



2010

The 21<sup>st</sup> Anniversary  
of the Fall of the Berlin Wall



# A World Without Walls 2010:

*An International Conference on Peace building, Reconciliation  
and Globalization in an Interdependent World*

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## **Tensions, Conflicts and Peace Agreements: Historical Macrostructures and Turning Points since 1945**

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# 1. Theme, Focus and Questions

- Theme: Structural Interpretation of World Order in the long 20<sup>th</sup> or American Century
- Three Stages of a Continuum: from War to Peace
  - **Tensions** and détente: in a bipolar world
  - Crises, **Conflicts** and Wars (1940-2010)
  - Armistice vs. **Peace Agreements** (after WW II)
- Historical Macrostructures and Turning Points
  - Macrostructures: Braudel's: three historical times: History of long duration, conjunctures, events
  - Phases of human and political vs. earth history
  - Turning points: of global international order in 20th century: 1815, 1919, 1945/1949, 1989, 21st century
  - Past transformation of world order: Result of wars & revolution, 1989: result of a peaceful transition

# 1.1. What do we mean with Tensions?

- **Tensions: a concept used widely in international relations but hardly defined**
  - **Wikipedia:** references to physics, music but not to politics
  - **Wikidictionary: tension (*plural tensions*)**
    - **Psychological** state of being **tense**. Condition of being held in a state between two or more **forces**, which are acting in **opposition** to each other
    - (**physics**) (*engineering*) State of an elastic object which is stretched in a way which increases its length. (**physics**) **Voltage**.
  - **Shorter Oxford English Dictionary:**
    - **Physiology and medicine:** condition of being stretched or strained, a feeling of tightness
    - **Physics**
    - **Psychology:** a state of stress or conflict produced by anxiety, need, mental disequilibrium
  - **Encyclopedia Britannicas: No entry**
  - **Oxford Companion on Politics of the World (Krieger 1993), Social Science Encyclopedia (Kuper/Kuper (1996) both no entry**

## 1.2. What do we mean with „Spannungen“ in politics and international relations?

- **Grosser Brockhaus (16th edit, 1957):** no reference
- **Brockhaus Enzyklopädie (19th, 21st edition, vol. 25, 2006):**
  - **Electrodynamics, mechanics, psychology, politics/sociology**
    - **Relationship for a longer enduring situation of a more or less latent social conflict between individuals and social groups**
- **Dieter Nohlen: Lexikon der Politik (7 volumes):** no entry
- **M. Schmidt: Dictionary on Politics (Wörterbuch zur Politik):**
  - **No entry but on Spannungsfall:** constitutional term for increased international tensions below the threshold of a case of defense (or war)
  - **Declaration of this state of tension may lead to emergency laws (may send similar messages than mobilization of armed forces)**
- **Thus, a term politicians & scientists used during the Cold War has been underdefined or totally ignored but this changes with the opposite term of detente or Entspannung**

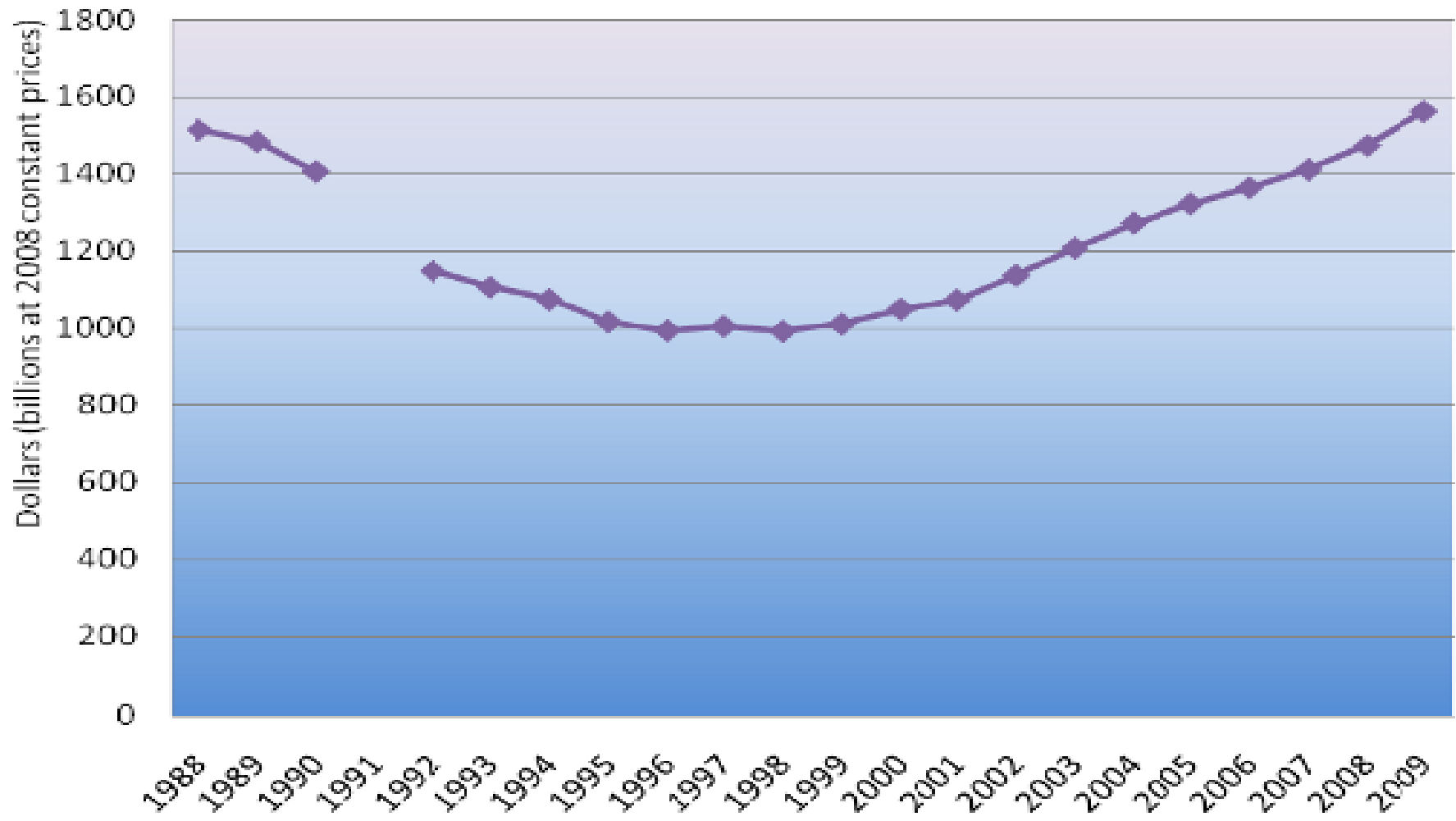
# 1.3. What do we mean with Detente?

- **Wikipedia:** *For the American thrash metal band, see [Detente \(band\)](#)*
  - **Détente** is the easing of strained relations, especially in a political situation. The term is often used in reference to the general easing of relations between the [Soviet Union](#) and the [United States](#) in the 1970s, a thawing at a period roughly in the middle of the [Cold War](#). In the Soviet Union, détente was known in [Russian](#): as ... loosely meaning relaxation, discharge). Détente is an alternative strategy to [rollback](#), the strategy of destroying an enemy state, and [containment](#), which means preventing the expansion of the enemy state.
- **Shorter Oxford English Dictionary:**
  - The easing of strained relations, especially between States
- **Encyclopedia Britannicas: No entry**
- **Oxford Companion on Politics of the World (Krieger 1993),**
  - Article by **Robert S. Litwak**: Detente and the Nixon Doctrine (1969-1976)
  - Nixon (1969): from era of confrontation to era of negotiations, a realistic variation of Kennan's containment policy (US system of incentives & penalties) linking arms control with technology transfer and human rights issues – for USSR: peaceful coexistence
  - Arms control agreements: SALT I (ABM treaty),
- **Social Science Encyclopedia (Kuper/Kuper (1996):** no entry, terms time obviously had passed (of historical interest only)

# 1.4. What do we mean with „Detente“ in politics and international relations?

- **Grosser Brockhaus (16th edit, 1953): „Entspannung“**
  - Reference to medicine, physiotherapy (no political connotation)
- **Brockhaus Enzyklopädie (21st edition, vol. 8, 2006):**
  - Primarily a political term (besides physics and psychology)
  - Politics: detente: period of East-West Relations of US-Soviet relations
  - Cuban missile crisis (1962): turning point
  - 1979: with Soviet intervention into Afghanistan: renewed tensions
  - After 1990 new tensions erupted in multiethnic countries (Yugoslavia, Caucasus/Central Asia: Armenia/Azerbaijan, Chechnya et al.)
- **M. Schmidt: Dictionary on Politics (Wörterbuch zur Politik):**
  - Entspannungspolitik (policy of detente): reduction of tensions among rival parties, (1962-1979, after 1985, policy of Willy Brandt (1969-1975))
- **D.Nohlen: Lexikon der Politik (7 volumes):** several entries

