28).

Confronted with new security dangers and concerns (posed by the second and third contextual

changes of globalization and GEC), the different philosophical roots have contributed to different response strategies: Western striving for efficiency, Eastern spirituality, Muslim religiosity, emerging societies of solidarity in Latin America, and renewed Pan-African cooperation schemes are all contributing to culturally diverse security concepts and coping strategies.

Recent economic achievements of China and India and their increasing capacity for poverty alleviation as well as their strategy to secure access to strategic resources through investments and loans in Africa, Latin America, and in the Arab world are both complementing and partly challenging occidental development schemes (OECD, G-8). Therefore, manifold new security concerns are forcing humankind, states, and international organizations to establish a new equilibrium in response to rapidly changing complex global contexts.

75.4.2 Spatial Context and Diverse Social Actors

The spatial contextualization of security is related to its manifold referent objects ‘by whom?’ (a spatialized or increasingly deterritorialized security provider), ‘for whom?’ (the recipient of these security services), and ‘against what?’ (the dangers posed by other nations, by sub-state or transnational actors and by GEC). The gradual transformation from a national to a post-national constellation has implications for the territoriality of the nation state and its sovereignty. The process of economic and cultural globalization through financial and economic transactions and global communication controlled by transnational corporations and networks has permeated state boundaries contributing to a progressing deborderization and deterritorialization of international policies.

Transnational crime (chap. 32 by Tickner/Mason) is threatening public security and the judicial system, similar to the ‘invisible’ terrorist networks and human traffickers. All of them have exploited the opportunities created by globalization processes and intensified the societal and economic vulnerability of open societies and democracies. Security dangers, economic crises, and conditions posed by GEC have contributed to the ‘push’ factors of forced migration. These massive population displacements, crime, and terror have created manifold new national, societal, and human security issues and concerns.

Since the global turn of 1989 and 1990, and reinforced by the process of globalization (chap. 25 by Saxe Fernández), the referent objects of security have

expanded from the nation state and concepts of national security (chap. 29 by Karnad), to sub-state actors, such as society, ethnic and religious groups (chap. 30 by Sahni), and to terrorist networks (chap. 31 by Hoogensen). Between the conceptualization of ‘international’ and ‘national’ security, many complex concepts of regionalism, regionalization, and regional security have been developed in the scientific discourse and in the security policy debate (chap. 27 by Hettne). Since the late 1990’s, the scientific programme of *Global Environmental Change and Human Security* (GECHS) has linked the emerging new security dangers and concerns (GEC) with a people-centred concept of security (chap. 24 by Barnett/Matthew/O’Brien; chap. 26 by Oswald). The reconceptualization of security will also benefit from the integration of individual level data as suggested by Kugler (chap. 33).

75.4.3 Reconceptualization of Security in Scientific Disciplines

The scientific discourse on the reconceptualization of security has been mapped in this book in detail for philosophy (chap. 34 by Coicaud), international law (chap. 35 by Bothe), economics (chap. 36 by Mureshed), in political science, especially in international relations (chap. 37 by Baylis), and in the two competing research programmes of peace and security studies (chap. 38 by Albrecht/Brauch).

These six disciplinary approaches to security reflect the multidisciplinary approach pursued in this book. While they offered many new insights for the policy debate on the impacts of the triple contextual change referred to above, the complexity of the new security dangers and concerns will benefit even more from inter- and even transdisciplinary approaches.

75.4.4 Reconceptualizing Dimensions of Security

A key area of the reconceptualization of security has been the widening of the concept from a narrow military security concept (chap. 41 by Buzan), to include the political (chap. 42 by da Costa), the economic (chap. 43 by Mesjasz), the social or societal (chap. 44 by Wæver) and the environmental (chap. 45 by de Wilde, chap. 9 by Dalby) security dimension.

This part is introduced by a discussion by Shepherd and Weldes (chap. 39) who argue that different theoretical approaches conceive ‘security’ differently, that different conceptions of security entail different

understandings of threats, of insecurity, and of the referent objects of security, and that the scientific effort should be relevant for policy. In chap. 40 Brauch reviewed the debate on the security dilemma since 1990 and contrasted it with his own concept of a survival dilemma. He first suggested a 'state centred' and more recently a 'human centred' security concept to cope with the specific challenges posed by GEC.

75.4.5 Institutional Challenges for New Security Concepts

During the 20th century international organizations have acquired new coordinating policy tasks of relevance for security policy, primarily based on intergovernmental processes (UN, FAO, WHO; Arab League, OAS, (O)AU, CSCE/OSCE; OECD, IEA; NATO) and on transfers of specific tasks to a supranational body (EU Commission).

The widening of the security dimensions is reflected in the changing security policy agendas of the UN (chap. 46 by Dedring; chap. 47 by Einsiedel/Nitzschke/Chhabra; chap. 48 by Sending); of the OSCE (chap. 49 by Wohlfeld); of the EU (chap. 50 by Moschini; chap. 51 by Hintermeier; chap. 52 by Maurer/Parkes; and chap. 53 by Ekengren), of OECD (chap. 54 by Katseli), of NATO (chap. 55 by Dunay; chap. 56 by Bin), and in national schemes for civilian crisis prevention (chap. 57 by Henning/Elges) as well as in policies dealing with the interfaces between development and security policy (chap. 58 by Klingebiel/Roehder).

75.4.6 Reconceptualizing Regional Security for the 21st Century

During the Cold War an ideological regionalism emerged that considered allied countries in the South as the 'backyard' of both superpowers that could not be sustained in the post Cold War era. Since 1990, the systemic conflict ceased to be an artificial impediment for regional cooperation.

