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# **Reconceptualization of Security in the Early 21<sup>st</sup> Century**

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# 1. Reasons for Reconceptualization of Security

**1<sup>st</sup> thesis: Three reasons triggered reconceptualization of security**

- **Protests in Poland in 1980 & End of the Cold War (symbolic: fall of the Berlin Wall, 9 November 1989)**
- **Globalization: New opportunities and threats of personal (9/11/2001) & structural violence (global financial crisis of 2008 and Euro debt crisis of 2011)**
- **Transition from the Holocene to the Anthropocene: Transition of geologic time**

**2nd thesis: Since 1994 a major shift has occurred from state-centred to people-centred human security concepts!**

# **1.1. A Classical Definition in Political Science & International Relations**

- **Arnold Wolfers (1962), realist pointed to two sides of security concept:**
- **“Security, in an objective sense, measures the absence of threats to acquired values, in a subjective sense, the absence of fear that such values will be attacked”.**
  - **Absence of “threats”:** interest of policy-makers;
  - **Absence of “fears”:** interest of social scientists;
  - **for constructivists:** Reality is socially constructed; security is what actors make of it!

## **2. Contextual Changes vs. Conceptual Innovations**

- **What has changed? Three Contextual Changes**
  - End of Cold War (1989: 11/9)
  - American Trauma (2001: 9/11)
  - Global Financial Crisis (2008 and 2011)
- **What has changed? Conceptual Innovations**
  - Objective, subjective to intersubjective security: Constructivism & Reflexivism
  - Three centres of innovation on security:
    - Copenhagen: Ole Wæver
    - Aberystwyth: Ken Booth
    - Paris: D. Bigot
  - Wæver's theory of securitization

# 2.1. Which Contextual Change?

- **1989-1991: End of the Cold War (East-West-Conflict): 9 November 1989: Fall of Berlin Wall**
  - **Widening:** from 2 to 5 security dimensions
  - **Deepening:** from national to human security
  - **Sectorialization:** energy, food, health, water security
- **11 September 2001: Increased Vulnerability of U.S.**
  - **G.W. Bush: Shrinking on** weapons of mass destruction, terrorists
  - **Transatlantic dispute on goals: Terrorism vs. Climate Change**
  - **B. Obama: Widening:** multilateralism, hard & soft security issues
- **2008, 2011: Economic crises: social vulnerability**
  - **Crises, Globalization:** high economic & social vulnerability
  - **Economic & financial insecurity:** increase in food insecurity, poverty: food price protests, hunger riots

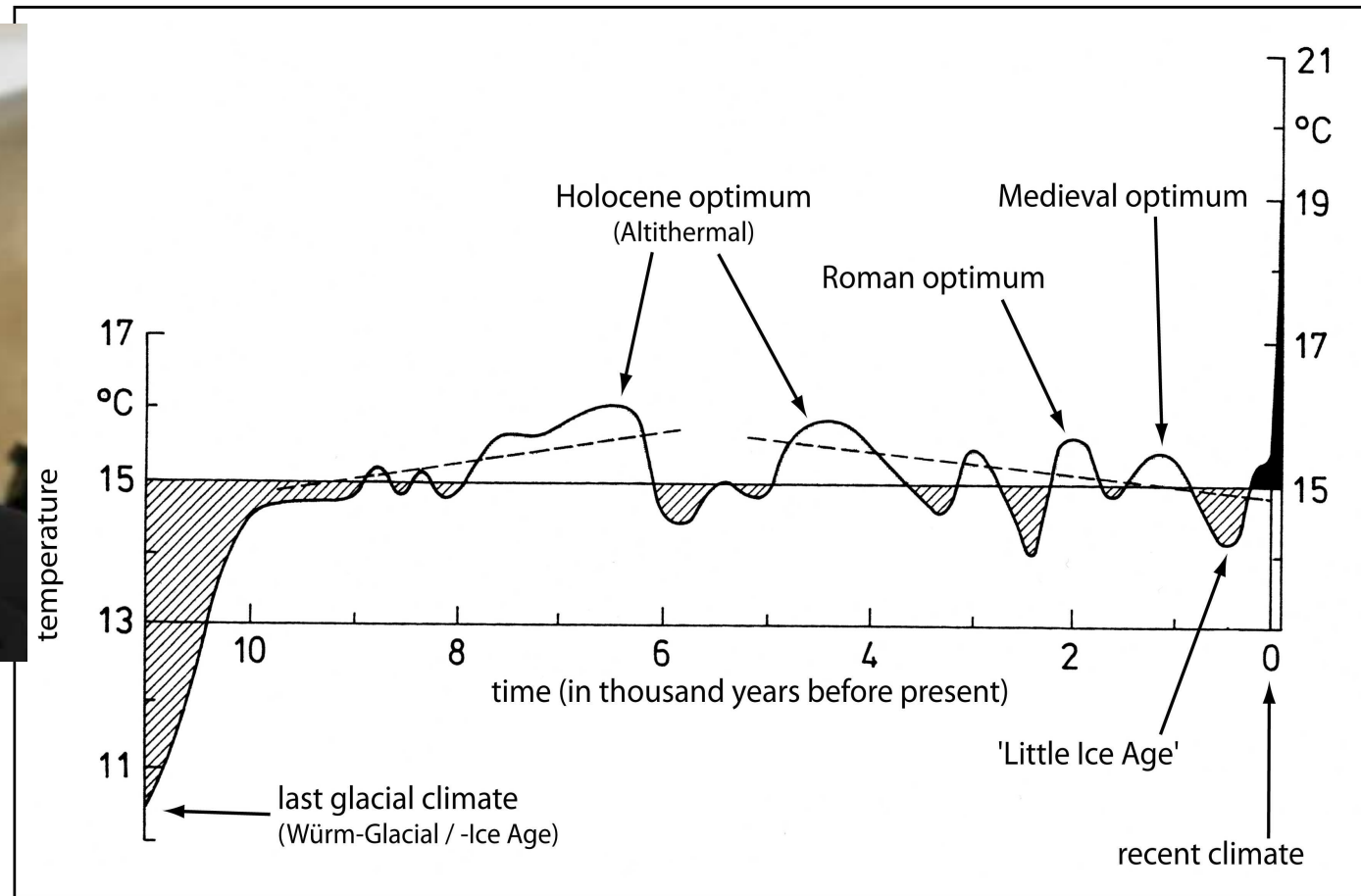
## 2.2. Globalization: Terrorism, Drugs, Global Financial Crisis

- **Globalization: new actors and processes**
  - Non-state actors: terrorists, organized crime (trafficking of humans, drugs, weapons etc.)
  - Uncontrolled financial flows and speculation:
  - 2008/2009: Global Financial and Economic Crisis
- **Change from Holocene to Anthropocene**
  - **Global Environmental Change:** global climate change, transformation of the security threat: from „them“ to „us“, „we are the threat & victim“ but both are not identical: requires global equitable solutions

## 2.3. From the **Holocene** (12.000 years b.p.) to the **Anthropocene** (1784 AD)



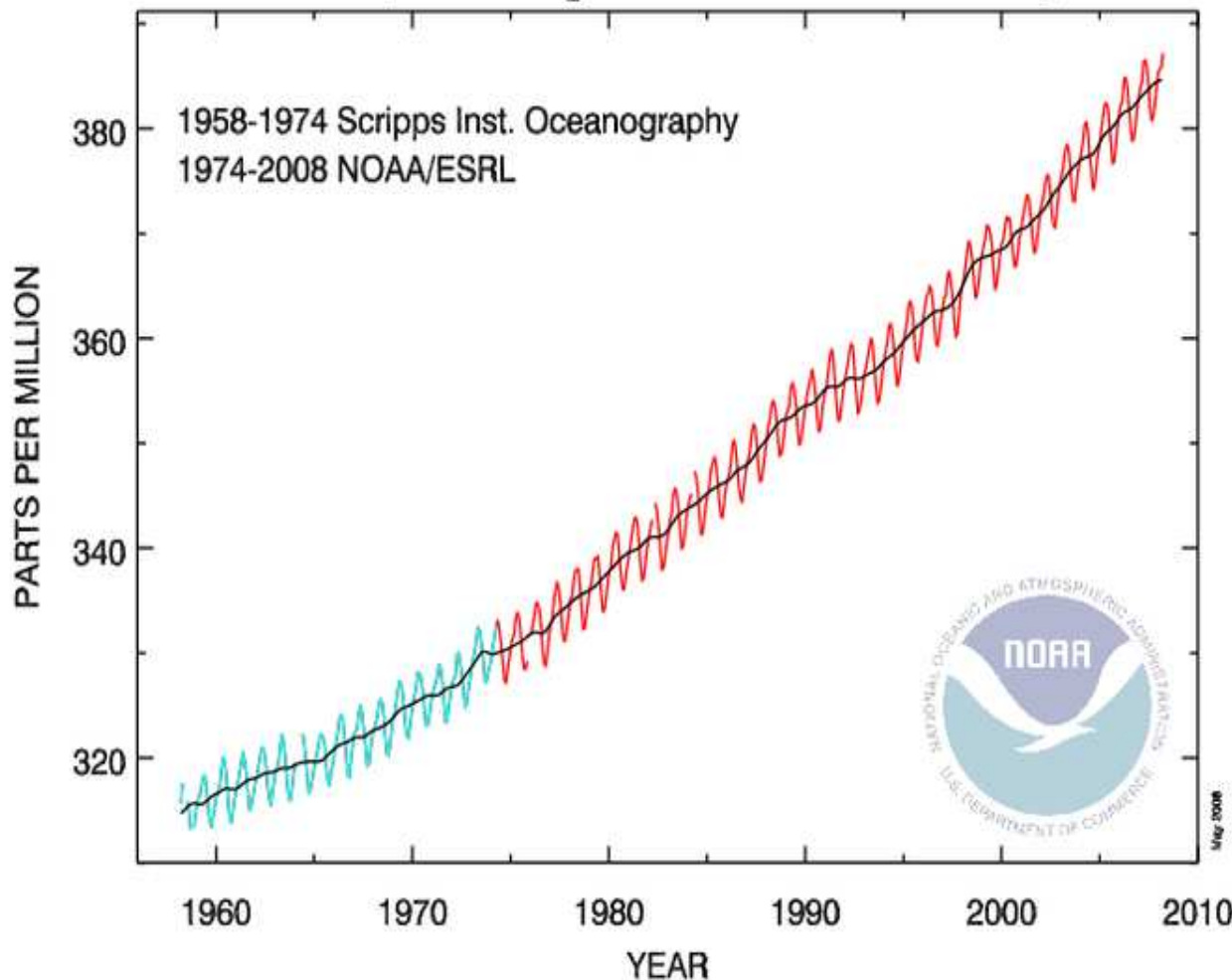
**Paul Crutzen,**  
**Nobel Laureate for**  
**Chemistry (1995)**



In Geology/geography: **Holocene** era of earth history since end of glacial period (10-12.000 years ago, Anthropocene, since industrial revolution (1784, J.Watt's invention of steam engine: anthropogenic climate change: burning of coal.oil,gas→GHG increase



## 2.4. Anthropogenic Climate Change in the Anthropocene Era (1750 to present)



- **GHG concentration in the atmosphere**
- **1750: 279 ppm, 1987: 387 ppm**
- **1/3: 1750-1958: 279 to 315 ppm**
- **2/3: 1958-1987: 315 to 387 ppm**
- **1958-2011: 315-393 ppm**

# 3. Widening, Deepening & Sectorialization of Security

- **Response: Widening, Deepening and Sectorialization of Security**
  - **Widening:** from political, military to economic, societal and environmental
  - **Deepening:** from state-centred to human-centred perspective
    - From national to human security
  - **Sectorialization:**
    - energy, food, health, water and soil security

# 3.1. Widening of Security Concepts: Towards Environmental Security

4 trends in reconceptualisation of security since 1990:

- **Widening** (dimensions, sectors), **Deepening** (levels, actors)
- **Sectorialisation** (energy, food, health),
- **Shrinking** (WMD, terrorists)

Dimensions & Levels of a Wide Security Concept

Security dimension⇒ ↓ Level of interaction	Mili- tary	Political	Economic	Environ- mental ↓	Societal
Human individual ⇒			Food sec. Health sec.	Cause & Victim	Food sec. Health sec.
Societal/Community				↓↑	
National	Narrow: Cold War		Energy se.	↓↑	Food,health
International Regional			Water security	↓↑	Water security
Global/Planetary ⇒				GEC	

# 4. From International & National to four Pillars of Human Security

- **International Peace & Security:** League of Nations (1919): “high contracting parties”; UN Charter (1945): “*We the peoples of the United Nations*”
- **National Security:** new U.S. concept World War II, post WW II: National Security Act (1947), before: goal defence, means: Army (War Dep.), & Navy Dept.
- **Alliance Security:** NATO (1949-), WP (1955-2001)
- **Common Security** (Palme Report 1982)
- **Environmental Security** (Brundtland 1987, Gorbachev 1988)
- **Cooperative Security:** Brookings Institution (1990’s)
- **Human Security:** UNDP (1994): 4 pillars of HS
  - Freedom from fear: humanitarian law agenda (Norway, Canada)
  - Freedom from want: development agenda (Japan & developing c.)
  - Freedom to live in dignity: democratic governance, human rights
  - Freedom from hazard impacts: natural hazard & disaster agenda

# 4.1. Human Security Network Members

NATO	EU	Third World
Canada		Chile
Greece Slovenia	Austria Ireland	Costa Rica Jordan Mali Thailand
Norway	Switzerland	South Africa (observer)

The Network has an interregional & multiple agenda perspective, strong links to civil society & academia.

