

National Security: Essence and Perspectives (2020)

L8: Security in international politics: alternative approaches

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L8 topics:

- Peace studies: origins, evolution, and current challenges
- Securitisation and de-securitisation;
- Human security
- Global security
- Common, collective, and co-operative security;
- Homeland security

Peace studies

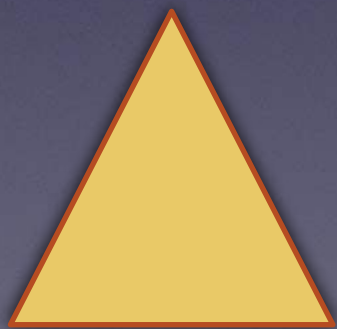
Origins of peace studies after the WWII:

- The war was more “global” than the WWI
- Mass bombing of civil population (Warsaw, Dresden, Hamburg, Tokyo)
- About 50 million people were killed
- The nuclear era began in Hiroshima and Nagasaki (200 000 deaths)
- United Nations established, but failed to put the atomic bomb under control (The US produced over 200 bombs before USSR started testing)
- Nuclear arms race and a new level of war that may lead to mutual destruction
- The Cold War in Europe began in 1946 and intensified after the Berlin blockade 1948/49)
- Communist takeover in China and the Korean war 1950/53 (+1 million)
- Various decolonisation wars (France in Indo-China and Algeria, UK in India, Malaya, Kenya and Cyprus)

Galtung' concept of contradictions, violence and peace

- **Contradictions:** incompatible interests, goals, relationships
 - **Attitude:** mutual perceptions
 - **Behaviour:** co-operative or coercive
- **Direct violence:** people are killed
 - **Structural violence:** people die from hungry
 - **Cultural violence:** religion or ideology drive the killers

Contradiction



Behaviour

Attitude

Structural violence



Direct violence

Cultural violence

Galtung's peace dichotomy

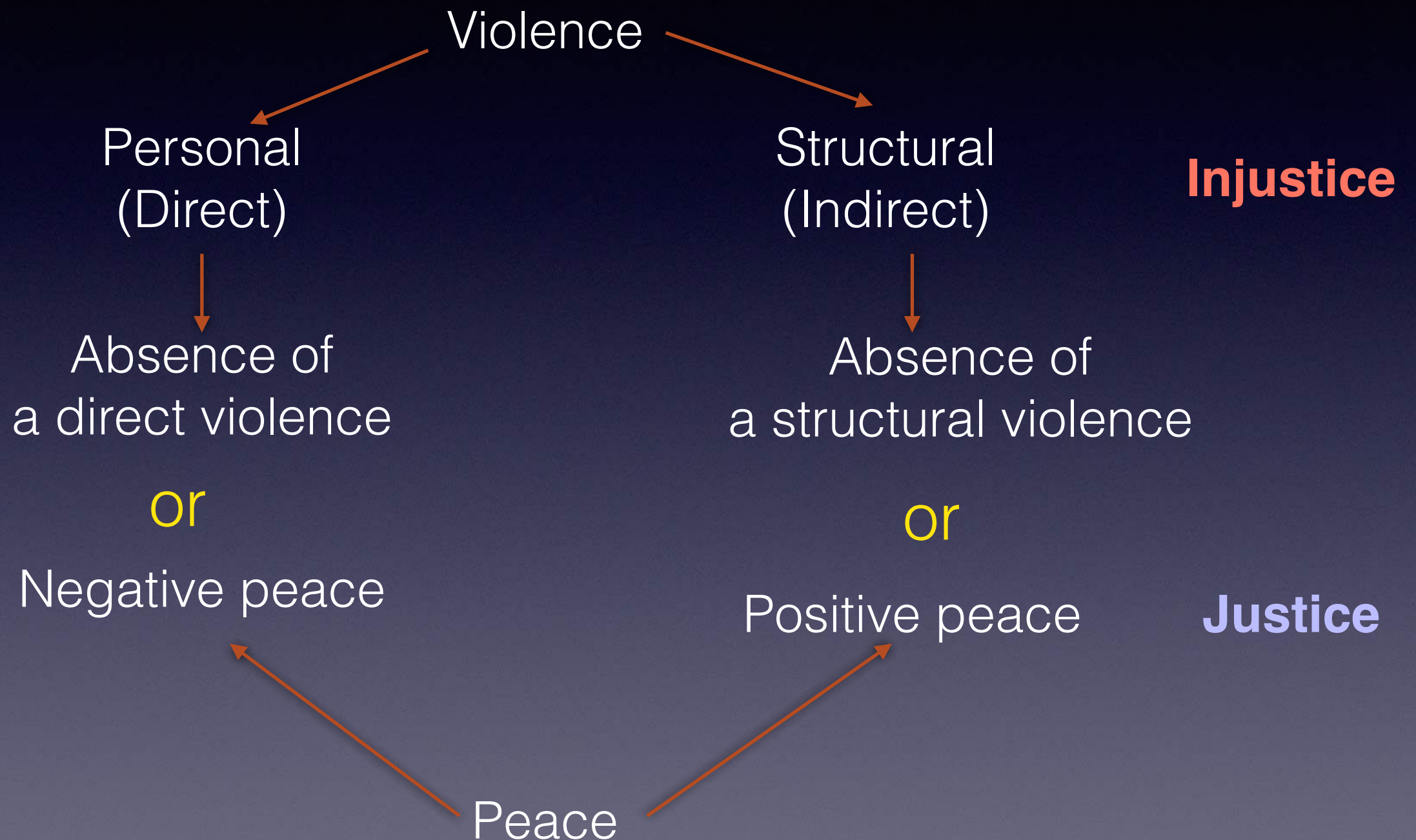
Negative peace is simply the absence of direct violence or war.