Hettne, Inotai, and Sunkel (1999–2001) proposed an evolutionary conceptualization of regions in different stages. They started with a 'regional space', delimited by physical barriers (rivers, mountains). Conquest and occupations created 'regional complexes' where relations among communities were deepened (Spain and Portugal with Latin America). In a third phase, 'regional societies' are cooperating formally in cultural, social, economic, political or military terms, and the relations among communities consolidate. Re-

gional alliances emerged (EU, NAFTA) as 'regional communities' (Telo 2001), characterized by stable and consistent systems of cooperation, which are legally binding.

The increasing complexity of interaction permitted a 'regional institutionalized system' where collective and democratic decision-making processes were approved by their citizens (EU). A widened and deepened security concept offered its members protection, conflict resolution and compensation mechanisms where weaker countries were supported to reduce the disparity with the rest (Oswald 2002d: 5–11). This last type of regionalism goes far behind the narrow security concept and includes development, peace, environment, and cultural security factors.

Within Europe, the EU widened by extending its membership from 15 to 27 countries and entering in enlargement negotiations started in 2005 with Croatia (2004), Macedonia (2005), and Turkey (chap. 59 by Biscop). From a Turkish perspective, three regional concepts of security competed and partly overlapped: the US concept of the larger Middle East, the Russian concept of the Near Abroad, and the EU-sponsored neighbourhood policy (chap. 60 by Aydin/Kaptanoğlu). In a regional Arab security perspective, Chourou (chap. 61) pointed to a probable increase of violence due to the competition on the region's oil and gas resources; the stalled Middle East peace process; authoritarianism; and the division among Arab states.

Since the early 1990's, in West Africa conflicts and violence have resulted in the death, injury, and mutilation of several hundred thousands and the displacement of millions of people across the sub-region (chap. 62 by Ogwu). In response, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) has created active structures and frameworks to achieve security in West Africa. Since 2002 the sustained efforts of ECOWAS, the African Union (AU), and the United Nations (UN) have calmed some of the war-torn countries of West Africa (e.g. Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Guinea).

While in East Africa (chap. 63 by Nhema/Rupiya), especially in the Horn of Africa, regional efforts for security cooperation were not promising, due to manifold unresolved national and regional conflicts, for Southern Africa Ngoma and Len le Roux (chap. 66) identified as crucial security issues sub-regional conflicts, democracy and governance, and regional institutional structures, which are charged with resolving conflicts, as well as 'new' security challenges, such

as environmental and water issues, HIV/AIDS, and security sector reform.

In South-East Asia, with the end of the Cold War, ASEAN reunited the region by including Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. The security policies in South Asia were influenced by the unresolved Kashmir conflict (chap. 65 by Behera) and by the conflicts in Afghanistan that had affected its neighbouring countries (Pakistan, Iran, Central Asian states). Besides the 'realist' security paradigm used within the regional security elite, environmental (Ramakrishnan 2008), human (Najam 2003a), food, water (Shiva 2008), and livelihood security (Bohle 2008), dangers and concerns have widely been debated within the region.

An extensive discussion on regional security issues in the South Pacific (chap. 70 by Clements/Foley) has taken place prior to and since 1990. While no specific sub-regional security organization or regime exists that includes China, both Koreas and Japan, except North Korea and Taiwan all countries in the region have cooperated in several regional organizations and dialogue (chap. 66 by Lee and chap. 67 by Cheng and Hunter). In Latin America (chap. 69 by Rojas) the new security threats are transnational and part of 'parallel globalization' involving actors and agents who do not represent governments.

75.4.7 Alternative Security Concepts for the Future

The four chapters in part IX addressed the temporal dimension of security. Mesjasz (chap. 71) surveyed major challenges associated with prediction and risk in contemporary security theory and policy that is facing greater challenges in the contemporary, multi- or unipolar world than during bipolarity. Jopp and Kaestner (chap. 72) discussed the potential impact of climate change for the planning of the German Armed Forces until 2040 with a special focus on the consequences of global and regional climate change and the impacts of the transformation of global regions due to climate change for European security. Based on Wagar's (1999) hypothetical political scenario, Patomäki (chap. 73) discussed potential lessons to be learned from possible futures. McBean (chap. 74) addressed the role of prediction in sustainable development and disaster management. He argues that it can play a role in better future planning that requires bringing natural and social systems together.

75.5 Need for Scientific Research on Security

The conceptual mapping in this volume focused primarily on the widening and deepening of the security concept due to three contextual changes of the end of the Cold War, the globalization process, and of GEC. This volume has tried to overcome the exclusive focus on the occidental thinking that has dominated the discourse in both traditional and critical security studies. The editors are aware that more research is needed to conceptually map the cultural and theoretical diversity of the thinking on security in its relationship to peace, development, and the environment in all parts of the world.

75.5.1 Scientific Relevance of New Security Concepts

The widening, deepening, and sectorialization of security implies a major shift in the securitizing actor from the nation state to international organizations and regimes as well as non-state actors, societal and business networks, and epistemic communities. By securitizing global dangers and concerns, such as climate change, desertification and water, the new actors have challenged the monopoly of the departments of defence and interior, as well as that of the many intelligence agencies and the threat industry in consulting firms.

Both the work of independent scientists and of the media can contribute to a pluralist and diverse conceptualization of security. With the adoption of the human security concept UNDP (1994) introduced a functional equivalent to human development. While the mapping of the global reconceptualization of security is a purely academic effort guided by scientific criteria, the use of security concepts and the securitization of major threats, challenges, vulnerabilities, and risks has been a highly contested political issue. Thus, the reconceptualization of security matters both scientifically and politically.