# World Military Expenditure 1988-2009



Source: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute Yearbook 2010

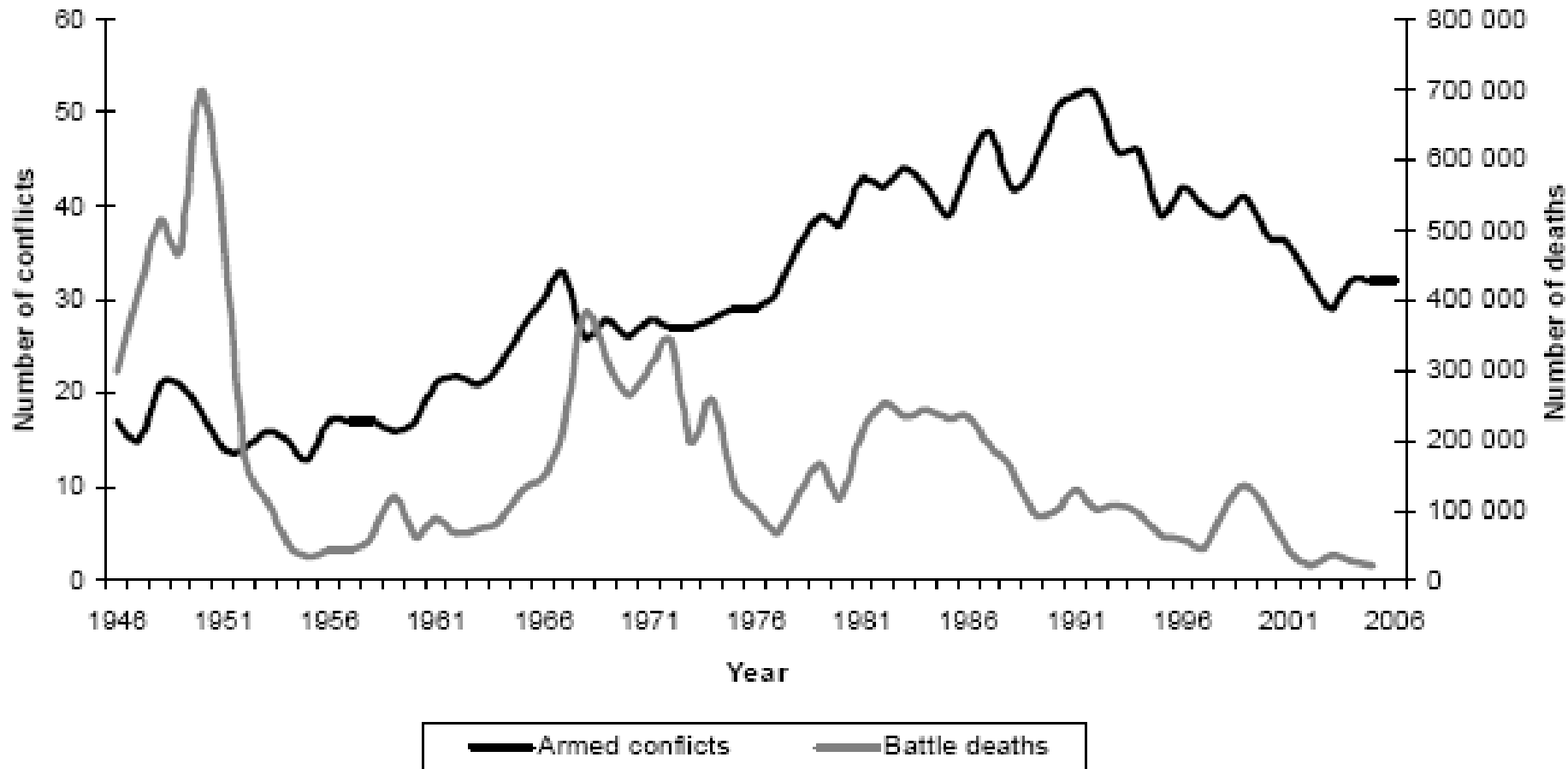


# 1.6. Crises, **Conflicts** and Wars

- **The second term of „conflict“ widely used in politics and political science with as many definitions as authors**
  - **Shorter Oxford English Dictionary:** a fight , a battle, a prolonged struggle between opposing forces, fighting, strife, clashing of opposed principles and beliefs (other references in psychology, physics)
  - **Encyclopedia Britannica: term in psychology**
    - Arousal of two or more strong motives that cannot be solved together
  - **Oxford Companion on Politics of the World (Krieger 1993), no entry**
  - **Social Science Encyclopaedia (Kuper/Kuper (1996): social conflict**
    - L. Kriesberg: conflict perspective, types of social conflict, origins of social conflict, conflict escalation, de-escalation and settlement
  - **M. Schmidt: Dictionary on Politics (Wörterbuch zur Politik):**
    - Political term with many connotations as social conflict, class conflict and as an international conflict as an object of analysis of the research programme on conflict and peace research: development, process and result of peaceful regulation of conflicts (by mediation)

# 1.7. Wars (1945-2010)

Figure 4. Frequency and severity of armed conflict since 1946



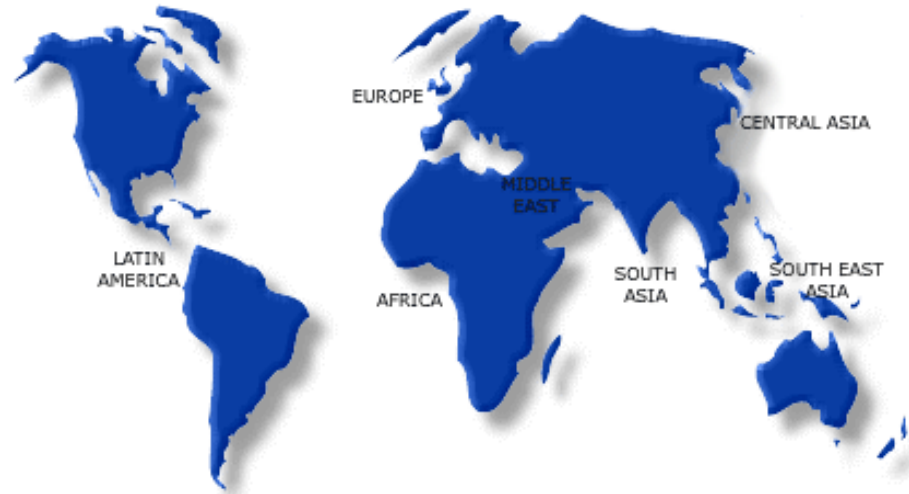
Source: UCDP/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset and PRIO Battle Deaths Dataset.

# 1.8. Armistice vs. **Peace Agreements**

- **Classical international law: stages of a war:**
  - Declaration of war, armistice and peace agreement
- **Today: this has fundamentally changed.**
  - **Wars are not declared by one party against the other but fought by aggressive act, attack, invasion, occupation, annexation etc.**
  - World War I: Versailles Peace Treaty (demilitarization of Germany, reparations, limitation of German armed forces etc.)
  - World War II:
    - Unconditional surrender (armistice) of Germany: 8 May 1945 and Japan
    - There is a peace agreement with Japan (1951) with the peace constitution
    - Peace agreements were signed between allied powers and Italy, Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary, Finland (1947, 1948) and Austria (1955)
    - **There was never a peace agreement formally adopted between allied powers and Germany.**
    - **2 + 4 Treaty (1990) (between 2 German states and 4 allied powers:**  
constraints: use of German armed forces (only if legitimated by UN Security Council) and deployment of nuclear weapons: none in former GDR

# 1.9. Incore: Peace Agreements

<http://www.incore.ulst.ac.uk/services/cds/agreements/index.html>



## Introduction

Although they vary enormously in complexity, number of actors, timescale and outcome, peace processes have become the orthodox way in which low intensity, seemingly intractable, ethnic conflicts reached an accommodation in the 1990s.

A clear trend towards internally agreed initiatives, rather than externally imposed settlements, is noticeable. Yet, the majority of peace accords fail. Often, peace accords fail to anticipate post-conflict problems, or are regarded as a staging post in the conflict. The accords are worth examining in detail though. This is particularly the case from a comparative perspective. It has become increasingly common for actors in one peace process to borrow from the experiences of others. To this end, the publication and widespread dissemination of recent peace accords has enormous merit.

# 1.10. Basic Terms of International Relations: Tension, Conflict, Peace Agreement

- **Tension:** a key term in international relations during the Cold War has remained un- or underdefined as a political concept
- **Detente:** stands for periods of Cold War that differed in interpretation depending from where it was analysed: US or Europe
- **Conflict** : widely used in the social sciences (psychology, sociology, anthropology, political science): an object of a research programme of IR: Conflict studies, research (often in connection with peace and conflict research)
- **Peace agreement:** a key term of international law that formally terminated a war (e.g. Vienna 1815, Versailles 1919) has lost its legal and political relevance
- **Most wars after WW II were neither declared nor terminated by a peace agreement**

# 1.11. Historical Macrostructures and Turning Points since 1945

- Goal is to **contextualize international relations since 1945** by focusing at phases of the Cold War and turning points among phases:
  - Focus: long 20th century or the American Century that has been significantly influenced by US foreign but also domestic politics
  - Tools come from social and intellectual history
    - **Fernand Braudel**: French social historian associated with the school of the journal *Annals*: **The Mediterranean. Age of Philip II**
    - **Martin Wight**: intellectual history: **International Theory: The three traditions** (1991) in international relations of: Revolutionists (Kant), rationalists (Grotius), realists (Hobbes): foreword by H.Bull (1976)
    - **Hedley Bull (1977)**: **Anarchical Society: Study of order of world politics**: Hobbesian realist, Kantian universalist and Grotian internationalist trad.
    - **Kalevi Holsti (1991)**: **Peace and War: Armed conflict and international order 1648-1989**

