Chapter 6: International Security After the Cold War

Introduction: The changing Nature of Security Studies

**International security**: security of states from external threats, and political independence

**Challenges**: military threats, revolutionary movements, terrorist groups

**Securitization theory**: security is not an objective term but constructed through social processes; issues are “securitized” through speech, media and social dialogue

**Group security**: minority rights, economic and political grievances, separatism (ethnic, religious, clans)

**Asymmetric threats**: not easily deterred or fought by military (terrorism and transnational criminal organizations)

**Human security**: freedom of individuals from threats to their safety, rights and lives (child labour)

- look over page 188 figure 6.1 it shows the international security agenda (cold war and post cold war)

**The Nature of War in Global Politics**

- Karl Von Clausewitz “On War”: “continuation of politics by other means” (focuses on war as a political act)

**War**: an armed conflict in which there are 1000 battle related deaths

- Correlates of War Project (COW) identified 216 interstate wars from 1816 to 1980

**Interstate**: wars between states

**Intrastate**: wars within states

Theorizing about the Origins of War

- wars start over tangible and intangible issues

**Tangible**: territory, wealth, colonies, economics, independence

**Intangible**: ethnic, religious, cultural, revenge, ideological values

**Individual level of analysis**: find the cause of war in ourselves, in our nature

- suggests humans are inherently aggressive
- suggest its not innate, its learned, (also related to gender)

**State/group level of analysis**: suggests the cause of war is found in social and political characteristics

- some states are more prone to war than others
- authoritarian states “bad states” and leaders = warlords

**Systemic level of analysis**: nature of politics itself (realists)

- principal source of war is anarchy and distribution of power
- **long cycles**: theory that hegemony rise and decline in regular patterns which influence economy and outbreak of hegemonic wars

International Warfare After the Cold War: Gulf To Iraq

Gulf War – 1990 Iraq invaded Kuwait and claimed a right to Kuwait as a province of Iraq

- Saddam wanted to seize the oil rich country of Kuwait for economic gain and control Middle East oil reserves
- Gulf war achieved its objective, the removal of Iraqi military from Kuwait and restoration of Kuwait Gov.
Left unresolved issues such as:
- Saddam remained a leader of Iraq
- UN entered Iraq to destroy weapons of mass destruction
- Airpower remained in place over North and South Iraq
- UN Sanctions remained in force against Iraq

**Iraq War:** U.S led coalition launched a war to overthrow the Taliban Gov. which supported Al Qaeda
- 2003 Bush gave Saddam 48 hrs to leave Iraq
- what was Bush’s motive for going to war? : threat of weapons of mass destruction, unfinished business an doil

**Ethnic, Religious and Factional Conflict**

**Communal conflicts:** wars that take place between communal groups at the substate level

**The Nature of Communal Groups**
- share 1 quality: sense of common identity (ethnicity, race, historical experience, religious beliefs, region of residence, family ties)

**Types of Communal Groups**

**Ethnonationalists:** regionally concentrated peoples with history of independence objectives (Kurds, Quebecois)

**Ethnoclasses:** culturally distinct peoples descended from immigrants/slaves – low economic position

**Militant sects:** derive status from religion ex. Muslim-Sunni

**Explaining Communal Conflict**
- may originate in 1 or more of these situations:

**Grievances**- one communal group may have grievances over another

**Economic Grievances:** conflict over resources and right to control them; one group controls and leads to conflict with advantaged and disadvantaged groups

**Political Grievances:** political rights and freedoms, discriminations

**Autonomy and Independence:** conflict will arise over territorial rights that claim land as a part of their natural homeland

**Social Change:** conflict may erupt when a communal group feels threatened by change such as modernization (industrialization, commercialization, gov. policies)

**Primordialism:** conflict may develop out of hatred that various communal groups feel for one another (may have a historical record)

**Incitement by Leaders:** nationalist leaders who incite ethnic/religious bigotry for their own political ends can spark ethnonational conflict

**State nationalism vs ethnonationalism:** conflicts can originate in a clash between state and ethnic groups

**Loss of political centre:** when state, regional and international forces are too weak to maintain order and protect the security of individual groups within the country, communal groups are plunged into conditions of anarchy

**Symbolic Politics:** symbols and myths are they key to understanding ethnic conflicts (“any sort of politics activity focused on arousing emotions rather than addressing rights”)

The Nature of Communal War
- Civilians are intentional targets in communal war, they are the centre of group power, source of soldiers, food and support, and so they are attacked to weaken military potential of the communal group.

