

Reconceptualising Security in the 21st Century

Facing the Challenges of Global Environmental Change and Globalisation

Opening remarks to Seminar, 21.-23.2.2005

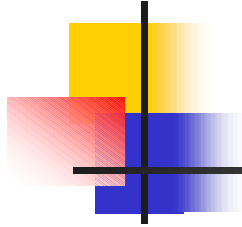


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1. Defining Security: term, concept, value, goal, means?

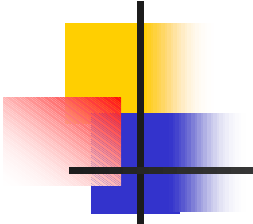
- ✍ **A term:** Security (lat.: *securus* and *se cura*; it. *sicurezza*, fr.: *sécurité*, sp.: *seguridad*, p.: *segurança*, g: *Sicherheit*)
- ✍ Security was introduced by **Cicero and Lucretius** referring to a **philosophical and psychological status of mind**.
- ✍ It was used as a **political concept** in context of ‘**Pax Romana**’.
- ✍ Today ‘security’ as a **political value** has no independent meaning & is related to **individual or societal value systems** (Brauch 2003).

A scientific concept

- ✍ As a **social science concept**, “security is ambiguous and elastic in its meaning” Art (1993)
- ✍ ‘**Security**’: refers to frameworks, dimensions, individuals, issue areas, societal conventions & changing historical conditions & circumstances.
- ✍ **Needed: Logical stringency.**

A political concept

- ✍ **Tool to legitimate** public funding for an accepted purpose: safety, protection (military & police)
- ✍ **Political acceptability** (support) gaining and regaining power.



1.1. Defining Security: Science vs. Object of Analysis

Social Sciences:

- Philosophy
- International Law
- Sociology, Economics
- Geography
- Political Science

Political Science

- Political philosophy (ideas)
- Government system & comparative government
- **International relations**
- Administrative & policy sciences

„Politik, politique“ of Political Science

Polity: Legal Basis & Institutions

- Foundations & Structures.
- **Legal** (UN Charter, NATO, EU treaties)
- **Institutions**: UNSC, EU Commission

Politics: Process

- **UN Security Council**. NATO Council
- Domestic: government vs. Parliament

Policy: Field: Security Policy

- Actor specific: governments, Parliaments, parties, NGOs



1.2. A Classical Definition in Political Science & International Relations

- ✍ Arnold Wolfers (1962), US of Swiss origin, realist pointed to two sides of the 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 some remote sensors
- ✍ Absence of “fears”: interest of social scientists, especially of contructivists: “Reality is socially constructed”
- ✍ Iraq case: WMD: “subject. fear” vs. “lack of obj. threat”
- ✍ According to Møller (2003) Wolfer’s definition ignores: Whose values might be threatened? Which are these values? Who might threaten them? By which means? Whose fears should count? How might one distinguish between sincere fears and faked ones?

1.3. Robert Kagan*): Mars vs. Venus or United States vs. Europe (2003)

On questions of power
American and European
perspectives are diverging.

Europe lives in a world of laws,
paradise of peace & prosperity

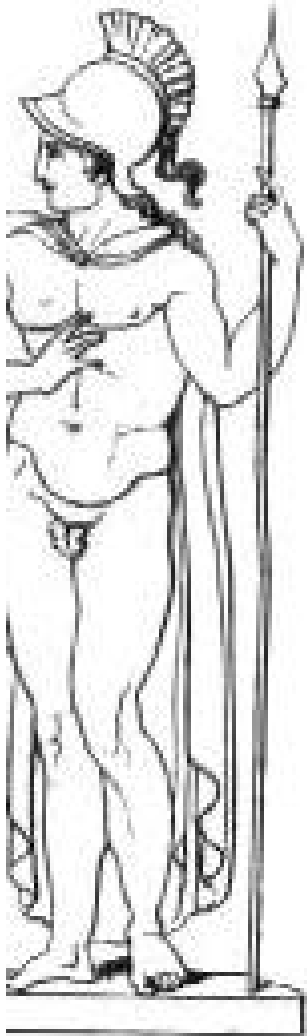
Americans exercise power in an
anarchic Hobbesian world where
defence depends on military might.

?Americans are from Mars

Europeans from Venus ?

I am neither from Mars nor Venus
but influenced by the English School

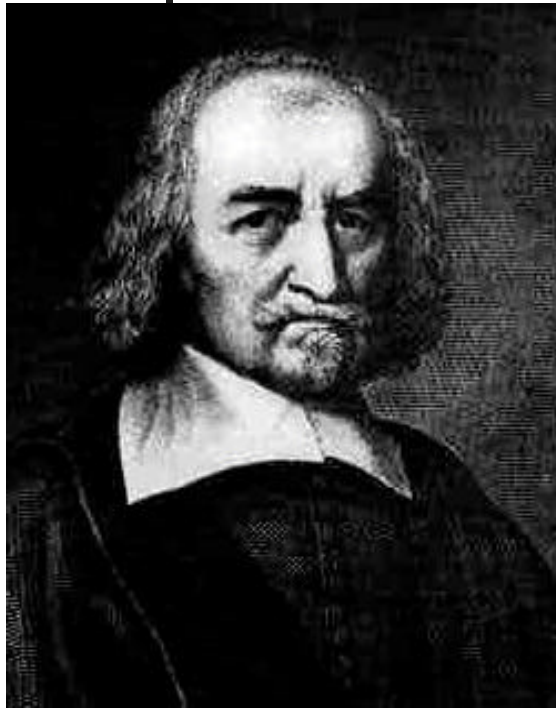
* Of Paradise and Power
(New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003)



Encyclopedia Mythica
<http://www.pantheon.org/>



1.4. 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

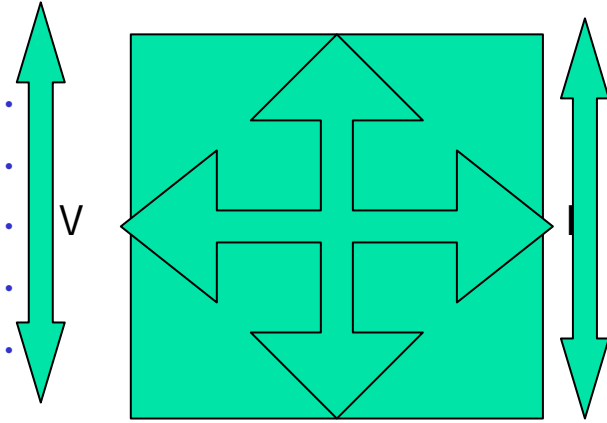


1.5. Mind-sets & Worldviews on Security: Towards Convergence

- ✍ **Mind-set (Ken Booth):** have often distorted perception of new challenges: include ethnocentrism, realism, ideological fundamentalism, strategic reductionism
- ✍ **Booth:** Mind-sets freeze international relations into crude images, portray its processes as mechanistic responses of power and characterise other nations as stereotypes.
- ✍ **Mind-sets have survived global turn of 1989/1990**
- ✍ **Worldview (English School):** int. tradition, macro-theory: Hobbes, Grotius & Kant as Weberian ideal types
- ✍ **Thesis: January 2001: GW Bush, neo-conservative political mind-set returned to influence and powre in USA.**