# 2. British School, French Structural History and American Century

- **English School:** Three traditions of politics and security: Martin Wight and Hedley Bull (LSE)
  - Hobbes, Grotius, Kant
- **French School of Social History:** Annales/Fern. Braudel
  - History of long durations
  - History of medium durations (cycles, conjunctures)
  - History of short duration (historical events)
- **Thesis: All transformation of modern European History of world order were an outgrowth of major wars and revolutions**
  - Vienna 1815: Napoleonic wars
  - **Versailles 1919:** World War I
  - **San Francisco 1945:** World War II
  - **Berlin 1989/Paris 1990:** Peaceful transition in modern history
- **Conceptual Leadership Role of USA since 1917**
  - 1917-1919: Wilson: make the world safe for democracy, League
  - 1940-1950: From Isolationism to Internationalism: clear design
  - 1950-1989: Cold War: US conceptual & political dominance
  - 1989-1990: Lack of Vision & Design: Victims of Cold War thinking

## 2.1. English School: Three traditions

- **Wikipedia:** The English School of international relations theory, also known as Liberal Realism, the LSE School, the International Society school or the British institutionalists, maintains that there is a 'society of states' at the international level, despite the condition of 'anarchy' (literally the lack of a ruler or world state). The English School is a fundamentally constructivist theory, emphasizing the non-deterministic nature of anarchy in international affairs. However, it also draws heavily from functionalism and realism



## 2.2. The Three Traditions

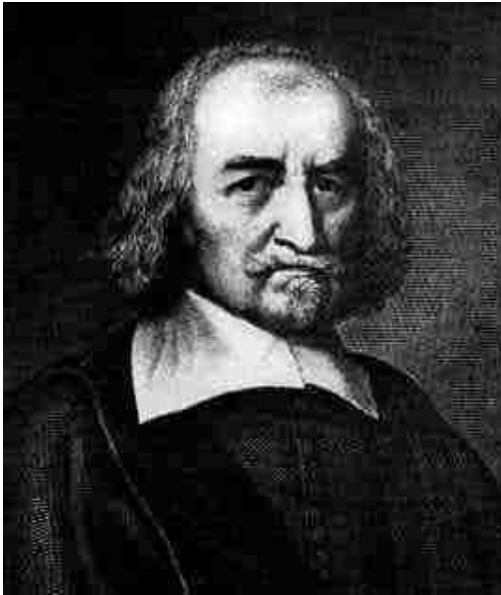
- Focus on ideas that animate key institutions that regulate international relations: war, great powers, balance of power, international law,
- There are differing accounts, within the school, concerning the evolution of those ideas, some (like Martin Wight) arguing their origins can be found in the remnants of medieval conceptions of *societas Christiana*, and others such as Hedley Bull, in the concerns of sovereign states to safeguard and promote basic goals, especially their survival.
- Most English School understandings of international society blend these two together, maintaining that the **contemporary society of states** is partly the product of a **common civilization** - Christian world of medieval Europe, and of Roman Empire - and partly that of a kind of Lockean contract.

### Reexamination of traditional approaches

- English School of thought deals with examination of traditional international theory, casting it (Martin Wight in his 1950s-era lectures at the London School of Economics) into three divisions :
  - Realist (or Hobbesian, after Thomas Hobbes)
  - Rationalist (or Grotian, after Hugo Grotius)
  - Revolutionist (or Kantian, after Immanuel Kant).
- English School itself has supported the rationalist or Grotian tradition, seeking a middle way (or *via media*) between the 'power politics' and 'utopianism'.

## 2.3. Three Ideal Type Worldviews

### English School: Hobbes, Grotius & Kant



Hobbes (1588-1679)

Grotius (1583-1645)

Kant (1724-1804)

**Security perceptions depend on worldviews or traditions**

- ❖ **Hobbessian pessimist:** *power* is the key category (narrow concept)
- ❖ **Grotian pragmatist:** *cooperation* is vital (wide security concept)
- ❖ **Kantian optimist:** *international law* and *human rights* are crucial



## 2.4. Braudel: Mediterranean: 3 Times: geographical, social, individual times

- **Histoire des structures: history of long duration**
  - Men in its relationship to the environment, all change slow, constant repetition, timeless history, man's contact with the inanimate
  - **My interpretation: interaction between the Earth and Human System**
  - Transition in geological time: **from Holocene (last 12.000 years) to Anthropocene** (since Industrial Revolution: 1750/1784, especially 1945)
- **histoire des conjonctures: social and economic history**
  - Slow but perceptible rhythms: social history, history of groups and groupings (object: economic systems, states, societies, civilizations, deep-seated forces at work in the complex arena of warfare)
  - **My interpretation: phases of international order & security systems**
- **histoire d'événements: Political history of events:**
  - Traditional history: history of individual men, history of events: surface disturbances, brief, rapid, nervous fluctuations; dimensions of anger
  - **My interpretation: conflicts & peace settlements**

# 2.5. Transformations of international order in modern history since 1789

- Thesis: All transformation of modern European History: results of major wars and revolutions: h. de conjonctures
  - **Vienna 1815:** Napoleonic wars produced the order of the European Concert of Vienna that lasted until 1914
    - Key actors different visions: Tsar Alexander, Prince von Metternich; Viscount Castlereagh, Prince Talleyrand
  - **Versailles 1919:** After World War I & Russian Revolution: first collective security system: League of Nations
    - Woodrow Wilson: Kantian universalist: Eternal Peace (1795)
    - Lloyd George: Grotian pragmatist
    - Clemenceau: Hobbesian pessimist
  - **Yalta/San Francisco:** After world War II: United Nations
    - F.D. Roosevelt (US, Kantian/Grotian)
    - W. Churchill (UK, Grotian/Hobbesian)
    - J. Stalin (USSR, Machiavellian realist)

## **2.6. Tragedy of Versailles: Three Competing Visions**

- Woodrow Wilson’s Kantian Approach: 3 definite Articles of Kant’s Treatise on Eternal Peace (1795)**
  - Collective Security: Founding of League of Nations**
  - System of Rule: Republican: Democracy Promotion**
  - Cosmopolitan Law: Human Rights**
- Lloyd George’s Grotian Pragmatism: Maintaining the British Empire: Balance of Power**
- Clemenceau’s Hobbesian Pessimism: Security Guarantee & the German Trauma: 1870, 1914**

# 2.7. From Atlantic Charter (1941) to Yalta and San Francisco (1945)

- **US postwar planning started in 1939 in State & War Department, Council of Foreign Relations, Committee for Economic Development**
  - Atlantic Charta (1941); Churchill & Roosevelt
  - Four Power Declaration (30.10.1943): US, UK, USSR, China
  - Chapultepec: Chapter VIII: regional arrangements & Agencies
  - Yalta: United Nations (agreement), San Francisco (adoption)
- **Key architects: different philosophies or visions of international order:**
  - **Roosevelt:** revised Wilsonianism: 4 world policemen (Security Council)
  - **Churchill:** maintain British empire, regional perspective, balance of power
  - **Stalin:** security through expansion

## **Roosevelt's price to get Stalin's support at Yalta (Feb. 1945):**

- Veto power at the Security Council for permanent members
- This paralyzed the collective security system from the outset.

## 2.8. Security Systems of UN Charter

**UN Charter distinguished three security systems:**

- a **universal system of collective security** (Chapters VI) peaceful settlement of disputes (Art. 33-38); (Chap.VII) on “Action with respect to threats to the peace, breaches to the peace and acts of aggression” (Art. 39-50);
- **“regional arrangements or agencies”**: regional security issues (Chap. VIII; Art. 52-54), Arab League (1945), and the CSCE/OSCE (1975, 1992);
- a right of **“individual or collective self-defence”** (Chap. VII, Art. 51): WEU, NATO, Warsaw Pact

Roosevelt’s interest in bipartisanship (Sen. Vandenberg, Republican member of US negotiation team)

## 2.9. American Role in These Transformations

- **Vienna:** US an outsider, ransacked by British in 1823
- **WW I & Versailles:** key economic and military power that called for a transformation of international order: Versailles Treaty and security guarantees for France
  - **Tension:** internationalist leader and isolationist population and US Congress; victim of domestic politics (domestic pol.)
- **WW II: emergence as a military, economic, cultural ideological superpower with a willingness to lead.**
  - **Bipartisanship:** Republican internationalists (Vandenberg) vs. isolationists (Taft): for small government, military establ.
- **US had clear goals (world leadership role), vision, plans of international order (institutions: Bretton Woods (WB, IMF) and UN System (consensus and means for domestic implementation))**



# **3. Security Design: From the League of Nations to United Nations**

- **System collapsed:**
  - Wilson's failure in the U.S. Senate
  - Exclusion: Soviet Union and Germany
  - Revisionism: Japan (1931), Italy (1935), Germany (1938)
- **Learning from Versailles: security with teeth**
  - Planning for Postwar order in US started in 1939
  - Roosevelt's vision of the Four World Policemen
  - US Debate: Collective Security vs. Collective Self Defence: Vandenberg compromise (Art. 51)
  - Global vs. Regional Collective Security (chapter VIII)
  - Three security systems facing post world war II world