The Network emerged from landmines campaign at a Ministerial, Norway, 1999.

Conferences at Foreign Ministers level in Bergen, Norway (1999), in Lucerne, Switzerland (2000), Petra, Jordan (2001) **Santiago de Chile (2002)**, Graz (2003), Bamako, Mali (May 2004), Canada (2005), Thailand (2006), Slovenia (2007), Greece (2008); Ireland (2009), **Costa Rica (2010)**, Switzerland (2011)

Anti-pers. Landmines, Intern. Criminal Court, protection of children in armed conflict, control of small arms & light weapons, fight against transnational organized crime, human development, human rights education, HIV/AIDS, implementation of international humanitarian & human rights law, conflict prevention, since 2008 climate change (Greek presidency)

# 5. Sectorialization of Security Concepts

**Coined by International institutions**

- **to legitimate their activities in terms of security**
- **to securitize climate change impacts**

**Securitizing Water: water security concepts**

**Securitizing Food: food security concept**

**Securitizing Soil: desertification and the new soil security concept**

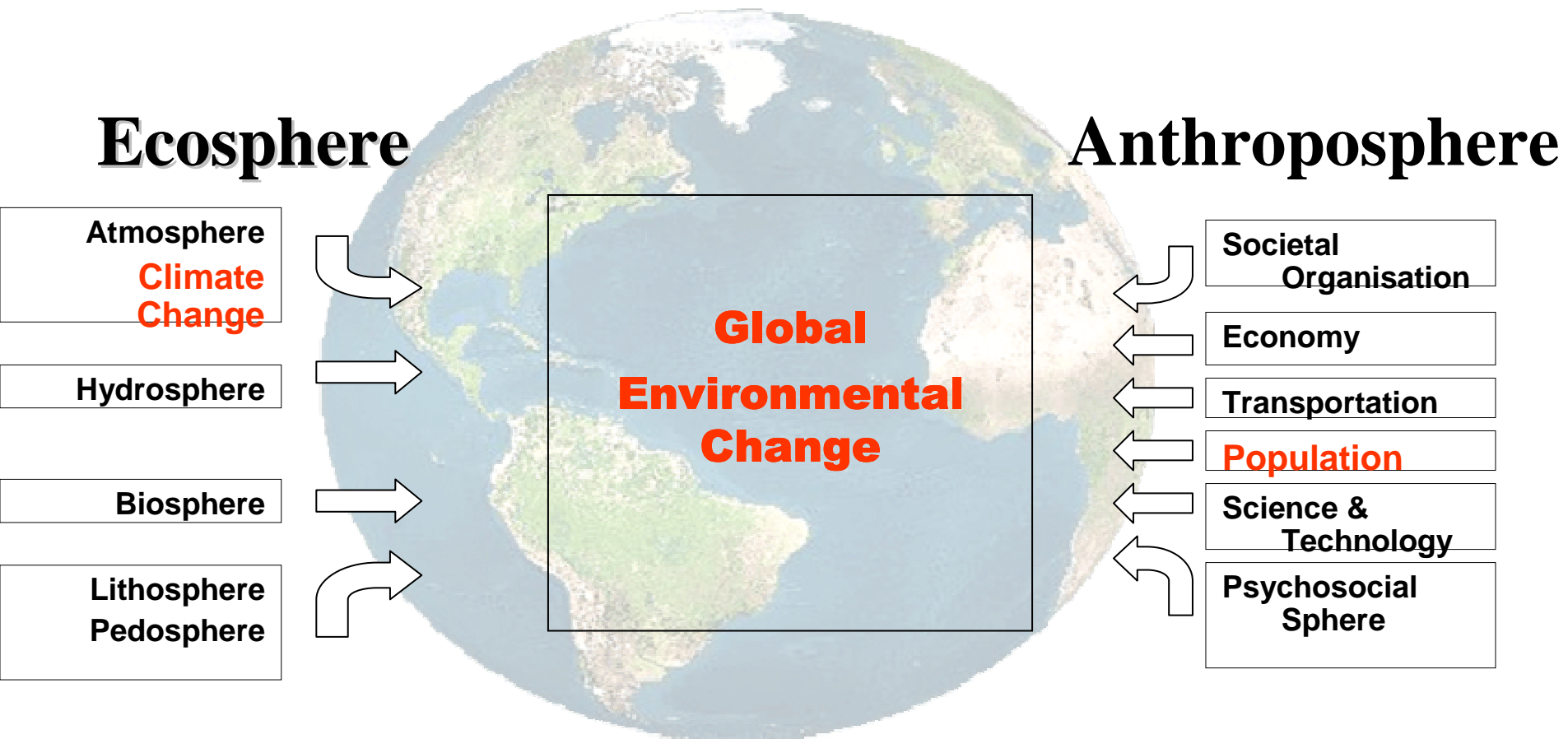
**Securitizing Health: health security concepts**

**Securitizing Energy: demand vs. supply security**

# 6. Global Climate Change and International, National & Human Security

- Since 1970/80s: '*global environmental change*' (GEC) a new topic in natural and social sciences
- Since late 1980s and 1990s policy efforts on:
  - **Climate Change**: 1988: issue of G7; 1990: UN GA mandate; 1992: Rio summit: **UNFCCC (1992)** and **Kyoto Protocol (1997)**
- Since 2000: both are considered as security issues
  - **Since 2000**: climate change seen as a security threat/risk
  - Since 2007: two debates on climate change & security
    - **UN vs. EU Debates**: climate change and **international security**
    - **US debate** on climate change: new threats for **national security**

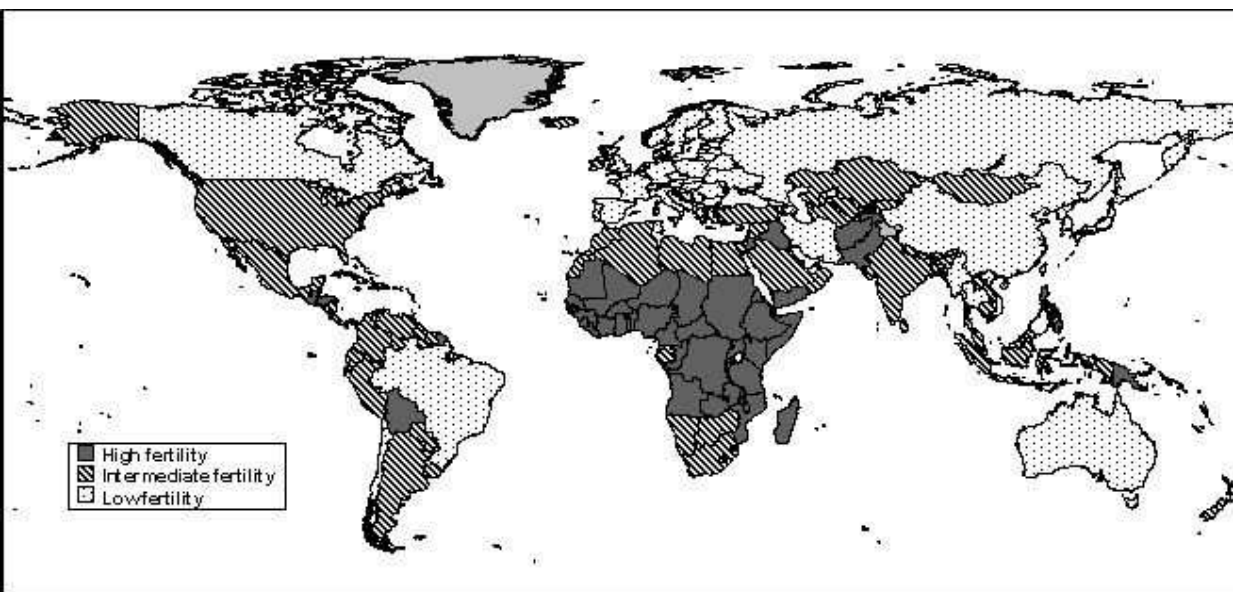
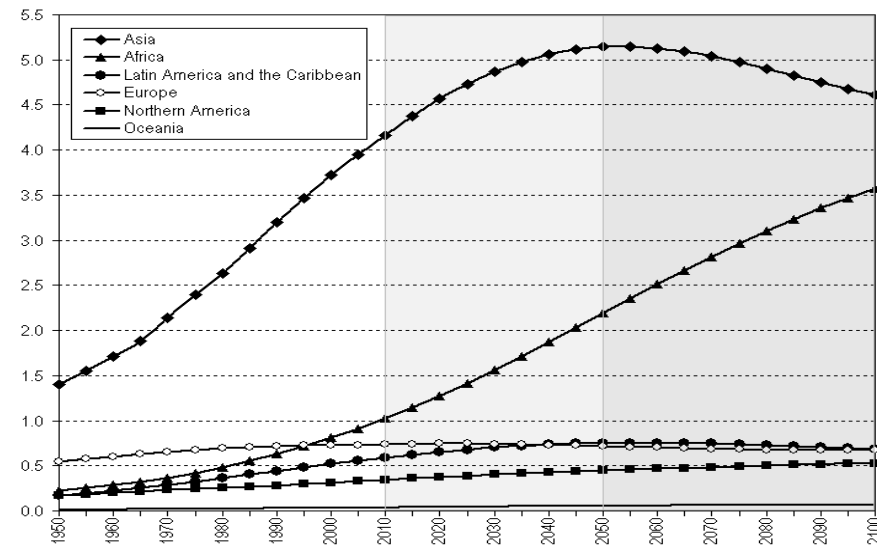
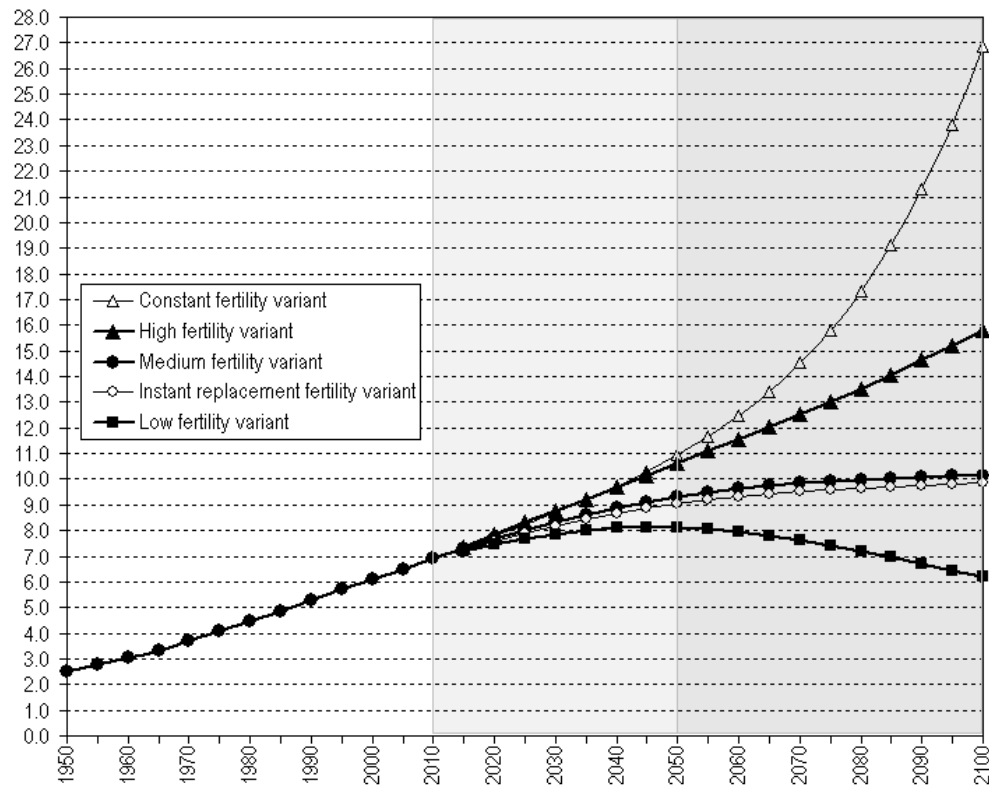
# 6.1. Global Environmental Change (GEC)



**GEC poses a threat, challenge, vulnerabilities and risks for human security and survival.**



## 6.2. Population Projection (2010)



- Med. projection: 2050: 9 b, 2100: 10 b
- Asia & Africa highest increase
- Highest fertility rate in environmental hotspots<sup>17</sup>