75.5.2 Methodological Considerations for Security Research

The conceptualization of new security dangers and concerns is a creative process where multiple sectors intervene and only transdisciplinary approaches that focus on essential elements are able to understand future uncertain risky situations. Therefore, in a *transdisciplinary* process⁵ the participants of a complex

interdisciplinary research team first consolidate a research framework capable to deal with the new dangers and inherent uncertainties. Then, such a global scientific network should combine the natural and social sciences and humanities for analysing and interpreting the ongoing trends and contradictions in security thinking. This network should be able to advise policy-makers and the people on potential security dangers and concerns. It starts with an understanding of the multi-causal and deep roots within an intercultural framework producing complex scenarios of possible outcomes and preventing future ruptures and triggering situations. In this sense it contributes to anticipatory learning processes where knowledge is not only integrated, but also structured and merged in a way that technological and political expertise can be understood and applied to the benefit of the people. It includes analyses of human activities in space and time at the local, meso, and mega level, where possible conflicts and impacts may be anticipated and mitigated within a highly complex and dissipative system constellation.

With regard to security research, several methodological postulates may be appropriate:

- The analysis of GEC as a security issue requires a transition from a *multi-* to a *transdisciplinary approach* (Flinterman/Teclerian-Mesbah/Bro-

erse/Bunders 2001) that uses both quantitative (simulations, scenarios on the causes and their interactions) and qualitative methods (comparative case studies on its manifold regional and societal impacts) as well as approaches of earth system analysis and syndromes of global change and their linear, nonlinear, and chaotic or dissipative linkages.

- Applications of broadly defined complex systems studies, only briefly referred to in this volume, analyses the linkages between resource scarcity and degradation of water, soil, and food; between environmental pollution and health security; social problems of urbanization and their respective socio-economic and cultural context.

Security research should specifically address the extreme outcomes of GEC, among them extreme weather events leading to hazards and disasters, environmentally triggered migration, and the particular conditions and causes that have contributed to violent escalation resulting in national and in a few cases even international crises and conflicts.⁶ Furthermore, it should assess the interaction between environmental and social vulnerability that contribute to a transformation of natural hazards into social and political disasters.

75.5.3 A Shift from a Security to a Survival Dilemma

A major proposal of this book is to empower decision-makers and societal actors to cope with possible dilemmas (see chap. 40 by Brauch) in a globalized world. Based on its Greek roots, a dilemma refers to a choice among two uncomfortable alternatives. In international relations the 'security dilemma' refers to a set of complex choices states are confronted with in an anarchic world, where competing states and alliances respond to uncertainty on the actions or intentions of the other with military arms, thus instigating a process that resulted in an arms competition. With the implosion of the Soviet Union and communism as a declared 'security danger' and perceived 'security concern', the logic of the security dilemma would

5 A transdisciplinary approach should respond to four central questions related to causation, ontogeny, adaptation and phylogeny (Tinbergen 1963). It is a scientific construction based on daily practice, a kind of a co-foundation generating a fragile equilibrium (Piaget/Garcia 1997). It is dynamic, self-regulating, dissipative and organized with interlinked nodes and clusters. This approach was originally inspired by thermodynamic models (Prigogine/Stengers 1984) and it was later transferred as analogies and metaphors to the social sciences. It relates transversally objects with subjects that are able to create new methods, languages and behaviours (Oswald 1992a; 2005), and that are used for analyzing new disciplines (Genovés 1995). It is dialogic and permanently creates new knowledge through deeper questioning (Adelman 2000). It also restructures scientific disciplines and creates new research fields. It works simultaneously with experts (top down) and empowers people (bottom up). Freire (1998) and many representatives of the theology of liberation as well as the participants of the economy of solidarity (see chap. 26 by Oswald) were inspired by this transdisciplinary praxis for consolidating their liberation process. This approach helps to resolve complex theoretical and often not yet understandable problems. Araiz (1999) affirms that it tends to be transcendent with indissoluble ties.

6 The need for a missing cooperation between the disaster research and the peace research community is addressed by Wisner (2008). The insights of both research fields may benefit empirical research and policy oriented strategies of conflict avoidance (addressing long-term structural factors escalating into violence) as well as conflict prevention and resolution.

have implied a major disarmament process and a peace dividend that did not occur after 1990.

Already during the Cold War the rationale of the security dilemma was challenged by Senghaas (1972a) but also by Gray (1976) and later also by Buzan (1983), Krell (1976) and Brauch (1977) who argued for different reasons that internal policy factors and not action-reaction processes were the major stimulants of the Cold War arms competition between the US and USSR as well as between NATO and the Warsaw Pact. Among IR specialists it is contested whether the 'security dilemma' has been overcome in the security community represented by the EU.

Brauch (1998, 2000, 2003) first applied the 'survival dilemma' to a widened security concept, especially to the environmental dimension, that requires cooperative and not conflictive solutions from the states and international organizations and regimes where the military logic and means are irrelevant. In a second conceptualization, as part of the deepening of security, he replaced the state with the environmentally and socially vulnerable human being (or humankind) as the referent object that is confronted with several unpleasant choices in the effort to survive (Brauch 2005, 2005a, 2007a, chap. 40).

Two goals of extended security policies by states and international organizations are to escape the *security dilemma* by cooperative policies that overcome the urgency of military conflicts over fossil resources (coal, oil, gas) by energy efficiency and renewables that increasingly reduce the dependence on fossil energy for political, economic, military and environmental reasons, and as part of a national and international climate mitigation strategy.