1.6. Concepts of security in relation with peace, environment and development

✍ Pillars & linkage concepts within the quartet

IR research programs	Conceptual Quartet	Conceptual Linkages
<p>✍ Peace Research</p> <p>✍ Security Studies</p> <p>✍ Development Studies</p> <p>✍ Environment Studies</p> <p>4 conceptual pillars</p> <p>✍ I: Security dilemma</p> <p>✍ II: <i>Survival dilemma</i></p> <p>✍ III: Sust. developm.</p> <p>✍ IV: <i>Sustain. peace</i></p>	<p>Peace ↔ Security</p> <p>• I: <i>Security dilemma</i></p>  <p>Developm. ↔ Environm.</p> <p>III: <i>Sustainable development</i></p>	<p>• Policy use of concepts & Theoretical debates on six dyadic linkages</p> <p>• L1: Peace & security</p> <p>• L 2: Peace & development</p> <p>• L 3: Peace & environment</p> <p>• L 4: Devel. & security</p> <p>• L 5: Devel. & environment</p> <p>• L 6: Security & environm.</p> <p>[six chapters reviewing & assessing the debates]</p>

1.7. Conceptual Linkages:

old: peace & security (UN Charter)

new: security & environment & development

Main goal of UN-Charter: Art. 1.1.

- ✍ „to maintain **international peace and security**, and to that end: to take **effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace**, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace“.
- ✍ Development and environment concepts and policies developed later, as did linkage concepts of environment & security or environmental security (GMES)



2. Why Reconceptualisation of Security?

Political context: Cold War and since 1990

Which change is crucial and long-lasting?

- ✍ **9 November 1989:** unification of Germany & **Europe:** triggered integration
- ✍ **11 September 2001:** vulnerability of US to terrorism **USA:** triggered revival of **Cold War mindset**, military build-up, and constraints on civil liberty: impact of laws on homeland security

Did the contextual change of 1989 or the impact of 11 September trigger a global “reconceptualisation” of security?

Political science context: realism ✍ constructivism

- ✍ **Kuhn:** Scientific revolutions lead to paradigm shifts
- ✍ **Ideas matter:** emergence of constructivist approaches, security is socially constructed (speech acts), constructivism shift, but no scientific revolution.
- ✍ **Threats matter:** evolution of the new worldview of the neo-conservative ideologues in the US & impact on IR.



2.1. Political contextual change Cold War and since 1990

	Cold War (1947-89)	Post Cold War (1990-)
Concept	Narrow	Wide (EU, OECD world)
		Narrow: non-OECD world Since 11.9. 2001 in USA
Dimensions	military, political	+ economic, societal,
Referent	nation state, alliance	+ global env. change
Threat (from)	Soviet(West), imperialist (East)	individual to global
Challenge	manifold: 5 dimensions	USA: WMD, terrorism
Vulnerability	weapons systems, cities, ICBMs, infrastructure	EU: wider spectrum, climate change
Risk	military, ideological	5 dimensions of sec



2.2. Two causes for reconceptualisation of security

- ✍ **Since 1990:** two causes for reconceptualisation of “security”:
- ✍ a) **fundamental changes in the *international political order*** resulted in new hard security threats, soft (environmental) security challenges, in new vulnerabilities and risks that are perceived and interpreted differently depending on worldview, mind-set, and models by the analyst;
- ✍ b) **increasing perception of new challenges triggered by global environmental change (GEC) and processes of globalisation** that may result in fatal outcomes (hazards, migration) that escalate into political crises & violent conflicts.



2.3. Scientific Innovation: Constructivism & Risk Society

- ✍ **Reconceptualising of security** is also a result of developments in the social sciences with the emergence of
 - ✍ a) **constructivist approaches** (ideas matter, reality and knowledge are socially constructed) and
 - ✍ b) **“reflexive modernity”** in sociology (Beck 1992, ‘98; Giddens , 90).
- ✍ These changes: **no scientific revolution** (Kuhn 1964).
- ✍ The combination of the impact of the **change of international order** on the object of security analysis, and of the **new theoretical approaches** in the social sciences have amalgamated in **new concepts** and theoretical approaches on **security threats, challenges, vulnerabilities and risks** that has resulted in a new scientific diversity.



3. Widening, Deepening and Sectorialisation of Security

Since 1990 we have observed 3 changes of the Security Concept in Science & Practice

- ✍ **Widening:** Extended security concepts, e.g. in the German Defence White Paper (1994), from military & political dimension to econ., societal, environmental
- ✍ **Deepening:** Shift in the referent from the state (national security) to the individual (human security)
- ✍ **Sectorialisation:** many international organisations use security: energy security (IEA), health security (WHO), food security (FAO, WFP), water security (UNEP, UNU), livelihood security (OECD) etc.

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	Politi- cal	Economic	Environ- mental ?	Societal
Human individual ?			Food/health	Cause & Victim	Food/health
Societal/Community				✗ ✗	
National	Shrinking		Energy se.	✗ ✗	
Internat./Regional				✗ ✗	
Global/Planetary ?				GEC	

3.2. Environmental & Human Security

Expanded Concepts of Security (© Møller, 2003)

Label	Reference object	Value at risk	Source(s) of threat
National security	The State	Territ. integrity	State, substate actors
Societal security	Societal groups	Nation. identity	Nations, migrants
Human security	Individ., mankind	Survival	Nature, state, global.
Environmental sec.	Ecosystem	Sustainability	Humankind
Gender security	Gender relations, indigenous people, minorities	Equality, identity, solidarity	Patriarchy, totalitarian institutions (governm., churches, elites) intoler.

Human security: Referent: individuals and humankind. [**Human Security Network**]

✍ **Values at risk:** survival of human beings and their quality of life.


✍ **Major source of threat:** nature (global environmental change), globalisation, nation state with its ability to cope with this dual challenge.

Environmental Security: Referent: Ecosystem; Value at risk is sustainability.