# 6.3. Global Climate Change: 2001-2007

## Temperature Increases & Sea Level Rise

### Climate Change Impacts: Temperature & Sea level Rise

- ❖ Global average temperature rise in 20<sup>th</sup> century: **+ 0.6°C**

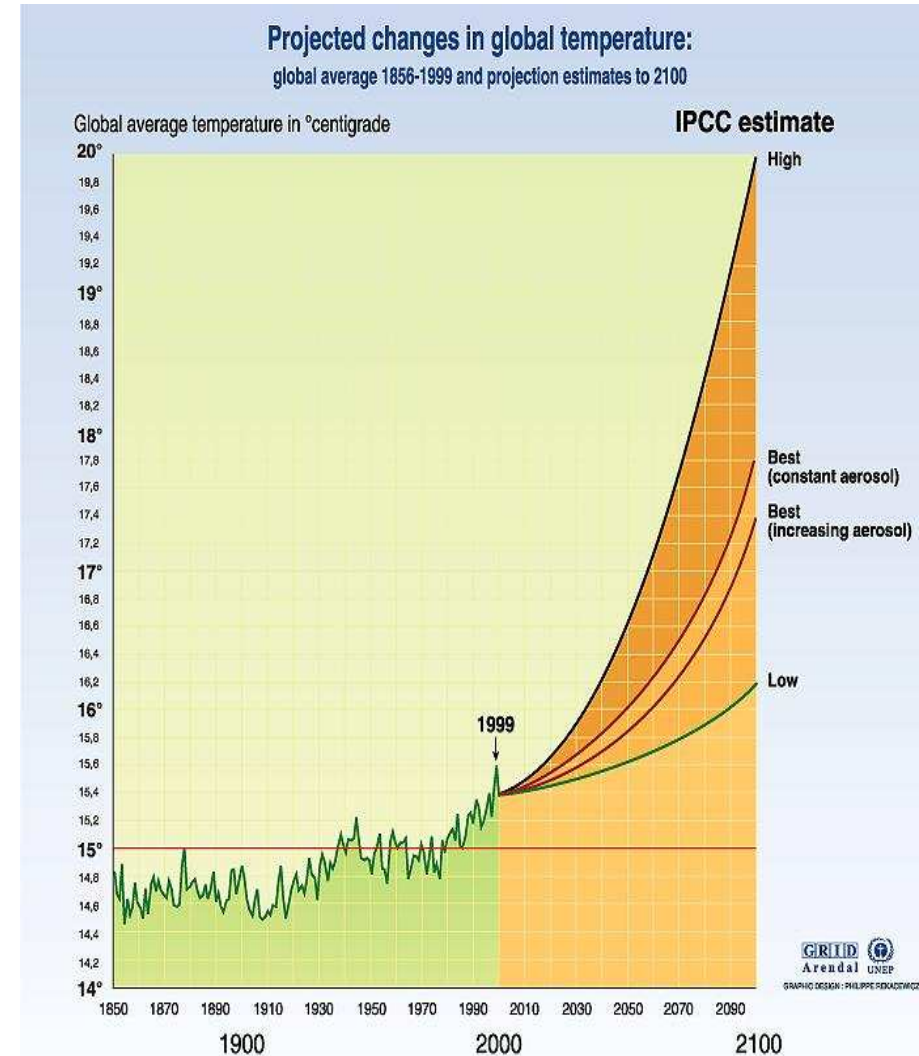
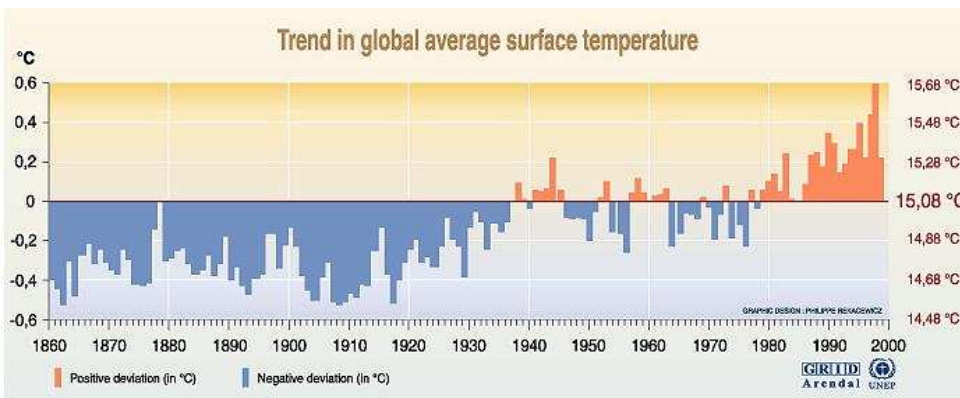
### Projected temperature rise:

- ❖ TAR (1990-2100): **+1.4-5.8°C**
- ❖ AR4 (07): **+1.1-6.4 (1.8-4)°C**

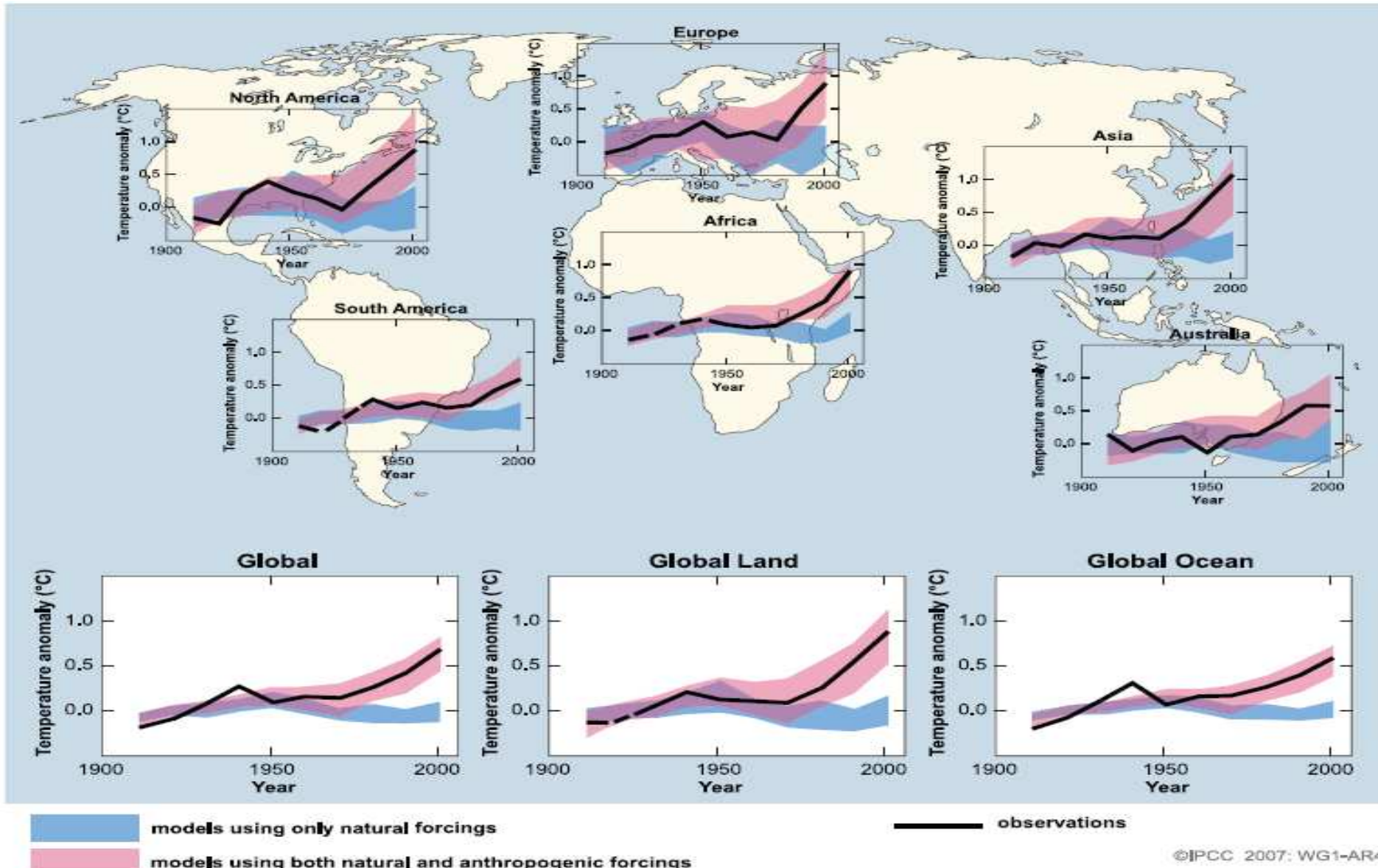
Sources: IPCC 1990, 1995, 2001, 2007

### Sea level Rise:

- ❖ 20<sup>th</sup> cent.: **+0.1-0.2 metres**
- ❖ TAR: 21st century: **9-88 cm**
- ❖ AR4 (2000-2100): **18-59 cm**