# 4. What was Cold War?

- **What was the Cold War? Interpretations may differ due to different worldviews and mindsets of analysts/ policy-**
  - a) **A systemic competition: of two rival military, political, economic, social, cultural, ideological systems**
    - **Western, liberal, capitalist system vs. Eastern, authoritarian, socialist/communist system**
  - b) **or a power struggle between two alliances & countries:**
    - **NATO vs. Warsaw Pact, USA vs. Soviet Union**
- **When did it start?**
  - a) **1917 with the Russian Revolution: ideology, systemic rivalry**
  - b) **1945/1950: bipolar rivalry on SE Europe, Korean war**
- **When did it end?**
  - **1980: trigger: call of change from the bottom and protest by NGOs and social movements against transition to second Cold War**
    - **Solidarnosc: national and social protest**
    - **European peace movement: CED: disarmament & human rights**
  - **1985: trigger: Gorbachev's perestroika & reform from top: modernize SU**
  - **1989: year of change: different key events of peaceful change**
    - **May 1989: cutting of iron curtain**
    - **4 June 1989: Polish election**
    - **9 November 1989 with the fall of the Berlin Wall**
    - **1990/1991: dissolution of USSR & Warsaw Pact?**

# **5. Phases of the Cold War and Post Cold War (1945-2010)**

- 1) 1945-1950: transition period: maintaining the global power position with military means**
- 2) 1950-1963: Cold war: bipolar competition: high tension**
- 3) 1963-1969: Limited Détente**
- 4) 1969-1974: Détente: Nixon/Kissinger**
- 5) 1975-1979: Limited Détente: increasing tension between US-USSR; intra NATO disputes**
- 6) 1980-1985: Second Cold War: High tension**
- 7) 1985-1989: Second Détente: Gorbachev initiatives**

## **Post Cold War Era**

- 8) 1990: Year of Transformation**
- 9) 1991-1999: New Wars: Iraq, Yugoslavia, Kosovo**
- 10) 2001-2008: G.W. Bush's War on Terror: Iraq & Afghanistan: danger of globalization: violence**
- 11) 2009-: Global financial & Economic crisis: danger of globalization: structural violence to terrorism**

# 5.1. Phase 1: WWII to Cold War

**1945-1950: transition period: maintaining the global power position with military means**

- **Domestic changes: Institutionalization of the national security state**
  - **Bipartisan consensus: for US world leadership role**
  - **National Security Act; creation of DoD and CIA**
- **International changes: Triggers and intensifiers**
  - **Crisis in Greece/Turkey (1946/1947)**
  - **Morgenthau vs. Marshall Plan: punishment vs. integration of Germany**
  - **Berlin Crisis (1948-1949)**
  - **Creation of WEU (1948) & NATO (1949), Lord Ismay, Nato SG: Tasks of NATO: keep Russians out, Americans in, Germans down**
- **Conceptual debates within State Department**
  - **George Kennan (Mr. X): ideological, economic & polit. Containment of SU**
  - **Paul Nitze: drafter of NSC-68 January 1950: US strategic leadership role requires quadrupling of US defence expenditure: 12-50 Bn. \$**
  - **Turning point: Korean War: formal: collective defines operation of GA**

# **5.2. Cold War (1950-1963)**

**Cold war: bipolar competition: high tension**

## **Conflicts**

- **Korean war. Triggered arms race: US-USSR, NATO-WTO**
- **Wars of independence: against colonial powers (UK, F, B,**
- **Against Soviet Rule: GDR, Hungary**
- **Suez (1956) and Vietnam conflict (1958-1975)**
- **Third world conflicts: proxy and non-proxy wars**

## **Crises:**

- **Cuban missile crisis (1962): brink of world War III**

## **Triggers and possible turning points**

- **1952: death of Stalin: missed opportunity**
- **1955: Geneva: Austrian unification, peace treaty**
- **1963: Limited Test Ban Treaty (Arms control, crisis management)**

**Cooperation: Antarctic Treaty (1959)**

## **5.3. 1963-1969: Limited Détente**

- **Goal: Reduction of probability of an unintended nuclear war & functional economic cooperation**
- **Ongoing conflicts and crises:**
  - **USA vs. Dominican Republic (1965)**
  - **US war in Vietnam (1961-1975)**
  - **USSR: intervention into CSSR (1968)**
- **Three issue areas of cooperation**
  - **Arms control:**
    - **Limited Test Ban Treaty (1963)**
    - **Tlatelolco Treaty (1967)**
    - **Outer Space Treaty (1967)**
    - **Nonproliferation Treaty (1968)**
  - **Crisis management:**
    - **Hot wire (direct communication link between White House/Kremlin)**
  - **Confidence-building, humanitarian law, human rights: none**
- **Turning points: Cuban Missile Crisis, new US president**

# **5.4. 1969-1974: US-Soviet Détente: Nixon/Kissinger**

- **Ongoing conflicts and crises:**
  - US war in Vietnam, Kampuchea, Laos
  - Angola (Cuba)
- **Three issue areas of cooperation (bilateral/multilateral)**
  - **Disarmament: Biological Weapons Convention (1972)**
  - **Arms control:**
    - SALT I and ABM Treaty (1972)
  - **Crisis management:**
    - Improved communication link
    - Agreement on nuclear accidents
    - Nuclear war (1972)
  - **Confidence-building, humanitarian law, human rights: none**
- **Turning points: Nixon presidency (1969-1974)**
  - Detente with USSR and China
  - German „Ostpolitik“ treaties: Moscow, Warsaw (1970), Berlin (1972)

## **5.5. 1975-1979: Limited Détente: increasing tension between US-USSR; NATO disputes**

- **Different periodization:**
  - US-USSR (deteriorating, new tension) and in Europe (continues)
- **Ongoing conflicts and crises:**
  - US war in Vietnam, Kampuchea, Laos
  - Regional conflicts in the Third World
- **Three issue areas of cooperation (bilateral/multilateral)**
  - **Disarmament and arms control:**
    - SALT II (1979): Treaty not ratified
  - **Crisis management:**
  - **Confidence-building, humanitarian law, human rights:**
    - Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe ( Helsinki, 1975)
    - Follow up in Belgrade (1978)
- **Turning points:**
  - 12.12.1979: NATO's INF Decision
  - 27.12.1979: Soviet intervention into Afghanistan



# 5.6. 1980-1985: Second Cold War

## •Ongoing conflicts and crises:

- US military involvement in Lebanon, Grenada (1983-9)
- USSR in Afghanistan (1979-1989)

## •Three issue areas of cooperation (bilateral/multilateral)

- Disarmament: CCD negotiations
  - Raratonga NWFZ (1986)
  - Arms control:
    - START and INF negotiations: no agreement
- Crisis management:
- Confidence-building, humanitarian law, human rights:
  - Convention on certain conventional weapons (1981)
  - Madrid follow-up of CSCE (1980-1983)

## •Turning points:

- USSR: in Afghanistan
- Gorbachev: now Soviet party leader and president

# 5.7. Second Detente (1985-1989)

- **Ongoing conflicts and crises:**
  - USSR in Afghanistan (1979-1989): ended
- **Three issue areas of cooperation (bilateral/multilateral)**
  - Disarmament: CCD negotiations
  - Arms control:
    - **INF treaty (1987)**
  - Crisis Management:
    - US-soviet Centres for the reduction of nuclear risks
  - Confidence-building, humanitarian law, human rights:
    - Stockholm Agreement on CSBM (1986)
    - Vienna follow-up of CSCE (1987-1989)
- **Turning points: End of the Cold War**
  - Symbolic: 9 November 1989: Fall of the Berlin Wall
  - First peaceful change of international order in modern history

# 5.8. 1990: Year of Transformation

- **Ongoing conflicts and crises:**
  - Crises in Yugoslavia
  - Iraq attack on Kuwait and occupation of oil wells
- **Three issue areas of cooperation (bilateral/multilateral)**
  - **Disarmament: CCD negotiations**
  - **Arms control:**
    - CFE Treaty (1990)
  - **Crisis management:**
  - **Confidence-building, humanitarian law, human rights:**
    - Vienna Document (1990)
- **Turning points:**
  - **Peaceful transition: GDR, P, CSSR, H, B, R, A**
  - **Preparation of war against Iraq**
  - Reunification of Germany (1990), EU enlargement (2004, 2008)

