1. Key concepts and theoretical approaches – conceptual
2. Contemporary dynamics related to concepts – nature of intra-state conflict, terrorism, environment and resources, structural violence etc.
3. Responses to conflict violence in security through prism of conflict management

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Topic 1: Key Concepts, Terms and Trends

Key concepts

- International security sub-field of International Relations discipline
- Nature and incidence of war, conflict and other forms of violence in world politics, consider the strategies and means through which peoples, states and international organisation can propagate, prevent or manage conflict, including through the use of military force and diplomacy
- Contrast traditional forms of war and strategy with contemporary, non-traditional forms, including human and critical approaches to security

Definitions:

Strategy: the deliberate measures states and other actors take to ensure their security

- State-centric, military based and externally oriented (threats from outside – other states).
- However non-state actors also use heir own forms of strategy (such as terrorism, insurgency and negotiation) to pursue their political or other goals.
- **Walt (1991): A perspective on strategy** (i.e. synonymous with 'security')
  - "Main focus of security studies easy to identify… phenomenon of war. Security states assume conflict between states always a possibility and use of military force has far-reaching effects on states/societies… Accordingly, security studies defined as *the* study of threat, use and control of military force… explores conditions that make use of force more likely, ways that 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"

Diplomacy: The entire process through which states conduct their foreign relations. Means for allies to cooperate and for adversaries to resolve conflicts without force. States communicate, bargain, influence one another, and adjust their differences through diplomacy" – (Griffiths & O'Callaghan 1998: 79)

- "Chief purpose to enable states to secure objectives of their foreign policies without resort to force, propaganda or law" (Berridge 2010: 1)
- Bilateral (two sides) or multilateral (many sides), summit (gathering of heads of state), shuttle (sending special envoys). Offer incentives (carrots) compliance or threaten punishment (sticks) non-compliance
- Can be used as a particular form of strategy – including when strategy war against another state.

Conflict: tensions between two or more actors (such as states) in the pursuit of their political or other objectives. At one end of spectrum, this involves use of violence, including military force, to achieve political ends.

- Violent conflict can occur as
  - Inter-state (i.e. traditional war)
  - Intra-state (e.g. civil war or counter-insurgency)

- o States vs. transnational non-state actors (e.g. counter-terrorism)
- o Between non-state actors only (e.g. genocidal violence)
- ▪ Distinction between war and other conflict/violence: threshold number people killed: 1000 deaths = War

Security: the absence of threats to a referent object
- o Define narrowly (state-centric, military-based, externally orientated). Broadly (non-traditional, human/critical security)

Political and conceptual developments
- o **Up to and including WW1:** War an instrument of a state's foreign policy – acceptable/expected role of states to go to war. Another tool or strategy to achieve political objectives
- o **Interwar period (1920s-**30s): Attempts to outlaw war (1928 – Breanne-Keleg pact), create collective security organisations: League of Nations 1920 (attempt to have major powers have some control over when states could go to war – deter), UN from 1945.
- o **Post-WWII/Cold War (1940s-1980s):** Development of Cold War strategic rivalry between 2 superpowers (US, Soviet Union). Combined with development nuclear weapons. Emphasis on states, military strategy.
- o **Post-Cold War (1990s-):** rise of critical and human security approaches (challenged thinking on strategy and security dominant through Cold War); broadening of threats and actors; focus on intra-states conflicts (number of civil wars) return to UN (UN used to manage conflicts).
- o **Post-9/11 (2001-):** attention to 'failed states' (if a state can't control what goes on inside borders non-state actors can move in and operate out of countries and operate across borders); transnational non-state actors and networks (globalisation) – manifest as the War on Terror, return to global superpower rivalry (US-China)?