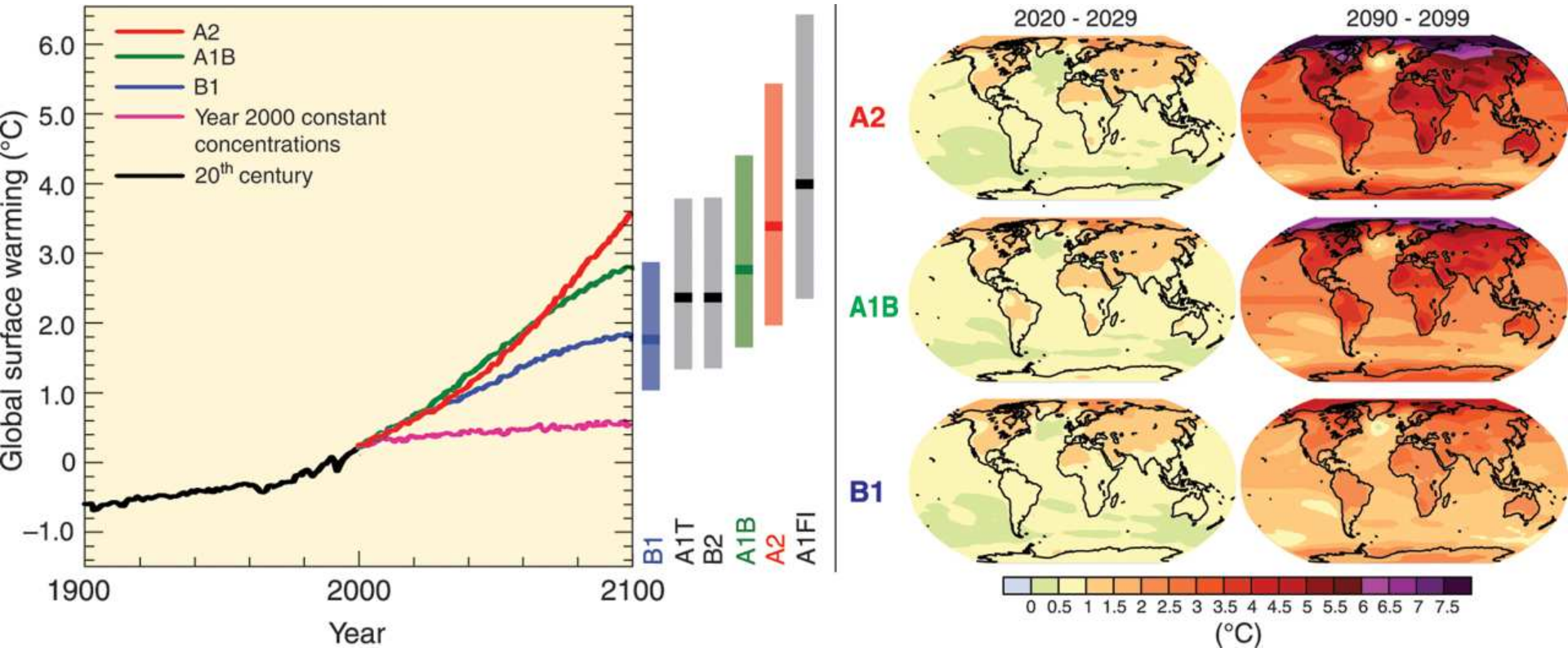


## 6.4. Global and Regional Change in Temperature (IPCC 2007, WG 1, AR4, p. 11)





# 6.5. Anthropogenic Climate Change in the Anthropocene (1900-2100)

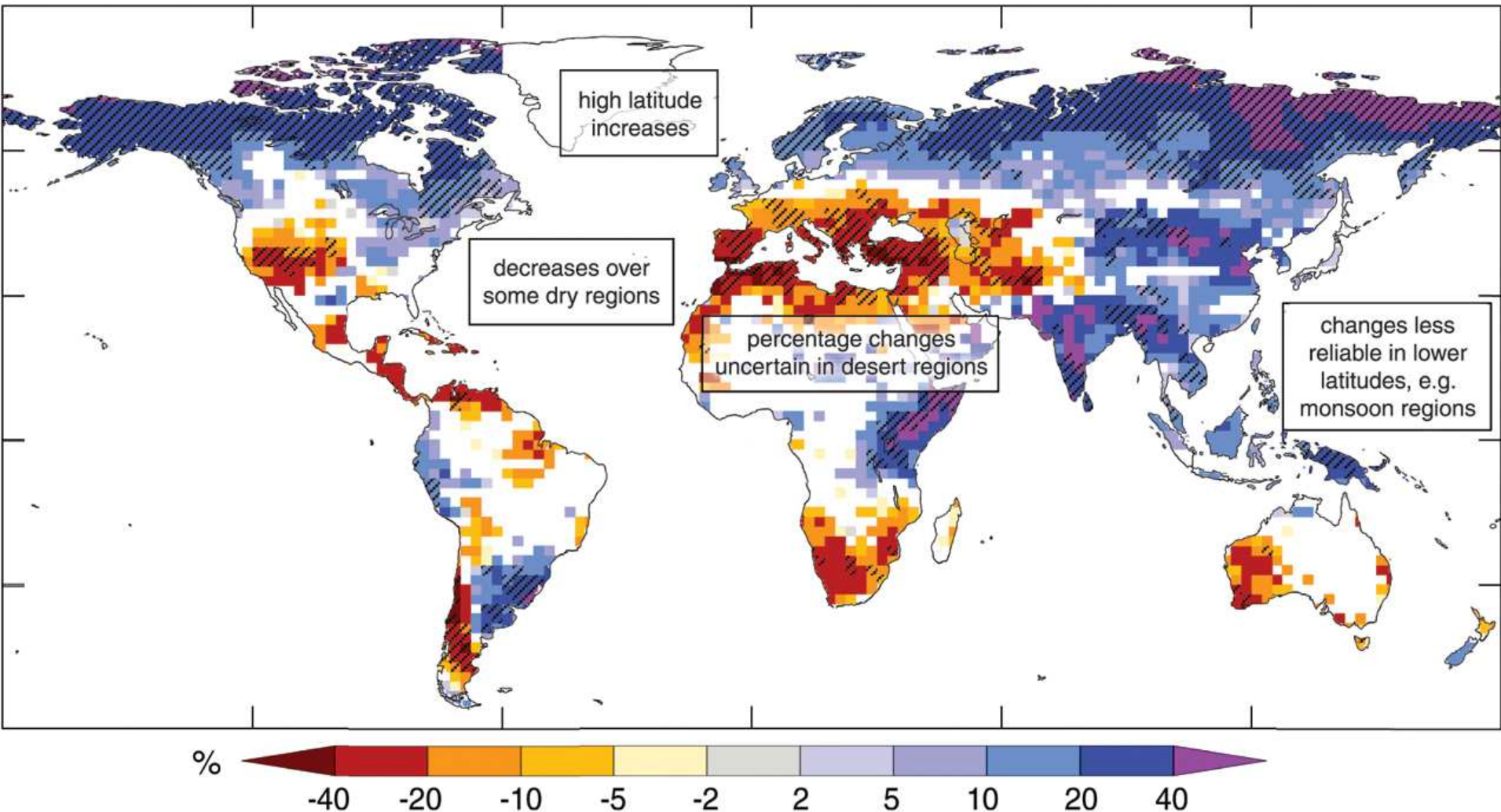


- **Three Regimes for Temperature Increase**
  - **+2°C: certain:** EU Stabilization goal (decision in Copenhagen COP 15)
  - **+4°C: probable,** without immediate Stabilization Measures
  - **+6°C: possible** (business as usual) (catastrophe scenario)

## 6.6. Projected Increase of Sea Level Rise (IPCC chair, Pachauri, 2008)

Stabilization level (ppm CO <sub>2</sub> -eq)	Global mean temp. increase (°C)	Year CO <sub>2</sub> needs to peak	Global sea level rise above pre- industrial from thermal expansion (m)
445 – 490	2.0 – 2.4	2000 – 2015	0.4 – 1.4
490 – 535	2.4 – 2.8	2000 – 2020	0.5 – 1.7
535 – 590	2.8 – 3.2	2010 – 2030	0.6 – 1.9
590 – 710	3.2 – 4.0	2020 – 2060	0.6 – 2.4

## 6.7. Projections and model consistency of relative changes in runoff by end of 21st century



# 6.8. Climate Change as an Issue of International Politics and Security

**Objective:** climate change has influenced history for millennia

**Subjective:** perception of climate change as a scientific & political issue and as a security challenge

**Scientization:** Tyndal (UK) Arrhenius (Sweden 1896): scientific debate started in 1970s

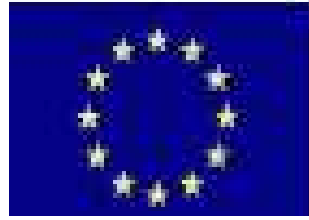
**Politicization** Climate Change as an issue of IR since 1988

- 1988: Reagan Admin. put CC on agenda of G-7
- 1990: IPCC set up by UN General Assembly
- 1992: Rio Earth Summit: UNFCCC signed
- 1997: Kyoto protocol approved (-5.1% by ,08)
- 2007: Bali Road Map to COP 15: Copenhagen

**Securitization of Climate Change (since 2000)**

- Problem of environmental security: BMU (2002)
- Problem of **national security** (UK, USA, 2004, 2007)
- Problem of **international security**: UNSC (2007, 2011), UN-GA, SC (2009)
- Problem of human security (GECHS, 2005; HSN: Greece 2007/2008) <sup>23</sup>

## **6.9. EU Paper: Climate Change & International Security (March 2008)**



- **Climate change ... as a threat multiplier of existing trends, tensions and Instability, that overburdens fragile and conflict prone states and regions**
- **Seven intern. Security threats from climate change:**
  - 1) Resource conflicts (Water, soil, food);
  - 2) Economic damage and Risks for coastal cities;
  - 3) Loss of territory and border conflicts;
  - 4) environmentally-induced migration;
  - 5) Situations of fragility and radicalization
  - 6) Tensions on energy supply
  - 7) Pressure on international politics
- **Regions, where these threats become manifest**
  - Africa, Middle East, South Asia; Central Asia, Latin America, Arctic.
- **Central challenge: Environmental Migration**





## 6.10. UN: Climate Change and International Security

**17 April 2007: UN Security Council: tabled by Ms.Beckett (UK)**

**3 June 2009: UN General Assembly Resolution:**

- 1. *Invites* the relevant organs of the United Nations, as appropriate and within their respective mandates, to intensify their efforts in **considering and addressing** climate change, including its possible security implications;
- 2. *Requests* the Secretary-General to submit a **comprehensive report** to the General Assembly at its sixty-fourth session on the **possible security implications of climate change**, based on the views of the Member States and relevant regional and international organizations.

**August-September 2009: submission by states (31 replies)**

- **11 September 2009: Report by Ban-Ki Moon**
- **20 July 2011 : UN Security Council: German EU presidency**

**Opposition: G-77/China: for discussion as an environmental and sustainable development but not as a security issue!**



# 6.11. Climate Change & National Security: USA



**Climate changes as a threat for US national security Search for military answers & new DoD missions**

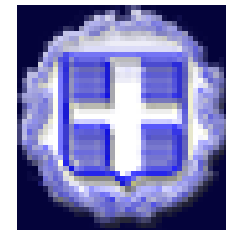
- **Pentagon study** of Schwartz/Randall: (2003, 2004)
- **April 2007: CNA: *National Security & the Threat of Climate Change*** (April 2007): climate change as a threat multiplier in vulnerable regions for US security
- **November 2007**, *Center for Strategic and Intern. Studies (CSIS); Centre for a New American Security (CNAS): The Age of Consequences: The Foreign Policy and National Security Implications of Global Climate Change*

## **US National Security Strategy 2010**

- **The danger from climate change is real, urgent, and severe.** The change wrought by a warming planet will lead to new conflicts over refugees and resources; **new suffering from drought and famine; catastrophic natural disasters**; and the **degradation of land across the globe**. The United States will therefore confront climate change based upon clear guidance from the science, and in cooperation with all **nations—for there is no effective solution to climate change that does not depend upon all nations taking responsibility for their own actions and for the planet we will leave behind.**

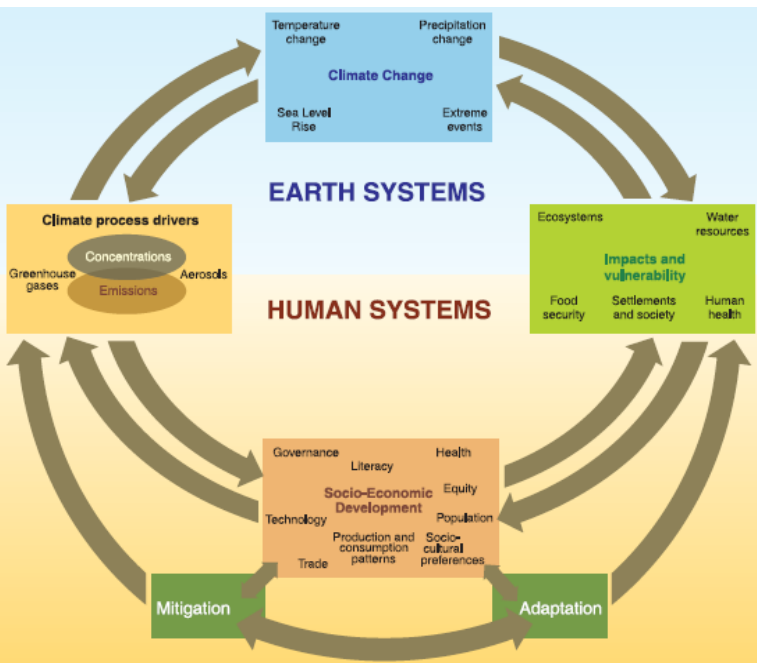


## 6.12. Climate Change & Human Security



- **IHDP-GECHS** (Global env. change & human security)
  - Symposium: climate change & human security (2005)
  - Synthesis conference: Research (1999-2009) in Oslo
- **Greek Presidency of the Human Security Network (2007/2008)**
  - Conference in May 2008 in Athens: Final declaration
  - Impact of climate change on vulnerable groups: women, children, environmental migrants in developing countries
  - Policy paper: Climate change, human security and development
  - 3rd pillar of human security: “freedom from hazard impact”
- **Friends of Human Security: Japan & Mexico: June 2009**

# 7. Addressing Linkages of Global Climate Change and Security



- **Three Schools or Approaches**
  - Dramatizers: Climate war
  - Sceptics: lack of research (PRIO)
  - Observations & future scenarios

## • Causal analysis

- Natural phenomena -> migration, crises, conflicts (violence)
  - 2nd phase: Homer-Dixon, Bächler
  - 4th phase: Oswald – Brauch - Dalby

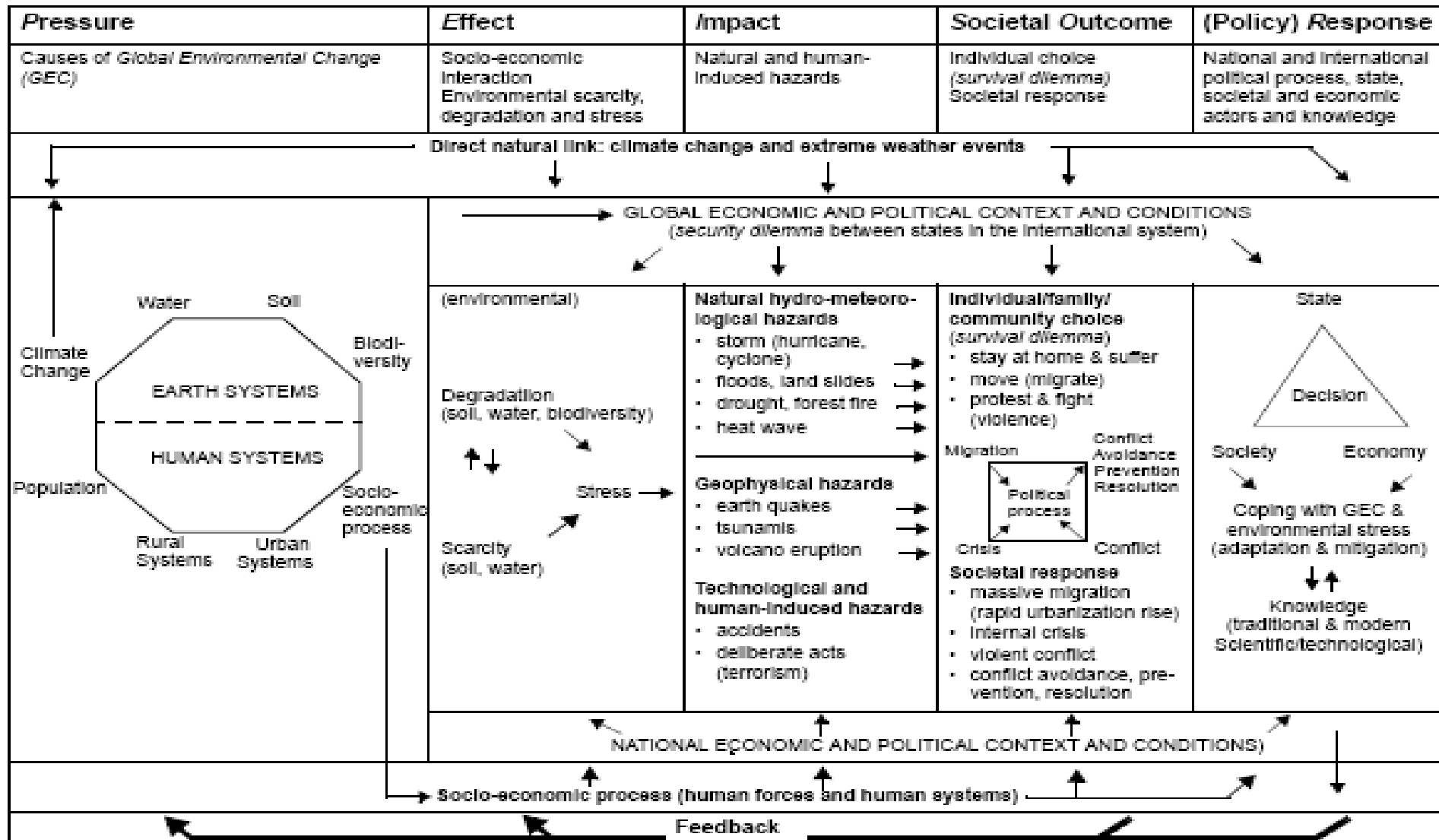
## • Discourse analysis: climate change

- International security
- National security
- Environmental security
- Human security