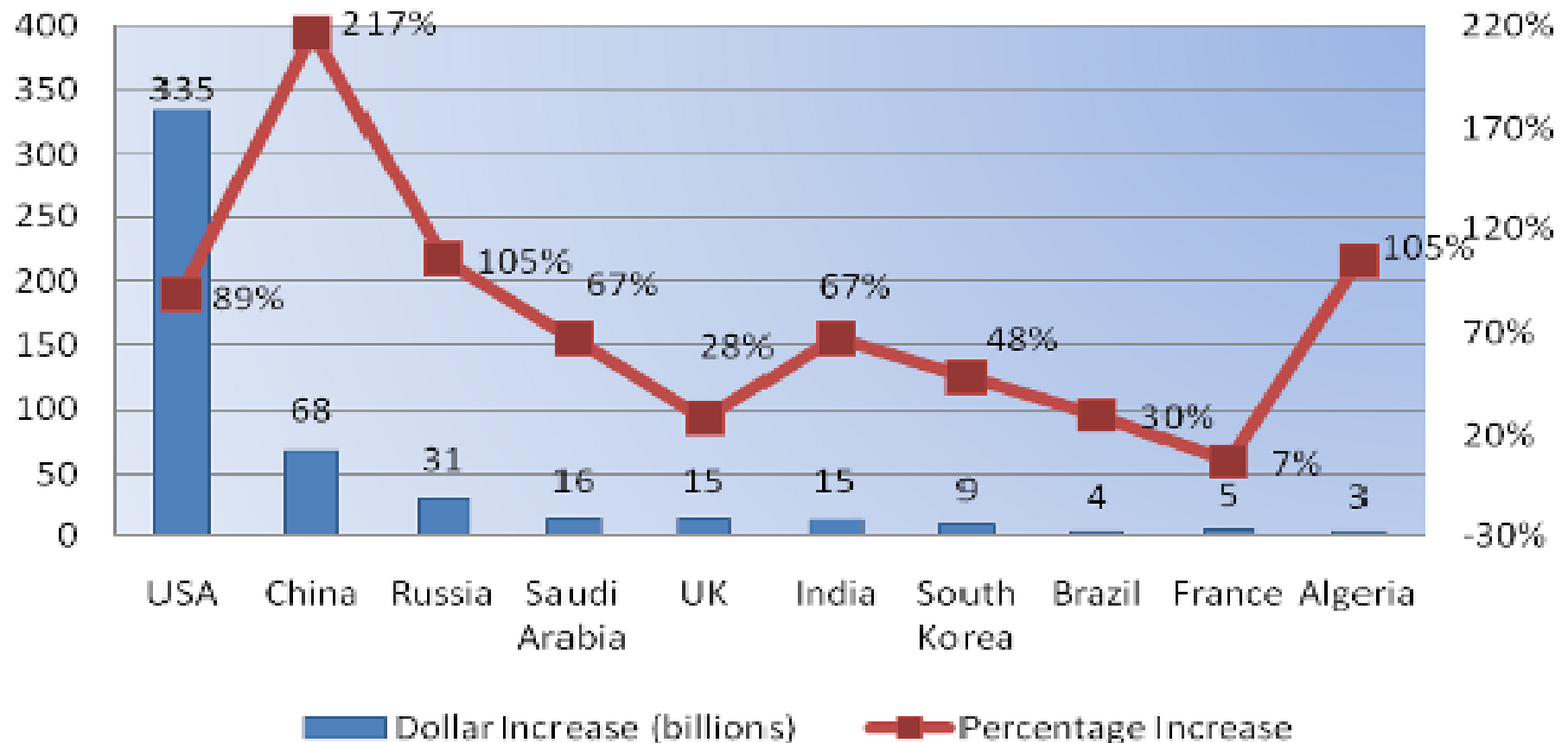
# 5.9. 1991-2000: New Wars: Iraq, Yugoslavia, Kosovo

- **Ongoing conflicts and crises:**
  - UN-endorsed War against Iraq (1991)
  - Wars in Yugoslavia (1991: Serbia vs. Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia/Hercegovina)
  - Conflicts in the Caucasus: Russia, Armenia/Azerbaijan, Georgia
  - Peaceful separation of CSSR into Czech and Slovak
  - Increasing terrorist incidents (e.g. Kenya 1998)
- **Three issue areas of cooperation (bilateral/multilateral)**
  - **Disarmament: CCD negotiations**
    - CWC (1993)
    - CFE 1A (1992)
    - Ottawa Anti-personnel Mine Convention (1997)
  - **Arms control:**
    - START I (1991) START II (1993)
    - NWFZ in Africa (1995) and South East Asia (1996)
  - **Crisis management:**
  - **Confidence-building, humanitarian law, human rights:**
    - CSCE: Vienna (1992), Budapest (1994), Lisbon (1995), Istanbul Declaration (1999)
- **Turning points:**
  - War against Iraq
  - War against Yugoslavia (Bosnia (1996), Kosovo (1999))

# **5.10. 2001-2008: G.W. Bush's War on Terror: Iraq & Afghanistan: globalization & violence**

- **9 September 2001: Al Qaida attack on symbols of US power: New York (WTC) & Washington (Pentagon): personal violence -> terrorism against persons & objects**
- **NATO: first declaration of commitment of allies**
  - 2001-now: US lead war in Afghanistan against Al Qaida/Taliban
- **US-led war against Iraq (2003)**
- **Unilateral withdrawal from Arms Control Treaties**
  - **ABM-Treaty**
  - **Build-up of missile defence system (against Iran in Poland and in Czech Republic)**
- **New national security strategy: end of multilateralism**
  - From threat-based to capability based defence (QDR 2001, NSS 2002)
  - Massive military build-up
  - **Dominant Role of Cold War Mindset (VP Cheney, DoD Rumsfeld)**

## Military Expenditure Increase, 2000-2009, selected countries



Source: SIPRI Military Expenditure Database, Accessed July 2010  
(US figures from Center for Arms Control and Non-Proliferation, May 2010)

# 5.12. Military Spending (2000-2009)

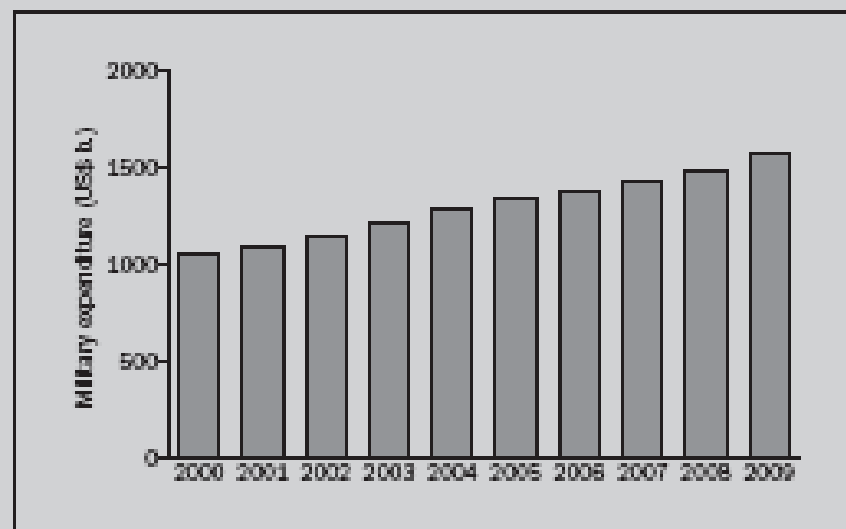
*The top 10 military spenders, 2009*

Rank	Country	Spending (\$b.)	World share (%)
1	USA	661	43
2	China	[100]	[6.6]
3	France	63.9	4.2
4	UK	58.3	3.8
5	Russia	[53.3]	[3.5]
6	Japan	51.0	3.3
7	Germany	45.6	3.0
8	Saudi Arabia	41.3	2.7
9	India	36.3	2.4
10	Italy	35.8	2.3
<b>World total</b>		<b>1 531</b>	

[ ] = SIPRI estimate. The spending figures are in current (2009) US dollars.

