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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

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 reconceptualizing 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.

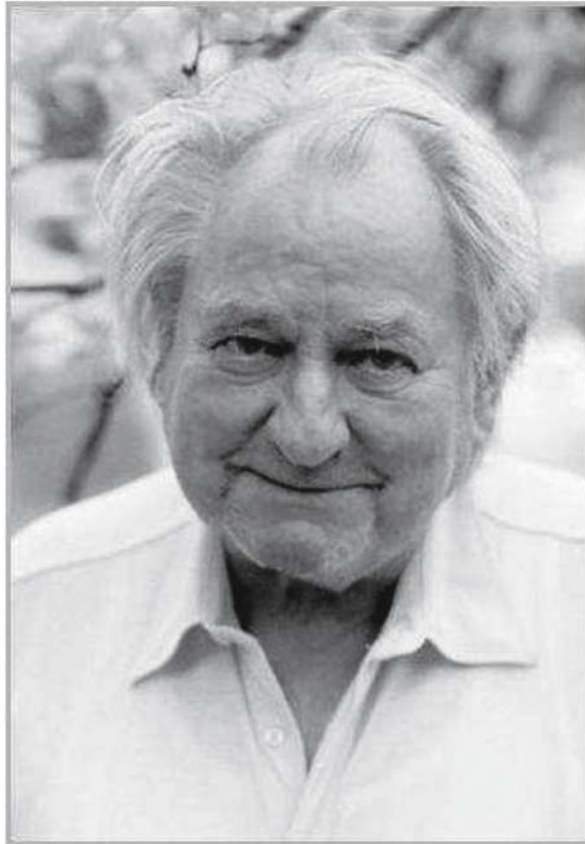
Perhaps there are some truths that never truly die.
Perhaps there are some practices that stitch together all the seams
of differences, and distance, the burden of accepting grief.
Perhaps tonight, the *Geist* of all the errors of our past will rise like some great beast
to bear our grievance toward 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, András, Anna,

Barbara, Chloe, Gaia,

Hanna, Hela, Ian,

Melanie, Micha, Natalia, Nathan,

Omar, Serena Eréndira, Slim, Ulrike

Contents

Foreword

<i>Stavros Dimas, Commissioner for the Environment, European Union</i>	V
<i>Hans van Ginkel, Former Rector, United Nations University and United Nations Under-Secretary-General</i>	VI
<i>Klaus Töpfer, Former Under-Secretary General of the United Nations and Executive-Director, United Nations Environment Programme (1997–2006)</i>	VII

Dedications	VIII
--------------------	-------------

Acknowledgements	XVII
-------------------------	-------------

Permissions and Credits	XXI
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Prefaces	1
-----------------	----------

Rethinking Security in the New Century – Return to the Grotean Pattern <i>Jonathan Dean</i>	3
Peace, Development, Ecology and Security IPRA 40 Years after Groningen <i>Úrsula Oswald Spring</i>	7
Globalization from Below: Ecofeminist Alternatives to Corporate Globalization <i>Vandana Shiva</i>	15
Towards a Human Security Perspective for the Mediterranean <i>Narcís Serra</i>	21

Part I Introduction: Theoretical Contexts for Security Reconceptualizations since 1990	25
--	-----------

1 Introduction: Globalization and Environmental Challenges: Reconceptualizing Security in the 21st Century <i>Hans Günter Brauch</i>	27
2 Security as Attributes of Social Systems <i>Czesław Mesjasz</i>	45

Part II The Conceptual Quartet: Security, Peace, Development and Environment and its Dyadic Linkages	63
--	-----------

3 Conceptual Quartet: Security and its Linkages with Peace, Development, and Environment <i>Hans Günter Brauch</i>	65
---	----

