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World Politics of Security

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Introduction

Felix Dane

Representative of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation to Brazil

The international security order has found itself suffering beneath the strain of significant tensions these past years. With every publication of this series the problems analysed seem to have worsened: From the rise of ISIS to the situation in the Ukraine; from the refugee crisis in Europe to maritime tensions in East and South China Seas; from hybrid warfare to climate change; from a seemingly never-ending economic crisis to drug trafficking networks; from renewed nuclear threats to cyber warfare. The list appears endless and the international system, in turmoil.

Particularly troublesome is the backdrop upon which these tensions occur: the security status quo has fundamentally changed. Actors, frameworks and interconnections have all grown more complex and diffuse. Challenges such as the heightened importance of hybrid conflicts have come to the fore. Traditional means of warfare will, of course, not fade away, but in this protean 21st century they are no longer central to victory. The techniques used by both ISIS and Russia illustrate that cutting edge information technology, including modelling and simulation, constitute the tools of modern warfare. The speed of the interconnected world has spread to conflict, which has become adaptive to policies and countermeasures, as well as able to embed itself within traditional legal structures.

It is interesting then, that in this modern context, old discussions of geopolitics unfold anew; states, it seems, still follow predominantly realist lines, planning their actions as strategic moves to increase their relative power. The developments that led to Russia's annexation of Crimea illustrate this well. Moscow's aggressive steps in Eastern Europe profoundly altered defence and security planning in the Euro-Atlantic realm. Meanwhile, the situation in the South China Sea is setting off alarm bells in the Asian continent. The rapid increase of Islamist violence equally challenged international security and damaged domestic order in large parts of the Middle East and of Northern Africa.

The implications of these multiple conflicts go far beyond these respective regions and are broader than the mere posing of security policy challenges. They suggest instead that the international order of the post-1945 world, based on liberal values and principles as well as upon a respect for international law, may be at risk of crumbling away.

The globalisation process itself both causes and extends all these new tensions and changes in the security status quo. The advent and spread of multipolarity can have one of two effects: it will either exert a stabilising influence due to interconnectivity and trade, or it will increase conflict since far more players will have access to military, economic and political means.

Confronted with this fast-paced and so easily mutable international security arena, global players will have to firstly innovate: developing new defence and security policies, technologies and reconceptualisations of the world; secondly, they will need to return to basics: recommitting to key values such as peace and freedom, diplomacy and dialogue. The former includes development of anti-access and area denial (A2AD) policies; setting guidelines for ambitious mechanisms of cooperative surveillance and Intel sharing; shifting focus to the global maritime basins, to cite but a few. The latter, meanwhile, involves revitalising the traditional structures of the multilateral order; deepening ties between democratic nations; forging new agreements within cooperation fora on the key security issues of our time.

And indeed, cooperation surrounding geopolitical interests, between emerging countries and developed nations, and/or between networked democracies could help to advance the collective security agenda, nudging the world towards a new paradigm for peace and stability. Here, both NATO and the European Union; both Brazil and Latin America as a whole – will need to engage with strategic neighbours as well as with key international partners to bolster their security and capacities. Future challenges may bring democracies together. In particular a partnership between Brazil and Europe – in many fields but also in defence – has much potential to be explored.

To this end, a decisive political investment towards strengthening bilateral relations will be required. In the near future, there might be more convergence between Brazil and Europe on global security issues and governance mechanisms. However, concerns regarding sovereignty and resource protection as well as efforts towards reconciling food, energy and environmental security concerns might lead to political differences. Here, the role of leadership will be crucial – on both sides of the Atlantic.

It is, in short, now up to the society of states as a whole to determine which version of multipolarity they desire and to ensure that our increasingly interconnected world returns to a path of peace and stability.

Promoting dialogue, stimulating debate, and furthering knowledge of world affairs is the primary aim of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation. Over the course of more than a decade, the Foundation – together with its partner, the Brazilian Centre for International Relations and with the support of the Delegation of the European Union – has organised the Forte de Copacabana International Security Conference. This annual event is dedicated to the exchange of ideas through academic and policy-oriented debate, as well as the promotion of key networks. The conference has become the largest in its field within Latin America; together with its annual publication, they form two examples of the Foundation's many dialogue fora, reinforcing the link between North and South. Brazil and Europe may be set in different geopolitical realities, yet both share a common interest in a secure and stable world order.

In the present volume writers were invited to ponder the question of the world politics of security. Each writer has chosen a different angle from which to analyse cross-cutting themes that form part of the wider umbrella of the world politics of security. Assembled as a whole, we hope to illustrate the complex net of divergences and commonalities, with a view to shining a light on the often shadowy issues of the world politics of security in the modern day. We hope to stimulate the debate and enhance the dialogue between these two regions.

North and South here join forces as one to consider International Security issues which surpass such dichotomies. The challenges the world faces have become increasingly diffuse, hybrid and geographically unfettered. But this also means that they affect us all. To which the only response can be more – and better – cooperation.

Rio de Janeiro, October 2015



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The Importance of the Global Maritime Domain for World Politics and Security

Lutz Feldt

The character of the seas has changed: from an open anarchic space where freedom was the rule, they have become a shared, common “good” for humanity, vast but fragile, needing world-wide management and protection.

The maritime domain is one of the four domains of the global commons which, for centuries, has been considered as being well understood and acknowledged. However, since we began to exploit airspace, outer space and especially cyberspace, this sense that the maritime domain is “well understood and acknowledged” no longer applies: its nature has changed; it is no longer well understood, nor generally acknowledged.

Brazil and its Maritime Engagement

Brazil and the European Union are linked by the Atlantic Ocean, one of the world’s major maritime bodies. Brazil is an increasingly relevant member of the international maritime community and has become an international actor in the arena of maritime safety and security.

In this manner, Brazil has taken command of the first Maritime Task Force (MTF) ever to be part of a UN peacekeeping mission, the “United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon”, UNIFIL. The deployment of the MTF was a landmark move in order to satisfy two needs: ending Israel’s blockade of Lebanon and providing security in the maritime domain for the whole region.

Brazil assumed command for the first time in February 2011 and has continued to do so at intervals since. So far 15 countries have contributed to this mission. Since the start of operations on 15 October 2006, the MTF has hailed around 63,000 ships and referred about 6,000 vessels to the Lebanese authorities for further inspection. In addition, some of the participating nations have trained the Lebanese Navy and Coast Guard. Maritime Capacity Building for navies is an increasing practice and, together with Naval Diplomacy, it has become a new and important part of a number of different Maritime Security Operations.

This deserves more attention and awareness. “Awareness” in the maritime context means “maritime domain or situational awareness” and it is a global issue and challenge. In the last decade, the focus of world security politics has shifted towards the global maritime domain, but this shift has, in the overall, passed by unnoticed without its strategic implications being well understood.

Sea Blindness and its Consequences

At the root of the problem is “sea blindness” – a failure to appreciate the essential maritime component extant in most human activities. The sea is out of sight and out of mind to a virtually connected population that travels by land and air and thinks of the sea only as a holiday destination. The great majority of our leaders and citizenry are landmen with no maritime experience at all. They are familiar with air travel, as a large portion of the population has travelled at least once by aeroplane. They know from films and television that aircraft, airports and the skies are closely monitored by radar operators and that an aircraft off-course or in trouble can be quickly identified and assisted. Because so few have any experience with maritime transportation, they unconsciously assume and expect that the kind of orderliness, safety and security as well as the active traffic management that they see in aviation should also exist in ports and at sea. When they discover that this is not in fact the case, they are disappointed and wonder why the maritime community has failed to keep up with the modern age.

Current developments show that there is now a move towards a better understanding of the maritime domain and it is worth considering who the main actors or stakeholders at sea in fact are.

A Brief Narrative

One can begin with fundamentals such as the “Seventy–Eighty–Ninety–Rule”. This offers a new and different perspective which could open minds and thinking in our societies to better understanding that:

- › 70% of planet earth is covered by oceans and seas;
- › 80% of the world’s population lives within 100km of the coast;
- › 90% of world trade is carried by ships along the highways of the sea or the sea lanes of communication.

This analysis does not even include the huge quantity of underwater resources such as oil, gas, minerals or the richness of marine biological diversity. It does not include the growing amount of maritime infrastructure and the networks of undersea cables which connect continents and are of a similar importance to global trade as the high-ways of the sea. But it does offer a useful structure for a narrative.

The major Stakeholders and their Responsibilities

Closely related to the issue of the crucial (and oftentimes neglected) importance of the maritime domain is the increasingly important security aspect. There are several key strategic stakeholders in maritime security which deserve special attention and recognition and whose aims and ambitions are already addressed by various studies:

1. The United Nations, via the International Maritime Organisation (IMO), is the international guardian of safety and security regulations, agreements and standards. Its role tends to be that of an administration which facilitates the development of regional and global safety and, to a certain degree, security issues. The IMO counts important achievements to its credit, promulgating agreements such as the “Djibouti Code of Conduct” and the “Yaoundé Code of Conduct”: both regarding improved coordination and cooperation between East and West African States. The International Ship and Port Facility Security (ISPS) Code is also worth mentioning as an initiative by the IMO after 9/11 to enhance security. This initiative has been enforced and supported by the United States, keeping in mind that they have not ratified UNCLOS yet. However, concrete reality does not always match the legal realm: The U.N. does not possess the capability to enforce the Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), although 166 members have signed it and have agreed to act in accordance with its rules and articles. Another set of regulations is the SOLAS Convention of 1974, which institutes safety standards for all aspects of vessel construction, operations, navigation, communication and management.
2. The United States Navy, Coast Guard, and Marine Corps have a common “Maritime Strategy”, newly deepened and updated in March 2015. It reflects the latest challenges of the maritime domain and focusses upon four pillars: access; sea services as the first line of defence; relationships with allies and partners; and cooperation between all maritime services. The U.S. government supports the IMO (although the U.S. is not a UNCLOS signatory). The U.S. Navy is the only one of two global stakeholders with the capacity to act at all three security levels: strategic, operational, and tactical. The U.S. Navy, together with the U.S. Coast Guard and Marine Corps, have a Maritime Security Operations Concept which is currently executed via three Combined Maritime Forces, stationed with the Fifth Fleet of the U.S. Navy in Bahrain.
3. The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), through its many member navies, is the other global stakeholder equally able to act on all three security levels. It has an Alliance Maritime Strategy and a Maritime Security Operations Concept. NATO commands four standing naval maritime/mine counter-measure groups with a broad variety of capabilities. Its ‘Partnership for Peace Programme’, in place since the early

1990s, has provided education and training to a great number of navies worldwide, achieving better interoperability and mutual comprehension. Since the start of the Russian intervention in Crimea and in the Eastern Ukraine NATO has reinforced its naval exercises and the deployment of its standing naval forces. It is worth noting that 22 of the 28 NATO Member States are also members of the European Union, an equally important stakeholder (see point 4, below).