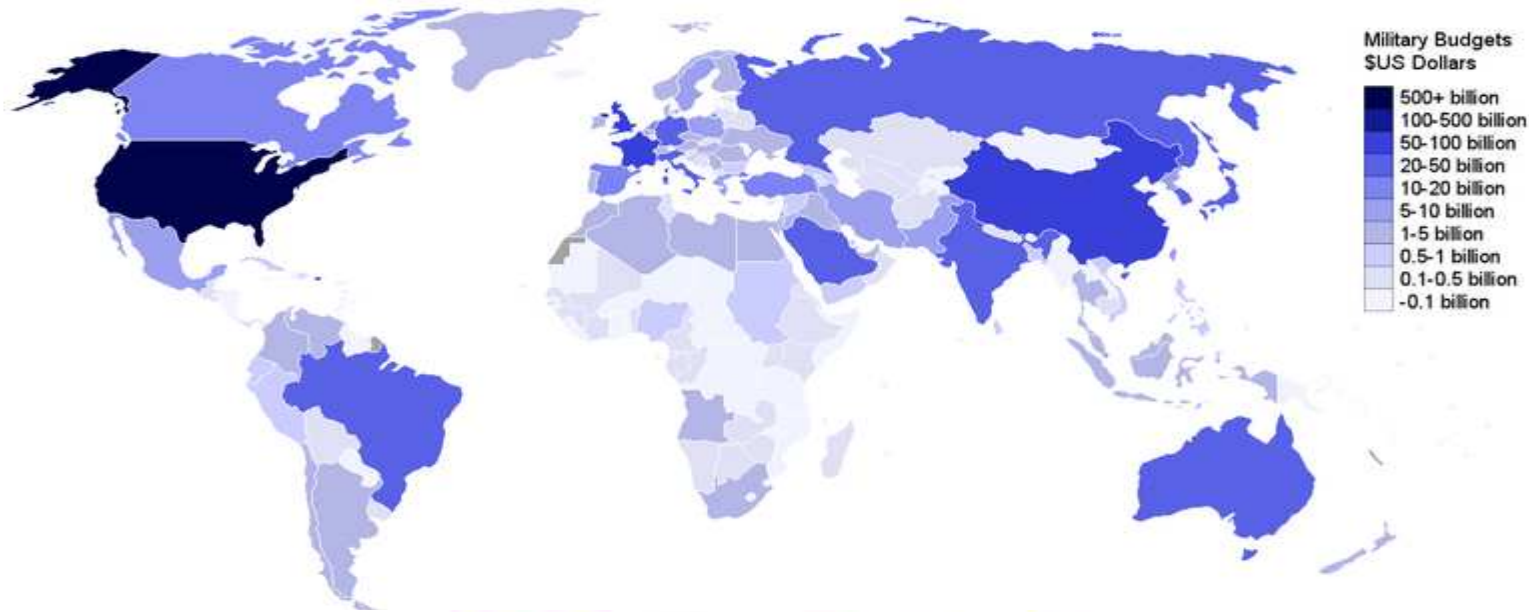
**MILITARY EXPENDITURE, 2009**

*Military expenditure, 2000-2009*

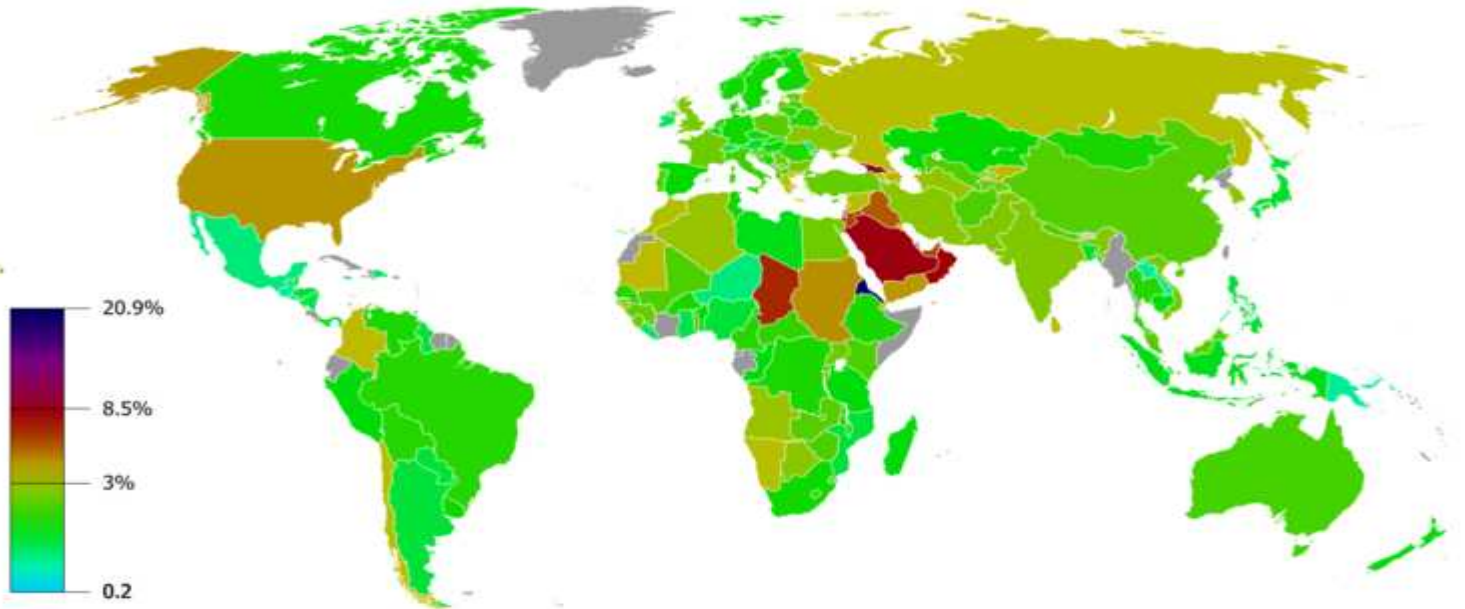


To allow comparison over time, the figures in the bar chart are in US dollars at constant (2008) prices.

# 5.13. Topical World Military Expenditure (2008-9)



Military  
Expenditure  
By Country  
Source:  
SIPRI  
(wikipedia)



Military  
expenditure  
by GDP  
Source:  
SIPRI  
(wikipedia)



# 5.14. Since 2008: Global Financial & Economic Crisis: globalization & structural terrorism

New turning point: simultaneous & interrelated crises :

- **Economic crises:** financial & economic crisis since 1929, collapse of banks, insurance companies in industrialized and emerging countries, destruction of economic wealth, drop of GDP, increased unemployment, decline of remittances of migrants.
- **Population Growth:** World population has tripled during the 20th century: 2 to 6 billion projected to grow to 9 billion (2050). Most of the growth in developing countries,.
- **Climate Change:** global average temperature is projected to rise 1.1 - 6.4°C by 2100, increase of 2°C is virtually certain, of 4°C may be probable and of 6°C is possible; sea-level may rise between 18 cm and 2.4 metres. Precipitation to change significantly ;. Climate related hazards, (droughts, storms, floods) increase in number and intensity.
- **Water Security:** During the 20th century population tripled and water consumption increased six fold. Many countries are experiencing water crises: growing water scarcity, declining precipitation and overexploitation of aquifers..
- **Food Crises:** In October 2008 the food crises was extremely alarming in many developing countries; may be severe until 2050 and 2100.growing demand and declining supply.

Interaction of these factors may result in extreme societal outcomes with severe consequences for human, communal, national & international as well as for environmental, societal, economic, political and military security.

Result of economic globalization: **structural violence or terrorism**

# 6. Reasons for End of the Cold War

Perception of end of Cold War differ according to worldview. For realists U.S. military superiority provoked the implosion of USSR, for liberals détente contributed to accommodation, and for cognitive psychologists cooperation facilitated a change in perceptions of a new generation of Soviet leaders

– **Hobbesian pessimist: Power mattered:**

- Anderson: Western victory: US military superiority
- Shultz: US technological superiority: IT revolution

– **Grotian pragmatist: Soviet Learning (Perestroika) and breaking out of the Cold War logic and of Bipolar MAD doctrine (e.g. Thomas Risse et al.)**

- Reform from the top: Soviet leadership (Perestroika): goal modernize USSR by reducing costs of military engagement
  - Non-offensive defence
  - Confidence building measures
  - disarmament
- Reform expectation from bottom: Poland, Hungary, GDR
  - Many future leaders were involved in trade unions, peace, disarmament, human rights and ecological movements during 1980s.

# **7. Conceptual Pillars of 60 Years of Peace in Europe Mitrany, Marshall, Monnet, Gorbachev**

**1: Result of realistic visions & plans of post Cold War order & of integration of Germany**

**2: Conceptual ideas & institutional reforms mattered**

**3: Conceptual ideas of four visionaries made difference who put their concepts on policy agenda at the right historical moment (using unique opportunities)**

- **David Mitrany's: Working Peace System (1944): functionalist vision: form follows function**
- **Morgenthau vs. George F. Marshall: (Biddle/Hoffmann): From Punishment to integration of Germany (Marshall plan)**
- **Monnet's Realist Vision and the Schuman Plan: Implementing**
- **Gorbachev's Perestroika: New Thinking and the Peaceful Transition**



## 7.1. Pillar 1: David Mitrany's Functionalist Concept of a Working Peace System

- For David Mitrany (1943), functionalism is concerned with ways of creating ... a working peace system. It involves a diagnosis of problems of disorder in international society and a prescription for ways of shaping a better world.
- Functionally oriented transboundary cooperation in international organizations and the non-political problem solution by experts has survived crises and has often contributed to confidence building processes. Functionalists argue: no need for a fixed constitution written in advance because the framework is developed and modified as the function being fulfilled changes.
- Functionalists argue that a 'working peace system' will evolve that will tend to diminish conflict by allowing cross-cutting loyalties, by developing superordinate goals, by removing barriers to intercourse and by creating a sense of security through fulfilling a necessary function than through a threat system.
- Functionalist organization should start from spheres where welfare is maximized through transnational cooperation; domain of legitimized politics gradually expands while that of power politics gradually contracts"



## 7.2. Pillar 2: George Marshall's Concept of Conditionalized Aid

- Idea of the Marshall Plan was developed in 1944 in a report of the Committee of Economic Development (CED) in New York (drafted by Mr. Biddle for businessmen Paul Hoffmann, chair).
- Counter to Morgenthau's proposals in 1944 to FDR for dealing with Germany
- Idea: not to punish the aggressor but to use conditionalized economic aid as a tool to open markets, to foster cooperation among those who won and lost World War II,
- build a common institution, *Organization for European Economic Cooperation* (OEEC) that became the *Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development* (OECD). The Cold War offered the legitimacy for its approval in the U.S. Congress.
- Soviet threat & U.S. terms for cooperation resulted in integration of West Germany into the West and created favourable preconditions for European cooperation and integration
- Hoffmann became Administrator of OEEC, Biddle his advisor



## 7.3. Pillar 3: Jean Monnet's concept of functional institution-building

- Jean Monnet was the deputy secretary general of the League of Nations (1919-23), in 1940 he headed the French-British coordination committee, from 1940-1943 he was in the U.S. contributing to the U.S. post-war conversion plan, from 1943-44 he was a member of the French Resistance, from 1946-50 head of the Planning Office in Paris, from 1952-1955 he was president of the Coal and Steel Union and in 1955 he founded the Action Committee for the United States of Europe.:
- **Jean Monnet was most successful political visionary of 20th century whose ideas fundamentally changed French-German relations after World War II. Monnet became the intellectual founding father of the European Union.**
- In 1950, Monnet developed the Schuman Plan for a European Coal and Steel Community. He believed “that by altering the conditions under which people lived they would necessarily adapt to the new reality.” He believed that new ideas “should be advanced at moments when the contradictions of the *status quo* forced political leaders to question their own assumptions”.
- Monnet had the political instinct to fundamentally transform the political thinking in France and Germany. His ideas became instrumental for the building of lasting structures of supranational cooperation



