

Hans Günter Brauch

**From Sussex to Sopron IPRA
Security Commission: (1986-2004)**

40th Anniversary Conference of IPRA


Peace and Conflict in a Time of Globalisation

Sopron, Hungary, 5-9 July 2004

**6 July 2004, Joint Session of the Commissions
on Environment, Security & Disarmament and
Global Political Economy**



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 - **1986, Univ. of Sussex: IPRA Commission on Weapons Technology and Disarmament founded**
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IPRA 40th Anniversary and 20th Conference London (1964) Groningen (1965)

- **1964: London: IPRA was founded**
 - **1965: 1st IPRA Conference in Groningen**
 - **First Executive Committee: Röling (NL), Galtung (N), de Reuck (UK), Acomovich (Yu), Sawicki (Poland)**
 - **1977: 7th IPRA Conference in Mexico (first attendance)**
 - **1986: 11th IPRA Conference in Sussex: Founding of Commission: Weapons Technology & Disarmament**
 - **Co-founders: H.G.Brauch, C.Mesjasz, P.Dunay, S.Tachibana**
 - **Result: 1989: Macmillan Book: Military Technology – Armaments Dynamics and Disarmament, with a preface by Lord Solly Zuckerman, former science adviser to UK PM Wilson**
 - **1991-1997: IPRA Defence and Disarmament Study Group Paper 1-9 [http://www.afes-press-books.de/html/ap_reports.htm]**
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1986, Univ. of Sussex:

IPRA Commission on Weapons Technology and Disarmament, now: Security and Disarmament

- **1985: IPRA SG: Chad Alger suggested new Com., (I submitted a paper that did not fit into any commission)**
 - **13-16.4.1986: Establishment of the IPRA Weapons Technology & Disarmament Commission**
 - **Context: Second Cold War: Reagan Rearmament Programme: Neutron bombs, binaries & SDI Biggest Commission: 32 papers: Discussion with the late Sanaa Osseiran on Middle East conflict**
 - **Week of US reprisal against Libya after attack on bar La Belle in (West) Berlin where 3 GIs died**
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1986: Old Peace Research Agenda: Weapons Technology & Disarmament

- C, Mesjasz: article in: *Journal of Peace Research* (1988)
 - Result: H.G. Brauch: *Military Technology – Armaments Dynamics and Disarmament* (London: Macmillan, 1989)
 - I: *Military Technology & Theory of Armam. Dynamcis* (Brauch, Thee)
 - II: *Military Technology: Case of ABC-Weapons* (Tsipis, Sims, Robinson)
 - III: *Military Use of Nuclear Energy: Bombers & Outer Space* (Albrecht, Bulkeley)
 - IV: *Military Technology: BMD & SDI* (Roges, Garwin, Sagdeev, Tachibana, Brauch)
 - V: *Military Use of Outer Space* (Menon, Dunay, Fischer)
 - Brauch/Mesjasz/Möller: „Controlling weapons in the quest for peace: Nonoffensive defence, arms control, disarmament, and conversion“, in: C.F. Alger (ed.): *The Future of the UN System. Potential for the Twenty-first Century* (Tokyo: UNU, 1998): 15-53.
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Impact of Ideas on Global Change: End of Cold War of 1989/1990

- **1980: Mary Kaldor, U. Albrecht: European Nuclear Disarmament (END) Movement: disarmament & human rights**
 - **1980s: Thinking on defence alternatives: non-offensive defence, confidence building measures: defence of the homeland without destroying it (Lessons from Weizsäcker, 1972)**
 - **1986: ISA in St. Louis: Session on defence alternatives: A. Arbatov, A. Karkoska et al. (Gorbachev)**
 - **Gorbachev proposals: CBMs, military doctrine etc.**
 - **1988: AFES-PRESS, Mosbach: Dialogue on military doctrine: Americans, Russians, German & Polish diplomats**
 - **1990: 2st CSCE (OSCE) Seminar on military doctrine**
 - **What was instrumental: US military superiority or Garthoff, Evangelista, Risse: Ideas mattered for the turn of 1989.**
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Chronology of IPRA Study Commission

- **1986: Univ. of Sussex, Falmer: establishment: Brauch**
 - **1988: Rio de Janeiro: Brauch - Dunay**
 - **1990: Groningen: Brauch – Mesjasz**
 - 1991-1997: Output: IPRA Security and Disarmament Commission Papers 1- 9 (AFES-PRESS publisher)**
 - **1992: Kyoto: Möller - Mesjasz**
 - **1994: Malta: Mesjasz - Tachibana**
 - **1996: Brisbane: Tachibana - Bullens**
 - **1998: Durban: Bullens - Tachibana**
 - **2000: Tampere: Bullens - Tachibana**
 - **2002: Söul: Reynolds**
 - **2004: Sopron: Reynolds**
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Contextual Change: 1986 to 2004