4. The European Union (EU), via the Commission, the Military Staff, and the European Defence Agency, also constitutes an effective maritime security stakeholder. However, the EU has limited, small-scale military experience to date, and its maritime aims remain fragmented from the security perspective. In June 2014, the EU published its “European Maritime Security Strategy”. The success of Europe’s first maritime engagement in the Gulf of Aden and the Indian Ocean with Operation “Atalanta” proved the EU’s ability and capability to act in order to re-establish “good governance at sea”. The strength of the European Union lies in its comprehensive approach, which tries to bring together all actors, in essence, the civilian and the military. A further strength of the EU is the fact that it can simultaneously use its functions as a political union mandated to negotiate agreements and execute them, which, for instance, it successfully achieved during Operation Atalanta, a counter-piracy operation.
5. The African Union (AU) has the ambition of drawing up and putting into effect a Maritime Security Strategy for the whole of Africa. Implementing such a strategy needs a business plan, the development of which is being supported by the European External Action Service and the European Commission using different processes which are, unfortunately, not always coordinated. The AU supports and attempts to coordinate the different African regional initiatives. As such, the AU’s political ambition to safeguard the African continent’s security interests must itself be supported. Three different regions are of special importance: the Gulf of Aden and East African Coast; the Gulf of Guinea and its coasts; and, more recently, North Africa due to the issue of increasing migration. Africa is surrounded by the Indian Ocean, the South Atlantic Ocean and the Mediterranean Sea. Its security concerns lie in these maritime domains. The South Atlantic, moreover, is the bridge between Brazil and West Africa – the former being in and of itself an important actor in the maritime domain (see point 6, below).
6. Countries such as Brazil, Russia, India, and China have their own individual naval and broader maritime ambitions. Strong support for their navies stems from both traditional and modern strategic thinking. China particularly has attracted much attention (and is further developed in the section below), but it would be a strategic mistake to focus on China’s ambitions alone.
7. Last but not least, the “non-state actor” at sea. This category comprises not only terrorists, but activists e.g. the “Sea Shepherd Conservation Society” or the “Mercy Ships” organisation and the declaration of a “Gaza Flotilla”. The question of whether states are prepared to deal with these maritime actors is an important one. It is not only Greenpeace that challenges national authorities with spectacular events at sea; there are other actors whose ambitions and aims are much less clear and/or benign.

China: Cause for Strategic Readjustment?

China's ambitions have already caused some strategic changes:

- › The 'Pivot to Asia', announced by Barack Obama, U.S President, in November 2011 is a very significant strategic readjustment illustrating the geopolitical importance of the Asian continent. The question of what role the maritime domain plays and could play in this shift is worth considering from a security perspective. Sovereignty concerns and the violation of UNCLOS are real, currently presenting particular danger in the maritime domain of the South China Sea. The Asia-Pacific region is today brimming with global opportunities and risks. But it is important not to restrict one's thinking and acting to only one maritime domain. From a maritime perspective "access" and "area denial" are issues of global importance. The international maritime legal framework can provide answers as to how these above-mentioned sovereignty concerns and UNCLOS violations ought to be resolved, however it is uncertain whether the solutions provided by said framework would be accepted by all states. Recognising that politics tends to be more reactive than proactive, a global and strategic view is needed to come to the necessary decisions.
- › This US shift towards Asia may be seen as a response to the rise of the Chinese Navy. Recalling that the US Navy remains the only national maritime service with global ambition, or to put it more positively: the only national stakeholder able to establish and enforce "Good Governance at Sea", this shift has a much broader impact than many have yet recognised.

Not all analysts view the shift to Asia in the same manner, however. Robert Kaplan, for instance, reflects on the influence of geography globally. His recent book, "The Revenge of Geography – What the Map Tells Us About Coming Conflicts and the Battle Against Fate" incorporates familiar but nonetheless still valid wisdom including the importance of the role of geopolitics. His thesis highlights the importance of the Indian Ocean more than that of the Pacific to the future of American power, offering thoughtful insights which act as a reminder not to focus upon the Pacific alone. For, as is often the case, to predominantly focus upon one maritime domain over another, is to ignore the reality that all the oceans are interconnected and that geography implies much more than coastlines and climate: it is a matter of geopolitics.

NATO and the European Union also need to adapt their policies addressing the evolutions in the challenges to security and prosperity in a systematic way. The consequent realignment will profoundly reshape the European Union, politically and economically, with major implications for NATO and other elements of the transatlantic partnership. What is happening in the Indo-Pacific has its consequences in and for Europe; the EU and NATO would be well-advised to take this into consideration.

Europe's Perspective and its Interests

From a European perspective, areas of interest can today be roughly listed as “The Arctic Region”, “the Mediterranean Sea”, “The Indo-Pacific Region” and the “Gulf of Guinea”. But the EU would be short sighted if it took the Atlantic Ocean with both Americas for granted.

From a global perspective, risks and threats are common and have many faces: piracy and armed robbery; maritime terrorism; illicit human trafficking by sea; narcotics; small arms and light weapons; global climate change; cargo theft, and more. These challenges keep evolving and are often hybrid in nature: they represent an interconnected and unpredictable mix of traditional and irregular warfare, terrorism, and/or organised crime.

These “man-made” threats adversely affect the EU and its population. But they can also affect the global maritime domain:

They can be categorised as:

- › Terrorism using the sea either as a base or a conduit for attacks ashore, e.g. through the infiltration of terrorists, the use of explosives or even of weapons of mass destruction (WMD).
- › Sufficient evidence exists to confirm that the sea has also been used by terrorists as a means of infiltrating operatives, explosives, and weapons into target countries, often taking advantage of the implicit covertness and large cargo capacity of ships. The limited protection of EU ports from an attack by sea makes the prospect of a ship exploding inside a harbour perhaps the most worrying threat.
- › Illegal immigration, including human trafficking, can endanger the internal stability of EU countries. Illegal immigration has become one of the most challenging tasks for all maritime services in Europe as well as for world politics at large: more and more migrants are today – heading towards Europe but the magnitude of the challenge – the task of rescuing people and improving their prospects in Europe or of returning them home – is not a new one, as the “Boat People” of the Vietnam War testify.
- › Narcotics and arms trafficking can de-stabilise foreign countries and in turn, create damaging effects in Europe.
- › Threats that affect European maritime interests along all major trade routes, especially at geographical chokepoints, must also be considered.
- › Piracy, which not only affects trade routes but also fishing activities in some fishing grounds and local wars or regional terrorism in the vicinity of chokepoints can pose serious threats. Besides the direct damage to state finances and legitimate business,

established networks can launder money and engage in profitable smuggling activities, usually of drugs or weapons but also of other goods and contraband.

- › Territorial Water and Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) Claims can affect Europe's maritime interests and potentially increase the probability of conflict.
- › Finally, Environmental Degradation resulting from the dumping of toxic waste at sea and illegal, unreported, and unregulated (IUU) fishing also runs counter European interests.

Added to these challenges, risks and threats, Europe also has significant inherent vulnerabilities in the maritime domain. The most serious is that all European member states, even landlocked ones, depend on the sea as they all benefit from maritime trade through European ports. The logistic supply chain has to be considered from the company's point of production to its most distant customer: the product or its components have to be transported by land, sea, and air. For most goods the sea-based element of transport usually constitutes the longest and most difficult part of the journey – from the port of loading to that of discharge. Maritime safety and security considerations have to apply throughout the whole chain, from port to sea to port, since optimising only one phase is not enough to safeguard the commodities. This also holds true for passenger travel: the rapid rise in large cruise ship operators makes ensuring effective maritime security even more complex and daunting, which brings us back to the issue of access once more.

The issue of access to the global maritime domain is a core concern for all states which have acknowledged the importance of the maritime domain for the well-being of their citizens and the security of their interests. The development of anti-access and area denial (A2AD) policies is a crucial part of the complex security policy structure, strategies and thinking relating to the maritime domain. This can be seen in the South China Sea today and will remain on the list of potential maritime conflicts in the future.

Europe's current Situation as regards the Maritime Domain

A vast number of different authorities act in the maritime domain in the European context. The basic function for all maritime-related activities is conducting maritime surveillance and developing an accurate picture of the maritime scenario – locally, regionally and globally. To achieve this one can identify seven functions, which are related to maritime safety and security in EU Member States:

- › Border control;
- › Customs;
- › Fishery control;
- › Defence;
- › Law enforcement; and,
- › Marine environmental protection.

These seven functions are carried out, nationally and regionally, using various maritime surveillance related initiatives, each working in relative isolation from the other.

This results in an often fragmented and incomplete level of knowledge and Intel regarding the occurrences in the global maritime domain.

Maritime activities in Europe are regulated by the EU's "Integrated Maritime Policy", a document addressing a wide range of maritime tasks and challenges. It has three policy pillars: social, environmental, and economic. In its early development, it did not include any security responsibilities and tasks. Rectifying this omission was and is a very ambitious enterprise, requiring a gradual step-by-step approach, that is not yet completed. The main impediments to progress are:

- › Shifting the mentality of all maritime authorities from a pattern of operating in relative isolation towards one of working in networks;
- › Overcoming legal barriers to appropriate information exchange via the enforcement or – if necessary – amendment of national, EU, sectorial and horizontal legislation;
- › Specifying the technological choices to be made so as to enable connectivity between existing systems and networks and to provide a seamless and cost-effective flow of maritime information.

The European Commission's response to these challenges is an initiative called "The Common Information Sharing Environment" (CISE) which sets out the guidelines for cooperative surveillance in the European maritime domain together with the Council and Member States. The roadmap developed to achieve this ambitious undertaking takes a long-term perspective. An interesting point is the way the roadmap ambitions to explain the complexity of maritime security. It identifies six fundamental steps to be carried out prior to establishing a CISE. Its approach is attractive from a global point of view as it can also be used as a blueprint for other regions.