## 7.4. Pillar 4: Mikhail Gorbachev's 'new thinking' to end deterrence syndrome

- For Garthoff “the decisive factor in the end of the Cold War was a change in beliefs”, where “Soviet leaders could discard a long-encrusted and familiar ideology only because of a powerful transformation in the way Gorbachev and some colleagues perceived reality, and because they were ready to adapt domestic and foreign policies to the new perception. ...
- **The ‘new thinking’ ... facilitated a learning process, as past failures prompted re-thinking and new approaches.”**
- For cognitive psychologists cooperation “created favourable conditions for ideas ... which offered a way out of this predicament by influencing the values, goals & perceptions of a new class of Soviet leaders” & “values, norms, and ideas matter in international relations, that they have tremendous potential for bringing about fundamental change in world politics”
- Research on end of East-West conflict concluded: a set of old mindsets prevented many decision makers in the West from recognizing fundamental changes of Gorbachev's ‘new thinking’

## 7.5. Four Conceptual Visions of Peace

- These four ideas of Mitrany (UK), Marshall (USA), Monnet (France) developed during World War II, in the early Cold War, and during the Korean War, as well as of Gorbachev (Soviet Union) that emerged during a period of stagnation in the Soviet Union, changed the perception of reality and thus enabled fundamental changes of the political context.
- The political ideas and concepts behind the Marshal Plan by the liberal U.S. business community were to create an open international market but also to overcome proposals to punish and humiliate Germany thus trying to avoid a repetition of Versailles and enabled a transformation of a former enemy into a close partner.
- The conceptual ideas of Mitrany and Monnet outlined the functionalist cooperation (*form follows function*) and federalist concepts (*function follows form*) that contributed to emergence of the European Union.
- Gorbachev and his advisers tried to overcome the logic of the 'Hobbesian fear' behind the thinking on deterrence.



# **8. 1990: Lack of Visions, Plans & Will**

- **Change was not predicted by intelligence services and social scientists (prediction gap due to linear thinking)**
- **There was no serious and long-term post cold war planning (compared to US during after WW II)**
- **No design of a New International Order**
  - **No new security design:**
    - **1991-1992: shift from NATO to OSCE (Helsinki 1992): legitimacy**
    - **With wars in Yugoslavia and failure of UN and OSCE to solve these conflicts, return to military force: from UN/OSCE to NATO: power, capabilities**
  - **Persistence of institutional thinking and roles: NATO enlargement**
- **No Peace Dividend: no major build-down of military establishments: shift from procurement to weapons innovation (1990's) and increased arms exports**

# 8.1. Achievements:

## Reunification of Germany and Europe

**1990: Fear & concern in UK (PM Thatcher) and France (President Mitterrand) on power of a reunited Germany**

**US Leadership (G. Bush, NSC chairman: using opportunity for unification & disarmament in Europe)**

**Chancellor Helmut Kohl: used opportunity & compromise**

**Achievements: Peaceful change**

- 12.9.1990: 2 + 4 Treaty, 3.10.1990: unification
- Major disarmament in Germany (of armies of both German states and reduction of stationed allied military forces)
  - Common currency system: Euro to neutralize the power of Bundesbank
  - Preparation of enlargement: monitoring democratic transformations
- Deal: Kohl/Mitterrand: widening & deepening of EU
- Using prospect EU membership as a pacifier: carrot & stick
  - Balladour plan (Hungarian minorities)
  - OSCE (minority, human rights representative) Baltic countries

## 8.2. Missed Opportunities

- **Sending of wrong political signals:**
  - US Ambassador to Iraq in summer of 1990
  - EU: no offer of EU membership prospect for Yugoslavia
    - Germany: early recognition of Croatia & Slovenia
    - WW II divisions & suspicions on Germany's future assertive role
- **Paris Summit November 1990: No new Versailles: Bush preparation of war of liberation for Kuwait and war against Iraq after UN ultimatum**
- **Solving the Middle East Conflict: 2 state solution**
  - Oslo process (collapse) in 2000
  - New Intifada
- **Failure to implement: CTBT & UNFCCC & CBD**
  - US domestic politics (like 1920, 1994, 1998, 2010)

# 9. A World Without Walls 2010?

## Globalization & Security

**Since 1990: competing trends of globalization**

**– Deterritorialization & deborderization:**

- Global economy: goods, services, transfers of goods and financial resources and information
- EU: deepening: removal of border controls within EU

**– Tightening of national borders against migrants**

- EU: intergovernmental policies on justice & home affairs
- FRONTEX: controlling people's movements, stopping & returning illegal migrants
- USA: building of a new wall or fence to control & prevent illegal immigration from Mexico and Latin America to US

**Both trends have security implications**

# 9.1. Deborderization & New Borders: Walls in name of security

Cutting of iron curtain,  
May  
1989



US-Mexican wall



Fall of Berlin wall, 1989



Fence: India  
& Bangladesh

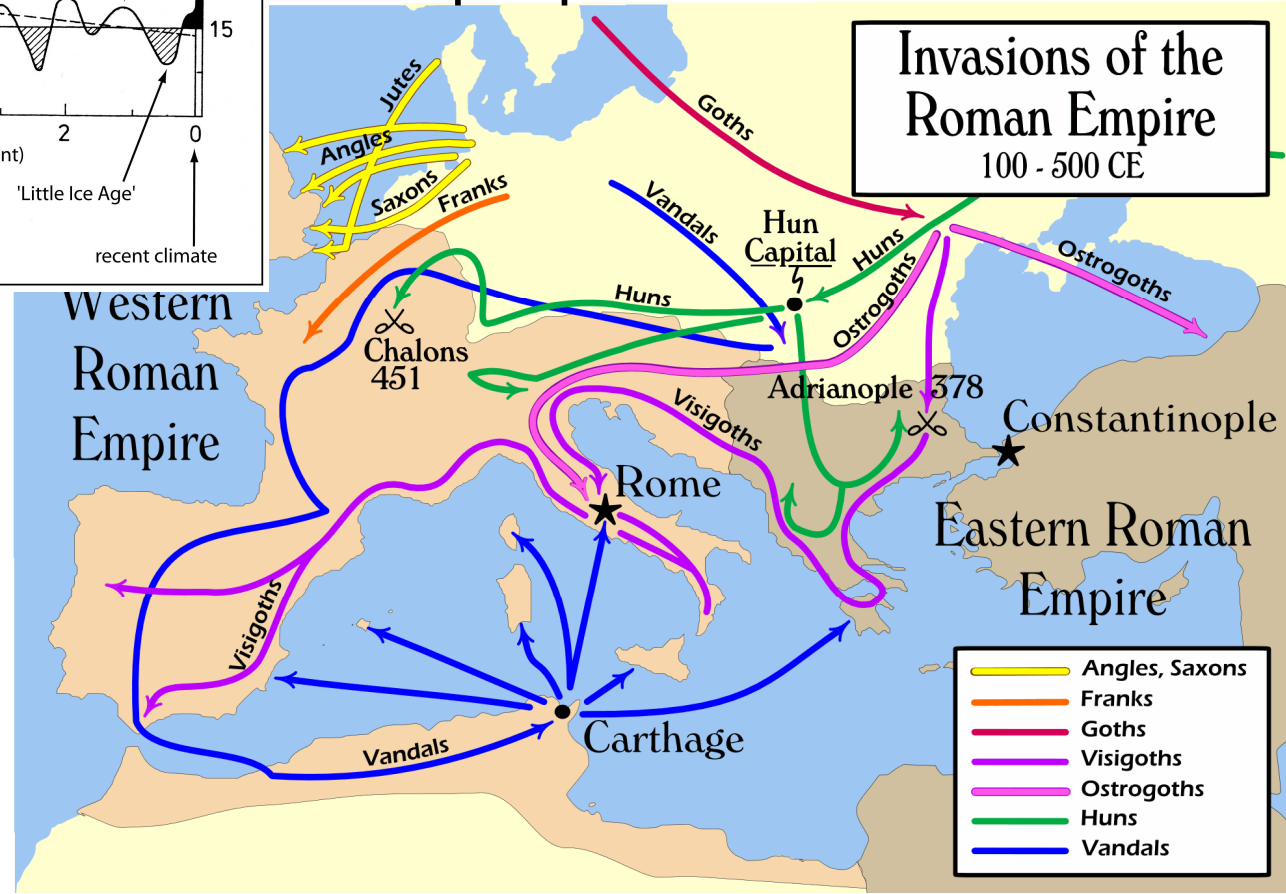
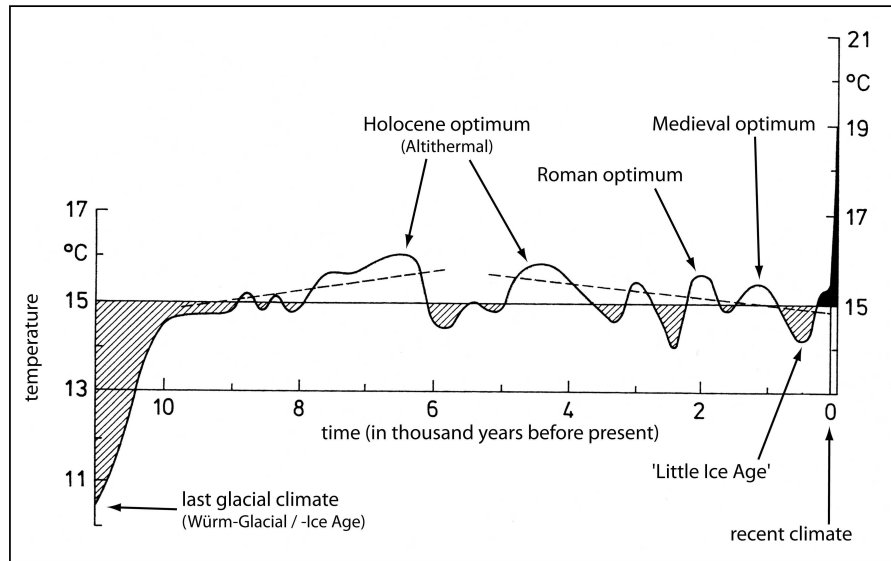