## Objects of Security Analysis (Securitization)

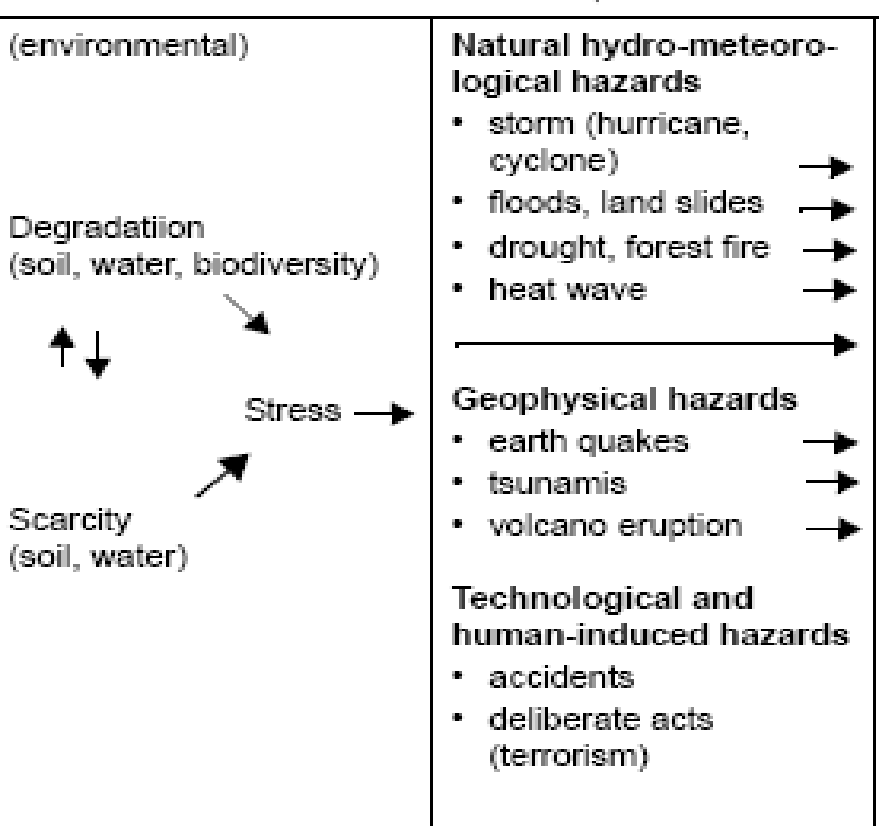
- Physical Effects: e.g. temp, rise
  - Impacts: Sectors
  - Societal Effects
- Whether they pose:
- Objective Security Dangers
  - Subjective Security Concerns

# 7.1. Global Environmental Change & Impacts: PEISOR Model



Effect	Impact
Socio-economic interaction Environmental scarcity, degradation and stress	Natural and human- induced hazards

Direct natural link: climate change and extreme weather



NATIONAL ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL

## 7.2. E: Effect & I: Impact

### • E: Environmental security debate of 1990s

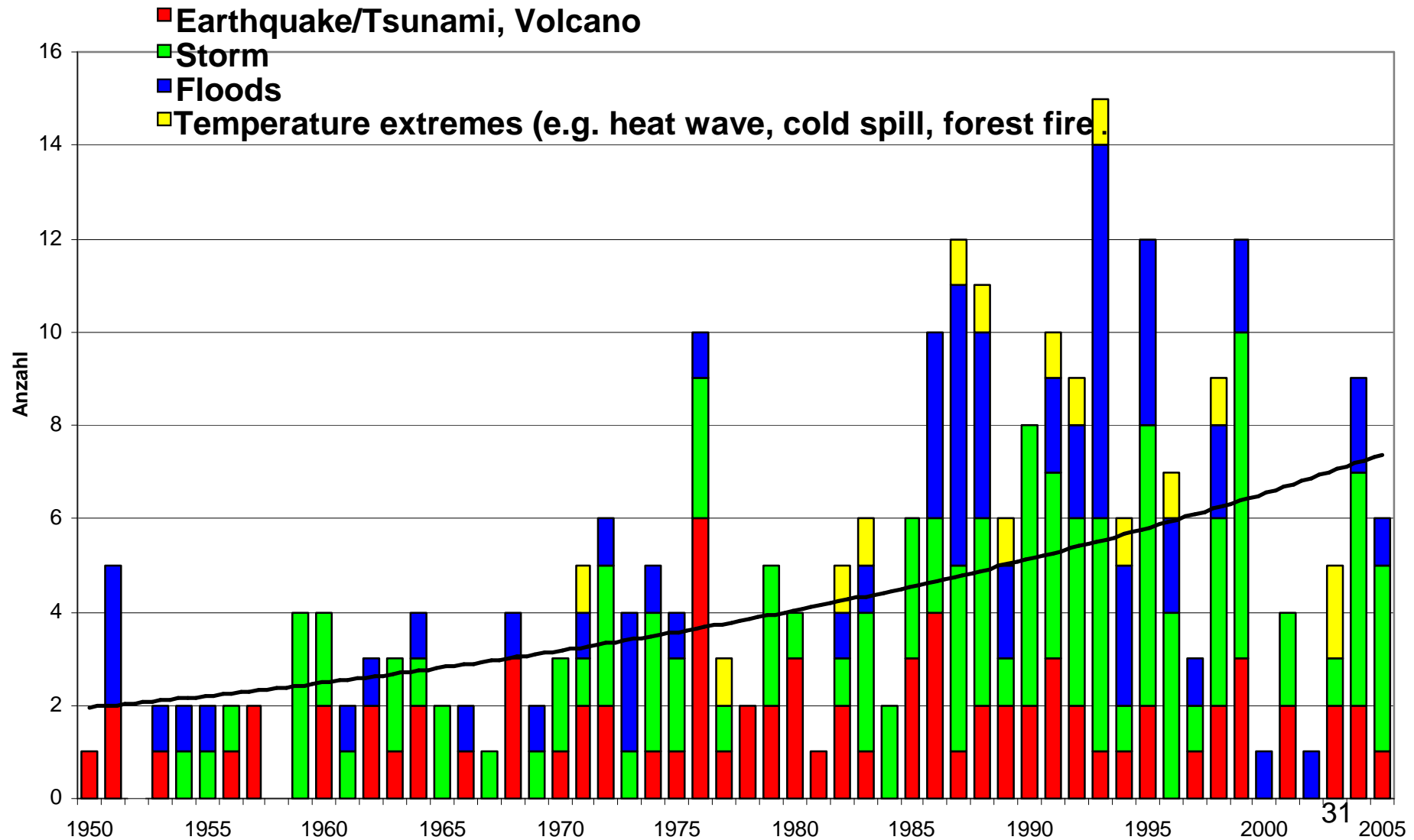
- Toronto school
- Swiss school (ENCOP):
- **Soil scarcity > degradation > environmental stress**

### • I: climate change -> extreme weather events

- Hydrometeorological hazards
  - **Drought (wind erosion)**
  - Heatwaves
  - Forest fires
  - Storms (hurricanes)
  - **Flash floods & landslides (wind & water erosion)**

# 7.3. Global Impacts: Major Natural Disasters 1950 – 2005. Source: MunichRe, 2006

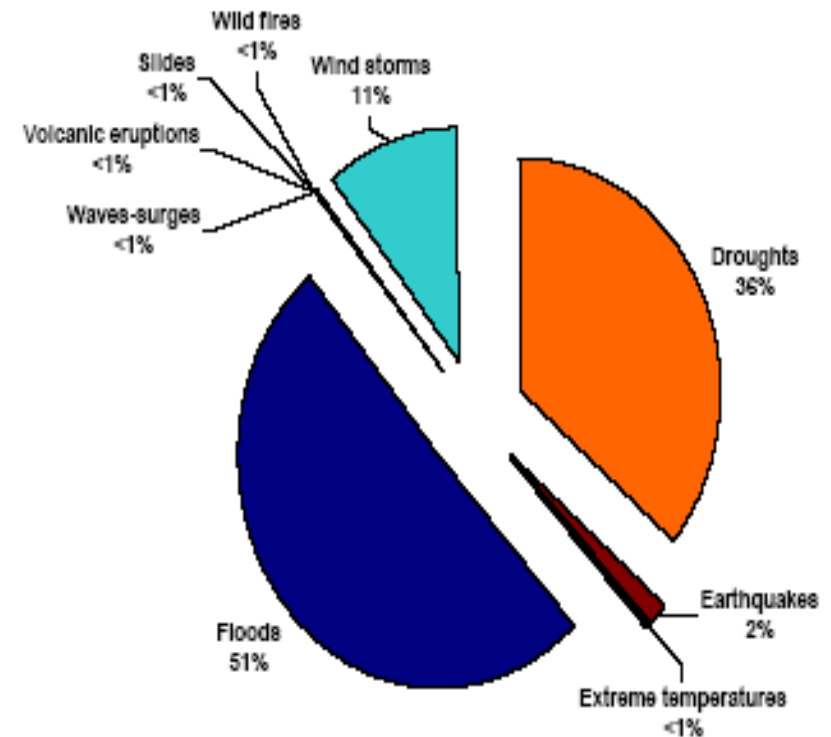
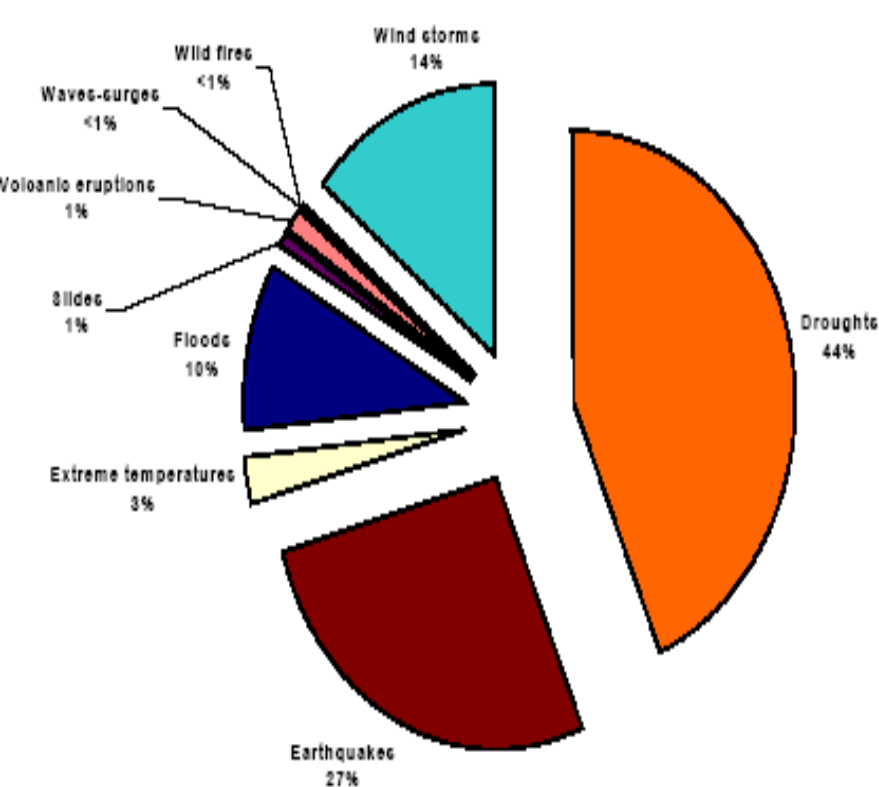
© 2006 NatCatSERVICE, GeoRisikoForschung, Münchener Rück