The six steps are:

- › Identifying all the user communities, i.e. those that use and provide maritime related information, including port authorities, keeping in mind the ISPS code, mentioned above;
- › Mapping the data sets and conducting gap analysis, observing what information is available, but not shared with all the other user communities;
- › Identifying common data classification levels;
- › Developing the technical support framework for CISE. It is important to realise that CISE is not a new or centralised system; it is a network of existing systems, properly interconnected;
- › Establishing appropriate access rights; and
- › Ensuring that legal provisions are respected.

This six-step methodology could be applied independently from the regional or the national context: there is, as of yet, no region in the world where all the different maritime services coordinate and cooperate in such a way as to fully achieve a secure environment of the level ambitioned by the CISE. Information sharing is a prerequisite to achieving surveillance and a comprehensive maritime picture. The EU and its Member States aim to implement the Common Information Sharing Environment by 2020. The step-by-step approach is still one of the guiding principles; patience and endurance are thus

required, but it seems the only way to convince all the different maritime authorities in so many participating Member States to move towards a situation of Intel and surveillance sharing.

Concluding Remarks: the G7 Foreign Ministers' Declaration on Maritime Security

2015 was the first time that Maritime Security in almost all its different aspects was discussed and agreed upon in a high-level international conference. Given the long and intensive preparations and the involvement of many experts this required, there is now a unique opportunity to use the momentum generated to propel the topic into the future.

The introduction of the G7 declaration (partially quoted below) functions as an excellent summary of this piece, condensing key points regarding the global maritime domain:

“The maritime domain is a cornerstone of the livelihood of humanity, habitat, resources and transport routes for up to 90% cent of intercontinental trade.

It connects states and regions and makes otherwise distant nations neighbours. Humankind depends on a safe, sound and secure maritime domain in order to preserve peace, enhance international security and stability, feed billions of people, foster human development, generate economic growth and prosperity, secure the energy supply and preserve ecological diversity and coastal livelihoods. As the world's population grows, our reliance on the oceans as a highway for commerce and a source of food and resources will increase even more. The free and unimpeded use of the world's oceans undergirds every nation's journey into the future.

We, the Foreign Ministers of Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, the United Kingdom, the United States of America and the High Representative of the European Union, are convinced that we can comprehensively counter threats to maritime security only if we follow a cooperative, rules-based, cross-sector approach and co-ordinate our actions nationally, regionally and globally. We are persuaded that lasting maritime security can only be achieved if we join forces in order to strengthen maritime governance in pursuit of rules-based, sustainable use of seas and oceans.

We reiterate our commitment to the freedoms of navigation and overflight and other internationally lawful uses of the high seas and the exclusive economic zones as well as to the related rights and freedoms in other maritime zones, including the rights of innocent passage, transit passage and archipelagic sea lanes passage consistent with international law. We further reiterate our commitment to unimpeded lawful commerce, the safety and security of seafarers and passengers, and the conservation and sustainable use of natural and marine resources including marine biodiversity.”

The declaration – driven by the assessment that the maritime security rules and standards developed, agreed and executed by the international community are under pressure – functions as an appropriate conclusion to this piece.

It is worth noting, beyond the points mentioned in the G7 declaration, however, that the sea is a global commons, interconnected and without borders. Territorial waters and Exclusive Economic Zones are not comparable with land borders. To achieve awareness in this direction is a new challenge. One conclusion is to think globally, but to act regionally and locally. When looking at the different regions of the world, one notes that there is always heightened stability and more peaceful development when nations are acting in coordination and cooperation. Whether maritime security cooperation takes the shape of bilateral or multilateral agreements and treaties, or both, will be a question influenced by regional and world politics. Multilateral agreements can, however, create a more binding solution and have been successful in the western hemisphere.

The “Declaration on Maritime Security” by the Foreign Ministers of the G 7 Countries is, therefore, an encouraging step. More concrete measures and tasks should follow this ambitious description of the maritime domain. Particular attention should be drawn to South America in general and Brazil as a growing maritime nation in particular. This could be facilitated by a conference which focusses on the Brazilian perspective. The maritime domain offers more opportunities than risks and it is essential to connecting people and nations. The issue of perspective, when considering the sea, is fundamental. If one stands at the beach with one’s back to the land one’s view will be different from that seen standing with one’s back to the sea looking ashore. He who looks towards the sea is the one with an unlimited horizon, even if his capabilities are limited: therein lies the difference.





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Euro-Atlantic Security in an Era of Self Defence

Karl-Heinz Kamp

Historians may one day consider the year 2014 as a turning point for international security policy, arguably comparable to the dramatic implications of 2001. Like the terrorist attacks of September 11, which changed priorities in security and defence policy not only in the United States but in large parts of the world, Moscow's expansive steps in Eastern Europe profoundly altered perceptions and policies in the Euro-Atlantic realm and beyond. Moreover, security and stability in Europe's southern neighbourhood was equally challenged by the mushrooming of Islamist violence practically destroying domestic order in large parts of the Middle East and of Northern Africa – the so called MENA-region. Whereas in the first two decades since the end of the Cold War, the number of major interstate conflicts (those with more than 1000 direct casualties per year) decreased significantly, this trend reversed in the last half decade. Since 2008, the number of major conflicts tripled from four to twelve – the vast majority of them in the MENA region.

The implications of these two developments – for the North Atlantic Alliance (NATO), the European Union (EU) and the international security order at large – are worth considering.

The Russia Problem

With Russia seizing Ukrainian territory in 2014 and with Russia's president Putin publicly stating that he could conquer neighbouring states in a few days, international observers frequently characterised

the situation in Eastern Europe as a new Cold War. Like the Soviet Union, Russia appeared to be an over-arching military and political threat keeping an entire region under vassalage. However, as catchy the term “Cold War” may be, it is historically loaded and does not suit well as a characterisation of the current period, which differs significantly from the old East-West conflict. There is, today, neither a global competition between two political systems – Communism and Capitalism – , nor a Soviet dominated “Eastern Block” militarily at pair with the US-led NATO. Instead, Russia today is a regional power with an admittedly large nuclear weapons capability. It is also a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council. Alas, despite strong rhetoric of its leadership, Russia has been incapable of re-establishing lasting global influence or attractiveness, demonstrating a lack of these soft-power skills.

Instead of a global rivalry, there is a specific conflict with Russia – already simmering for a while but visibly breaking out in 2014. It is a conflict with three dimensions:

First, for a couple of years now Moscow positions itself as an “anti-Western” power, regarding the Western way of life as a degenerated model in which too much liberalism has led to deformations such as the erosion of religious values, materialism or homosexual rights. President Putin, in turn, emphasises orthodoxy and nationalism, even expressing ideas of Slavic superiority. Such rhetoric is not good or bad per se but appears from a Western point of view slightly bizarre at best.

Second, the Russian leadership thinks in terms of spheres of influence and of the limited sovereignty of countries located in the “near abroad” of a leading power. Hence, the North Atlantic Alliance and the European Union are regarded as imminent threats for Russia as they have expanded to the East thereby destroying the former Soviet Union’s cordon sanitaire. Following this logic, Moscow dismisses Western reasoning that NATO and the EU *responded* to the membership applications of sovereign countries which have the right to choose their alliances. In Russian thinking, NATO should not have accepted new members so as not to endanger the overall stability in Europe.

To emphasise its ambitions of restoring imperial greatness and exerting control over its neighbours, Moscow increasingly includes the mention of nuclear weapons usage as a means of intimidation. Russian threats to deploy more nuclear weapons in its Western regions or the cruising of Russian nuclear bombers close to NATO territory should be read as signs of Moscow’s great power aspirations. Since 2009, Russia has even included the use of nuclear weapons against NATO capitals in its regular military exercises.

Third, with the illegal annexation of Crimea and the active support of separatist movements in Eastern Ukraine, Russia violated international law and broke international treaties it had signed years ago. More importantly, Moscow crossed a threshold which was long-regarded as sacrosanct in Europe: it modified its borders by way of military force. This is why the Russia-Ukraine dispute is not just a regional crisis but a game changer in international security relations. The result will not be a temporary bad weather period but a fundamental ‘climate change’ between Russia and what can be called the “political West”, i.e. liberal democracies in NATO, the EU and beyond.

Russia is no longer regarded as a partner and the idea of a Euro-Atlantic security order including Russia has ceased to exist.

It has been difficult to imagine what the Russian leadership intended to achieve with the seizing of Ukrainian territory and with its aggressiveness to neighbours and (former) partners. Neither Crimea nor the Ukraine is an economic or strategic “jewel” justifying the price of ruining Russia’s relationship with NATO and the EU. If it was Russia’s intention to prevent the Ukraine’s orientation towards the West, this idea failed completely: regardless of the outcome of the crisis, the part of the Ukraine not remaining under Russian control will doubtlessly strive for a close association to NATO and the EU. Moreover, the cost (political and economic) of sustaining the annexation of Crimea as a Moscow-controlled entity geographically separated from Russian territory has been significant. The sanctions imposed by the EU and other democratic countries are biting for a Russian economy which is already strained due to its lack of competitiveness and its overly strong dependence on energy exports. Since low oil prices are likely to last, Russia will suffer from a significant dearth of income. Other countries will hardly be of help: the idea of forging an alliance with China proved to be a pipe dream as Beijing regards Moscow as a junior-partner at best, being instrumental only as regards its own strategic interests. A potential unification of the rising powers in the BRICS format (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) also seems less likely than Moscow might have expected – not only because the BRICS form a dispersed assemblage of countries, but also because some members underperform substantially with regard to initially hoped-for growth and prosperity.

Many observers expect that Moscow will sooner or later seize other parts of the Ukraine in order to establish a land-bridge between Russia and Crimea in order to keep the cost of the occupation bearable. Hence, it seems likely that Russia will continue to either indirectly support secession movements in the Ukraine or to use direct military force for this purpose.