✍ **Major challenges:** global environmental change & humankind,

✍ **Focus:** Interactions between ecosystem & humankind, impact of global environmental change on environmental degradation, of increasing demand on environmental scarcity & environmental stress. [**No Environment Security Network of States, & IGOs & NGOs**]

3.3. Human Security Network Members



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

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

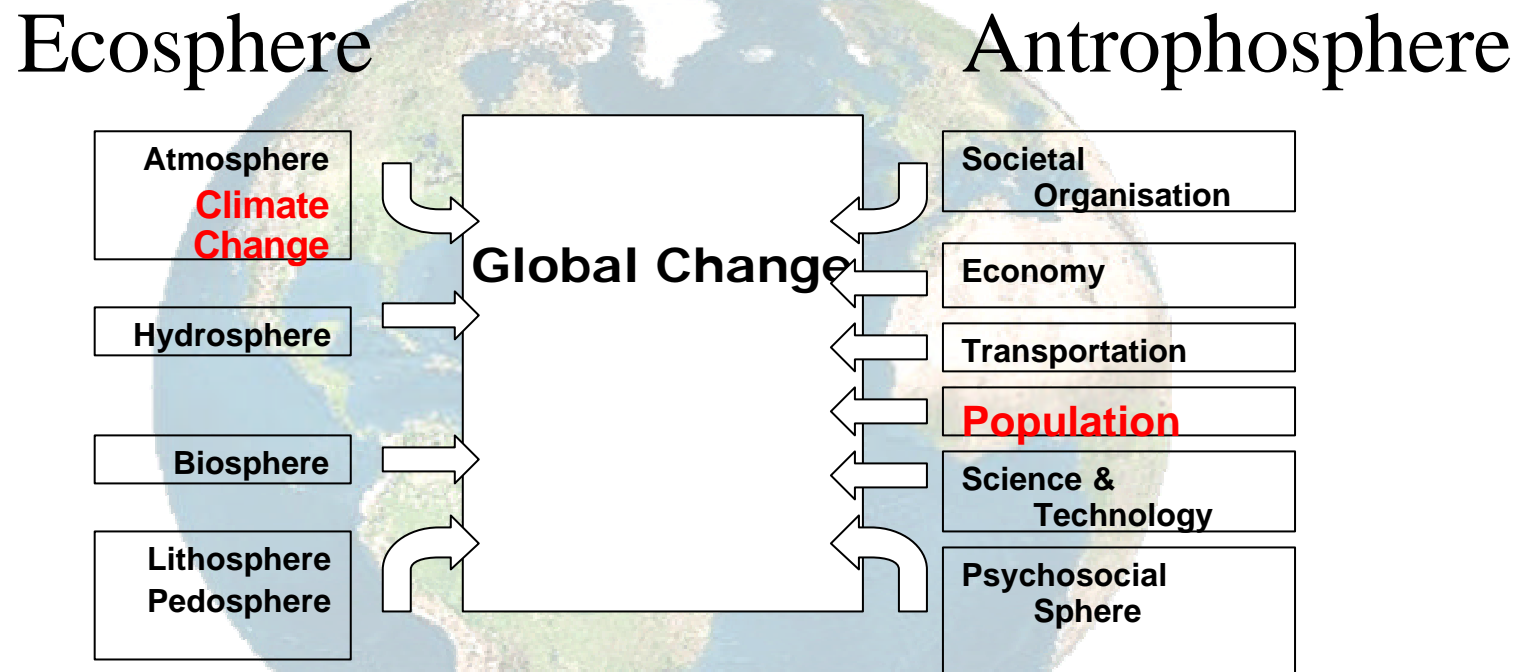
So far no environmental security issues on the agenda of this HS-Network.

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

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

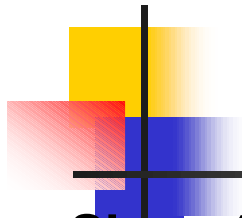
Conferences at Foreign Ministers level in Bergen, Norway (1999), in Lucerne, Switzerland (2000), Petra, Jordan (2001), Santiago de Chile (2002), Graz (2003), Bamako, Mali (May 2004).

4. Global Environmental Change (GEC): Environment & Security Linkages



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

4.1. Global Environmental Change (GEC) Research



✍ Since 1970s, 1980s GEC focused on human-induced perturbations in environment encompassing many globally significant issues on natural & human-induced changes in environment, & socio-econ. drivers

✍ **IGBP or International Geosphere-Biosphere Programme;**

✍ **IHDP or International Human Dimensions Programme;**

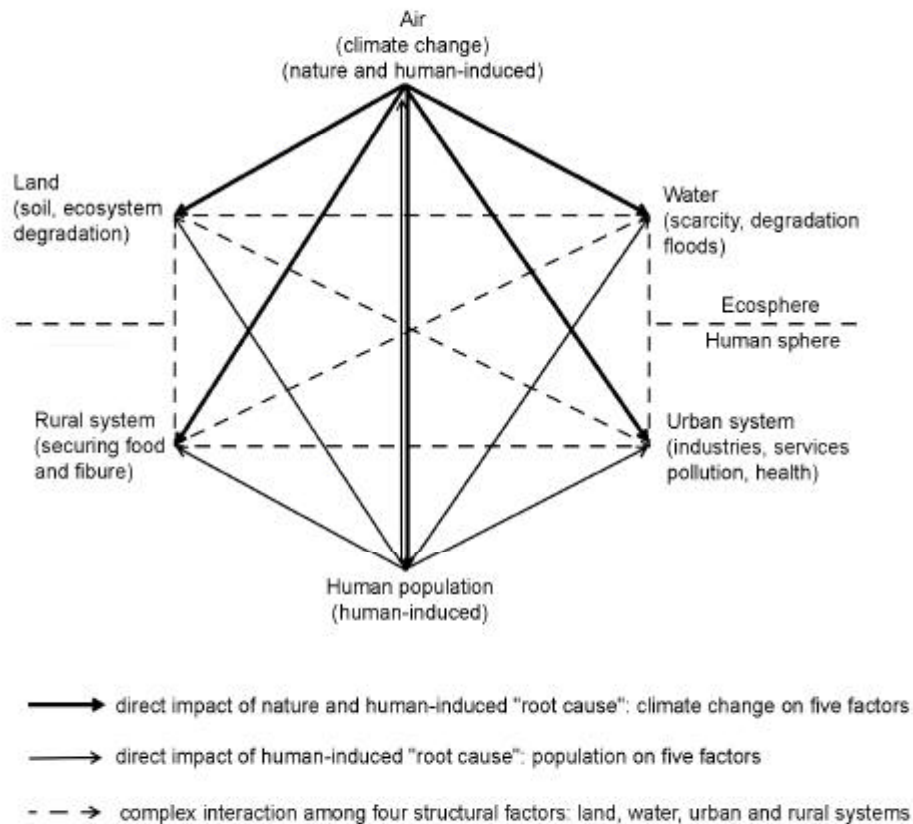
✍ **World Climate Research Program (WCRP), DIVERSITAS**

- **IHDP:** contribution & adaptation of societies to changes, social, cult., econ., ethical, spiritual issues, our role & responsibility for the environ.
- GEC deals with **changes in nature & society that affect humankind** as a whole and human beings both a cause and victim, however those who have caused it and are most vulnerable to are often not identical.
- **GEC affects & combines ecosphere & anthroposphere.**

Ecosphere: *atmosphere* (climate system), *hydrosphere* (water), *litho-sphere* (earth crust, fossil fuels), *pedosphere* (soil), *biosphere* (life).