- It is the most common understanding of peace, not only in the context of international politics, but more broadly speaking in the context of the peace and war debate.
- The *pax romana* (a condition of absence of violence guaranteed by legal arrangements, military power and social repression) is an example of negative peace.

Positive peace is more than the absence of war or even violence.

- Positive peace meaning is so broad to include equity and justice in human relations, and absence of all kind of violence, including the absence of **structural** and **cultural** violence.

Enhanced concept of peace



Peace and conflict theory = inextricably linked

Types of peace from a security policy perspective

Definition – peace as status (Kenneth Boulding)

Peace is a setting in which conflict and excitement, debate and dialogue, drama and confrontation *do not* get out of hand and become destructive

Types of Peace

- Durable peace (Constructive, compromises, partnerships, no need to use force, no power balance) (*The West during the Cold War*)
- Unstable peace (Separate, Co-Existence, limited communications and exchange, power balance, limited violence) (*East-West during the Cold War*)

Goals of the Peace Policy

- To build – To *create* trust, value (*East-West after the Cold War*)
- To restore – To *reestablish* trust, value (*The West and Germany during the Cold War*)

- Peace-keeping: parties agree on arbitration
- Peace-making: intervention to stop violence
- Peace-building: nation/ region building



Critical approach to security

Toronto challenge

York University in Toronto conference: *Strategies in Conflict: Critical Approaches to Security Studies* (1994):

- **Question the referent object of security** – while states are important, people were both secured and unsecured in ways other than states and armed forces
- **If referent objects are various** what render them insecure, and how security could be achieved
- **Apply a post-positivist approach to security studies** - theories, background, knowledge and values of the researcher can influence what is observed (Ken Booth – “who we think we are, and what we think we are doing”)

Securitisation

The Copenhagen School Ole Weaver

Securitisation: Securitisation is a process-oriented conception of security, which stands in contrast to materialist approaches of classical security studies

The securitising actor designates a threat to a specified reference object and declares an existential threat implying a right to use extraordinary means to fend it off.

Securitisation might be useful when the construction of an **existential threat** by a policy maker is socially accepted and where survival against existential threats is crucial.

A securitisation might be also used to allow extraordinary measures.