Furthermore, human security strategies are to assist the socially and environmentally vulnerable to cope with the *survival dilemma*. This requires complex non-military cooperative strategies that address the manifold causes of internal societal vulnerability by poverty eradication programmes and the realization of the Millennium Development Goals. This requires both improved 'protection' for the poor who are affected most by extreme weather events and other natural hazards, but also 'empowerment' relying on a combination of bottom-up and top-down strategies.

The latter will become more urgent as a result of the third global contextual transformation in the 'Anthropocene'. Thus, the reconceptualization of security that was triggered by the global turn of 1989/1990 and intensified by the new opportunities and

dangers posed by globalization processes is an ongoing process.

The securitization of many determinants, effects, impacts, and societal and political consequences of the GEC has just started with the 'securitization' of climate, soil, deforestation and desertification, water, population, urbanization, as well as food and health, that will all be discussed in detail in vol. IV of this series.

During the emerging transition of earth history from the 'Holocene' to the 'Anthropocene', international and national security strategies, policies, and measures by international and national policy actors as well as by transnational, and sub-state actors require a continuous fundamental reconceptualization and an adaptation of policies.

Linear projections of past policy experience - often proposed by policy-advisers and policy-makers relying on realist mindsets (irrespective of whether they are influenced by Tzun Tzu, Thucydides, Machiavelli, Hobbes or Morgenthau) will become increasingly irrelevant to understand, address, and to solve the newly emerging security dangers and concerns.

This implies for both poor countries in the South and industrialized countries in the North the reinforcing of resilience-building of large sections of the population. This must be closely linked with improved early warning measures for natural hazards, political conflicts, and complex emergences where both affect each other. This requires an active participation of the people in the process, including the protection of their lives and wealth. The preventive strategies must reflect the cultural backgrounds that creates confidence and could increase the participation of the people by guaranteeing them equal and just solutions. Traditional knowledge combined with modern science and technology and above all - in the environmental field - with recovery and mitigation processes and strict land planning could reduce further environmental dangers.

However, there remains an 'ethical dilemma' where those who are responsible for present and future destruction could avoid damage for non-involved forced consumers exposed to dangers by changing their processes of production, consumption, and services.⁷ However, narrow short-term profit interests prevent this option. Thus, only longer-term oriented ethical business and governance from the global to the local level can redefine the existing power relations and assume the responsibility for the 'world risk society', where exploitation and insecurity are triggered by challenges of 'organized irresponsibility' (Beck 2007:

334ff.). Only a radically different process of a liberating consciousness-building (Freire 1998) will be capable of guaranteeing for the world population and the especially affected regions a future in the framework of coping strategies that build on a widening, deepening, sectorialization and extension of security concerns.

7 Beck 2007: 348: "Risiken sind Risikokonflikte, in denen die Welten auseinanderfallen zwischen den Entscheidern, die die Risiken letztlich vermeiden könnten, und den an diesen Entscheidungen nicht beteiligten Zwangskonsumenten der Gefahren, die als 'ungewollte nicht-gesehene Nebenfolgen' auf diese abgewälzt werden."

Abbreviations

AA	Auswärtiges Amt [Federal Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Germany]	BMI	Bundesministerium des Inneren [Federal Ministry of the Interior, Germany]
ABCC	Atomic Bomb Casualty Commission ABM Antiballistic Missile Treaty (1972)	BMU	Bundesministerium für Umwelt, Naturschutz und Reaktorsicherheit [Federal Ministry on the Environment, Nature Conservation and Nuclear Safety, Germany]
ACE	Army Corps of Engineers	BMVg	Bundesministerium der Verteidigung [Federal Ministry of Defence, Germany]
ACP	Africa, Caribbean and Pacific	BMZ	Ministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung [Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development, Germany]
AD	Anno domini [after Christ]	BP	British Petroleum
AEC	U.S. Atomic Energy Commission	BRIC	Brazil, Russia, India, China
AFDL	Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo - Kinshasa	BSE	Bovine Spongiform Encephalopathy
AFES-PRESS	Peace Research and European Security Studies, international scientific NGO	CADTM	Comité pour l'Annulation de la Dette du Tiers Monde, Réseau International de Lutte pour l'Abolition de la Dette des Pays du Sud
AFPRA	African Peace Research Association	CAFTA	Central American Free Trade Agreement
AHDR	Arab Human Development Report	CAN	Comunidad Andina de Naciones
AIDS	Acquired Immuno Deficiency Syndrome	CARICOM	Caribbean Common Market
AKNZ	Akademie für Krisenmanagement, Notfallplanung und Zivilschutz [German Academy for Crisis Management, Emergency Planning and Civil Defence]	CAS	Complex Adaptive Systems
ALBA	Bolivarian Alternative from the Americas	CCP	Chinese Communist Party
AMIS	African Union peacekeeping forces in Sudan	CD	Conference on Disarmament
AMU	Arab Maghreb Union	CDM	Clean Development Mechanism in the context of Kyoto Protocol to UNFCCC
ANAD	Accord de Non-Aggression Et d'Assistance en Matière de Défense [Nonaggression Agreement and Assistance on Defence Matters]	CE	Council of Europe
ANZUS	Australian, New Zealand and US (military alliance)	CEAO	Communauté Economique de l'Afrique de l'Ouest [Economic Community of West Africa]
APEC	Asian Pacific Economic Cooperation	CEDHIM	Centro de Estudios de la Historia de México [Centre of Mexican History]
APPRA	Asian-Pacific Peace Research Association	CENTO	Central Treaty Organization
APSA	American Political Science Association	CEPAL	Comisión Económica para América Latina y el Caribe [Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean]
ARCHS	Applied Research Centre in Human Security	CFE	Conventional Forces Treaty in Europe (signed on 19 November 1990)
ARF	ASEAN Regional Forum	CFSP	Common Foreign and Security Policy (of the EU)
ASEAN	Association of South-East Asian Nations	CHAD	Conflict and Humanitarian Affairs Department, United Kingdom
ASM	Assembly of Social Movements in the World Social Forum (WSF)	CHOD	Chiefs of Defence
ATTAC	Association for the Taxation of Financial Transactions to Aid Citizens	CHS	Commission on Human Security
AU	African Union	CHT	Chittagong Hill Tracts (in Bangladesh)
AUC	United Self-Defence Forces of Colombia	CIA	Central Intelligence Agency of the United States of America
AWACS	Airborne Warning and Control System	CICAD	Inter-American Commission on the Control of Drug Abuse
BAKS	Bundesakademie für Sicherheitspolitik [Federal College for Security Policy Studies, Germany]	CICTE	Inter-American Anti-Terrorism Committee
BC	Before Christ	CIMIC	Civil-Military Cooperation
BCE	Before Christian Era		
BCPR	Bureau for Crisis Prevention and Recovery		
bd	billion dollars		
Benelux	Belgium, Netherlands, Luxemburg		
BMENA	Broader Middle East-North Africa Initiative		