The Putin-regime evidently reaps the rewards of its new world-power ambitions rather more in the soft area of political perceptions within Russia than in that of hard economic and strategic realities. Domestic support for President Putin has climbed to unexpected heights as the Russian political and military sabre rattling soothes the still prevalent ghost pain of having lost the erstwhile Soviet Empire. The narrative of a Russia which has risen from its knees now finding its appropriate place among world powers – triumphing against the bullying of the United States – is one which sells well in a country which even 25 years after the end of the Cold War still brings no other products to the world market than weapons and energy. From that perspective, President Putin seems doomed to act forcefully on the international scene in order to keep up his national image of indomitability. The trouble is that these global power ambitions don’t pair with economic realities. Given that Russia has missed at least two decades of political, economic and societal modernisation, the long term perspectives for the Putin regime to deliver sufficient public goods to satisfy the society’s needs are bleak. Unlike many competitors, Russia is not a rising power but a power on the decline, living, in economic terms, off its past savings and, in political terms, from the

fiction of being the leader of the anti-American world. As this business model cannot be sustained eternally, in a decade from now the problem might be a destabilised, dis-integrating Russia rather than an over-aggressive one.

Apparently, President Putin and his advisors did not expect a strong international reaction to the annexation of Ukrainian territory. In their perception of a degenerated West which is not able to stand up for its values, Moscow hoped to get away with some harsh verbal reactions and political condemnations from Washington, Brussels or Berlin. Surprisingly, NATO and the EU acted immediately by applying an entire spectrum of political, economic and military counter-measures. In a division-of-labour approach, the EU has been in the driver's seat with regard to the non-military crisis management efforts. Tough political and economic sanctions were issued swiftly and were fully supported by the United States and by many democratic countries in the Asia-Pacific region (Japan, Australia etc.). Moreover, economic support for both the Ukraine and for other nations in the European neighbourhood which are threatened by Russia's neo-imperial policies was issued in order to increase these nations' domestic stability and societal resilience. Even an agreement between Russia and the Ukraine for further energy supplies was negotiated under the auspices of the EU so as to ensure the physical survival of the Ukraine.

NATO did its share by focussing on its core task according to Article 5 of the NATO treaty (the so-called Washington Treaty signed in 1949) which is to protect all its member states against military aggression from abroad. Hence, NATO did not intend to take action against Russian military operations in Eastern Ukraine as the Ukraine does not belong to the North Atlantic Alliance. Instead, the Alliance took a number of measures – subsumed under the headline Readiness Action Plan (RAP) – to improve its defence capabilities against a potential future Russian aggression against NATO itself. As such, it created a new rapid response mechanism to ensure quick military reactions to regional crises at NATO's borders; it augmented its military presence in Eastern Europe; it significantly increased military training and exercises; and it guaranteed the storage of military equipment in Eastern Europe in order to have the means to act decisively on very short notice. In addition, individual NATO members provided military support and training for Ukrainian forces on a bilateral basis.

The purpose of these measures was twofold: first, to send a signal of resolve to any potential aggressor that NATO is willing and able to protect the territorial integrity of its member states. Second, NATO conveyed a message of reassurance to its members in Eastern Europe which feel threatened by Moscow's assertiveness. It was obvious, though, that all these military preparations would require significant financial means. Thus, NATO members agreed to increase their defence spending to finance the steps agreed under the RAP. Other countries in Europe – outside NATO but close partners to the Alliance, such as Sweden or Finland – increased their defence spending as well.

It is worth noting that up to the time of writing this piece, governments in NATO and the EU remained remarkably coherent in their reaction. Both institutions stuck to their tough measures, even if some electorates – not least in Germany – were partly willing

to swallow Russian propaganda justifying Moscow's illegal actions as understandable if not called-for in view of the supposed attempts of "the West", particularly of the United States, to deny Russia its appropriate position on the world stage. However, particularly after the downing of a Malaysian civil aircraft in July 2014 allegedly by Ukrainian separatists supported by Russia, the international backing of Russia's reasoning faded significantly. From that moment on, public polls indicated a growing number of Europeans viewing Russia as the main spoiler of European stability. This shift in public opinion was amplified by the fact that the Russian leadership continuously stimulated the conflict by expressing blunt military threats against the Baltic States or against their neighbours in South Eastern Europe. The more belligerent the tone in Moscow became, the more support NATO and EU governments found for upgrading European defence and for aiming restrictive measures at Russia's economy.

Turmoil in the Middle East

Another worrisome trend which started years ago but accelerated significantly in 2014 was the turmoil in Islamic states south of the Mediterranean Sea – the already mentioned MENA region. The level of violence and the depth of the various conflicts in the area indicate that these events go beyond ordinary crises or revolutions, which sooner or later fizzle out and/or lead to the reestablishment of order. Instead of following this path, the region appears to be suffering from a lasting erosion of statehood in which countries like Iraq, Libya or Syria fall apart and newly founded Caliphates transcend existing borders. Myriads of extremist groupings, some of them labelled as ISIS (Islamic State in Iraq and Syria) or ISIL (Islamic State in Iraq and Levant), fight each other – many of them supported by regional powers like Iran or the Gulf states. Estimates indicate that in 2014 about 1500 armed non-state groups existed in Syria alone.

Given the magnitude of the conflicts and the size of the region involved, some observers already draw comparisons to the Thirty Years War of the 17th century which led to a fundamentally new order in Europe after a third of a century of fighting.

The chances for stabilising the situation from outside – be it by civil and military intervention or by partnership efforts to support existing governments – are extremely low. Where state structures cease to exist, it seems impossible to define a party against or in favour of whom to intervene. Moreover, recent international attempts to pacify ongoing crises or to help in building functioning state structures have hardly been successful. The NATO intervention in Libya – albeit effective in its operational implementation – has not led to more stability on the ground. On the contrary, since the end of the brutal dictatorship of the Gadhafi-regime, the country has fallen to pieces. In Afghanistan, the jury is still out as to whether the results of 13 years of intervention and nation building efforts by 50 nations and numerous non-state organisations will in fact lead to lasting positive results. Current assessments do not leave much room for optimism: one of the core lessons of Afghanistan seems to be that medieval societies cannot be easily jump-started into the 21st century.

It is no surprise then that a strong “intervention fatigue” has been spreading among the NATO members – particularly if it comes to military action. Even if NATO, as the strongest military alliance in the world, seems a natural candidate for crisis interventions, members get increasingly hesitant to risk the lives of their soldiers in conflicts where any action from abroad leads to more chaos on the ground rather than to more stability.

There are three reasons, however, why NATO cannot ignore the developments south of the Mediterranean Sea: firstly, many NATO members are geographically located in Southern Europe and naturally expect that the security alliance to which they belong will take care of the threats and challenges extant in their neighbourhood. Secondly, the NATO members in Northern Europe as well as those in North America (the United States and Canada) will equally be affected by a lasting instability of an important region like the Middle East and Northern Africa. What is more, Islamist terrorism transcends borders and poses a domestic threat to many NATO and EU countries. Currently, about 4000 European citizens are estimated to have left their countries and joined one of the numerous terrorist groups in the Middle East in order to fight for what they perceive as a just cause. Many of them will sooner or later return and might use their fighting skills for terrorist acts in their home countries. Thirdly, NATO member Turkey directly borders two states affected by civil war – Iraq and Syria – and is a neighbour of Iran, a country which is strongly fuelling the unrest in the MENA region. Hence, an attack on Turkish territory cannot be excluded and would invoke the afore-mentioned Article 5 which activates the solidarity of all NATO members in favour of the country under threat. In other words, via Turkey, NATO might become a direct participant in the conflict.

Given the complex situation, NATO is confronted with the double challenge of, on the one hand, not getting directly involved in the MENA region fighting even if the brutality of Islamist groups contravenes every humanitarian value NATO upholds. On the other hand, NATO has to be prepared to react swiftly and decisively if its member Turkey comes under attack. This is why NATO had long deployed Patriot anti-missile sites in Turkey to protect the country from any threat from the air.

Europe in a New Era of Self Defence

The fundamentally modified security situation in the Euro-Atlantic area, characterised by immediate threats from the East and from the South, has led to a number of new trends in Euro-Atlantic security policy – some still under development.

- › After decades of NATO and EU attempts to build up a partnership with Russia, the Euro-Atlantic community finds itself back in a situation resembling the old days of the East-West conflict: facing the existence of a specific military threat. The implications for NATO are profound. In its current strategic core document, the so-called Strategic Concept of 2010, the Alliance defined three core missions: military self-defence, crisis management through intervention, and cooperative security via close partnerships with non-NATO countries all around the world. Even if this task list was perceived as a hierarchy with self-defence on top, in practice most NATO members could not then

imagine an opponent to defend against. In consequence of this, NATO kept Article 5 as its rhetorical *raison d'être* but de facto reduced its self-defence capacities. It had, at this time, significantly reduced its military capabilities in Europe and scrapped almost all of its defence plans. Instead, NATO forces fought in Afghanistan or Libya and the Alliance evolved a dense net of partnerships in Europe, the Middle East and the Asia-Pacific. Today, NATO is back to the 'Article-5-World' in which military protection against aggression is not only a rhetorical task but needs to be bolstered by credible military means.

- › Nuclear weapons are now back on the international security agenda – if it is that they were ever off it! Popular ideas of a nuclear free world, regarded by some as pure fiction, are no longer guiding Euro-Atlantic security policy. Instead, past lessons of nuclear deterrence have to be re-learned.
- › It is worth noting, though, that protection from Russia and cooperation with Russia are not mutually exclusive. Despite the bellicose policies of its leadership, Russia is an important country that needs to be included in a number of common efforts aimed at tackling imminent challenges. The agreement with Iran on its nuclear program, the need for close cooperation in the Arctic or the ongoing civil war in Syria are concrete examples regarding which cooperation with Russia is instrumental in solving common problems. Therefore, lines of communication with Moscow were kept up, notwithstanding the conflict in the Ukraine. The German government in particular made sure that Russia was not fully excluded from the security dialogue in Europe.
- › NATO and the EU proved to be efficient security policy actors mutually augmenting their efforts towards defusing the crisis in the East. In fact, they developed an efficient division of labour with the EU focusing on the non-military dimensions of crisis management and NATO dealing with the deterrence aspects of strengthening its military capabilities to dissuade aggression against its members. Moreover, both organisations kept up their coherence despite the fact that economic sanctions against Russia and costly military improvements have been difficult to sell in those European countries which are already heavily hit by economic crisis. Hence, Russia's new aggressiveness has been met by a steadfast front of democratic countries not willing to take threats to European stability.
- › With respect to the violence in the Arab world, the report card is less positive. NATO and the EU refrained from getting militarily involved in the various crises. There is a very selective and low profile engagement in a few trouble spots like the EU training mission in Mali or NATO support efforts for Iraqi military forces. Moreover individual NATO and EU nations take UN mandated military action in the region, like France's "Operation Serval" in Mali. There also appears to be another dimension to the division of labour in the sense that the United States is focussing more on the trouble spots in the Middle East, whereas Europe is dealing more with the challenges coming from the immediate East. Still, progress in hedging Islamist violence and the disintegration of large parts of the MENA region has, so far, been very limited. Neither the United States nor their European allies seem to have a quick solution at hand.