Some current News Headlines of relevance to POLS2214
- o Cooperation between allies – South Korea and US – conducting joint military operations. Antagonises other states in region (North-Korea and China) – effective (deters threats) or ineffective (create hostility)
- o US military – spends more on military than all other states combined. Not sustainable post-GFC. Pentagon announced reducing size of military. – What does this mean in terms of competition with China
- o Nuclear issues – not just between major superpowers. Good idea more states have nuclear weapons or less – which more secure environment. Iran seeking nuclear weapons – implications international security
- o Syrian conflict – internal conflict, civil war between Syrian government and range of groups. International intervention earlier in conflict prevented protracted crisis? No international intervention – after 3 years
- o Afghanistan – intervention over decade ago, still ongoing violence between central gvnt installed by intervention and opposition groups like Taliban in other regions of country using different forms of violence to gain control of the state
- o Central African Republic – Ku then a counter-Ku then communal violence (Muslims against Christians - killing each other, force other group to leave) – internal conflict involves who gets control society or state
- o Syria – multilateral diplomacy UN Security Council. Major powers find way to control conflict in Syria given haven't able to agree on how coercively intervene – at least find way to deliver aid even not delivering troops – diplomacy effective?
- o South Sudan – world's newest country – decade long civil war for independence. Achieved independence in 2011 but since then devolved into civil war – who gets to control country
- o Ukraine – violence, security forces of government killing protesters who were opposing government.
- o Somalia – peace-keeping operation trying to support first government in over 20 years – conflict during that time. Al-Shabab create violence, regional countries (Kenya and Ethiopia) intervene, African peace-keeping force but still attacks.

Topic 2: Global Trends in Armed Conflict: from 'old' to 'new' wars

Old wars

o   War organised military conflict between clearly identifiable groups, particularly groups with cohesive structure, recognised leadership. What sets war apart from other forms group violence, eg/ mob, pursuit of violence undertaken with degree of order, discipline, direction, planning (Morgan 2006: 17)

o   Conducted by states and their militaries. War was formally declared, and rules and norms generally applied to the conduct of war (such as not targeting civilian populations, only using conventional weapons, etc.). Aim is to defeat other side. Victims mainly combatants (c.90%)

New Wars:

o   Emerged most prominently in post-Cold War, globalisation context, although some (such as Newman) contest the extent that these conditions are 'new' →

   ▪   Before focussed on global bipolar structure, potential for nuclear war, overlooked going on underneath – now intensifications of what was happening before rather than anything new.

o   Conflict within states/across borders, doesn't necessarily involve governments: non-state actors involved (rebels, warlords etc.). Messy, low-intensity, link transnational crime, identity or greed, no clear start/end.

o   **Victims:** Civilians main victims (c.80%), rather than formal combatants. Often hard to distinguish between combatants and non-combatants. Targeting of civilians is often a *strategy* of this type of conflict

o   **Revolution in Military Affairs (RMA):** applying new and advanced IT to war-fighting capabilities of (developed) states. These technologies (such as Internet) can be used as means to conduct attacks on state.

Defining violence

o   Battle deaths = combatants + non-combatants (e.g civilians)

o   Conflict = between 25-999 battle deaths per calendar year

o   War = +1000 battle deaths per year

o   State-based: A state/government is at least one of the parties to conflict

o   Non-state: no states/governments are parties to the conflict

o   One-sided violence: unarmed civilians are targeted (e.g as victims of genocide on terrorism)
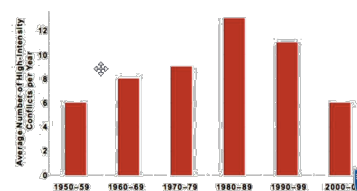
Trends in all *state-based* armed conflicts

o   **Interstate:** wars between states – 2+ states fighting each other

o   **Extrastate:** wars of independence from colonial rule – when occupied, fighting to overthrow foreign government from land

o   **Intrastate**: conflicts between government and groups within own borders

o   **Internationalised Intrastate**: Same as intrastate but external actor involved on one of sides – war between government and section of population but external actor takes a side

o   Overall number of conflicts declined sharply from early 1990s-2001 then up again – from 2001 (war on terror)