Anthroposphere: populations, social organisations, knowledge, culture, economy & transport

4.2. Survival Hexagon to Illustrate Factors of Global Change



Ecosphere:

- ✍ Air: Climate Change
- ✍ Soil: Degradation, Desertification
- ✍ Water: degradat./scarcity

Anthroposphere:

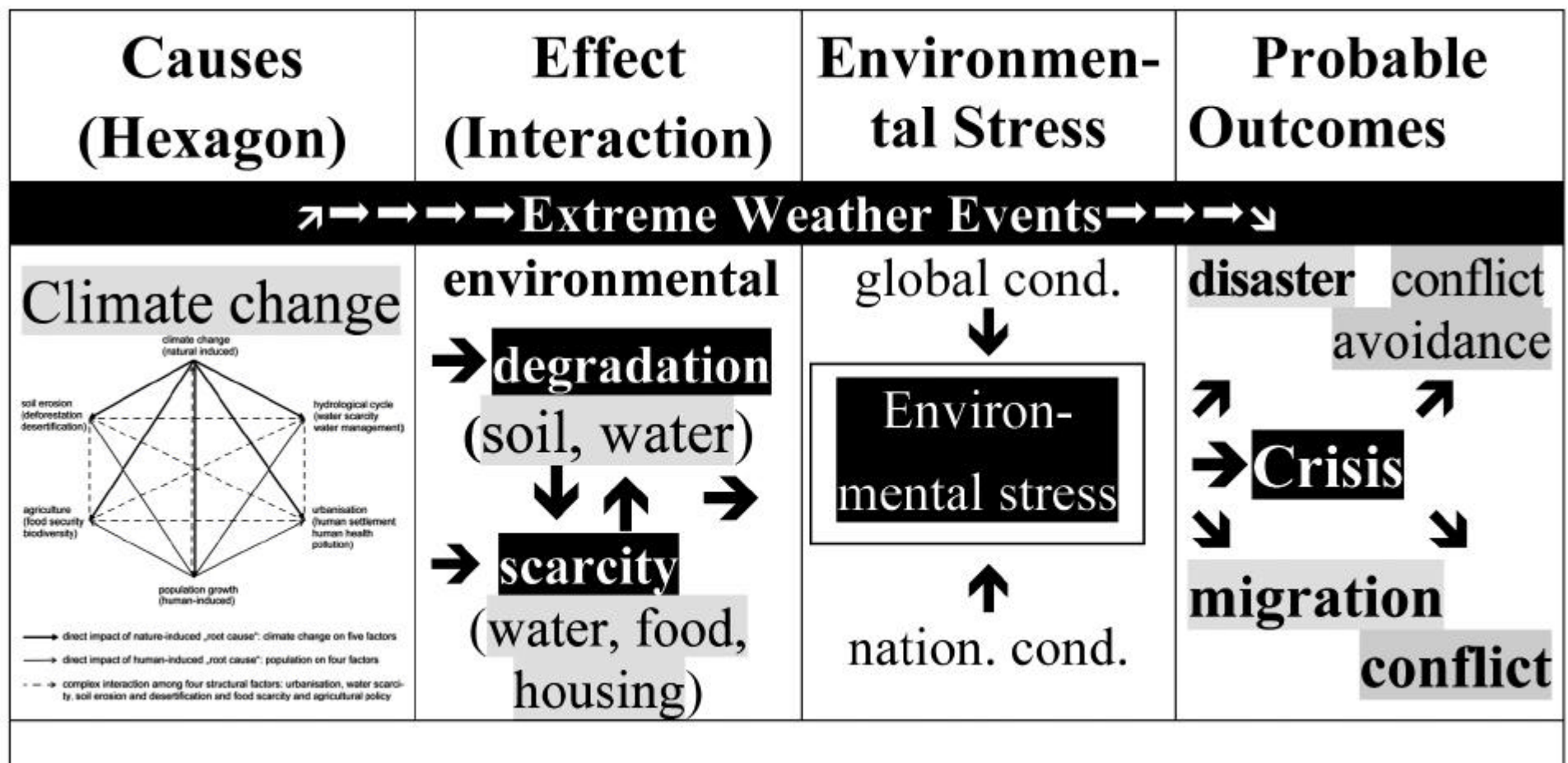
- ✍ Population growth/decline
- ✍ Rural system: agriculture
- ✍ Urban system: pollution etc.

Mode of Interaction

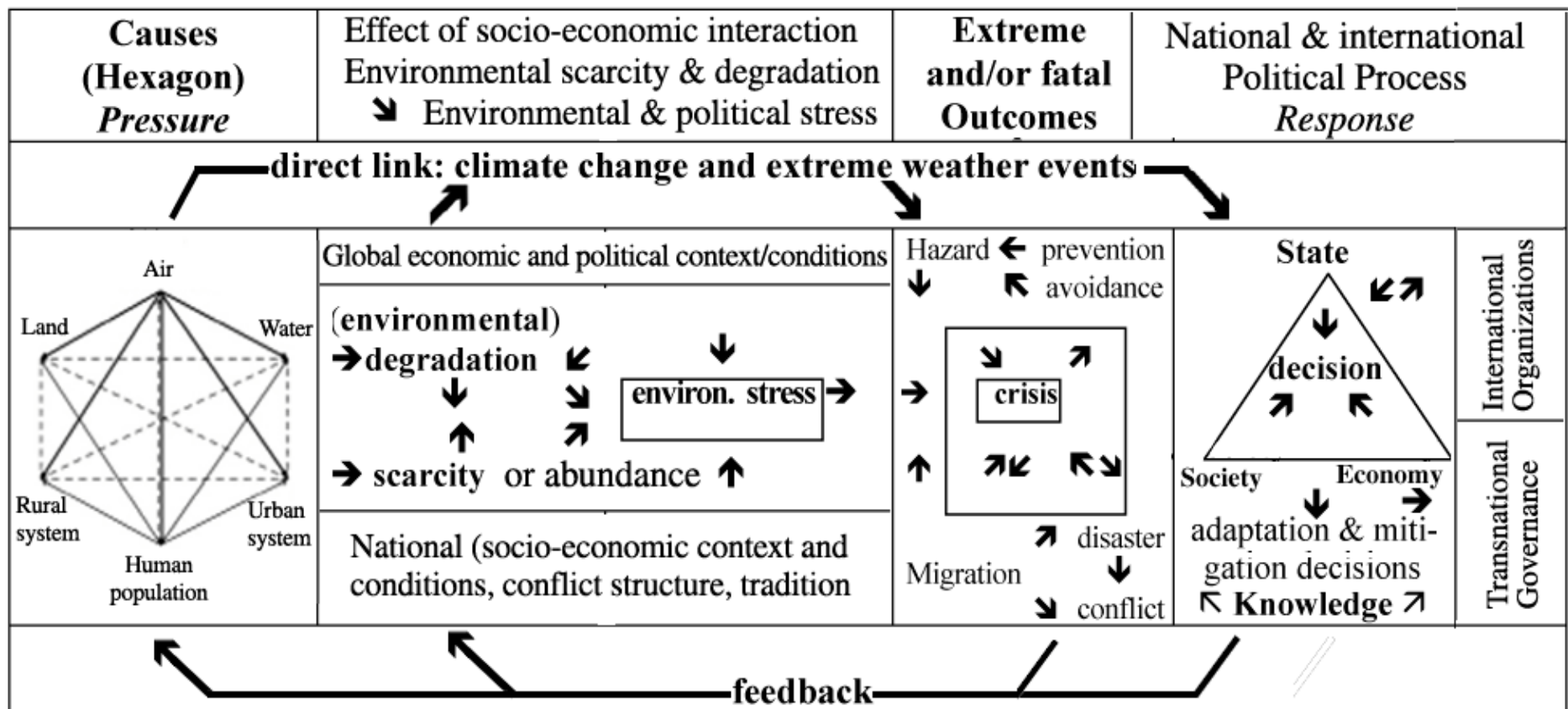
- Linear
- Exponential
- Chaotic, abrupt