- **1986: symmetric, bipolar system, nuclear deterrence theory, weapons buildup of Reagan Administration (neutron bomb, binaries, SDI, etc.)**
 - **Peace Research: thinking on conceptual alternatives: breaking out of orthodoxy, reference object: peace movements and decision makers (to learn)**
 - **Independent Peace Movement: dual criticism of military build-up in East and West and of human rights violations in the East**
 - **Poland 1980 (Solidarnosc), 27 June 1989 (Hungary: cutting of the Iron Wire, 4 June 1989: first indep. election in Poland, 9 Nov. Berlin Wall fell)**
 - **1 May 2004: 15 years later: Hungary, Poland + 8 other countries in EU.**
 - **Assessment depends on your mindset and world view (macro theory)**
 - **My Grotian thesis: Ideas mattered, they influenced peace movements in the West but also Michail Gorbachev's advisers who looked for ways to break out of the security dilemma by conceptual innovation to reduce the arms costs.**
 - **Hobbesian thesis: Military superiority won Cold War (Anderson: Victory).**
 - **Both Hobbesian (victory) and Kantian (peace dividend) perspectives failed to offer proper diagnoses and remedies of the Post Cold War period.**
 - **Task: To look for policy relevant conceptual alternatives.**
 - **This is the background for my own pragmatic Grotian perspective.**
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New Context: End of Bipolarity, Reunification of Europe and New Security Challenges

- **18 years after Sussex: political miracles have occurred!**
 - With fall of Berlin Wall: first Germany, then Europe moved towards unification after centuries of conflicts, **solved our security dilemma!**
 - During 1980s: goals of European Nuclear Disarmament (END) movement for „disarmament“ and „human rights“ have become reality
 - ✍ **Success: Pershing and SS-20 are in museums in Moscow & Washington**
 - ✍ **Chemical weapons are being destroyed (by 2012) & SDI was never built so far!**
 - ✍ Our call for a confidence-building defence structure became reality in Europe.
 - New Challenges of 1990s: disintegration, ethnic conflicts unforeseen!
 - New Challenges after 2001: terrorist challenge & response & improper legitimization of Iraq war against so-called rogues.
 - **New Environmental Challenges to survival due to climate change, desertification and water scarcity (supply side) while demand for resources increases. Population growth, urbanisation, food security.**
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Towards a New Peace Research Agenda

- **Review old Peace Research Agenda: Peace & Security**
 - ✍ Has there been a basic change in the thinking of security since **1990 or 2001** with regard to referents & threats (challenges etc.)?
 - ✍ **What are new security threats, challenges, vulnerabilities, risks?**
 - ✍ What are the referents of the analysis: „state“ or „human beings“?
 - **New Tasks for Peace Research: New Human & Environmental Security Challenges: AFES-PRESS & own research agenda:**
 - **HEXAGON Series on Human & Environmental Security and Peace Project (HESP) with Springer Publishers (Berlin - NY - London - Tokyo)**
 - [http://www.afes-press.de/html/download_hgb.html]
 - vol. 1: **Environment & Security in the Mediterranean (2001-2003)**
 - [http://www.afes-press.de/html/bk_book_of_year.html]
 - vol. 2: **Reconceptualisation of Security in 21st Century (2004-2006)**
 - [http://www.afes-press.de/html/the_hague.html]
 - vol. 3: **Global Environmental Change and Environmental Conflict Avoidance**
 - vol. 4: **Redefining Security Interests and Structures (2006-2008)**
 - **See my speech in the Plenary on Ecology and Peace, 9 July**
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Sources

http://www.afes-press.de/html/download_hgb.html

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Security and Environment in the Mediterranean

Conceptualising
Security
and Environmental
Conflicts



- Brauch: *Climate Change and Conflicts* (Berlin: BMU 2002)
http://www.bmu.de/en/800/js/download/b_climges/
- Brauch-Liotta-Marquina-Rogers-Selim (Eds.): *Security and Environment in the Mediterranean* (Berlin – New York – Paris – London – Milan: Springer 2003)
http://www.afes-press.de/html/bk_book_of_year.html
- Next workshop: The Hague, 9-11 Sept. 2004: **Reconceptualising Security in an Era of Globalisation** (5th Paneuro-pean Conference on Int. Relations)

http://www.afes-press.de/html/the_hague.html