# 7.4. of Natural Hazards Globally (1974-2003):

**Reported Death: 2.066.273 persons**

**Affected persons: 5 076 494 541 persons**

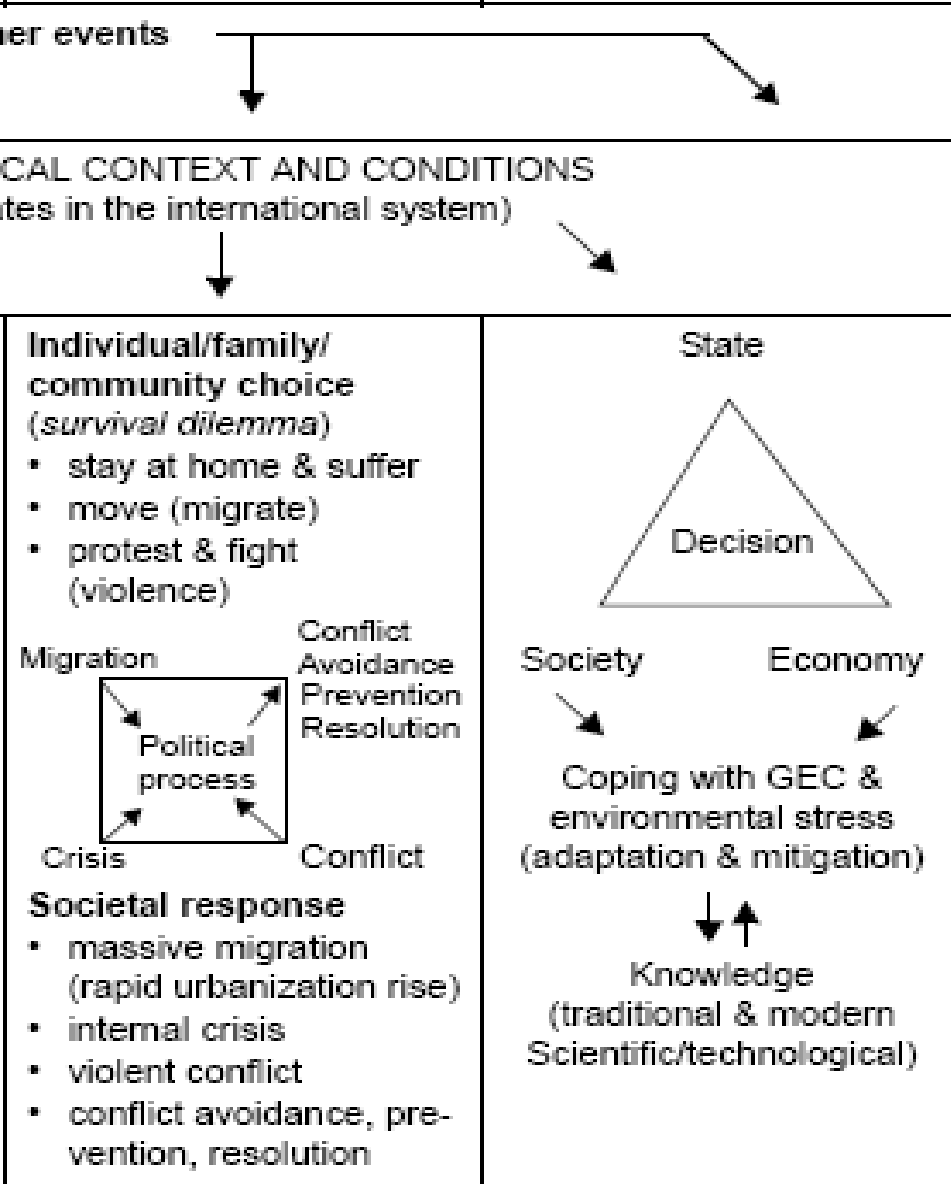


(1) injured + homeless + affected

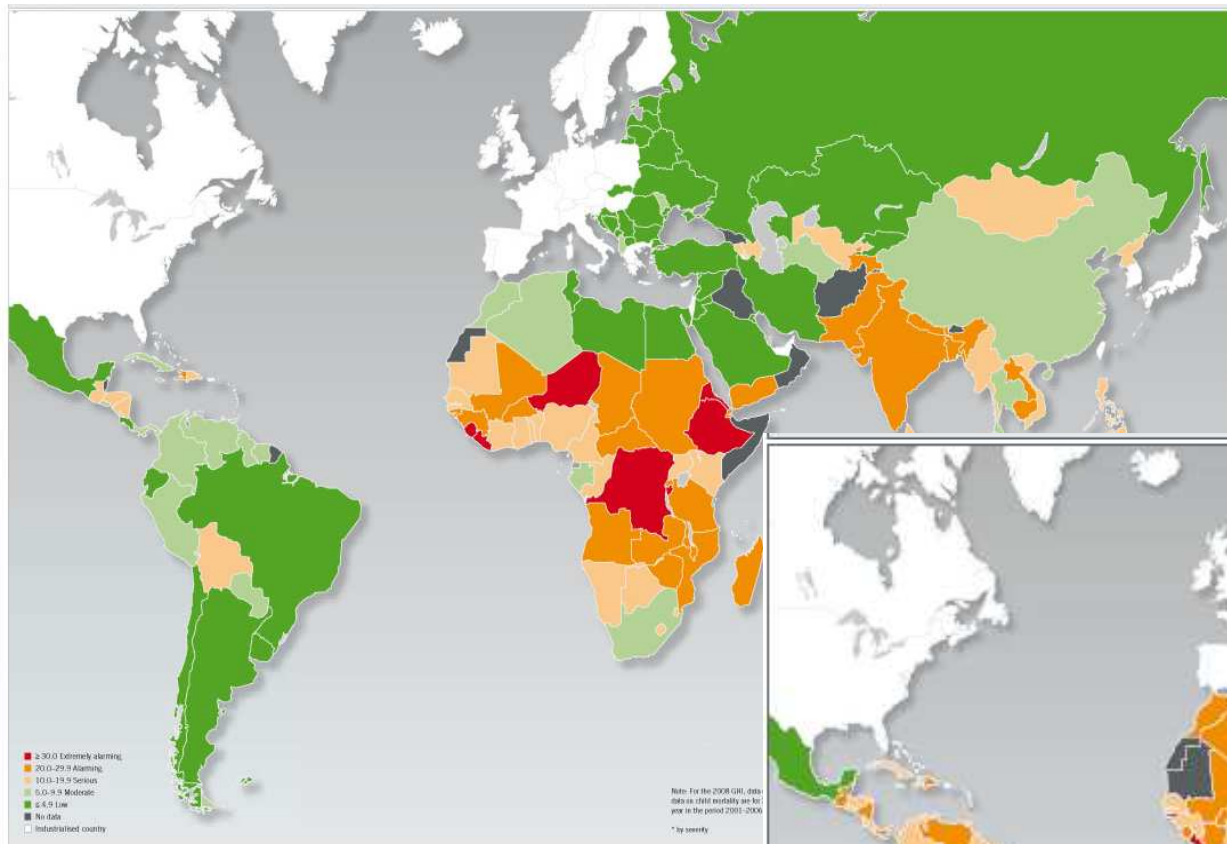
**Source: © Hoyois und Guha-Sapir (2004)**



Societal Outcome	(Policy) Response
Individual choice ( <i>survival dilemma</i> ) Societal response	National and international political process, state, societal and economic actors and knowledge

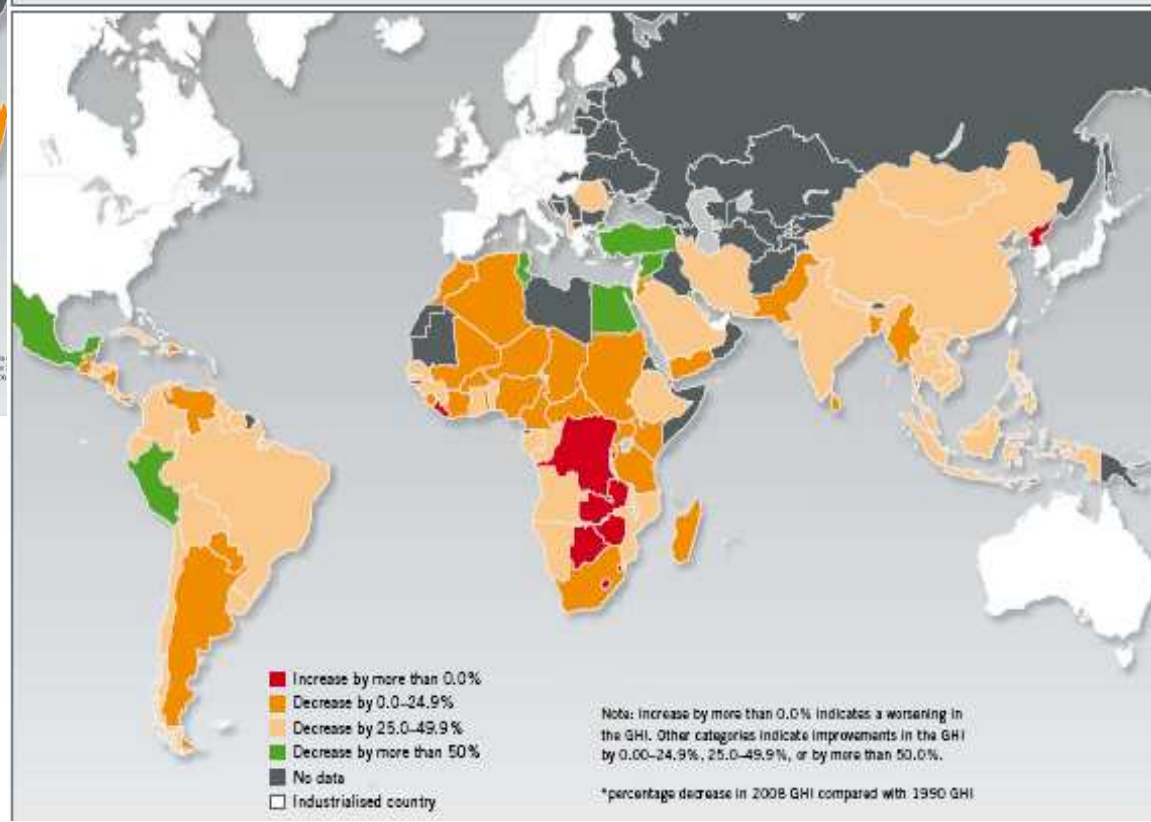


# 7.6. Global Hunger Index 1990 & 2008



← 2008 Global Hunger Index.