4.3. Model: Global Environmental Change, Environmental Stress & Fatal Outcomes

Brauch, at: <http://www.afes-ress.de/html/download_hgb.html>



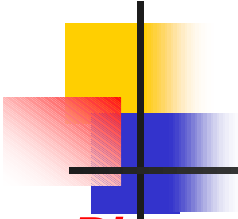
Source: Brauch 2005, in: UNESCO, UNU-EHS



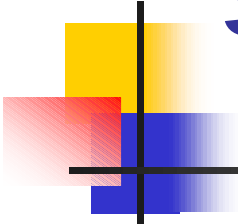
4.5. Ideal type worldviews on security and standpoints on environment

Worldview/Tradition on security (✍)	Machiavelli, Hobbes, Morgenthau, Waltz (pessimist, realist school)	Grotius, pragmatist <i>Cooperation is needed, matters</i>	Kant, neoliberal institutionalist (optimist) <i>International law matters and prevails (Democratic peace)</i>
Neomalthusian <i>Resource scarcity</i> (pessimist)	I George W. Bush-Administration ?	II ✍	III ✍
Reformer, <i>Multilateral cooperation solves chall.</i> (pragmatist)	IV	V UN system most EU states (my position)	VI
Cornucopian <i>Technological ingenuity solves issues</i> (neoliberal optimist)	VII George W. Bush-Administration ?	VIII Bill J. Clinton Administration ?	IX Wilsonian liberal optimism

4.6. Four Phases of Research on Environment & Security Linkages

- 
- ✍ **Phase I:** In 1970s & 1980s research focused on environmental impact of wars, with conceptual contributions & proposals by Ullman, Mathews, Myers.
 - ✍ **Phase II:** During the 1990s, 2 empirical environmental research projects: by *Toronto Group* (Homer-Dixon) & *Swiss Group* (Bächler/Spillmann).
 - ✍ **Phase III:** Since mid-990s a diversification by many research teams using many different methods occurred, hardly any integration of research results
 - ✍ **Phase IV:** of environmental security research suggested by Dalby (2002) & Brauch (2003) that combines structural factors from natural & human dimensions based on expertise from both sciences with outcomes & conflicts.
- ✍ During the first phase “there was a need to redefine security and to include a new range of threats” and “there was an acceptance that the object of security was no longer simply the state, but ranges to levels above and below the level of the state” (Lonergan, UNEP).

4.7. International Policy Activities Since 1990 in the UN System

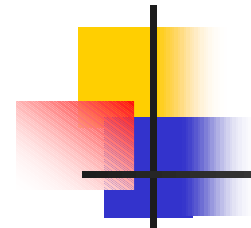
- 
- ✍ **Gorbachev (1987)** “proposed **ecological security** as a top priority, as a forum for international confidence building”.
 - ✍ Since 1990s widening of security concept has progressed and concepts of
 - ✍ “**environmental security**” (UNEP, OSCE, OECD, UNU, EU),
 - ✍ “**human security**” (UNDP, UNES-CO, UNU),
 - ✍ “**food security**” (WHO, World Bank),
 - ✍ “**energy security**” (World Bank, IEA),
 - ✍ “**livelihood security**” (OECD) have been used.
 - ✍ **OSCE, UNEP, UNDP & NATO. ENVSEC Initiative for Central Asia.**
 - ✍ **Klaus Toepfer (2004)**, identified a “need for scientific assessments of the link between environment and conflict to promote conflict prevention and peace building”.
 - ✍ **UNEP, DEWA** launched an “Environment and Conflict Prevention” initiative to stimulate “international efforts to promote conflict prevention,



5. Changing Referents: State Security vs. Human Security

- ✍ During World War II, “**national security**” concept emerged in U.S. “to explain America’s relationship to the rest of the world”.
- ✍ “National security” a guiding principle for U.S. policy. During Cold War concepts of **internal, national, alliance & international security** were used for a bipolar international order where deterrence played a key role to prevent a nuclear war.
- ✍ “**National**” and “**alliance security**” focused on military and political threats posed by the rival system.
- ✍ National security legitimated the allocation of major resources and constraints on civil liberties.

5.1. Competing Schools and Concepts of Security



- ✍ Security key concept of two competing schools of:
 - ? **war, military, strategic, security studies** (Hobbesian perspective)
 - ? **peace & conflict research** (Grotian or Kantian view)

✍ After Cold War distance between schools narrowed.

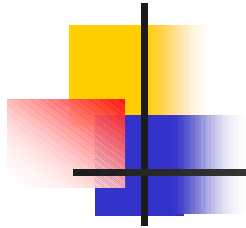
New methodolog. approaches & debates on security:

- ? *traditional* methodological. approaches (geopolitics);
- ? *critical security studies*;
- ? *constructivist* and *deconstructivist* approaches.

✍ Traditional approach, 4 cooperative security concepts: a) *common security*; b) *mutual security*; c) *cooperative security*; and d) *security partnership*.

Security concepts coexist: a **narrow** Hobbesian **statecentred** political & military security concept & a **wider Grotian security concept** that includes economic, societal, environm. dimensions, focus on **individuals & humankind** as referents.

5.2. Different Concepts of Human Security



Human security has been referred to as a

- 1) level of analysis,
- 2) human-centred based: poverty eradic., freedom, equity
- 3) an encompassing concept (UNDP 1994).

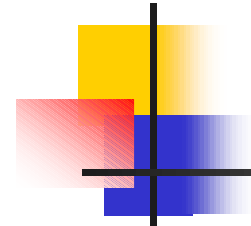
- ✍ For 1st approach, *individual human beings* affected by environmental stress & outcomes (disaster, migration, conflicts) are referent objects;
- ✍ for the 2nd a *normative orientation* is essential while the
- ✍ 3rd is a **combination of 5 dimensions & levels** (too broad to become a basis for social science research)



5.3. Three Groups of Human Security Concepts

- ✍ “Freedom from want” by reducing societal vulnerability through poverty eradication programs (UNDP ‘94; CHS 2003: Ogata/Sen: Human Security Now), Japanese approach;
- ✍ “freedom from fear” by reducing the probability that hazards may pose a survival dilemma for most affected people of extreme weather events (UNESCO, HSN), Canadian approach;
- ✍ “freedom from hazard impact” by reducing vulnerability & enhancing coping capabilities of societies confronted with natural & human-induced hazards (UNU-EHS 2004).