**Ethnic cleansing:** the forced removal of peoples from their area of residence
- Territory is conquered when all members of the other ethnic group have been removed.

**Instruments used:** forced deportation, mass murder, destruction of homes/property, terrorism, rape.

**Case of Yugoslavia**
- In WW2 it was conquered by Nazi Germany
- Joseph Tito died and Slovenia and Croatia declared independence
- Dayton Agreement = peace

**Case of Somalia**
- Independent state but divided by clans
- Remains divided, no central gov., poor prospects for peace, regional instability in forms of arms trafficking, refugees, terrorism

**Case of Chechnya**
- Chechen leaders claimed the right of self-determination and independence but Russians said Chechnya was apart of them
- Referendum held by Russian gov. to confirm that Chechnya was apart of Russia-majority supported it in hopes to end violence ongoing intrastate communal conflicts in the world

**Israel and Palestine**
- Both claim the same territory as their own
- Israel constructed the “security fence” which caused more tension

**The Kurds**
- Kurdish want to establish their own state of Kurdistan
- Iraq fails to satisfy their desires for autonomy and input into central gov. positions

**The Sudan**
- War pitted Arab Muslim gov (north) against African Christian in South and West
- Waged over territory, religious/rebel groups and oil

**Indonesia**
- Conflicts between separatist movements and Indonesia gov. have occurred in several regions
- Fear that Indonesia may disintegrate

**Proliferation of Weapons**

**Vertical proliferation:** refers to increases in the number of weapons possessed by individual states.

**Horizontal proliferation:** refers to the spread of military capabilities across states.

**Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons**
- 7 states are declared nuclear powers + Israel (undeclared)
- Realists argue nuclear weapons can have an effect on regional stability
- Leaders may want nuclear weapons for security, as a deterrent, war-fighting instruments
- May seek prestige, autonomy, independence
- Obstacles: technical difficulty, costs, long time frame.
A Nuclear South Asia
- concerns about India and Pakistan, have fought 3 wars and could be another with nuclear weapons

Proliferation of Chemical and Biological Weapons
Chemical: mustard gas, phosgene, cyanide etc
Biological: plague, typhus, anthrax, smallpox, yellow fever etc
- are inexpensive to produce and called “the poor states nuclear weapon”

Proliferation of Conventional Weapons
- small arms and light weapons (military rifles, grenades, land mines)
- fall of arms sale b/c of end of cold war, collapse of soviet union and strained budgets
- global spread of armaments

International Terrorism
- transnational security concern
- influences travel decisions of tourists
- “one persons terrorist is another persons freedom fighter”

state terrorism: use of state power to terrorize civilians into compliance
state sponsored terrorism: support of international terrorist individuals or groups by a government

Origins and Causes of Terrorism
- state terrorism is designed to eliminate political opposition and the killers are paid for their work

Individual Psychology
- suggest the root causes is the psychological makeup of the individuals (personality disorders, mental illness) may explain terrorist activity

Ideological Fanaticism
- can originate from the commitment of people/groups to a particular political idea and to promote the idea through violence (social change through violence)

Religious Fanaticism
- individuals/groups seeking to advance their religious views, secure religious rights/freedoms or holy war against religious enemies

Grievance and Cycles of Violence
- economical, political, or religious persecution
- grievances of particular groups

Nationalism and Separatism
- desire of people for political autonomy, independence

Activist Fanaticism
- to prevent certain political/social activity or to force their belief system on others (abortion, racial, animal)

September 11, 2001
- Al Queda terrorist group (Bin Laden)
- Bush Administration criticized for focusing on Iraq
- Overthrew Taliban in Afghanistan

International Terrorism after September 11, 2001
- globalization enhancing terrorist threat
- motivated by a set of goals (land, power, independence)
“postmodern terrorism” inspired by religious, cult beliefs, racial hatred
- may turn to “weapons of mass destruction” (computer and telecom networks) = cyber attacks

**Combating Terrorism - approaches and methods**
- hard to track and target because they are small groups and secretive
- attacking terrorists can lead to deaths of innocent people
- counter terrorist operations
- can reduce vulnerability of a country and its people
- physical security, computer security, immigration “racial profiling” = minority groups
- governments can strengthen international cooperation
- authoritarianism: system where individual freedom is subordinate to the power of the state
- media and publicity effect it

**International Organized Crime**
- “transnational organized crime” is a serious global security issue because:
- international crime escalated (drugs), organized crime expanded into banking, threats to gov. (mafia)
- in Asia the “Six Great Triads” form the largest criminal network in the world