CIRDN	Inter-American Committee for the Reduction of Natural Disasters	DDT	dichloro-diphenyl-trichloroethane (chemical, pesticide)
CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States	DfID	Department for International Development (United Kingdom)
CLAIP	Latin American Council on Peace Research	DG	Directorate General of the European Commission
CLOC	Consejo Latinoamericano de Organizaciones Campesinas [Council of Latin American Peasants' Organizations]	DGFK	German Society for Peace and Conflict Research
CNA	Center for Naval Analyses Corporation	DIIS	Danish Institute of International Studies
CNN	Cable News Network	Diversitas	international science programme on biodiversity
CNPA	Coordinadora Nacional Plan de Ayala [National Independent Peasant Movement Plan de Ayala in Mexico]	DoD	US Department of Defense
COB	Central Obrera Boliviana [Workers' Centre in Bolivia]	DPKO	Department of Peacekeeping Operations (United Nations)
COM	document of the European Commission	DPRK	Democratic People's Republic of Korea
COMECON	Council for Mutual Economic Assistance	DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
COMESA	Common Market of Eastern and Southern Africa	DSF	German Foundation for Peace Research.
COP	Conference of Parties of environmental agreements (e.g. of UNFCCC)	DTIB	European Defence Technological and Industrial Base
COPRED	Consortium on Peace Research, Education and Development in North America	e.g.	for instance
COPRI	Copenhagen Peace Research Institute (since 2002 part of DIIS)	EADI	European Association of Development Research and Training Institutes
Coreper	Committee of permanent representatives (at the EU in Brussels)	EADRCC	Euro-Atlantic Disaster Response Coordination Centre
COROIPAS	Conferences on Research on International Peace and Security	EAPC	Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions	EBRD	European Bank for Reconstruction and Development
COW	Correlates of War Project	EC	European Community
CPA	Comprehensive Peace Agreement	ECA	Economic Commission for Africa (UN)
CPRI	Canadian Peace Research Institute	ECAS	Economic Community of East African States
CPU	Civil Protection Unit, DG Environment, European Commission	ECE	Economic Commission for Europe (UN)
CRAG	Centre for Geopolitical Research and Analysis at Paris University	ECHO	European Community Humanitarian Aid Office
CRED	Center for Research on the Epidemiology of Disasters, Louvain, Belgium	ECJ	European Court of Justice
CROP	Council of Regional Organizations [in the Pacific]	ECLA	Economic Commission for Latin America
CSBMs	Confidence- and Security-Building Measures	ECLAC	Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean
CSCAP	Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific	ECOMOG	ECOWAS Ceasefire Monitoring Group
CSCE	Conference for Security and Co-operation in Europe	ECOSOC	Economic and Social Council of the United Nations
CSS	critical security studies	ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
CSSR	Czechoslovak Socialist Republic	ECPR	The European Consortium for Political Research
CSUT-CB	Central Socialista Única de Trabajadores, Bolivia [Socialist Centre for Workers in Bolivia]	ECRE	European Council for Refugees and Exiles
CTBT	Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty	EDA	European Defence Agency
CWC	Chemical Weapons Convention	EDC	European Defence Community
DAC	Development Assistance Committee and Development Co-operation Directorate of OECD	EDEM	European Defence Equipment Market
DDR	Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration	EDF	European Development Fund
		EIB	European Investment Bank
		EINSTEIN	Enhanced ISAAC (Irreducible Semi-Autonomous Adaptive Combat) Neural Simulation Tool
		EMDAT	The International Disaster Database of CRED in Louvain, Belgium
		EMSA	European Maritime Safety Agency