The West Against the Rest?

The implications of the fighting in Europe's Southern and Eastern neighbourhoods go far beyond these respective regions and are wider than the mere posing of security policy challenges. Instead, they indicate the erosion of the current liberal and rule based international order, constructed after the end of the Second World War. Russia's annexation of parts of a sovereign state or the ISIS declarations of an Islamic Caliphate break with everything the liberal world order was made of: the relevance of international law, the invulnerability of external borders, the recognition of national sovereignty and the validity of signed treaties. It is not by chance that President Putin's annual speech at the so-called "Valdai Discussion Club" late 2014 was given under the headline displayed on a banner: "New Rules or No Rules". Following this slogan Russia is willing to accept rules, but not those the current international order is based upon.

In other regions of the world, the post-World War II order is equally eroding. China challenges it in the Asia-Pacific region by creating artificial islands in order to expand its control over the South China Sea. However, unlike Russia, Beijing seems aware of the fact that China's further economic and social evolution is highly dependent on international stability, free trade and reliable legal structures – in short upon a rule-based, liberal international order. There is, as such, a degree of ambivalence in China's position with regard to the future of the current international order. Other rising powers, be it in Asia, Africa or Latin America will face this question of which kind of an international order to support as well.

Given this mutable situation, it is worth debating whether the endurance of the liberal and democratic world order requires a coherent effort from the political "West" to defend its values and principles. The question arises as to whether there is a need for Europe, North America and politically like-minded democracies around the globe to align in order to support an international system based to a large degree on the international institutions created after the end of World War II. Should the answer be positive, the political "West" must then deal with the potential reaction from other rising powers, which might see such a thing as a form of paternalistic domination.

It is worth mentioning that efforts to rally "the West" around this flag are not new. One of the proposals which gained most traction was the idea expressed by the then US presidential candidate John McCain in 2007 to create a "League of Democracies". However, most of the proposals of uniting or even re-creating the political West are met with immediate criticism of being directed 'against' someone or something: if there is a "West", then there must also be an "East" or a "South" to be excluded or regarded askance. Hence, proposals of this kind were in the past mostly dismissed as attempts to build new walls against other entities – such as Russia or countries in the Middle East.

In 2015, though, the situation seems profoundly different. It is Russia which positions itself explicitly against the West and its political principles. It is the extremist Islamic groups mostly in the South which violate not only Western values but ravage basic standards of human civilisation. Hence, an effort to safeguard Western values would not be an active move of excluding others but a protective reaction to preserve its own set of values against those who reject them. Were such a project to go forward “the West” would be construed as a political as opposed to geographical category and would be a self-selecting entity based on a consensus on the basic pillars of liberal democracy. The core would be NATO and the EU, to be amended by fully fledged democracies, market economies and politically like-minded countries independent of their geographical location.

Historians may one day consider the year 2014 not only as a watershed for international security policy but also as the beginning of a comprehensive attempt to uphold the order and structures which have maintained stability in large parts of the world for the last quarter of a century.



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Hot Spot East and South China Seas and the Importance of Crisis Management – A European Perspective

Peter Roell

Main Hotspots in the East and South China Sea

Over the last five years, tensions have increased between China and a number of neighbouring states over territorial disputes in the East and South China Seas. In some cases, there have been threats of armed conflict. China's increasingly aggressive behaviour has caused fears that long-simmering conflicts may well escalate.

Small wonder, then, that on April 27, 2015 the ASEAN Heads of States mentioned in the final statement of their annual meeting that China's recent land reclamation activities in the Spratly Islands – which have been claimed by some Southeast Asian countries – have “eroded trust and confidence and may undermine peace, security and stability”.

A strong message was also presented by Malaysia's Defence Minister Datuk Seri Hishammuddin Hussein at the 14th Asian Security Summit 2015 in Singapore on May 30. He warned that the South China Sea issue could escalate into one of the “deadliest conflicts of all time”, urging claimant parties to avoid undertaking any action which could cause tensions or ill-will.

On March 9, 2015 during her visit to Japan, German Chancellor Angela Merkel, referring to Germany's own experience, urged that Japan squarely confront its wartime past. By the same token, she signalled that neighbouring countries must also do their part to achieve reconciliation.

With diplomatic finesse, she said that “it is difficult for me as a German Chancellor to give you advice on how to deal with your neighbourhood. It has to come out of a process in society. Germany’s rehabilitation had only been possible because its former enemies were willing to accept that it had confronted its past. But there was also the acceptance in Germany to call things by their name.”

Chancellor Merkel also made reference to the speech by late German president Richard von Weizsaecker, held in 1985, in which he called the end of World War II in Europe a “day of liberation”, counselling that those who closed their eyes to the past were “blind to the present.”

With respect to maritime issues, a passage in Chancellor Merkel’s speech at the event co-hosted by the newspaper *Asahi Shimbun* and the Japanese-German Center Berlin in Tokyo on March 9, 2015, is of interest both for its political as well as military aspects:

“Germany and Japan have shared interests when it comes to enforcing the strength of International Law, which includes stability in other regions, such as waterways and trade routes in the East and South China Seas, the security of which we believe is threatened by maritime territorial disputes.” She continued:

“These waterways connect Europe with this part of the world, among other things. Their security therefore also affects us in Europe. In order to reach a viable solution, I believe it is very important to make use of regional fora such as ASEAN in addition to bilateral efforts and also to overcome differences on the basis of international maritime law: this includes both smaller and larger partners in multilateral processes, and basing potential agreements on internationally recognised law ensures transparency and reliability. And transparency and reliability are vital requirements for preventing misunderstandings, prejudices and crises.”

The remarks of Chancellor Merkel clearly underscore the importance of confidence-building measures (CBMs), as early steps in crises management and the creation of a peaceful environment in the East and South China Seas.

Looking at one major hotspot in the East China Sea – the five small Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands – and the relations between Japan and China in the last few months, one notes a cautious rapprochement on either side following the initial meeting between Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe and Chinese President Xi Jinping in November 2014. On January 12, 2015 defence officials from both sides met in Tokyo to ascertain possible areas of cooperation. They reaffirmed their commitment to establishing a maritime air and sea communication mechanism to prevent crisis in and above the East China Sea.

On January 22, 2015 additional high-level consultations addressing problems in the East China Sea took place in Yokohama. At the meeting both sides established four working groups on policy/law of the sea, maritime defence, maritime law enforcement and maritime economy. They also agreed to seek a dialogue between the two Coast Guards.

“China and Japan open maritime security talks aimed at averting accidental clashes at sea”. This was the title of an article in the *South China Morning Post* on March 19, 2015. In Tokyo, Japanese and Chinese defence and foreign affairs officials discussed maritime communication mechanisms to avoid unintended and accidental clashes at sea. The security talks come at a time when Chinese Coast Guard vessels continue to cross into Japan’s territorial waters around the Japanese-administered Senkaku Islands in the East China Sea, known to the Chinese as Diaoyu Islands. By mid-March Japanese sources said that between January and March of this year Chinese ships had been spotted in Japanese territorial waters on a total of 32 days.

One day later the media reported that China and Japan have indeed agreed to establish a “maritime communication hotline” as a means of defusing tense naval standoffs in the East China Sea. Whether or not the disputes between Japan and China over the Senkaku/Diaoyu islands – but also bilateral relations in general – can be improved and better managed has yet to be seen.

Either way, this success fits well into the new foreign policy approach put forward by Chinese President Xi Jinping in a keynote address to Chinese political, military and business elites last November, which gives priority to relations with neighbouring states and to enhancing regional cooperation. In this scenario Japan plays an important role.

The visit of Indonesian president Joko Widodo to Japan from March 22 to 25 2015, and his meeting with Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe, are also worthy of mention. With respect to maritime issues both leaders acknowledged in a joint statement on March 23 that enhancing maritime security is an important element in maintaining peace and stability in the region. They also underscored the importance of freedom of navigation and over flight on the high seas, unimpeded lawful commerce, as well as resolving maritime disputes by peaceful means in accordance with universally recognised principles of International Law, including as it does, the 1982 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS). The joint statement also called for an early conclusion to talks between China and Southeast Asian countries concerning a code of conduct regarding the highly contested waters of the South China Sea.

Widodo and Abe also welcomed the signing of a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) between the Ministry of Defence of the Republic of Indonesia and the Ministry of Defence of Japan on Cooperation and Exchanges in the field of Defence. The MoU outlined cooperation in technology and defence equipment, and peacekeeping and disaster relief. Further details were not provided.

Looking at East Asia one may emphasise the importance of a political and military event that took place in December of last year. The event in question was the signing of a MoU between Japan, South Korea and the United States. The Memorandum outlines the very first exchange of military information between Japan and South Korea, although the scope of shared information is limited to North Korea’s nuclear and

ballistic missile programmes. It must be noted that the two Asian countries are not prepared to share information directly, but only via the United States as a third party, and that the intelligence-sharing agreement is not legally binding.

Previous attempts to negotiate an intelligence-sharing program failed under South Korean domestic pressure in an effort to maintain distance from Japan. Some analysts attribute the success of this agreement to increased U.S. pressure on both Japan and South Korea to come to an agreement following North Korean cyber-attacks on the American branch of Sony pictures.

Assessing possible expectations from either party, the *Japan Times* reported that “Japan hopes to obtain timely South Korean data on North Korean missile launches”; the *Korea Times* was worried that the agreement could “prompt South Korea to join the U.S.-led Missile Defence System”, and *Jonhap News* assumed that only second- and third-rate intelligence information will be shared.