5.4. GECHS Definition of Human Security



- ✍ **GECHS:** IHDP Proj.: Global Env. Change & Human Secur.
- ✍ GECHS arose from the nexus of the human dimensions of GEC and the reconceptualisation of security.
- ✍ **According to the GECHS definition:**

“Human security is achieved when and where individuals and communities have the options necessary to end, mitigate, or adapt to threats to their human, environmental, and social rights; actively participate in attaining these options; and have the capacity and freedom to exercise these options” (1999).
- ✍ **GECHS has focused primarily on the causes of GEC (*pressure*),**
- ✍ **Institute on the Environment & Human Security of UN Univeresity (UNU-EHS) will focus on the *response to extreme outcomes*:** floods and droughts aiming at “freedom from hazard impacts” reducing vulnerability & enhancing the coping capabilities of societies confronted by environmental and human induced hazards.



6. Spatial Context: global, regional, national, societal security

Global or International Security

- ? **International security: concept in UN Charter**
 - UN-Sec. Counc.: **International collective security** (ch. VI, VII)
 - **Regional collective security** (chapter VIII)
 - **National & collective self-defence**: Art. 51 (alliances, NATO)
- ? **Global security concepts/threats: Steinbruner, Kaldor,**
 - **New threats**: organised crime, human trafficking, HIV/AIDS

Regional Security: OSCE, AU, OAS (Chap. VIII)

- **OSCE**: human (rights) & environmental security (Kiev process)
- **NATO**: military, political, environmental, energy security

Societal Security

- **Balkans**: ethnicity, religion, migration, minority, national identity etc.



6.1. European Security Concepts

European Security

- ✍ **EU no state** & no federation but a “Staatenverbund”, thus **national security** concepts do not apply
- ✍ **EU has no citizens of its own**, thus a EU concept of **security for the citizen** does not apply (excludes non-citizens living in EU)
- ✍ CFSP & ESDP: 2nd pillar: Council
- ✍ **European Commission** has competence in few areas: e.g. arms control, disarmament, humanitarian aid, development, climate policy etc. (in three pillars: Community, CFSP & Justice and Home Affairs)
- ✍ **Council:** intergovernmental coordination (Solana)



7. Institutional Security Concepts and Security Systems

Kant (1795): Two Systems of Collective Security

Both in **Covenant of League of Nations (1919)** the guarantee of “international peace and international security” and in **UN Charter (1945)** the goal “to maintain international peace and security” were emphasized. In 1945, “development” and “environment” were not political concepts.

UN Charter distinguished among 3 security systems:

(a) **universal system of *collective security*** contained in Chapter VI on pacific settlement of disputes (Art. 33-38) and in Chapter VII on “Action with respect to threats to the peace, breaches to the peace and acts of aggression” (Art. 39-50);

(b) “***regional arrangements or agencies***” for regional security issues in Chapter VIII (Art. 52 to 54), such as the Arab League (1945), OAS (1947) and CSCE/OSCE (1975, 1992); and

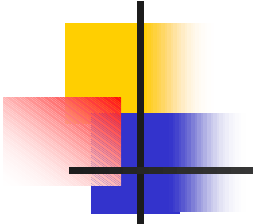
(c) right of “***individual or collective self- defense***” (WEU, NATO) Art.



7.1. Reconceptualising Security and Security Systems

- ✍ **Reconceptualisation of security debate on 3 levels of analysis:**
 - ✍ a) the **scientific, academic conceptual debate on security**
 - ✍ b) the **political efforts by UN**, its subsidiary organisations
 - ✍ c) the **political efforts of the EU** and its three organs: The Commission, the European Council and the Council and the European Parliament
- UN: Boutros-Ghali: An Agenda for Peace (1992)**
- ✍ **UN Sec. General's Human Security Commission (2003), and High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change (report of 2 Dec. 2004)**
- ✍ **European Security Architecture: OSCE, EU, NATO**
- ✍ **Early 1990s:** intensive debate on the relationship between NATO, OSCE and EU (division of labour, competition)
- ✍ **EU: Petersberg tasks & Berlin Plus:** new security functions
- ✍ **Are of relevance for WP 21.000 & for GMOSS as a whole**

8. Several Political Reassessments of Security at the UN-Level

- 
-
- ✍ UNDP (1994): *Human Security Concept*
 - ✍ CHS (2003); Ogata/Sen: *Human Security Now*.
 - ✍ UNEP's Div. of Early Warning & Assessment (DEWA).
Toepfer (2004): "need for scientific assessments of the link between environment & conflict to promote conflict prevention & peace building".
 - ✍ DEWA "Environment and Conflict Prevention" initiative
stimulate "international efforts to promote conflict prevention, peace, cooperation through activities, policies, & actions related to environmental protection, restoration, & resources.
 - ✍ Secretary General's High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change (2004): *A more secure world: Our shared responsibility*.

8.1. Human Security Commission (2003): Ogata/Sen: Human Security Now

- ✍ **Commission on Human Security (CHS)** established in January 2001 at initiative of Japan. The Commission consisted of twelve persons, chaired by Sadako Ogata (former UNHCR) Amartya Sen (1998 Nobel Economics).
- ✍ **CHS goals:** a) promote public understanding, engagement and support of human security; b) develop the concept of human security as an operational tool for policy formulation and implementation; c) propose a concrete program of action to address critical and pervasive threats to HS.
- ✍ **Human Security Now** (2003) proposes a **people-centered** security framework that focuses “**on shielding people** from critical and pervasive threats and **empowering them to take charge of their lives**. It demands creating genuine opportunities for **people to live in safety and dignity and earn their livelihood**. Its final report highlighted that:
 - ✍ More than **800,000 people a year lose their lives to violence**. Ca. **2.8 billion suffer from poverty, ill health, illiteracy & other maladies**

8.2. SG's High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change (2004): *A more secure world: Our shared responsibility*

- ✍ Report of SG's High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change (2 December 2004) reflects widening of “security” concept pointing to new tasks for the UN system in the 21st century.
- ✍ New emerging security consensus, collective security rests on 3 basic pillars:
- ✍ Today's **threats recognize no national boundaries**, are connected, and must be addressed at the **global and regional as well as the national levels**. No State, no matter how powerful, can by its own efforts alone make itself invulnerable to today's threats. And it cannot be assumed that every State will always be able, or willing, to meet its responsibility to protect its own peoples and not to harm its neighbors ...
- ✍ **Differences of power, wealth and geography** do determine what we **perceive** as the gravest threats to our survival and well-being. ... Without mutual recognition of threats there can be no collective security.... What is needed is nothing less than a new consensus ... The essence of that consensus is simple: we all share responsibility for each other's security.