4	Peace and Security: Two Evolving Concepts and Their Changing Relationship <i>Ole Wæver</i>	99
5	Peace and Environment: Towards a Sustainable Peace as Seen From the South <i>Úrsula Oswald Spring</i>	113
6	Underdevelopment and Human Insecurity: Overcoming Systemic, Natural, and Policy Risk <i>Indra de Soysa</i>	127
7	Emergent Sustainability: The Concept of Sustainable Development in a Complex World <i>Casey Brown</i>	141
8	Development and Security: Genealogy and Typology of an Evolving International Policy Area <i>Peter Uvin</i>	151
9	Security and Environment Linkages Revisited <i>Simon Dalby</i>	165
Part III	Philosophical, Ethical and Religious Contexts for Conceptualizations of Security	173
10	Oriental, European, and Indigenous Thinking on Peace in Latin America <i>Úrsula Oswald Spring</i>	175
11	Security in Hinduism and Buddhism <i>Michael von Brück</i>	195
12	Security in Chinese, Korean, and Japanese Philosophy and Ethics <i>Kurt W. Radtke</i>	203
13	Security in Confucian Thought: Case of Korea <i>Eun-Jeung Lee</i>	221
14	Security in Japanese History, Philosophy and Ethics: Impact on Contemporary Security Policy <i>Mitsuo and Tamayo Okamoto</i>	235
15	Thinking on Security in Hinduism: Contemporary Political Philosophy and Ethics in India <i>Naresh Dadhich</i>	243
16	Human Security in Jewish Philosophy and Ethics <i>Robert Eisen</i>	253
17	From Homer to Hobbes and Beyond – Aspects of ‘Security’ in the European Tradition <i>J. Frederik M. Arends</i>	263
18	Security Conceptualization in Arab Philosophy and Ethics and Muslim Perspectives <i>Hassan Hanafi</i>	279

19	Security in African Philosophy and Historical Ideas <i>Jacob Emmanuel Mabe</i>	289
20	Security in Latin American Philosophy, Ethics, and History of Ideas <i>Georgina Sánchez</i>	299
21	The Brazilian View on the Conceptualization of Security: Philosophical, Ethical and Cultural Contexts and Issues <i>Domício Proença Júnior; Eugenio Diniz</i>	311
Part IV	Spatial Context and Referents of Security Concepts	321
22	Securitization of Space and Referent Objects <i>Hans Günter Brauch</i>	323
23	Structural Setting for Global Environmental Politics in a Hierarchic International System: A Geopolitical View <i>Vilho Harle and Sami Moïsio</i>	345
24	Global Environmental Change and Human Security <i>Jon Barnett, Richard A. Matthew and Karen O'Brien</i>	355
25	Globalization and Security: The US 'Imperial Presidency': Global Impacts in Iraq and Mexico <i>John Saxe-Fernández</i>	363
26	Globalization from Below: Social Movements and Altermundism – Reconceptualizing Security from a Latin American Perspective <i>Úrsula Oswald Spring</i>	379
27	Security Regionalism in Theory and Practice <i>Björn Hettne</i>	403
28	Identity-based Security Threats in a Globalized World: Focus on Islam <i>Mustafa Aydin and Sinem Acikmese</i>	413
29	Security and Sovereignty <i>Bharat Karnad</i>	421
30	Subordinate, Subsumed and Subversive: Sub-national Actors as Referents of Security <i>Varun Sahni</i>	431
31	Non-state Based Terrorism and Security <i>Gunhild Hoogensen</i>	439
32	Agents of Insecurity in the Andes: Transregional Crime and Strategic Relations <i>Arlene B. Tickner and Ann C. Mason</i>	449
33	Re-conceptualizing Security Research with Individual Level Data <i>Jacek Kugler</i>	457

Part V	Reconceptualization of Security in Scientific Disciplines since 1990	465
34	Quest for International Security: Benefits of Justice versus the Trappings of Paranoia <i>Jean-Marc Coicaud</i>	467
35	Security in International Law Since 1990 <i>Michael Bothe</i>	475
36	Human Security from the Standpoint of an Economist <i>S. Mansoob Murshed</i>	487
37	The Concept of Security in International Relations <i>John Baylis</i>	495
38	Security in Peace Research and Security Studies <i>Ulrich Albrecht and Hans Günter Brauch</i>	503
Part VI	Reconceptualizing Dimensions of Security (Debates since 1990)	527
39	Security: The State (of) Being Free From Danger? <i>Laura Shepherd and Jutta Weldes</i>	529
40	From a Security towards a Survival Dilemma <i>Hans Günter Brauch</i>	537
41	The Changing Agenda of Military Security <i>Barry Buzan</i>	553
42	Political Security, an Uncertain Concept with Expanding Concerns <i>Thomaz Guedes da Costa</i>	561
43	Economic Security <i>Czesław Mesjasz</i>	569
44	The Changing Agenda of Societal Security <i>Ole Wæver</i>	581
45	Environmental Security Deconstructed <i>Jaap H. de Wilde</i>	595
Part VII	Institutional Security Concepts Revisited for the 21st Century	603
46	Human Security and the UN Security Council <i>Jürgen Dedring</i>	605
47	Evolution of the United Nations Security Concept: Role of the High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges, and Change <i>Sebastian von Einsiedel, Heiko Nitzschke and Tarun Chhabra</i>	621
48	Security, Development and UN Coordination <i>Ole Jacob Sending</i>	637
49	Reconceptualization of Security in the CSCE and OSCE <i>Monika Wohlfeld</i>	643
50	The Comprehensive Security Concept of the European Union <i>Rolando Mosca Moschini</i>	651