# 10. New Turning Point: From Holocene to Anthropocene?

- **Braudel: Histoire des structures: history of long duration**
  - Men in its relationship to the environment, all change slow, constant repetition, timeless history, man's contact with the inanimate
  - My interpretation: interaction between the Earth and Human System
  - Transition in geological time: from **Holocene (last 12.000 years)** to **Anthropocene** (since Industrial Revolution: 1750/1782', especially 1945)
- **Nobel laureate Paul Crutzen: has referred to a major transition of geologic time in earth history due to complex interactions between the Earth and Human System**
  - **Holocene: phase of Earth history since end of glacial period, about 12,000 years before present (BP), or 10,000 BC**
  - **During the Holocene human civilizations could develop, using nature and relying on three revolutions: agricultural, industrial, IT**
  - **Since 1784 (Watt's steam engine): Anthropocene emerged**
  - **Facing and coping with the impacts of the Anthropocene requires a new Copernican Revolution in Thinking (Paradigm shift, Kuhn)**

# 10.1. Impacts of Climate Variability: Holocene (12.000 years b.p. to 1750 AD)

End of Roman Empire: massive people's movements : 1st phase, 300-500 AD, Germanic, Turkish & other peoples.



During Holocene era both **climate pessima** (cold periods) and **changes in precipitation patterns** and long periods of **drought** were major triggers for **several phases of massive people's movements**: **in a world without borders**

## 10.2. Anthropocene



***Paul Crutzen,  
Nobel Laureate for  
Chemistry  
Max Planck Institute  
for Chemistry  
Department  
Atmospheric  
Chemistry***

- It ... is more than appropriate to emphasize the **central role of humankind in the environment by using the term ‘Anthropocene’ for the current geological epoch.** The impact of current human activities is projected to **last and even expand over long periods.** ... Because of past and future anthropogenic emissions of CO<sub>2</sub>, **climate will depart significantly from natural behaviour over the next 50,000 years....**
- To assign a more specific date to the **onset of the ‘Anthropocene’ we propose the latter part of the 18th century,** when the global effects of human activities became clearly noticeable,, which show the **beginning of a growth in the atmospheric concentrations** of several ‘greenhouse gases’, in particular **CO<sub>2</sub> and CH<sub>4</sub>.** Such a **starting date also coincides with Watt’s invention of the steam engine in 1784.**



# 10.3. IPCC: Earth and Human Systems

Schematic framework of anthropogenic climate change drivers, impacts and responses (IPCC)



## Earth System factors

- Climate change
- Soil
- Water
- Biodiversity

## Human System factors

- Population change
- Rural systems
- Urban systems
- Socio-economic cultural processes

# 10.4. Where are the Visionaries for Peace in the Anthropocene?

- **After Copenhagen (COP 15): Lack of Leadership**
  - **New Mitrany (2000) to Ban Ki Moon:** Sustainable Peace: A New Working Peace System for the Anthropocene
  - **New Marshall (2000) to President Obama:** New Marshall Plan and Global Strategy for a Sustainable Transition but at Copenhagen not even 1% of bail out costs for banks for helping third world for adaptation and mitigation!
  - **New Gorbachev (2000) to the people:** Physicists Call for a New Copernican Revolution: New Perestroika: Fourth Sustainability or Green Revolution with a Decarbonization of the Economy
  - **New Monnet (2000) to Boroso/Herman van Rompuy:** Implementing the Vision of Sustainable Transition with a Decarbonization of the Economy: Factor 4 (E.U. v. Weizsäcker) & Energetic Imperative (Scheer's Legacy)

**The security implications and my policy suggestions I will address in my second lecture: Monday, 8.11.2010**

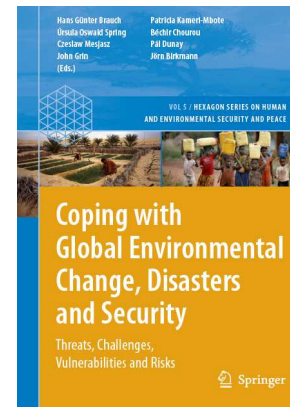
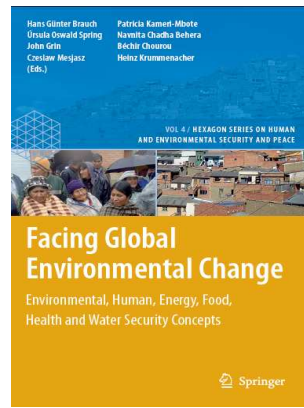
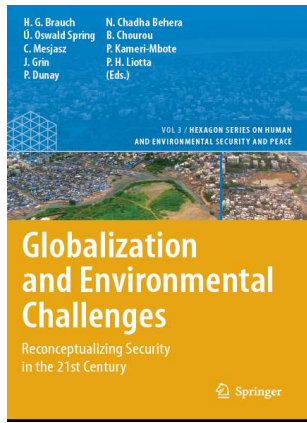


# A World Without Walls 2010:

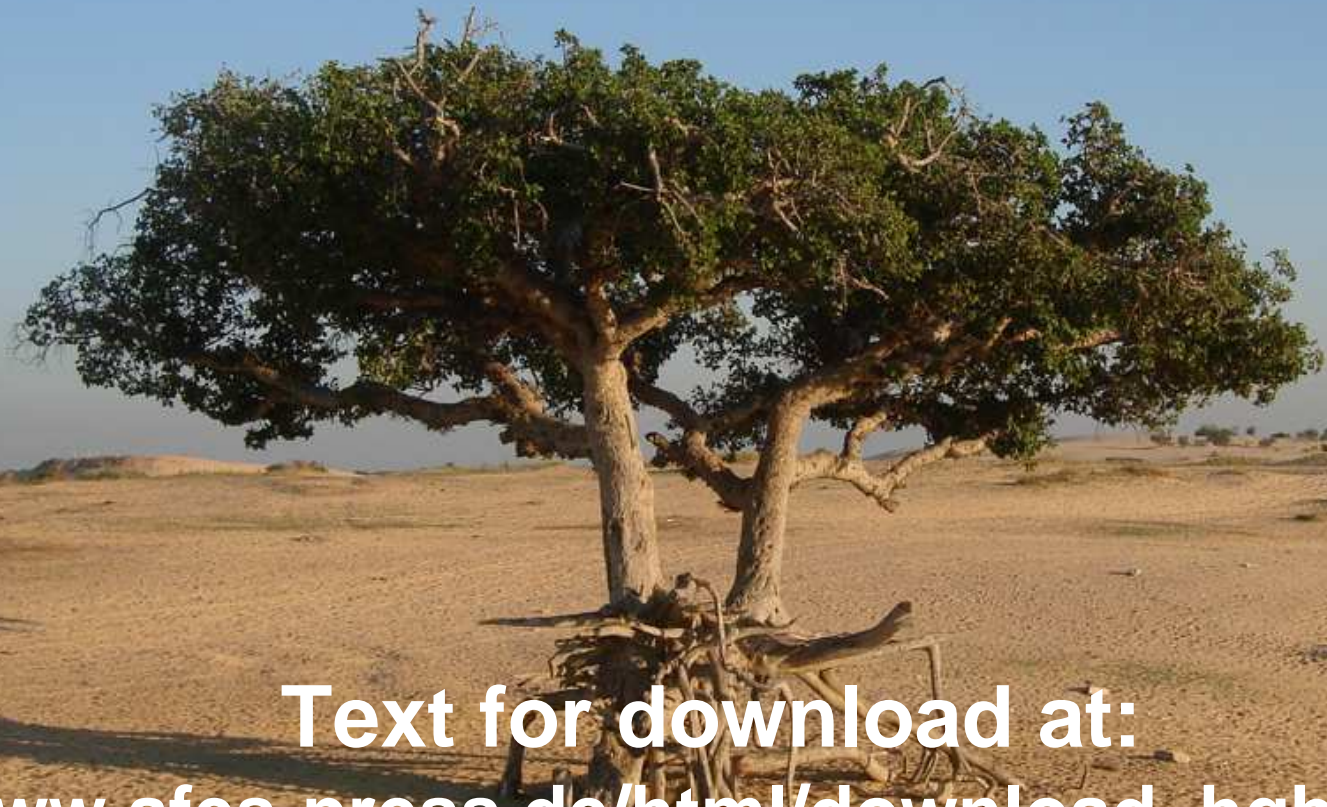
*An International Conference on Peace building, Reconciliation and Globalization in an Interdependent World*

**(Berlin, 8 November 2010 at 10.15am)**

## A Response to the Fall of the Berlin Wall: Reconceptualization of Security: Global Human and Environmental Security Handbook for the Anthropocene



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for your attention  
and patience.**



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