8.3. SG's High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change (2004): Six clusters of threats

- 
-  **Economic & social threats:** poverty, infectious disease, env. Degradation
 -  **Inter-state;**
 -  **Internal conflict,**
 -  **Weapons of mass destruction:** nuclear, radiological, biological, chemical
 -  **Terrorism**
 -  **Transnational organized crime.**
 -  **“Environmental degradation” is among the threats confronting the UN that require preventive action “which addresses all these threats”.**
 -  **Development “helps combat the poverty, infectious disease & environmental degradation that kill millions and threaten human security”.**



8.4. SG's High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change (2004): „Environmental degradation“

- ✍ 53. **Environmental degradation** has **enhanced the destructive potential** of **natural disasters** and in some cases **hastened their occurrence**.
- ✍ The **dramatic increase in major disasters witnessed in the last 50 years** provides worrying evidence of these trends.
- ✍ **More than 2 million people were affected by such disasters in the last decade, in the same period the economic toll surpassed that of the previous 4 decades combined.** If **climate change** produces more flooding, heat waves, droughts and storms, this pace may accelerate.
- ✍ The High-level Panel notes that “**rarely are environmental concerns factored into security, development or humanitarian strategies**” & it points to the **lack of effective governance structures** to deal with **climate change, deforestation and desertification**, as well as to the **inadequate “implementation and enforcement” of regional and global treaties**.
- ✍ **Climate Change as a security issue.**



9. EU Security Context

Institutions:

- a) European Council and General Affairs Council
- b) Commission of the European Communities
- c) European Parliament

Pillars:

- i) Community pillar: DG Relex, DG Dev., DG Env., DG Trade
- ii) Intergovernmental pillars: CEEP, ESDP, Justice & Home Affairs

Competencies of the European Commission:

- DG Justice and Home Affairs: Frattini (Italy)
- DG Environment, Civil Protection: (Greece)
- DG Trade
- DG Development
- DG Relex: Ferrero-Waldner

9.1. European Commission Barroso Goals: Strategic Objectives 2005-2009

- 
- ✍ In **January 2005**, the **Commission** of the **European Communities** outlined its goals on security in political documents:
 - ✍ 1. Commission of the European Communities: **Strategic Objectives 2005-2009, Europe 2010**: A Partnership for European Renewal: Prosperity, Solidarity and Security – Communication from the President in agreement with Vice-President Wallström, 26.1.2005, COM(2005) 12 final
 - ✍ 2. Commission of the European Communities: **Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament and the Council: Annual Policy Strategy for 2005**: 25.1.2005, COM(2004) 133 final
 - ✍ 3. Commission of the European Communities: **Commission Work Programme for 2005**. Communication from the President in agreement with Vice-President Wallström, 26.1.2005, COM(2005) 15 final
 - ✍ 4. Commission of the European Communities: **Roadmaps: Commission Work Programme 2005: Security, pp. 118-205.**

9.2. Commission of the European Communities: **Strategic Objectives 2005-2009, Europe 2010:**



A Partnership for European Renewal: Prosperity,
Solidarity and Security

p. 4: „Without solidarity & **security**, prosperity will not be fully realised

p.10: **Security and Freedom**

Freedom can only be enjoyed within a framework of security provided by law.

- **personal security of European citizens** in face of crime & terrorism;
- **Security: ability of citizens to run daily life on a secure basis;**
- **Risk:** natural disasters, env. or health crises, transprot, energs **threats**
- **Task:** risk prevention, early warning, crisis management, solidarity with victims of disasters

3.1. Security and Justice in Europe (DG Justice & home affairs)

3.2. **Managing Risk** in the modern world (DG Env., Civil Protection)

4.1. A stronger Actor in the world economy (DG Trade)

4.2. Global Solidarity (DG Dev., ECHO)

4.3. Making Security work worldwide (DG Relex)

9.3. Commission of the European Communities: Strategic Objectives 2005-2009, Europe 2010:

3.1. DG Justice & Home Affairs

3.2. DG Env., Civil Protection

3.1. Security and Justice in Europe (DG Justice & home affairs)

- response to Hague Programme (**risks** faced by citizens in Europe)
- fight against terrorism, strategic approach against organised crime
- integrated management of external borders [**GMOSS border monitoring**]

3.2. Managing Risk in the modern world (DG Env., Civil Protection)

- **reduce risks** for citizens: nat.disasters, env, or health crises, transport
- energy threats [**GMOSS infrastructure monitoring**]
- increased **threats of floods & drought** following **climate change**
- fallout from potential biol., chem., radiological attack, disease
- **early warning** and immediate response to crises [**GMOSS**]
- major sea accidents, risk of terrorist attacks on external oil
[**GMOSS.; infrastructure monitoring & damage assessment**]

9.4. Commission of the European Communities: **Strategic Objectives 2005-2009, Europe 2010:**

4.2. DG Development, ECHO

4.3. DG Relex

4.1. A stronger Actor in the world economy (DG Trade)

4.2. Global Solidarity (DG Dev., ECHO)

- promote our values outside
- sustainable development and human rights
- Millenium Development Goals
- specific response for Africa

4.3. Making Security work worldwide (DG Relex)

- **crisis and global security challenges [GMOSS]**
- successful neighbourhood policy
- Middle East peace settlement
- closer security cooperation
- European security and defence capabilities (**Europ. Security Strategy**), more effective **European Security and Defence Policy**
- **no specific reference to space and GMES**

9.5. EU Commission: Communication:

Annual Policy Strategy for 2005:

25.1.2005, COM(2004) 133 final

6: Policy Priorities for 2005

- **stability & security: improve security & European citizenship**
- **new external responsibility:** emphasis on neighbourhood dimension

11: External responsibility

- implementation of pre-accession strategy in Turkey
- European Security Strategy: crisis-management capacity (civil, military means), humanitarian dimension independent

12: energy: Balkans and Mediterranean

- EU water initiative

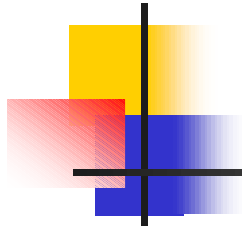
16: resources for 2005 (Enlargement: Security related)

21: changes in financial resources: area of freedom, security & justice

22. 2 mio. Euro for satellite surveillance system for maritime vessels

preparatory action for security research: 2005/2006: 24 mio. €

9.5. European Council: **Solana Strategy (12.12.2003)**



Key Documents of the European Council

- ✍ 5. **Presidential Conclusions of Presidencies** (1990-2004) are relevant (Cardiff process, Göteborg process): inclusion of environmental and conflict prevention goals: green diplomacy
- ✍ 6. **Decisions of Gen. Affairs Council of foreign ministries**

Key Documents of High Representative of Council for Foreign and Security Policy, Javier Solana

- ✍ 7. **The European security strategy** - approved by European Council in Brussels, 12 December, 2003



9.6. The European security strategy - approved by European Council in Brussels, 12 December, 2003

I: Security Environment: Global Challenges and Key Threats

- ✍ p. 1: Europe faces **security threats and challenges**
- ✍ p. 2: global challenges: Europe's dependence – and so **vulnerability** – on an interconnected infrastructure in transport, energy, information and other fields
security as a precondition of development
- ✍ p. 3. competition for natural resources, water (**water security**), **migratory movements**
- ✍ p. 4: **key threats: terrorism, WMD, regional conflicts, state failure, organised crime**