Although we should not expect too much from this agreement when it comes to the content of intelligence itself, the MoU does point in the right direction, politically speaking. Japan, South Korea, the United States and also the European Union share similar interests in this matter, for example, keeping the Sea Lanes of Communication (SLOCs) open. Commensurate with the deepening trust and confidence between Japan and South Korea the exchange of information may well be expanded, including into the maritime domain.

Additional hotspots can be identified in the South China Sea, above all the tensions between both Vietnam and China, and the Philippines and China. On May 5, 2014 Vietnam denounced China for setting up an exploration rig in waters off its central coast disputed by the two countries. Vietnam claimed that the rig’s placement is within its Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ), whereas a spokesman from China’s Foreign Ministry stated that the rig was erected within Chinese territorial waters. The dispute escalated rapidly. At least 21 people were killed and nearly 100 injured in Vietnam on May 15 following violent protests against China. Crowds set fire to industrial parks and factories, hunted down Chinese workers and attacked police during riots. The protest compelled Chinese nationals to vacate Vietnam due to fears for their safety.

Interestingly, the Chinese oil-rig began moving to its new location near China’s island of Hainan on July 15 – an area undisputed with other nations. During the visit of Le Hong Anh, member of the Vietnamese politburo, and in his discussion with Chinese President Xi Jinping, both sides were keen to restore normalcy to their otherwise strained relations. Le Hong Anh’s visit was followed by a number of significant visits and meetings by other leaders and high-ranking officials from both sides in efforts to normalise the strained relationship. The visit to China in April 2015 by a high-ranking delegation from Vietnam led by the head of the Vietnamese Communist Party, Nguyen Phu Trong, helped to ease bilateral relations.

On May 14, 2014 the Philippines Department of Foreign Affairs announced that it had lodged a formal protest to China on April 4 regarding the construction work at Johnson

South Reef in the Spratlys. However, the protest was rejected by China on the grounds that the “reef is Chinese territory”. Beijing has already concluded its land reclamation activities at some locations in the Spratly islands, including Johnson South and Fiery Cross Reefs, but at the Mischief and Subi Reefs land reclamation remains ongoing.

In addition to strengthening its alliance with the U.S. the Philippines is fostering its security partnership with Japan. As a sign of this growing partnership, the Philippines and Japan held a joint naval exercise in the South China Sea in early May 2015. From June 22 till June 25 the Philippines held military exercises with its ally the United States and its strategic partner Japan. These exercises form part of the annual Cooperation Afloat Readiness and Training (CARAT) which Washington carries out with several South and Southeast Asian nations.

At the beginning of June 2015 it was announced that CARAT Philippines 2015 will take place in Palawan, the closest province to the Spratlys, a potentially oil-and-gas-rich chain of islands, sand bars and shoals claimed as a whole or in part by China, the Philippines, Vietnam, Malaysia, Brunei and Taiwan. The exercise with Japan will be staged separately though, during the U.S. drills week.

Also of significance is the visit of Philippines’ President Aquino to Japan in June 2015. In Tokyo Aquino and Japanese Prime Minister Abe agreed to start talks on a possible Visiting Force Agreement (VFA), a move widely perceived as an attempt to counter China’s antagonistic behaviour in the East and South China Seas. The possible use of Philippine bases would enable the Japanese Air Self-Defence Force (ASDF) and the Maritime Self Defence Force (MSDF) to conduct joint patrols with U.S. Forces for a longer period of time and over a larger area in the South China Sea.

However, disputes in the East and South China Seas cannot be solved by a single power or even by a select group of powers given that all manner of states and regional actors have competing interests in the region. Cooperation between partners is, therefore, key to success, not only regarding the protection of the Sea Lines of Communication (SLOCs), but also as a means of ensuring constancy in maritime environments and stability in the production and supply of energy.

When taking a brief glance at the 7th U.S.-China Strategic and Economic Dialogue (S&ED) held in Washington D.C. on June 23-24, 2015, it becomes evident that developments in the South China Sea, above all the U.S. disapproval over China’s land reclamation, played no significant role in the discussions. In his closing remarks, U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry cautiously refrained from pointing the finger at China by stating that “countries with competing claims should exercise restraint, refrain from preventive unilateral actions, and settle their differences in accordance with International Law.”

China’s State Councillor, Yang Jiechi, underscored Beijing’s position that his country is “firmly determined to safeguard territorial sovereignty and maritime rights and interests.” Such remarks echo a statement by a Ministry of Defence spokesman who claimed that “China has indisputable sovereignty of the South China Sea, and China has a sufficient historical and legal background to underpin its claims.”

The Role of the United States and China in the Asia-Pacific Region

When discussing hotspots in the East and South China Seas it's worthwhile to take a look at the strategic intent of the major competitors in the Asia-Pacific region, namely, the United States of America and the People's Republic of China. In November 2011 U.S. President Barack Obama declared the Strategic Pivot to Asia – the most important strategic shift since the end of the Cold War. A key driver for this decision was the assessment that the geopolitical relevance of Asia has grown considerably. Worldwide trade is set to triple by 2030, and Asia will be the driving force of economic growth. The U.S. was thus obliged to adapt its political, economic and military strategy.

In his speech at the 13th IISS Shangri-La Dialogue (May 30 – June 1, 2014, in Singapore), the then U.S. Secretary of Defence, Chuck Hagel, stated that the U.S. will continue its aid to nations for developing their respective humanitarian and disaster-relief capabilities, and in upgrading their respective armed forces.

For the first time Indonesia is to receive Apache helicopters for carrying out counter-piracy operations, and overseeing the free flow of shipping through the Straits of Malacca. What Hagel did not mention, however, was the number of helicopters and delivery details. Internet research reveals that Indonesia is to purchase eight AH-64 Apache helicopters for 600 million US\$, scheduled for delivery between 2014 and 2017.

Hagel also said that Washington plans to provide robust assistance to the Philippines' Armed Forces, and to strengthen their maritime and aviation capabilities. But what are the specific ramifications of the above? The following figures were available from Open Source Information (OSINT):

142 M113A2 armoured personnel carriers (APCs) from U.S. Army stocks are scheduled to be shipped to the Philippines in 2014, and the U.S. will provide US\$ 50 million in military financial aid, plus US\$ 40 million for the acquisition of long-range maritime patrol aircraft. In view of this, the agreement between the Governments of the Republic of the Philippines and the United States of America on *Enhanced Defence Cooperation* of April 2014 is of interest.

Hagel added that South Korea is set to receive "Global Hawk Drones" as part of efforts to substantially enhance its intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance capabilities, though he did not provide further details. Internet research showed that South Korea plans to acquire 40 Lockheed Martin F-35A Joint Strike Fighter aircraft for US\$ 7 billion, scheduled for delivery between 2018 and 2021.

The U.S. Secretary of Defence said that the United States is poised to deploy two additional ballistic missile defence ships to Japan (and although the date was not mentioned, research suggests that they will be deployed by 2017).

On June 18, 2015 the USS Chancellorsville, a modernised guided missile cruiser equipped with the latest Aegis combat system, returned to the naval base in Yokosuka,

south of Tokyo. Furthermore, the US have deployed its most advanced capabilities – including two Global Hawks at Misawa Air Base, F-22 fighter aircraft at Kadena Air Base, and MV-22 Ospreys on Okinawa.

It was also possible to obtain from open sources that the first flight of the RQ-4 Global Hawk took place on June 6, 2014 at the Misawa Air Base, and that 12 F-22 “Raptor” Stealth Fighters, plus 300 personnel, will be deployed to Kadena Air Base.

This year the U.S. Navy are set to introduce the Joint High Speed Vessel in the Pacific and an additional submarine forward station in Guam. As many as four Littoral Combat Ships will be deployed in the same region by 2017. By 2018, the U.S. Navy’s advanced multi-mission Zumwalt-class destroyer is scheduled to begin operating out of the Pacific. And by 2020, the U.S. plans to achieve its objective of operating 60% of both its Navy and Air Force fleets out of the Pacific, while also flying the Hawkeye early-warning and unmanned Triton ISR aircraft in the region.

The U.S. is and will continue to be a Pacific power. These military deployments will also be an important step to rebalance the military situation in the region and are also a considerable sign of deterrence in times of increasing tensions and potential crises in the region. Joint military exercises between allies in the Asia-Pacific region demonstrate U.S. presence and commitment to the region’s security and prosperity, while enabling political relationships to evolve with a military underpinning through the exercise of combined skills.

The increased participation of the People’s Liberation Army (PLA) in multilateral military exercises is in line with China’s foreign and economic policy. In July of last year the PLA participated in the U.S. led RIMPAC Exercise, the world’s largest international maritime exercise. In late 2014 China and Malaysia held their first joint military exercise, and China and ASEAN signed their first Humanitarian and Disaster Relief (HADR) Cooperation Agreement. Beijing now views HADR as an important element of its “good neighbourhood policy”.

In October 2014 China also joined the U.S.-Australia military drills for the first time and, in February 2015, the PLA took part in the Cobra Gold exercise, the largest multilateral military exercise in the Asia Pacific.

However, Chinese leadership faces a dilemma. While propagating the virtues of the good neighbourhood policy they are at the same time assertive and exacting when it comes to territorial sovereignty regarding maritime disputes with their neighbours.

The PLA’s strategic priorities are gradually shifting from the defence of China’s borders to force protection within East Asia and further afield, the objective of which is to secure sea lines of communication and maritime resources. By 2020 Beijing plans to deploy forces capable of winning local wars under the conditions of informationisation – in other words, successful joint operations facilitated by modern technology in contested regional environments. By 2050 Beijing aims to become a peer competitor to the United States in military terms.

The military budget of the Chinese Armed Forces for 2015 will be about ten percent larger than last year, thus, approximately US\$145 billion. It is reported that China's second aircraft carrier is under construction, and the country is rapidly building destroyers (type 052D), frigates (type 054A) and corvettes (type 056) to develop a Navy strong enough to patrol its domestic waters and to project power into the Pacific and Indian oceans. Furthermore, China is also currently testing its new Y-8 anti-submarine aircraft, and military experts are calling for the development of a long-range strategic stealth bomber as soon as possible.

Some analysts, and above all those working in the media, are inclined to paint a horror scenario when treating the issues of China's military modernisation. For a balanced analysis however it is essential not to overlook the deficit of the Chinese Armed Forces such as outdated command structures, quality of personnel, lack of professionalism, corruption, logistical weaknesses, insufficient airlift capabilities, limited numbers of special mission aircraft and deficiencies in fleet air defence and antisubmarine warfare. On this topic I would recommend the RAND National Security Research Division analysis entitled *China's Incomplete Military Transformation – Assessing the Weaknesses of the People's Liberation Army (PLA)* of February 2015.