Country progress in reducing the Global Hunger Index between 1990 and 2008 ↓

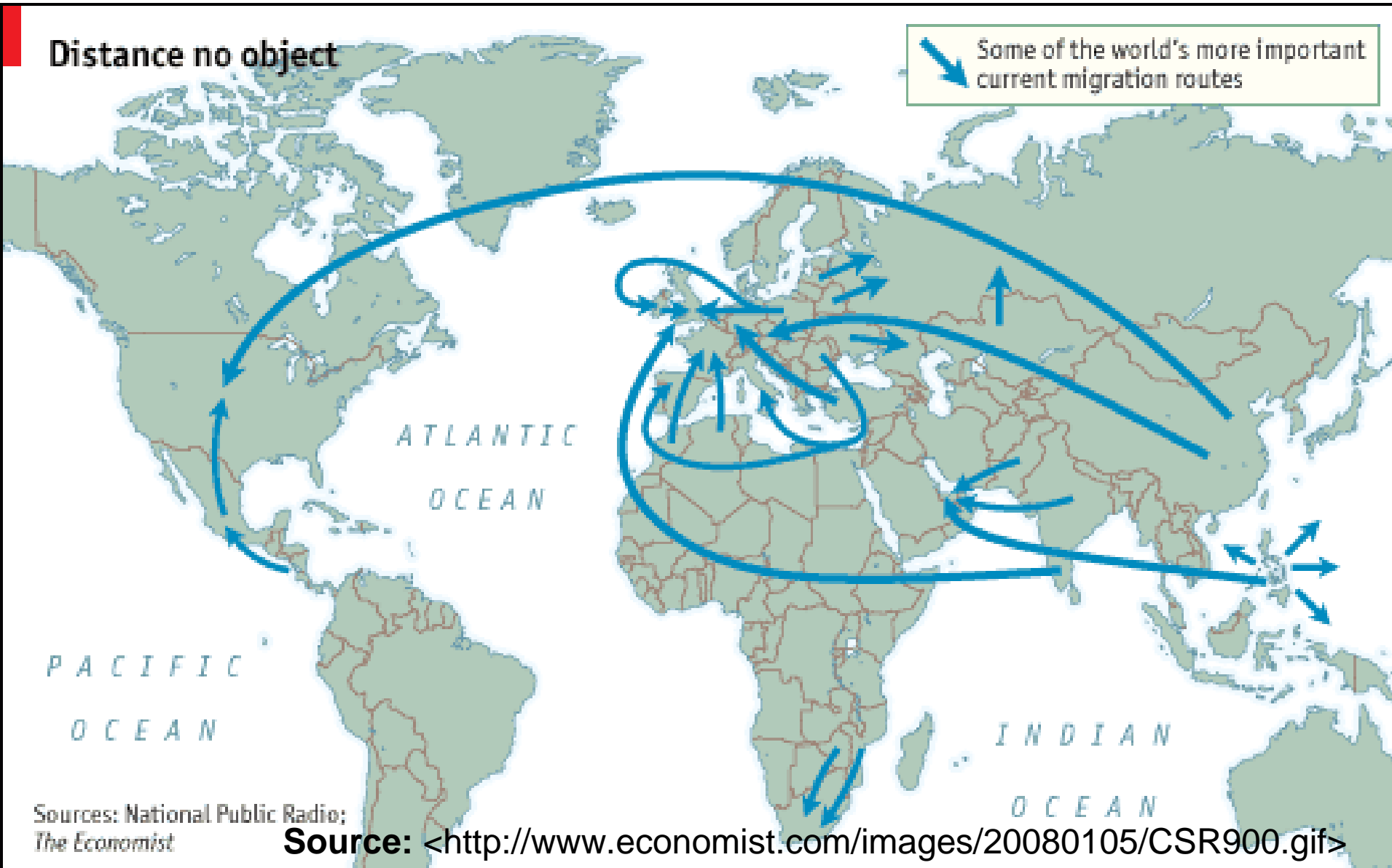


Source: IFPRI, 2008

# 7.7. Migration currents

Distance no object

Some of the world's more important current migration routes

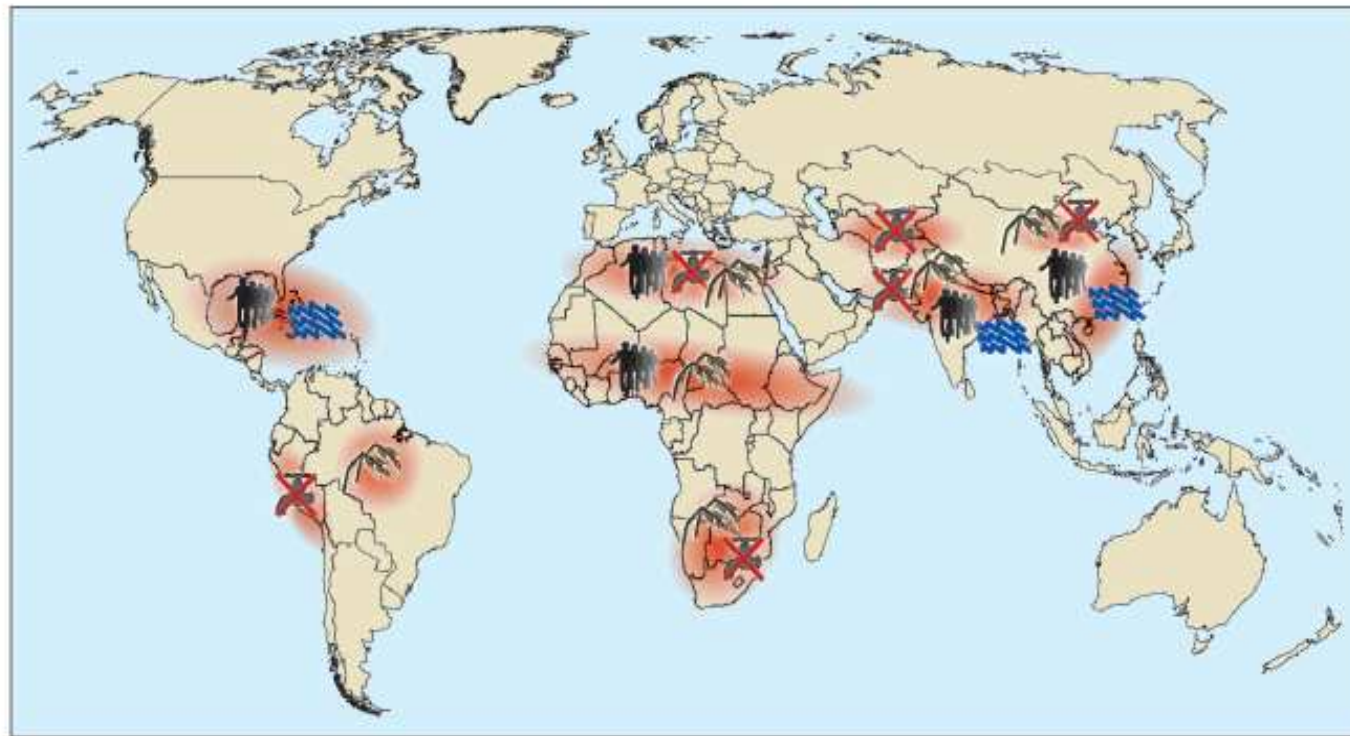


Sources: National Public Radio;  
*The Economist*

**Source:** <<http://www.economist.com/images/20080105/CSR900.gif>>

# 7.8. WBGU Study: Climate ,Hotspots': 4 Conflict Scenarios

Figure 4.7: Regional hotspots and security risks associated with climate change. Source: WBGU (2008: 4). Reprinted with permission.



Conflict constellations in selected hotspots



Climate-induced degradation  
of freshwater resources



Climate-induced decline  
in food production



Hotspot



Climate-induced increase  
in storm and flood disasters



Environmentally-induced  
migration

- **Mediterranean**
  - Water
  - Food product.
  - **Migration**
- **South, Central and East Asia**
  - Water
  - Food product.
  - **Migration**
  - cyclone
- **Latin America & Caribbean**
  - Wasser
  - Water
  - Food product.
  - **Migration**
  - hurricanes

## **7.9. R** Policy Response to Security Danger posed by Global Change

- **How? Responsive vs. proactive action**
  - **Reponse**: cost of non-action (Stern Report)
  - **Proactive**: anticipatory knowledge, learning, action
- **What? Addressing causes (**Pressure**)**
  - **Earth system**: environmental quartett
  - **Human**: productive/consumptive behaviour
- **Responding to **Effects & Impacts****
  - **Environmental stress**
  - **Climate-related natural hazards**
- **Addressing **Societal Outcomes**:**  
Migration/Conflicts

# 8. Change in Earth History

## Securitization of Climate Change

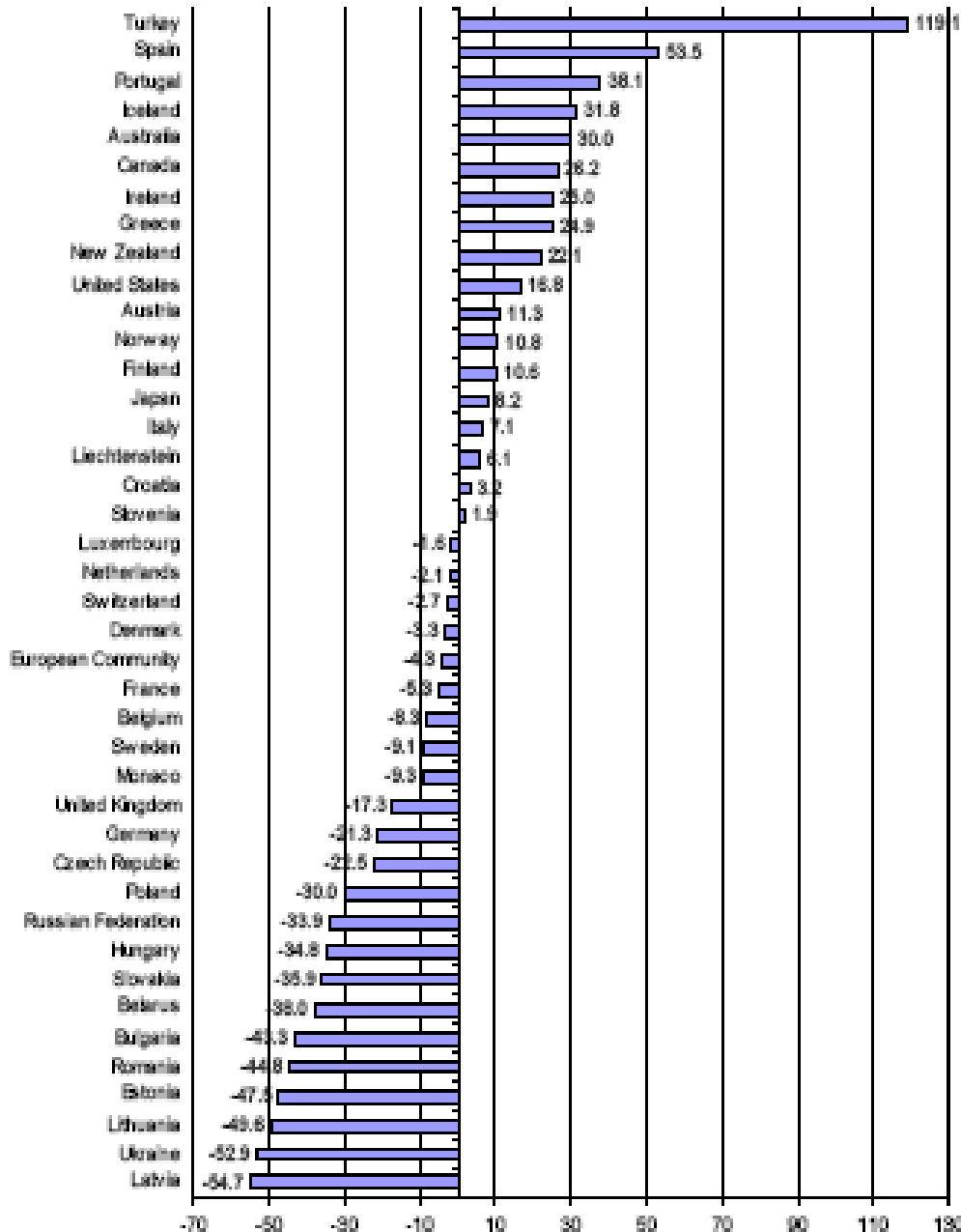
- Since 1994 a major shift occurred from state-centred **(inter)national** to the **human security concepts** that is widely used in policy declarations in the UN system.
- **Theory of securitization** was used for global security mapping of speech acts by policy makers (governments)
- Results of securitization of climate change are mixed:
  - Climate change was declared a **threat of utmost importance**: it was securitized by policy makers
  - But **no extraordinary measures** were launched to cope with the impacts of GEC and global climate change
  - Dominance: short-termism & interest dependence: bailout of financial sector; **lack of political will & readiness** to address security impacts of climate change



# 8.1. Long-term Commitments vs. Short-term Policy Failure

- Commitment of the G-8: Heiligendamm: 50 % reduction of GHG by 2050, or 80% for OECD
  - This requires in 40 years a fundamental change of the economy and society and of international relations and politics
- Goal of UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC, 1992), Kyoto Protocol (KP, '97)
  - UNFCCC: stabilization of GHG emissions
  - KP: global GHG emission reduction of 5.1% by 2012 rel. to 1990
- Achievements: Policy implementation gap (figure)
- Copenhagen: COP 15 of UNFCCC, Dec. 2009
  - EU by 2020: -20% emissions, 20% renewables, 20% efficiency
  - US (Obama): - 17% (2005) -7% (1990) not approved by Congress
  - China: no legal commitment, but energy efficiency, renewables
- New Security Agenda: Non-military agenda for a sustainability transition & sustainable peace

Changes in GHG emissions excluding LULUCF (%)



**8.2. GHG  
Reduction  
Implementation  
UNFCCC:  
(21.10.2009)  
National  
Greenhouse Gas  
Inventory Data  
(1990-2007)  
for Annex I parties  
(with reduction  
obligations)  
**Poland: -30%**<sup>40</sup>**



# **9. New Peace & Security Agenda for the Anthropocene**

**For the transition to the Anthropocene Era of Earth History we need for the 21st century**

- A Copernican Revolution in thinking for sustainability**
- A “Fourth Sustainability Revolution”**
- A Strategy for a sustainability transition**
- New non-military security agenda**
- New realistic conceptual visions as guidelines for action**
  - Vision of a sustainability transition**
  - Vision of a decarbonization of the economy**
  - Vision of efficiency revolution**
  - Vision of an energetic imperative**

# **9.1. Copernican Revolution in Thinking**

## **Fourth Sustainable and Green Revolution in Action**

**We face two alternative strategies & visions**

- **Hobbesian obsession & business as usual (1990-2010)**
- **Needed revolution in thinking and action for sustainability**
  - **Clark/Crutzen/Schellnhuber (2004/2005). Copernican revolution towards sustainability: fundamental paradigm shift (Kuhn 1962)**
  - **Action Goals: A fourth sustainable and green revolution**
  - **Strategy: Transition towards Sustainability**

**Transition to fourth peaceful revolution (Anthropocene)**

- **First Revolution: Agricultural: collectors to farmers**
- **Second Revolution: Industrial (1750)**
- **Third Revolution: Communication (after WW II)**
- **Fourth Revolution: Sustainable Green Revolution**

## **9.2. Policy Vision & Perspective:**

### **Towards Sustainable Peace & Fourth Green Revolution**

- **Goal: stabilization of temperature increase at 2°C in global average temperature by 2100:**
  - -50% global reduction of GHG, or 80% for OECD countries
  - Major transformation and decarbonization of the economy
- **Combination of sustainable development strategy & peace policy: sustainable peace to prevent that GEC issues pose a threat to international peace.**
- **Fundamental transformation & demilitarization of security is needed not a militarization of the environment, as we are the threat & solution.**