II. Strategic Objectives: Conflict and Threat Prevention

- ✍ p. 7: Building security in our Neighbourhood: Caucasus, Arab/Israeli Conf., Mediterranean
- ✍ p. 9: **International Order based on Effective Multilateralism** [Grotian perspective] commitment to international law and strengthening the UN, transatlantic relationship



9.7. The European security strategy - approved by European Council in Brussels, 12 December, 2003 (2)

III. Policy Implications for Europe:

- ✍ p. 11: **crisis management and conflict prevention**: “before humanitarian emergencies arise”, “preventive engagement” to avoid more serious problems in the future
- ✍ p. 12: **More Capable**: “We need greater capacity to bring all civilian resources to bear in crises and post crisis situations”, wider spectrum of missions
- ✍ p. 12: EU-NATO permanent arrangements; Berlin Plus: strategic partnership in crisis management
- ✍ p. 13: **More Coherent**: bring together instruments and capabilities (diplomatic efforts, development, trade environmental policies should follow the same agendas.
- ✍ p. 13: Coordination of external action and justice and home affairs (pillar II and III)



9.8. Barroso: Guiding principles and Solana: European security strategy – **A Grotian perspective?**



- ✍ Differs fundamentally from US national security strategy 2002
- ✍ Focus on multilateralism
- ✍ Focus on international law
- ✍ Wide security concept: strong emphasis on environmental security
- ✍ Referent: Security for the European citizens: Human security?



9.9. High-level Expert Panels for European Commission and for Solana

-  **8. Report of the Group of Personalities in the Field of Security Research (2003, 2004): Semi-official**
-  **9. A Human Security Doctrine for Europe: The Barcelona Report of the Study Group on Europe's Security Capabilities: NGO**

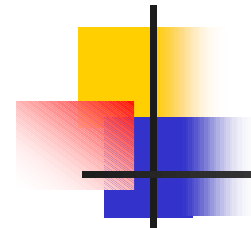


10. Goals of the Seminar

- ✍ This research-oriented graduate seminar is part of a contribution of AFES-PRESS (Peace Research and European Security Studies) to a EU-sponsored network of excellence on Security on Global Monitoring for Security and Stability (GMOSS) at: <http://gmooss.jrc.cec.eu.int/>). To implement this goal AFES-PRESS has conducted three workshops in 2004 in:
 - ✍ **Montreal** (10 papers at: http://www.afes-press.de/html/download_isa.html)
 - ✍ **Sopron** (8 papers at: http://www.afes-press.de/html/download_sopron.html)
 - ✍ **The Hague** at: http://www.afes-press.de/html/the_hague_programme.html)
- ✍ These ca. 50 papers are available for download. Additional papers of the seminar leader may be accessed at: http://www.afes-press.de/html/download_hgb.html.
- ✍ This project will result in two major global books of learning and reference to be coedited by: **Hans Günter Brauch, John Grin, Czeslaw Mesjasz, Navnita Chadha Behera, Béchir Chourou, Ursula Oswald Spring, P. H. Liotta, Patricia Kameri-Mbote** (Eds.) in the *Hexagon Series on Human and Environmental Security and Peace* (HESP):
 - ✍ 1. **Globalisation and Environmental Challenges: Reconceptualising Security in the 21st Century** (Berlin – Heidelberg – New York – Hong Kong – London – Milan – Paris – Tokyo: Springer-Verlag, October 2006)
 - ✍ 2. **Facing Global Environmental Change: Environmental, Human, Energy, Food, Health and Water Security Concepts** (Berlin – Heidelberg – New York – Hong Kong – London – Milan – Paris – Tokyo: Springer-Verlag, March 2007)

10.1. Seminar Plan:

Monday, 21.2.2005



2.2. 9.00-10.30: Was the contextual change of 1989 or 2001 instrumental for a conceptual change of security?

R-1: Brauch: Introduction: What triggers reconceptualisations of security: international context or scientific revolutions?

3.3. 10.45-12.15: What influences security perceptions: Traditions, worldviews, mindsets on security

R-2: Urquia Global international contextual changes: a) Vienna concert, b) Versailles treaty, c) Yalta summit, d) B. wall

4.4. 13.00-14.30: Conceptual quartet of peace, security, development & environment: Reconceptualisations since 1990

R-4: Sottsas: What security means for policy makers: Role of mindsets (K. Booth) and/or operational codes (A. George)

5.5. 14.45-16.15: Widening and deepening of security during the 1990s:

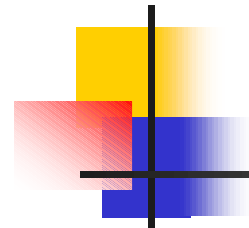
R-9: Aikens: Reconceptualising of National and Human Security in (West) Africa

6.6. 16.30-18.00: Cultural contexts for a reconceptualisation of security in Africa

R-10: Yopa: (Re)conceptualising societal and/or environmental security in Africa

10.2. Seminar Plan

Tuesday, 22.2.2005



- 7. 9.00-10.30: **Spatial context and referents of security concepts: two cases**
- R-11: Höfer: Concepts of regionalism and regional security
- R-12: Reichel: Globalisation and global security concepts
- 8. 10.45-11.30: **Reconceptualisation of security in scientific disciplines since 1990**
- R-13: Weum: Reconceptualisation of international security since 1990
- 9. 11.45-13.15: **Reconceptualising the dimensions of security (scientific and political debates since 1990)**
- R-16: Gebauer: (Re)conceptualising societal and/or environmental security
- 10. 4.00-15.30: **Security conceptualisation of causes of global environmental change and of fa-tal effects**
- R-18: Benz: Fatal outcomes of Global Environmental Change: disasters/distress migration as security threats or challenges?
- 11. 15.45-18.00: **Institutional security concepts revisited for the 21st century (UNDP, UNESCO, OSCE, NATO, EU)**
- R-19: Hensen: Reconceptualisation of security within the UN-system: UN, UNDP, UNESCO
- R-20: Dubreuil: Reconceptualisation of security within European institutions: EU or NATO
- R-20a: Schönrock: Reconceptualisation of security within European institutions: OSCE



10.3. Seminar Plan

Wednesday, 23.2.2005

- ✍ **12. 9.00-10.30: Sectoral security concepts revisited for the 21st century**
- ✍ **R-8: Kim:** Meaning of security in other cultures and regions of the world: e.g. in South and East Asia (Orient)
- ✍ **R-22: Rother:** Energy security concepts: an assessment
- ✍ **13. 10.45-12.15: Global and regional environmental and human security revisited**
- ✍ **R-23: Uhl:** Introduction: Three phases of environmental security research
- ✍ **R-24: Herkt:** Comparing human security concepts: The human security network vs. the Human Security Commission
- ✍ **14. 12.30-14.00: Reconceptualising security for the 21st century: Threats, challenges, vulnerabilities, risks**
- ✍ **R-25: Ehmman:** New subjective security threats, challenges, vulnerability and risks in the 21st century
- ✍ **15.-16.: 15.00-18.00: Towards a more Secure World: Special Event**
Friedrich-Eberst-Stiftung, Hiroshima-Str. 17, Discussion with Lord Hannay, member of HLP, and a subsequent reception to end the seminar.