ENCOP	Environment and Conflicts Project (University of Zürich, Switzerland)	G ₃ /BISA	Brazil, India, South Africa
END	European Nuclear Disarmament	G-7	Group of seven major industrialized countries (Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, UK, US)
ENP	European Neighbourhood Policy (EU)		
ENVSEC	Environment and Security Initiative of OSCE, UNDP, UNEP and NATO	G-8	Group of eight major industrialized countries (Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Russia, UK, US)
EOLSS	Encyclopaedia for Life Support System (UNESCO)	GA	General Assembly of the UN
EP	European Parliament	GAA	G8 Africa Action Plan
EPC	European Political Cooperation	GAERC	Council for General Affairs and External Relations
EPR	Ejército Popular Revolucionario [Revolutionary Popular Army]	GATS	General Agreements on Trade and Services
ERPI	Ejército Popular Revolucionario Insurgente (a subgroup of ERP)	GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
ESCAP	Economic and Social Commission for Asia and Pacific	GBA	Global Business Associates
ESCWA	Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia	GCC	Gulf Cooperation Council
ESDP	European Security and Defence Policy (EU)	GDP	Gross Domestic Product
ESG	Escola Superior de Guerra [National War College, Brazil]	GDR	German Democratic Republic
ESS	European Security Strategy	GEC	global environmental change
ESSP	Earth System Science Partnership	GECHS	Global Environmental Change and Human Security
ETA	Basque terrorist group	GIS	geographic information system
etc.	etcetera	GMO	Genetically modified organisms
EU	European Union	GNI	Gross National Income
EUFOR	European Union Force	GNI	Gross National Income
EUMC	European Union Military Committee	GNP	Grand National Party (in Korea)
EUMS	European Union Military Staff	GNP	Gross National Product
EUPRA	European Peace Research Association	GPG	Global Public Goods
EZLN	Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional [Zapatista Army of National Liberation]	GTZ	Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit [German Agency for Technical Cooperation]
FAO	Food and Agricultural Organization, Rome	HCNM	OSCE's High Commissioner on National Minorities
FAR	Freedom Army of Rwanda	HDI	Human Development Index
FAR	Federation of Arab States	HDR	Human Development Report (of UNDP)
FARC	Frente Armado Revolucionario de Colombia [Armed Revolutionary Front in Colombia]	HESP	human and environmental security and peace
FDA	U.S. Food and Drug Administration	HIV	Human Immuno Virus
FDI	foreign direct investment	HIV-AIDS	Human Immune Deficiency Virus - Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
FEM	Friedenserhaltende Maßnahmen [Peacekeeping Measures]	HRW	Human Rights Watch
FFA	Forum Fisheries Agency	HSFK (PRIF)	Hessische Stiftung für Friedens- und Konfliktforschung
FLACSO	La Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales [Latin American Faculty on Social Sciences]	HSN	Human Security Network
FMCT	Fissile Materials' Cut-off Treaty	HSRP	Human Security Report Project in Canada
FRY	Former Republic of Yugoslavia	HUGE	human, gender and environmental security concept (by Ursula Oswald Spring)
FSA	Strategic Future Analysis	HYV	high-yielding varieties
FSC	Forum for Security Co-operation	IACHR	Inter-American Court of Human Rights
FTAA	Free Trade Area of the Americas	IACWGE	Inter-Agency Committee on Women and Gender Equality
FY	Financial year	IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency
		IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development or World Bank
		ICC	International Criminal Court in The Hague, The Netherlands
		ICG	International Crisis Group (headquarter in Brussels, Belgium)

ICISS	International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty	ISAF	International Security Assistance Force in Afghanistan
ICJ	International Court of Justice	ISDR	International Strategy for Disaster Reduction (UN)
ICRC-RCS	International Community of the Red Cross - Red Crescent Society	ISFH	Institute for Peace Research and Security Studies at the University Hamburg
ICSU	International Council for Science	ISG	Interministerial Steering Group Civil Crisis Prevention
ICT	Information and Communications Technologies	ISS	international security studies
IDB	Inter-American Bank of Development	IUCN	World Conservation Union
IDP	Internally Displaced Peoples	JEM	Justice and Equality Movement
IEA	International Energy Association	JHA	Justice and Home Affairs
ifa	Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen [Institute for Foreign Relations in Stuttgart]	JID	Inter-American Defence Council
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development	JVP	Janatha Vimukti Perumena
IFI	International Financial Institution	KAIPTC	Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre
IFOAM	International Federation of Organic Agriculture Movements	KBR	Kellog, Brown and Root
IFOR	Implementation Force in Bosnia-Herzegovina	KEDS	Kansas Event Data System
IGAAD	Inter-Governmental Association Against Desertification	KFOR	Kosovo Force
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development (in The Horn of Africa)	LA	Latin America
IGBP	International Geosphere-Biosphere Programme	LDP	Liberal Democratic Party (Japan)
IGC	Intergovernmental Conference	LICUS	Low-Income Country Under Stress
IGO	international governmental organization	LOGCAP	Logistics Civilian Augmentation Program
IHDP	International Human Dimensions Programme	LRA	Lord Resistance Army (in south of the Sudan)
IISS	International Institute for Strategic Studies (in London,UK)	LTTE	Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (in Sri Lanka)
ILO	International Labour Organization	MAD	Mutual Assured Destruction
IMEMO	Institute for North America and Canada Studies (in Moscow, Russia)	MAP	Membership Action Plan
IMET	International Military Education and Training Programme	MBT	Modified Brussels Treaty
IMF	International Monetary Fund	MDG	Millennium Development Goals (adopted in 2000 by the United Nations General Assembly)
IMO	International Maritime Organization	MENA	Middle East and North Africa
IMTF	Integrated Missions Task Force	MEP	Member of the European Parliament
INEGI	Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas, Geografía y Informática [Mexican Institute for Statistics, Geography and Informatics]	MERCOSUR	Mercado Común del Cono Sur [Common Market of the Southern Cone]
INF	Intermediate Nuclear Forces	MEXT	Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (Japan)
INGOs	International nongovernmental organizations	MIC	Monitoring and Information Centre
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change	MINUSTAH	United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti
IPRA	International Peace Research Association	MIT	Massachusetts Institute of Technology (Cambridge, MA, USA)
IPR-N	The International Peace Research Newsletter	MLC	Congolese Liberation Movement
IR	international relations	MMC	National Congolese Lumumbist Movement
IRA	Irish Republican Army	MNE	Multinational Enterprise
IRIPAZ	Institute of International Relations and Peace Research	MOMEPA	Military Observer Mission to Ecuador and Peru
ISA	International Studies Association	MOOTW	Military Operations Other Than War
ISAAC	Irreducible Semi-Autonomous Adaptive Combat	MOP	Conference of members of treaty parties (of Kyoto Protocol to the UNFCCC)
		MPLA	Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola
		MST	Movimento sem Terra [Landless Peasant Movement in Brazil]