o   Why declined 1990s – increase in international peacekeeping/operations helped reduce conflicts.
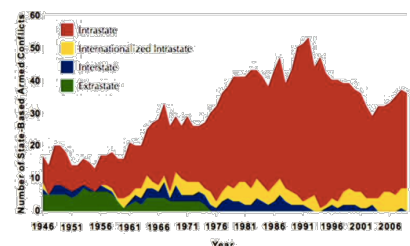
**Global trends in wars (i.e. those with 1000 battle deaths/year)**

o   Reduction in number of high intensity conflicts

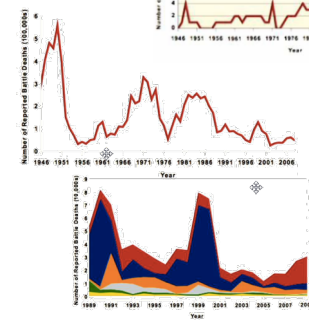**Regional Trends in *state-based* armed conflicts, 1946-2008**

- o **Europe:** Most peaceful region in world for past 60 years. Minor peaks in 1990s correspond to conflicts in Balkans following breakup of Yugoslavia
- o **Americas:** End of Cold War lead to dramatic decline in number of armed conflicts, many of which had been exacerbated by West Tensions
- o **East and Southeast Asia and Oceania:** Decline in conflicts in East/Southeast Asia and Oceania started 1979. Democratisation, rising prosperity, ending of foreign intervention all played role in reducing number/deadliness of conflicts in region
- o **Middle East and North Africa:** Notwithstanding much-publicized invasion of Lebanon by Israel in 2006, and ongoing war in Iraq, conflict numbers declined unevenly in Middle East and North Africa's since early 1980s
- o **Sub-Saharan Africa:** Most conflict-prone region since 1946. Endured anticolonial conflicts, struggles over control of post-colonial states, Cold War proxy wars (outside interference/ intervention)
- o **Central and South Asia:** Breakup of Soviet Union in 1991 triggered number of new conflicts in Central Asia. India accounts for almost half of conflicts (civil wars) in Central and South Asia since 1980s. Sri Lanka (longstanding civil war end 2009) and recently war on terror.
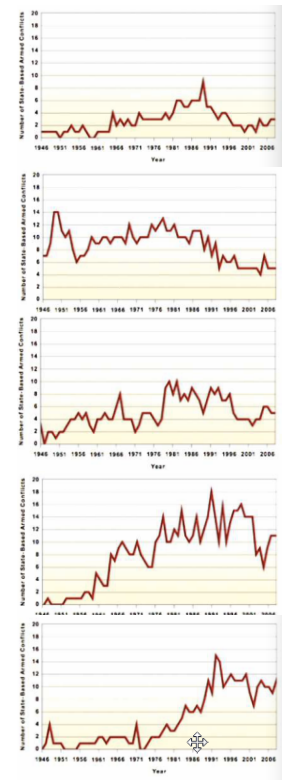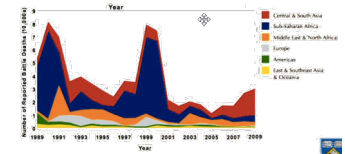
Global trends in battle deaths from *state-based* conflicts
- o Wars between states few but when take place cause many deaths