The European Intelligence Centre (EU INTCEN) and its Importance for Crisis Management

Europe, in its universalist capacity, is confronted with an increase in global crises with all their attendant brutality. Boko Haram in Nigeria and its terror attacks in neighbouring countries comes to mind. As does the so-called Islamic State (IS) in Iraq, Syria and in other North African States and the turmoil in the Middle East. Extremism is fuelling barbaric violence across the region.

We are also confronted with a dangerous pattern in Russian behaviour. Russia continues to provide training, equipment and troops for the separatists, and continues to destabilise the Ukraine by using all the elements of hybrid warfare.

And, of course, the tensions in the East and South China Seas must also be taken seriously, as previously outlined.

To manage and solve the challenges prompted by all these crises Open Source Information (OSINT) and Intelligence are indispensable elements. In this context, the Intelligence Centre of the European Union, the EU INTCEN, plays an important role. Before going into further detail about the INTCEN's mission, organisational structure and operating method, firstly a few words about the legal foundation of the INTCEN.

The Treaty of Amsterdam (1997) already makes initial mention of the provision of Intelligence. In Paragraph 6.5 of the Declaration on the establishment of a Policy Planning and Early Warning Unit it is stated that the member states and Commission shall assist the policy planning process by providing, to the fullest extent possible, relevant information, including confidential information.

In the Spring of 2002 the then High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), Javier Solana, mandated Briton William Shapcott to set up a Joint Situation Centre, at that time called SITCEN.

Since January 2011 the Intelligence Analysis Centre of the European Union, EU INTCEN, has been part of the European External Action Service (EEAS), and is under the aegis of the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs & Security Policy, Mrs. Federica Mogherini, Italy's former Foreign Minister.

The EU INTCEN comprises two divisions:

- › The Analysis Division is responsible for providing strategic analyses based on input from foreign and security intelligence services of the EU Member States. It is composed of various sections that deal with geographical and thematic topics.
- › The General and External Relations Division focusses on all legal and administrative questions, and produces Open-Source Analyses. It comprises three sections that deal with questions relating to information technology (IT), internal and external communication respectively, as well as with the open source office responsible for Open Source Analyses.

At INTCEN around 70 personnel evaluate and observe developments on a 24-hour basis. The present Director of the EU INTCEN is Ilkka Salmi, former Head of the Finnish Security Intelligence Service.

Analysing intelligence information provided by the European Foreign and Domestic Intelligence Services and analysing also Open Source Information has the following advantages:

- › Intelligence Information from different Intelligence and Security services, with different capacities, is merged;
- › The overall knowledge basis is extended;
- › The perceived threat is uniformly monitored;
- › The common analysis process is fostered and joint political decisions are supported.

INTCEN has close contacts to the European Union Satellite Centre (EUSC) in Torrejón, near Madrid. EUSC has been an agency of the EU since January 2010, and provides satellite images which help the EU to analyse developments in conflict regions in order to provide humanitarian aid. Clearly, such images are a welcome input to the work conducted by INTCEN and are, of course, an important element in crisis management.

INTCEN also has contacts to the Paris-based Institute for Security Studies (EUISS). EUISS is an independent EU agency which provides decision-makers within the EU with strategic analysis based on OSINT and also organises a range of security-related conferences.

Furthermore, INTCEN cooperates with other European institutions.

In this framework OSINT and strategic Intelligence information regarding developments in the East and South China Seas are of importance for decision makers in the European Union.

Ten Recommendations

Finally, a few recommendations – elements of strategy – which could be helpful to manage the potential crises in the East and South China Seas, and, more widely, the security challenges of the 21st Century.

1. The U.S. and China should strengthen their dialogue on military intentions, above all, regarding the risks involved with A2/AD capabilities.
2. The development of a code of conduct in the South China Sea should be fomented.
3. China and other claimants in the South China Sea should seek a common approach with respect to oil and gas exploration in those waters.
4. Improvement of Regional and International Cooperation for managing crises situation at sea (coordination of humanitarian aid, and of search and rescue operations, etc.).
5. Information-sharing between selected countries in Asia, the European Union and other states, primarily with foreign intelligence and security services should be improved.
6. Regional expertise on information should be used regarding the maritime domain and other issues in “information trading” with foreign services.
7. The U.S. proposal for closer Intelligence Cooperation between Washington, Tokyo and Seoul should be evaluated. In December 2014, Japan, South Korea and the U.S. signed an intelligence-sharing agreement limited to North Korean nuclear and ballistic missile programmes. This agreement could be expanded to maritime issues.
8. South Korea and Japan should broaden their relations and build up a more cooperative and future-oriented relationship.
9. Awareness raising of decision-makers in politics, in the Armed Forces, in the corporate and public sectors for potential threats emanating from the territorial disputes in the East and South China Seas should be increased.
10. Communication capabilities and openness so as to understand the perception of one’s counterpart should be further developed as this is fundamental for successful dialogue.





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The New Colour of War – Hybrid Warfare and Partnerships

Ralph D. Thiele

Falling apart at the Seams

The increasingly hybrid nature of security challenges has rendered the security situation on a global scale far more complex. Today, this view is not necessarily broadly shared in Brazil.¹ However similar scepticism was evinced with regard to cyber security up until Edward Snowden, in the summer of 2013, unveiled the U.S. interest in Brazilian decision-making. Suddenly cyber became a No 1 issue in Brazilian foreign and security policy with Germany and Brazil jointly presenting a UN resolution on cyber privacy.² Perceptions can change swiftly these days.

Twenty-first century Europe exists in a dynamic strategic environment, in which opponents can be affected significantly by hybrid means, keeping them off balance politically, militarily, and even societally. At this point, neither the European Union (EU) nor the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) is well prepared to meet these challenges.

¹ Frederico Aranha. „Hybrid war – does it even exist?“ defesanet. <http://www.defesanet.com.br/en/intelligence/noticia/19074/Hybrid-war---does-it-even-exist/>

² ALJAZEERA America. „Germany, Brazil present UN resolution on cyberprivacy, Resolution calls for countries to extend right to privacy to Internet, other electronic communications“. November 7, 2013. <http://america.aljazeera.com/articles/2013/11/7/brazil-and-germanydraftunresolutiononcyberprivacy.html>

NATO Secretary Stoltenberg stated recently: *“To the south we see turmoil, violence in Syria, Iraq, North Africa. We see terrorist attacks taking place in our own streets, often inspired by the violence in the Middle East, North Africa. And then we see to the east a more assertive Russia, a willing to use military force, to change borders, to annex a part of another country, for the first time since the Second World War. So therefore we have to adapt and we are adapting, partly by increasing the readiness, the preparedness of our forces. We are implementing the biggest reinforcement of collective defence since the end of the Cold War. And we are doing so as Alliance, and we work with partners ... to make this adaptation and to be ready to face the new security environment [sic]”*³ It is expected that NATO will publish its hybrid warfare strategy this autumn.

It appears the world is falling apart at the seams. The opening sentences of the European Security Strategy of 2003 have become aged. *“Europe has never been so prosperous, so secure nor so free. The violence of the first half of the 20th Century has given way to a period of peace and stability unprecedented in European history”*.⁴ Suddenly, the rivalry between East and West is back. On top of which the challenges along Europe’s southern flank have become considerable.

The security status quo has been altered, particularly by the crisis in the Ukraine. In a complex security situation issues and challenges such as the Global Commons, anti-access/area denial (A2AD) strategies and in particular hybrid challenges have come to the fore. Using the hybrid warfare model to advance its goals, Russia has started destabilising a whole region, seeking to exploit strategic ambiguity through a blend of soft and hard power, exploiting vulnerabilities in nations thus undermining the democratic rule of law and sowing seeds of doubt and insecurity so as to challenge the cohesion of the Alliance. This hybrid approach has been reinforced by the threatened use of conventional and even nuclear weaponry.

Russia’s hybrid campaign in the Ukraine appears to be achieving Moscow’s desired results.⁵ Flooding the region with illegal weapons; using mercenaries to destroy regional infrastructure; weakening the local economy; blocking state functions, in particular law enforcement, justice and social welfare; causing a refugee crisis; exploiting social media and information warfare; and introducing its own peace keeping forces into the area – comprise some of the tactics which are proving effective. The core message that can be drawn from the hybrid campaign is: While traditional combat still remains a possibility, it will no longer be the primary means to victory on the battlefield of the 21st century.⁶

³ Jens Stoltenberg. NATO Secretary General. Speech by at the opening session of the Croatia Forum 2015. Dubrovnik. http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/opinions_121655.htm?selectedLocale=uk

⁴ European Security Strategy. Brussels 2003.

⁵ Reuben F Johnson. “Russia’s hybrid war in Ukraine ‘is working’”. IHS Jane’s Defence Weekly. Kiev. 26 February 2015.

⁶ Jordan Bravin. “Getting behind Hybrid Warfare”. CICERO Magazine. July 17, 2014. <http://ciceromagazine.com/essays/getting-behind-hybrid-warfare/>

Hybrid warfare

“Hybrid warfare” describes a form of violent conflict that simultaneously involves state and non-state actors, with the use of conventional and unconventional means of warfare that are not limited to the battlefield or to a particular physical territory. Of course, mankind has seen variations of hybrid warfare before.⁷ The novelty is the scale of its use and the exploitation of old tools in modern, networked societies.

The term “hybrid” refers to something heterogeneous. It implies a blurring of the distinction between military and civilian.⁸ Hybrid warfare employs all dimensions of state and non-state actors with elements of state-like power such as:

- › The use of conventional military force (including use of unmarked Special Forces).
- › Intimidation by the threatened use of nuclear weaponry.
- › Employment of cyber to disrupt and destabilise.
- › Use of economic levers to undermine the political cohesion of states and institutions.
- › Massive propaganda and disinformation campaigns, through strategic communications and a distorted form of “*public diplomacy*”.