# **10. Global Human and Environmental Security Handbook for the Anthropocene**

**To advance these aims in the scientific discourse is a goal of a book series published by Springer**

- Hexagon Book Series on Human and Environmental Security and PEACE (HESP)**

**<<http://www.afes-press-books.de/html/hexagon.htm>>**

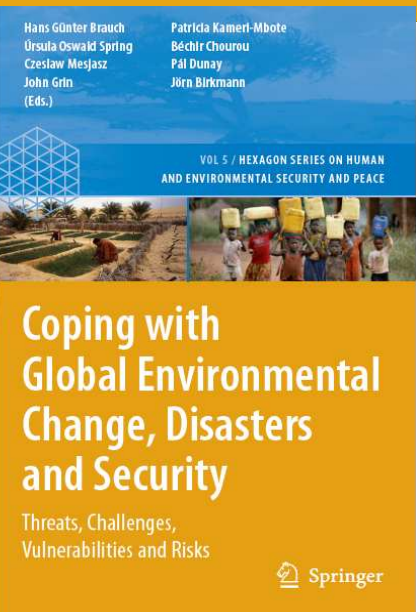
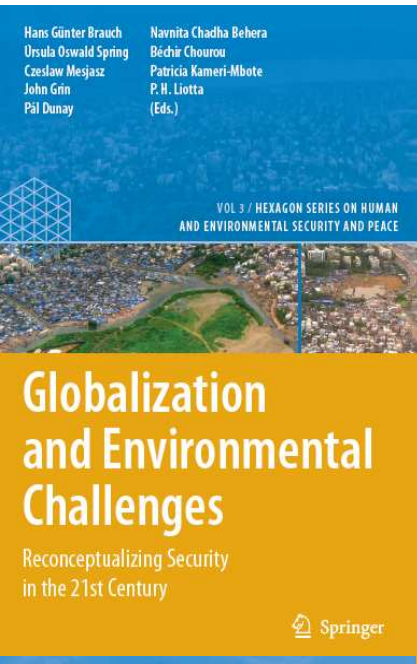
- Global Environmental and Human Security Handbook for the Anthropocene (GEHSHA)**
  - Globalization and Environmental Challenges (2008)**
  - Facing Global Environmental Change (2009)**
  - Coping with Global Environmental Change (2011)**

**contains 270 peer reviewed chapters by 300 scientific authors and policy-makers from 100 countries**

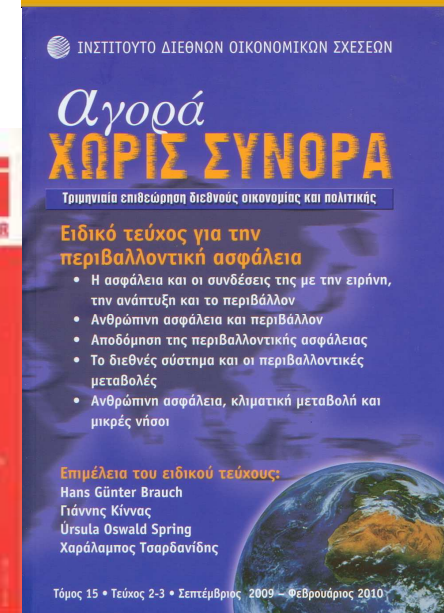
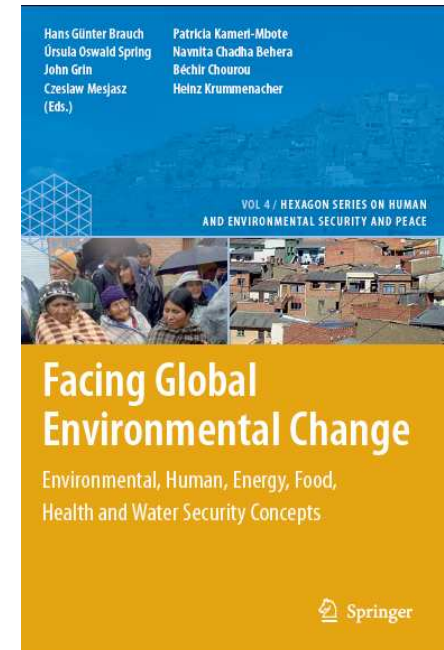
# 10.1. Environmental Security Handbook

## GEHSHA

- I. Globalization and Environmental Challenges:** 92 authors, 36 countries, 16 disciplines, former vice presidents, ministers, generals, diplomats (2008)
- II. Facing Global Environmental Change:** 132 authors, 49 countries on global debate and problems of environmental, human, energy, food, health, water security (2009)
- III. Coping with Global Environmental Change Disasters and Security – Threats, Challenges, Vulnerabilities and Risks (2011)**

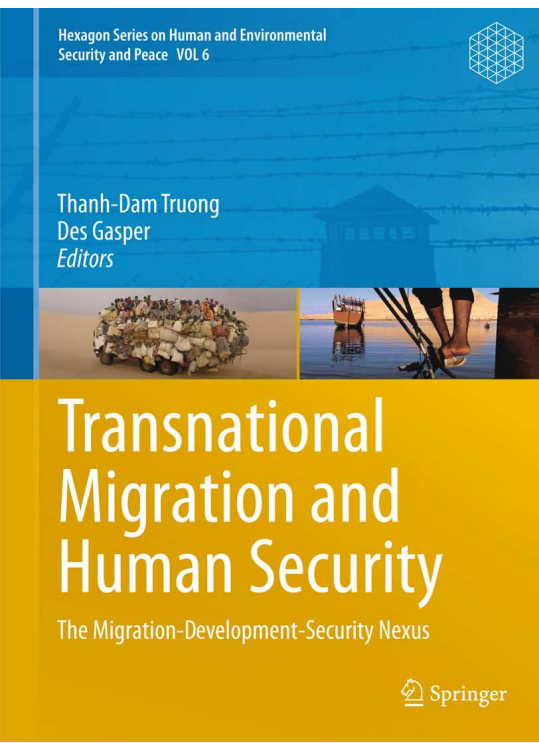
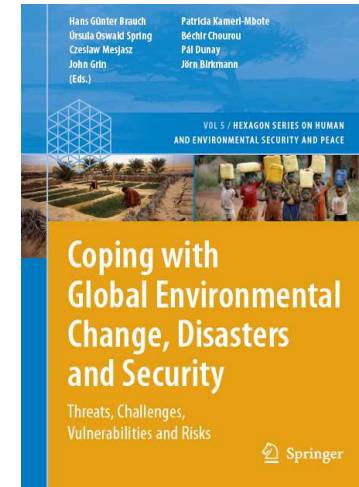
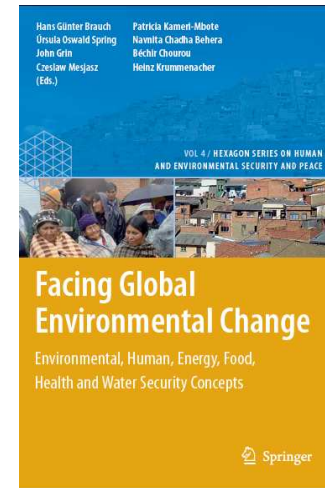
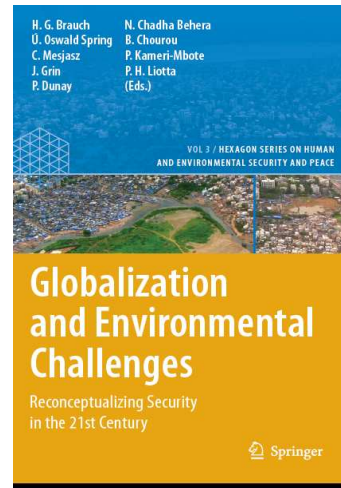
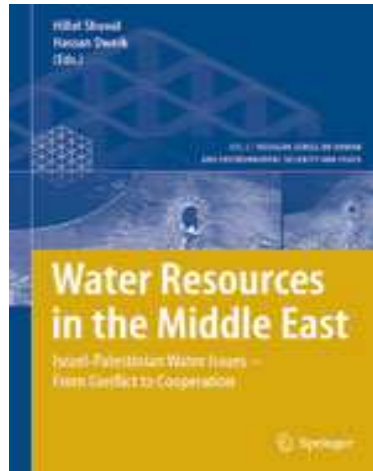
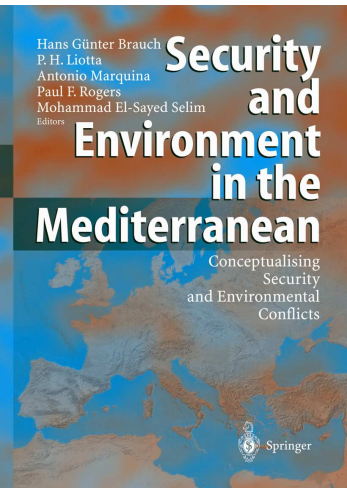


Spanish  
Turkish  
Greek  
Editions





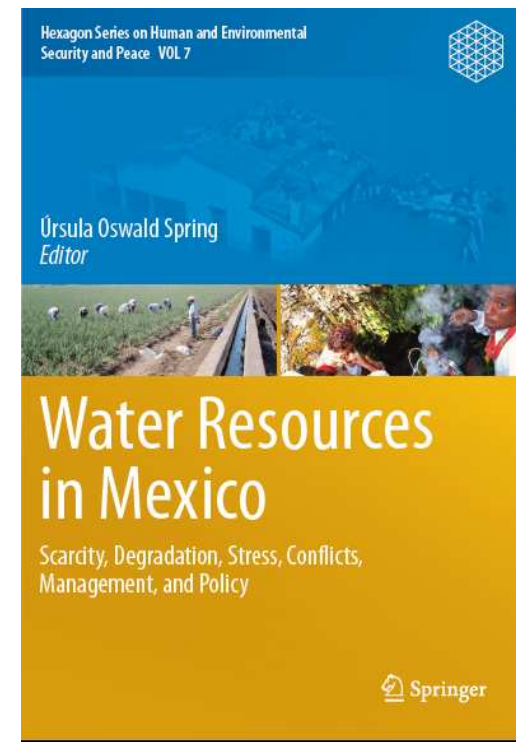
# 10.2. Hexagon Series: Volumes I-VII



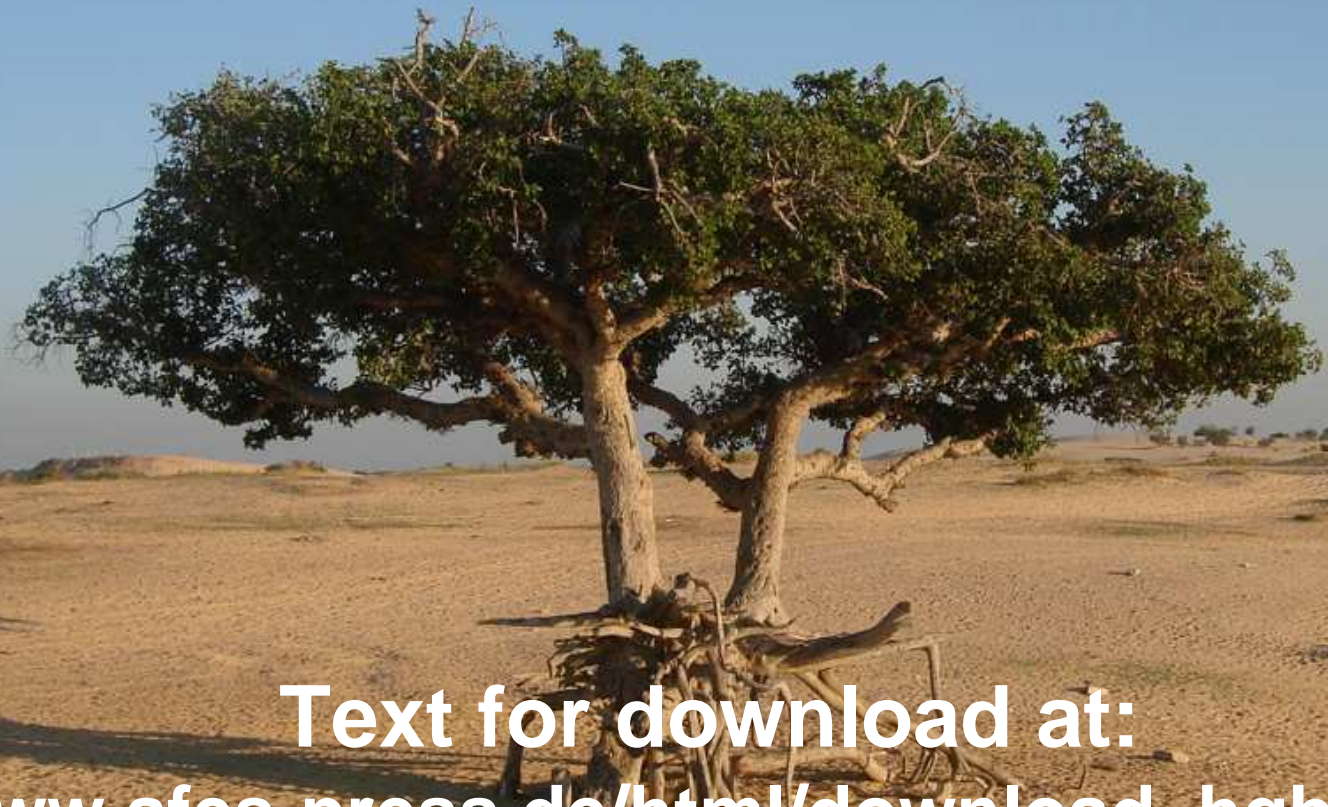
## Forthcoming Volumes

Scheffran, Jürgen; Brzoska, Michael; Brauch, Hans Günter; Link, Peter Michael; Schilling, Janpeter (Eds.): ***Climate Change, Human Security and Violent Conflict: Challenges for Societal Stability***. Hexagon Series on Human and Environmental Security and Peace, vol. 8. Berlin – Heidelberg – New York: Springer-Verlag, 2011).

Czeslaw Mesjasz: ***Stability, Turbulence or Chaos? Systems Thinking and Theory and Policy of Security***. Hexagon Series on Human and Environmental Security and Peace, vol. 9 (Berlin – Heidelberg – New York: Springer-Verlag, 2011), in planning.



**Thank you  
for your attention  
and patience.**



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