MunichRe	Re-insurance company (in Munich, Germany)	PBC	Peacebuilding Commission
		PC	Plan Colombia
NACC	North Atlantic Cooperation Council	PCAU	Post-Conflict Assessment Unit, UNEP
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement (U.S., Canada and Mexico)	PCIA	peace and conflict impact assessments
		PCRI	Peace and Conflict Research Institute, Copenhagen, Denmark
NAM	Non-Aligned Movement	PfP	Partnership for Peace
NAP	Near Abroad Policy	PIC	Pacific Islands Conference [of Leaders]
NAS	US National Academy of Sciences	PIF	Pacific Islands Forum
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization	PJSA	The Peace and Justice Studies Association in North America
Nd	no data		
NEACD	Northeast Asia Security Cooperation Dialogue	PKO	peacekeeping operation
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development	PPP	Plan Puebla Panama
NEST	New European Security Theory	PPP	parity purchasing power
NGO	Non-governmental organization	PRC	People's Republic of China
NIF	National Islamic Front	PRD	Partido Revolucionario Democrático [Revolutionary Democratic Party in Mexico]
NIIA	Nigerian Institute of International Affairs		
NNI	Net National Income	PRI	Partido Revolucionario Institucional [Party of the Institutionalized Revolution, Mexico]
NPT	Non-proliferation Treaty		
NRA	New Regionalism Approach	PRIF (HSFK)	Peace Research Institute Frankfurt (Germany)
NSC	New Security Concept of China		
NSD	National Security Doctrine [ESG, <i>q.v.</i> , Brazil]	PRIO	International Peace Research Institute in Oslo (Norway)
NSS	National Security Strategy of the United States of America	PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
NSWP	Non-Soviet Warsaw Pact	PRT	Provincial Reconstruction Team
NYT	New York Times	PSA	Peace Studies Association
NYU	New York University	PSC	Political and Security Committee
		PSS(I)	Peace Science Society (International)
OA	Official Assistance	PT	Partido del Trabajo [Workers Party]
OAS	Organization of American States		
OAU	Organization of African Unity	QMV	Qualified Majority Voting
OCEEA	Office of the OSCE Co-ordinator of Economic and Environmental Activities	R&T	Research and Technology
		R2P	Responsibility to Protect
OCHA	UN Office Coordinating Humanitarian Affairs	RAMSI	Regional Assistance Program to the Solomon Islands
ODA	Official Development Assistances	RAND	Research and Development
ODIHR	OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights	RCD	Congolese Democratic Rally
		RCD-ML	Congolese Democratic Rally- Liberation Movement
OECD	Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development	RF	Russian Federation
OFDA	Office of US Foreign Disaster Assistance	RFF	Resources for the Future
OHQs	Member State Operation Headquarters	RFID	radio frequency identification device
OIC	observed irreducible complexity	RFM	Representative on Freedom of the Media of OSCE
OIC	Organization of Islamic Countries		
OLS	Operation Lifeline Sudan	ROK	Republic of Korea
ONUC	UN Operation in Congo	RRM	Rapid Reaction Mechanism
OPDS	Organ for Politics, Defence and Security of SADC	RSCT	regional security complex theory
OSCE	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe	SAA	Stabilization and Association Agreements
		SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
PA	OSCE Parliamentary Assembly	SADC	Southern African Development Community
PA	Palestinian Authority	SADCC	Southern African Development Coordinating Community
PAN	Partido de Acción Nacional [Party of National Action in Mexico]	SAIS	School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University, Washington, DC
PAPLRR	Pan-African Programme on Land and Resource Rights	SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme

SARS	Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome	UEMOA	Union Economique et Monetaire Ouest Africaine[West African Economic and Monetary Union]
SC	Security Council of the UN	UK	United Kingdom
SCAP	Supreme Commander of Allied Forces	UMA	Union du Maghreb Arabe
SCO	Shanghai Cooperation Organization	UN	United Nations
SCR	Security Council Resolution	UN ECHA	Core Group, as in UN Executive Committee on Humanitarian Affairs
SDF	Self-Defence Forces (Japan)	UNAMSIL	United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone
SEA	Single European Act	UNCED	United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro (1992)
SEATO	Southeast Asia Treaty Organization	UNCHE	United Nations Conference on the Human Environment in Stockholm (1972)
SFOR	Stabilization Force in Bosnia-Herzegovina	UNDF	United Nations Development Fund
SFT 21	Studies on the Armed Forces, Capabilities and Technology in the 21 st Century (in Germany)	UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
SG	Secretary-General of the United Nations	UNDPA	United Nations Department of Political Affairs
SICA	Sistema de Integración Centroamericano [Central America Integration System]	UNECA	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa
SIPO	Strategic Indicative Plan of the Organ	UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme
SIPRI	Stockholm International Peace Research Institute	UNEP-GRID	United Nations Environment Programme (Arendal research centre in Norway)
SLA	Sudan Liberation Army	UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
SNA	Social Network Analysis	UNESCO-IHE	UNESCO, Institute for Water Education
SNF	short-range nuclear forces	UNFCCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
SOPAC	South Pacific Applied Geoscience Commission	UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
SPC	[Secretariat of the] Pacific Community	UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
SPLA	Sudanese People's Liberation Army	UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
SPREP	South Pacific Regional Environmental Program	UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Fund
SRSG	Special Representative of the Secretary General	UNIDO	United Nations Industrial Development Organization
SSR	Security Sector Reform	UNITA	Union for the Total Liberation of Angola
START I	Strategic Arms Reduction Talks I (treaty signed 31 July 1991)	UNMIK	United Nations Mission in Kosovo
START II	Strategic Arms Reduction Talks II (treaty signed on 3 January 1993)	UNMIL	United Nations Mission in Liberia
START III	Strategic Arms Reduction Talks III (no agreement was reached until 2007)	UNODOC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
START	Strategic Arms Reduction Talks	UNOMIL	United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia
TAMA	There are many alternatives	UNPP	United Nations Populations Programme
TAPRI	Tampere Peace Research Institute	UNSC	United Nations Security Council
TEC	Treaty Establishing the European Community	UNSSD	United Nations Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg (2002)
TIAR	Tratado Interamericano de Asistencia Recíproca [Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance]	UNTAET	United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor
TIAR	Treaty of Rio	UNU	United Nations University
TINA	there is no alternative	UNU-EHS	United Nations University, Environment and Human Security Institute
TMD	theatre missile defence	UNU-WIDER	United Nations University - World Institute for Development Economics Research
TNC	Transnational Corporation	UPDPS	Union for Democracy and Social Progress
TNE	Transnational Enterprise	US ACDA	United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency
TREVI	Terrorisme, Radicalisme, Extremisme et Violence Internationale	US	United States (of America)
TRIPS	Trade Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights	USA	United States of America
UAR	United Arab Republic	USAID	United States Agency for International Development
UCLA	University of California in Los Angeles		

USG	Under Secretary-General	WMD	Weapons of Mass Destruction
USIP	United States Institute of Peace	WMO	World Maritime Organization
USP	University of the South Pacific	WoT	War on terror
USSR	Union of Socialist Soviet Republics	WP	Warsaw Pact or Warsaw Treaty Organization
WB	World Bank	WSF	World Social Forum
WBGU	German Advisory Council on Global Change	WSSD	World Summit on Sustainable Development
WBSR	Wider Black Sea Region	WTC	World Trade Center
WCED	World Commission on Environment and Development	WTO	Warsaw Treaty Organization
WCRP	World Climate Research Programme	WTO	World Trade Organization
WDI	world direct investment	WWF	World Wildlife Fund
WDR	World Disaster Report (International Federation of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Society)	WWII	Second World War (1939-1945)
WEF	World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland	WWRP	World Weather Research Program
WEU	Western European Union	ZANU-PF	Zimbabwe African National Union - Patriotic Front
WFP	World Food Programme	ZFD	Ziviler Friedensdienst [Civil Peace Service]
WGNE	Working Group on Numerical Experimentation	ZIF	Zentrum für Internationale Friedenseinsätze [Center for International Peace Operations] in Berlin
WHO	World Health Organization	ZMZ A	Zivil-Militärische Zusammenarbeit Ausland [Civil-Military Cooperation Abroad]

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Hans van Ginkel has contributed to numerous international organizations: the governing board of the International Institute for Geo-Information Science and Earth Observation at Enschede (President 1990–1998), the Board of the European Association of Universities (CRE, Vice-president 1994–1998), the Board of the International Association of Universities (IAU, Vice-president, 1995–2000, President, 2000–2004). He was Treasurer of the Netherlands Foundation for International Cooperation in Higher Education (NUFFIC) from 1986–1997. He also extended the cooperative links of Utrecht University towards Latin America (Costa Rica, Bolivia), Southern Africa and South-East Asia. In 1992, he became a member of the Governing Council of the United Nations University; in 1994 also of Unesco's Advisory Group for Higher Education and in 1996, member of the Steering Committee for Unesco's World Conference on Higher Education (Paris, 1998); Vice-chair of the Board of Trustees of the Asian Institute of Technology, AIT, Bangkok (1997–2006). He has chaired the advisory board of the German Centre for Development Research (Zentrum für Entwicklungsforschung, ZEF, in Bonn) since 2006 and became the chair of the Board of Supervisors of the Institute of Social Studies, The Hague in 2007.

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He is the recipient of several honours including the Order of Merit (1986), the Commander's Cross of the Order of Merit (1989), and the Grand Cross of the Order of Merit all of the Federal Republic of Germany. In 1997–1998 he was Honorary Professor of Tongji University, Shanghai, People's Republic of China; he received honorary doctorates of the Technical University of Brandenburg, Cottbus; Free University of Berlin and University of Essen (2002); University of Hannover (2003); Technical University Lausanne (2005); and of the Technical University Freiberg (2007). He was awarded the Bruno H. Schubert Environment Prize and the German Environment Prize (2002); the Theodor Heuss Prize and the Dag-Hammarskjöld Honorary Medal of the German Society for the United Nations (2005).

He spearheaded environmental policy as Minister of Environment in Germany where he introduced many environmental regulations and laws such as the law on the life-cycle economy and the packaging recycling system 'Green dot', to ban the use of environmentally harmful substances such as SO₂ and ozone depleting substances. He actively contributed to the success of the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro (1992) as a forerunner in the negotiations for the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) and the establishment of the Global

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