51	Reconceptualization of External Security in the European Union since 1990 <i>Stefan Hintermeier</i>	659
52	Democracy and European Justice and Home Affairs Policies from the Cold War to September 11 <i>Andreas Maurer and Roderick Parkes</i>	677
53	From a European Security Community to a Secure European Community Tracing the New Security Identity of the EU <i>Magnus Ekengren</i>	695
54	EU Policy Coherence on Security and Development A New Agenda for Research and Policy-making <i>Louka T. Katseli</i>	705
55	From Obsession to Oblivion: Reconceptualization of Security in NATO since 1990 <i>Pál Dunay</i>	713
56	NATO's Role in the Mediterranean and Broader Middle East Region <i>Alberto Bin</i>	725
57	German Action Plan: Civilian Crisis Prevention, Conflict Resolution and Peace Consolidation – A Reconceptualization of Security <i>Ortwin Hennig and Reinhold Elges</i>	733
58	Interfaces between Development and Security: Converging the Role of Development Policy and Security Policy? <i>Stephan Klingebiel and Katja Roehder</i>	743
Part VIII	Reconceptualizing Regional Security for the 21st Century	753
59	European Security in the 21st Century: An Institutional Perspective <i>Sven Biscop</i>	755
60	Regionalization of Great Power Security – Near Abroad, Broader Middle East, and European Neighbourhood <i>Mustafa Aydın and Neslihan Kaptanoğlu</i>	763
61	A Regional Security Perspective From and For the Arab World <i>Béchir Chourou</i>	775
62	ECOWAS and Regional Security Challenges <i>U. Joy Ogwu</i>	791
63	A Regional Security Perspective from and for the Horn of Africa <i>Martin R. Rupiya and Alfred G. Nhema</i>	801
64	Regional Security in Southern Africa Development Community: Perspectives on Security Challenges <i>Naison Ngoma and Len Le Roux</i>	811
65	The Security Problematique in South Asia: Alternative Conceptualizations <i>Navnita Chadha Behera</i>	819
66	Security Debates in East Asia since the End of the Cold War <i>Eun-Jeung Lee</i>	829

67	China and the New International Security Agenda <i>Alan Hunter and Liu Cheng</i>	839
68	Security in the New Millennium: A Debate in the South Pacific on Peace and Security: Alternative Formulations in the Post Cold War Era <i>Kevin P. Clements and Wendy L. Foley</i>	855
69	Security on the American Continent: Challenges, Perceptions, and Concepts <i>Francisco Rojas Aravena</i>	867
70	Towards an Ethical Framework for Security <i>P. H. Liotta and James F. Miskel</i>	879
Part IX	Reconceptualizing Security and Alternative Security Futures	887
71	Prediction in Security Theory and Policy <i>Czesław Mesjasz</i>	889
72	Climate Change and Security in the 21st Century <i>Heinz-Dieter Jopp and Roland Kaestner</i>	901
73	Global Security: Learning from Possible Futures <i>Heikki Patomäki</i>	915
74	Role of Prediction in Sustainable Development and Disaster Management <i>G.A. McBean</i>	929
Part X	Summary and Conclusions	939
75	Reconceptualizing Security in the 21st Century: Conclusions for Research and Policy-making <i>Úrsula Oswald Spring and Hans Günter Brauch</i>	941
	Abbreviations	955
	Bibliography	963
	Biographies of Contributors	1087
	Index	1115

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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.afes-press.de/html/download_isa.html>; for the workshop in Sopron at: <http://www.afes-press.de/html/download_sopron.html> and for the workshop in The Hague at: <http://www.afes-press.de/html/the_hague_programme.html>.

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

3 See the text at: <http://afes-press.de/pdf/Zundel_web_dedication.pdf>.

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 - at the 45th ISA Convention in Montreal Canada, 17–20 March 2004;
 - at the 20th IPRA Conference in Sopron, Hungary, 5–9 July 2004;
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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.

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.

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).