Human security (UNDP, 1995)

Moving away from traditional, **state-centric conceptions** of security, to one that concentrates on **the security of the individuals, their protection and empowerment**;

Focussed on a multitude of threats that cut across different aspects of human life and thus reflecting **the interface between security, development and human rights**

(Mahbub ul Haq, Special Advisor to the Administrator of the UNDP , 1995)

Global security

1. **Economic**: creation of employment and measures against poverty.
2. **Food**: measures against hunger and famine.
3. **Health**: measures against disease, unsafe food, malnutrition and lack of access to basic health care.
4. **Environmental**: measures against environmental degradation, resource depletion, natural disasters and pollution.
5. **Personal**: measures against physical violence, crime, terrorism, domestic violence and child labour.
6. **Community**: measures against inter-ethnic, religious and other identity tensions.
7. **Political**: measures against political repression and human rights abuses

Common security

The report of the Palme Commission: *Common Security: A Blueprint for Survival* (1982)

“For both East and West, the avoidance of nuclear catastrophe depends on mutual recognition of the need for peaceful relations, national restraint, and amelioration of the armaments competition. ... Acceptance of common security as the organising principle for efforts to reduce the risk of war, limit arms, and move towards disarmament means, in principle, that cooperation will replace confrontation in resolving conflicts of interest. “

Principles:

- 1. All nations have a legitimate right to security.
- 2. Military force is not a legitimate instrument for resolving disputes between nations.
- 3. Restraint is necessary in expression of national policy.
- 4. Security cannot be attained through military superiority.
- 5. Reduction and qualitative limitations of armaments are necessary for common security.
- 6. 'Linkages' between arms negotiations and political events should be avoided.

The collective security in Europe, America, and Central Asia (OSCE)

Declaration on Principles Guiding Relations between Participating States (Helsinki Final Act – 1975):

- I. Sovereign equality, respect for the rights inherent in sovereignty
- II. Refraining from the threat or use of force
- III. Inviolability of frontiers
- IV. Territorial integrity of States
- V. Peaceful settlement of disputes
- VI. Non-intervention in internal affairs
- VII. Respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the freedom of thought, conscience, religion or belief
- VIII. Equal rights and self-determination of peoples
- IX. Co-operation among States
- X. Fulfillment in good faith of obligations under international law

UN in 2005 *In Larger Freedom*
Freedom from want
Freedom from fear
Freedom to live in dignity

Co-operative security

- The end of the Cold War and the spread of confidence building and arms control measures
- Co-operative security is an approach to avoid security dilemma through transparency and co-operation – NATO and USSR would cede the legitimacy of territorial defence and would co-operate to impose restraint on offensive operations.
- NATO sees cooperative security as one of its core tasks:
 - Strengthening partnerships,
 - Contributing to arms control, non-proliferation and disarmament, and
 - Assisting potential new countries to prepare for NATO membership and the others to implement comprehensive reforms

Conclusion: from Traditional toward Critical Security Studies

From *traditional state centrism (statism)*:

The states of Africa . . . do not match the textbook images of Anglo-American political science. These states have not stood as reliable watch-keepers over the security of their inhabitants. In the southern African context the state is often the problem, not the solution.

... toward *broadening security*:

The threat of food scarcity is, for many, more fundamental than the threat of military violence ... In this and other examples (drugs, violence, falling investment), and the major security threats are intimately interconnected.

Critical thinking questions

(April 29)

Q1. In what ways will the changing global security environment shape the nature of developing conflicts in the twenty-first century?

- a) Human migration will arise as a result of global inequalities in the distribution of power, wealth, and resources. Disempowerment of populations will lead to competition and violence, manifested in transnational movements; and environmental threats and resources scarcity will lead to conflict.
- b) Economic interdependency between states will strengthen global security and lead to a reduction in international conflict. Human migration will lead to overcrowding and resource scarcity but this will be addressed by the technological advancements of developing states to which most migration will take place.
- c) The primary cause of conflict, both at international and sub-national level will be based in ideological differences between populations as resources scarcity, population growth and human migration forces diverse identity groups into increasingly close contact.
- d) Environmental concerns will be overshadowed by immediate threats to international security, posed by global economic crisis and the subsequent rise of fundamentalist ideologies and violence. Human migration will be managed within the current global economic system as poverty restricts movement although there is a limited risk of transnational revolt as a result of disempowerment and resource scarcity.