Regional trends in battle deaths from *state-based* armed conflicts
- o Big increases in deaths in central and south Asia and spike to do with Iraq – Africa overall seen most deaths. Last 10yrs increase from Asia.
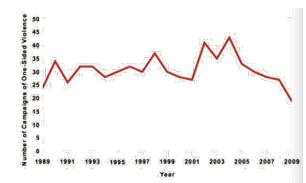
Global trends in *non-state* armed conflict & battle deaths/duration
- o # people killed in non-state conflicts less than state conflicts.
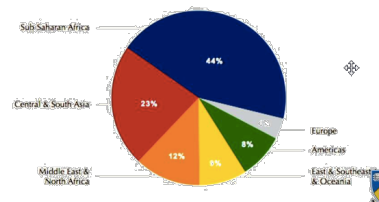- o States better weaponry /technology and more destructive
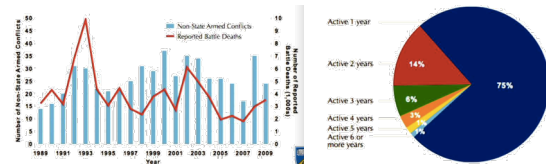
Global trends in campaigns of *one-sided* violence
- o Spike in 2001 – spike in terrorism related deaths – attacks on unarmed civilians after 9/11 but these have declined over time. A lot occurred inside Iraq during occupation phase early part of the decade.
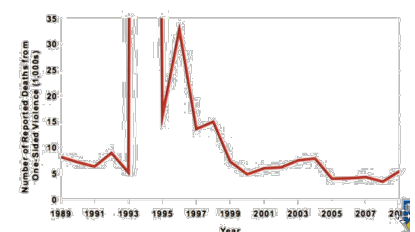- o Campaigns of *one-sided violence* by region, 1989-2009:

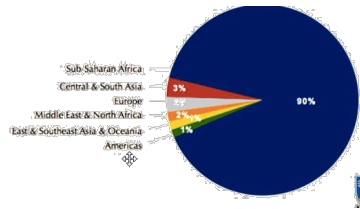**Global trends in deaths from *one-sided violence***

Spikes –
- ▪ First spike: Rwandan genocide (500 000 – 800 000 unarmed civilians killed in a period of about 3 months).
- ▪ Second spike: Congo prior to state involvement.
- ▪ Third spike (small) – Bosnia.

- ▪ Fourth spike (small) – terrorism

Deaths from *one-sided violence* by region

- ▪ Rwanda deaths dominate

Summary of these trends in armed conflict

- • Number overall conflicts grew steadily to early post-Cold War period, then declined, before rising again from 2001
- • The number of wars (over 1000 battle deaths per year) has declined since the 1980s
- • Most state-based conflicts today are intrastate, involving a government as one party, and second highest are internationalised intrastate conflicts
- • Interstate conflicts (between states only) are now very rare, and Extrastate (anti-colonial conflicts) barely exist
- • Yet some of the 20th century's deadliest wars (e.g. WW1, WW2, Korean War, Iran-Iraq War) have been conventional wars between modern states and militaries
- • In the 1990s most battle deaths in state-based conflicts were in Africa, but since the new millennium these have been in Central and South Asia, and MENA
- • Number of non-state conflicts occurring, but duration usually less than 1/yr and less deadly than state-based ones
- • Campaigns 1-sided violence rose early-mid 2000s, declined. Now committed non-state more than state actors
- • More campaigns 1-sided violence post-Cold War in Africa, followed by Central and South Asia and then the MENA
- • Deaths in 1-sided violence spiked during Rwandan genocide, and Congo conflict, then declined overall, but with an increase in the early 2000s.

Topic 3: International Anarchy, Security Dilemma and War

Levels of analysis

- o Kenneth Waltz/s *Man, the State and War* (1954) – 3 different levels of analysis provide alternate explanations
    1. **The level of the individual human being** (micro level – world of international politics individual represents a small aspect)
        - ▪ Role of individual leaders pursuing a certain policy leading to war/peace
        - ▪ Human nature
    2. **The level of the state (meso/mid)**
        - ▪ What goes on inside states, how that influences foreign policies, international behaviour
        - ▪ Dynamics inside state – eg/ pressure applied by military
        - ▪ Type of government, society
    3. **The level of the international system** (macro/systemic)
        - ▪ Behaviour of states and dynamics of international politics
        - ▪ System of the whole – how they in turn shape the behaviour of individual leaders, governments, societies and states in relation to one another

International Anarchy

- ▪ **Anarchy:** the lack of an overarching authority in the international system. This dynamic distinguishes international politics from 'domestic' politics. Stems from sovereignty of states - recognise no higher authority than themselves. No 'world government' controlling states, nor guaranteeing their security
    - ▪ Under anarchy war is a *constant possibility*, even if it is not always occurring