Thus hybrid warfare is characterised by:

- › A broad mix of instruments – which include the use of military force, technology, criminal activity, terrorism, economic and financial pressures, humanitarian and religious means, intelligence, sabotage, disinformation – are employed across the whole spectrum of warfare – traditional, irregular and/or catastrophic.
- › Its stealthy approach⁹ and disruptive capacity, executed within the context of a flexible strategy.
- › Non-state actors’ involvement such as militias, transnational criminal groups, or terrorist networks, mostly backed by one or several states, via a form of sponsor-client or proxy relationship. In other cases, states can also intentionally act in “hybrid” manners when they choose to blur the lines between covert and overt operations. Of particular interest in this context are irregular forces clothed in uniforms without national identification tags. As these irregular actors often are provisioned with modern military equipment, they can perform and resist organised military assaults in force-on-force engagements.¹⁰
- › Unlimited use of space. Hybrid warfare is not limited to the physical battlefield. On the contrary, hybrid actors seize every opportunity to engage in whatever space is

⁷ Jens Stoltenberg. NATO Secretary General. “Zero-sum? Russia, Power Politics, and the Post-Cold War Era”. Brussels Forum. 20 March 2015.

⁸ Rob de Wijk. “Hybrid Conflict and the Changing Nature of Actors”. In: Julian Lindley-French and Yves Boyer (eds.), “The Oxford Handbook of War”. Cambridge 2012. p. 358.

⁹ Andrew Kramer and Michael Gordon, “Ukraine Reports Russian Invasion on a New Front,” The New York Times, 27 August 2014.

¹⁰ Paul Scharre, “Spectrum of What?,” Military Review, November-December 2012, p. 76.

available. This includes traditional and modern media instruments. The main intention in the strategy for political subversion is to isolate and weaken an opponent by eroding his legitimacy in multiple fields. “Under this model, war takes place in a variety of operating environments, has synchronous effects across multiple battlefields, and is marked by asymmetric tactics and techniques.”¹¹

Hybrid war appears to be a construct of vaguely connected elements. But the pieces are a part of a whole. It is a war that appears to be an incomprehensible sequence of improvisations, disparate actions along various fronts – humanitarian convoys followed by conventional war with artillery and tanks in, for instance, eastern Ukraine, peace-keeping operations in Transnistria, cyber-attacks in Estonia, vast disinformation campaigns on mass media, seemingly random forays of heavy bombers in the North Sea, submarine games in the Baltic Sea, and so on. The diversity of hybrid tactics masks an order behind the spectrum of tools used. It is this order and goal that makes it incumbent upon political leaders and strategic thinkers to classify such activities accurately within the political objectives discussed by Carl von Clausewitz, who noted that war is an extension of politics by other means.

Clausewitz also reminds us that war is a chameleon. Hybrid war fully lives up to this assessment. It is a potent, complex variation of warfare. What makes it so dangerous is the rapidity with which one can escalate conflict in the digital world. Consequently, a broad politico-military debate has started as to whether a new form of warfare has been born.

Hybrid Models

When ISIS made its way across western Iraq, observers described it as “*hybrid warfare*.” The same happened, when Ukrainian rebels seized control of Crimea and various cities throughout south-eastern Ukraine. In the past months in Europe there has been a split as to which kind of hybrid challenges to focus on. Within NATO and the EU, northern members such as the Baltic States, Poland and Germany when considering hybrid warfare think immediately of the “*Russian*” model. Whereas Italy, France, Greece and Spain see the “*ISIS*” model as at least as threatening.

The “*ISIS*” model

A decade ago ISIS¹² – known as the “*Islamic State in Syria*” – emerged as a small Iraqi affiliate of Al Qaeda. At that time it was specialised in suicide bombings and inciting Iraq’s Sunni Muslim minority against the country’s Shiite majority. Today ISIS is increasingly a hybrid organisation following the Hezbollah model – part terrorist network, part guerrilla army, part proto-state entity.¹³

¹¹ Alex Deep, “Hybrid War: Old Concept, New Techniques,” Small Wars Journal, 2 March 2015.

¹² Other acronyms are IS, ISIS or the Arabic “daee’sh.”

¹³ Steve Coll. “Search of a Strategy”. The New Yorker. SEPTEMBER 8, 2014 ISSUE. <http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2014/09/08>

Hezbollah demonstrated the ability of non-state actors to study and deconstruct the vulnerabilities of Western-style militaries and devise appropriate countermeasures in the war against Israel in 2006. Its combat groups engaged as a hybrid between a guerrilla force and a regular army and displayed all the elements of hybrid warfare: "... *the simultaneous use of a conventional arsenal, irregular forces and guerrilla tactics, psychological warfare, terrorism and even criminal activities, with support from a multi-dimensional organization and capable of integrating very different sub-units, groups or cells into one united, large force.*"¹⁴

The military effects of Hezbollah's conventional strikes were rather limited. Yet the consequences for Israel were substantial. The attacks "...terrorized the north of Israel, paralysed the country's economy and forced over a million civilians to temporarily evacuate."¹⁵ Additionally Hezbollah challenged Israel with a broad propaganda campaign. This led to an overwhelming perception within the Arab world and beyond, that Israel had been defeated at the hands of Hezbollah.¹⁶

With the Syrian Civil War, a follow-on hybrid warfare case showed up. ISIS' current campaigns in Syria, Iraq and in a growing number of other places in the Middle East-North African region show many characteristics of the hybrid warfare concept. Founded as a jihadist terrorist organisation, ISIS was later reinforced by former officers from Saddam Hussein's dissolved army, as well as by local Sunni tribes, and Chechen fighters with experience in irregular warfare, and foreign jihadists from all over the world. ISIS' strategy of control of natural resources, speed of operations, and recruitment of foreign fighters has fuelled its rise throughout the Greater Middle East and North Africa. ISIS has conquered cities, oil fields, and vast territories in both Syria and Iraq. The movement draws its strength from Sunni Arab communities bitterly opposed to the Shiite-led government in Baghdad and the Alawite-dominated regime in Damascus. With the advent and spread of ISIS, state boundaries and national identities are fading. This shift has the potential to push the entire region into chaos.

In its military operations, ISIS employs bombings, artillery and mortar shelling, suicide attacks, aerial reconnaissance, and even chemical attacks. Most operations are conducted by small, highly mobile units on pick-up trucks that are equipped with heavy machine guns. ISIS has shown remarkable combat capabilities and a high level of intelligence and reconnaissance skills based on a network of local supporters and informants. Additionally, it conducts a modern and sophisticated propaganda operation to recruit international volunteers and obtain financial support. These activities are founded on the narrative of the "caliphate", an idealised Islamic government led by the supposed successor of the Prophet Muhammad, which is used as a religious source of legitimacy and as a tool to undermine the identity of its opponents. To finance its activities, it has generated significant income through criminal activities such as smuggling, the sale of oil, the looting of antiquities, kidnapping for ransom, blackmailing, and the "taxation" of ISIS controlled populations.

¹⁴ Marcin Andrzej Piotrowski. "Hezbollah: The Model of a Hybrid Threat". PISM Bulletin, no. 24, March 2015.

¹⁵ Marcin Andrzej Piotrowski, "Hezbollah: The Model of a Hybrid Threat," PISM Bulletin, no. 24, March 2015.

¹⁶ Alex Deep. "Hybrid War: Old Concept, New Techniques". Small Wars Journal, 2 March 2015.

It comes as no surprise that ISIS has already arrived in the Libya where several thousand militants are now fighting for the Islamic State. Since early 2015, ISIS has carried out a number of attacks and has captured the Mabruk oilfield south of Sirte. The militants also beheaded 21 Egyptian Coptic Christians earlier this year.¹⁷

It must, however, be mentioned that ISIS' opponents also employ elements of hybrid warfare. The Baathist dictatorship has employed a wide array of means ranging from indiscriminate shelling and air force bombardments to targeted operations in combination with Shabiha paramilitaries. Iran has also contributed to the practice of hybrid war in Syria and Iraq, supporting both the Assad regime and Iraqi government troops with logistics, supplies and military planning. Even the international coalition against ISIS is implementing flexible and unconventional instruments of war against the terrorist organisation via a combination of traditional air power, weapons supplies to Kurdish Peshmergas, the deployment of advisors to Iraqi government troops and sectarian militias, and training activities for Syrian opposition forces.¹⁸

In a particularly pertinent article on the Islamic State, Scott Jasper and Scott Moreland conclude their remarks¹⁹ with the observation that “... *the Islamic State is a formidable, but not unassailable hybrid threat...*” To illustrate this, they identify six characteristics:

- › Blended tactics: ISIS forces include traditional military units as well as smaller, semi-autonomous cells, combining both conventional and guerrilla warfare tactics. They possess a wide array of weaponry, from improvised explosive devices (IEDs) and mines to rocket-propelled grenades (RPGs), drones, and chemical weapons.
- › Flexible and adaptable structure: ISIS quickly absorbs and deploys new resources. Whether new recruits, weaponry, or territory, ISIS constantly incorporates new acquisitions into its strategy and structure.
- › Terrorism: Through acts of grotesque and exaggerated violence, ISIS communicates its ideology to a wider audience. The slaughter of Yazida and Chaldean Christian minorities, the destruction of religious and cultural icons such as the tomb of the prophet Jonah, and the widely publicised beheadings of Western aid workers and journalists all provoke terror among the Iraqi populace and the world at large.
- › Propaganda and information war: ISIS' social media campaigns highlight clear and careful messaging. Each tweet, video, and blog post aiming to glorify and recruit for the ISIS cause. High quality films in multiple languages bring the conflict from the battlefields of Iraq to the viewer's screen. This has clearly contributed to ISIS' success in recruiting of foreign fighters.

¹⁷ State Department. “ISIS capitalizes on Libya security vacuum, establishes ‘legitimate foothold’”. rt. March 21, 2015. <http://rt.com/usa/242809-isis-threat-libya-security/>

¹⁸ Alex Deep, “Hybrid War: Old Concept, New Techniques.” Small Wars Journal. March 2, 2015. <http://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/hybrid-war-old-concept-new-techniques>

¹⁹ Scott Jasper and Scott Moreland *The Islamic State is a Hybrid Threat: Why Does That Matter?* Small Wars Journal. Dec 2, 2014. <http://smallwarsjournal.com/printpdf/18345>

- › Criminal activity: ISIS employs a variety of methods to fund its endeavours as it boasts a diverse investment portfolio: black market sales of oil, wheat, and antiquities; ransom money; and good old-fashioned extortion. While donations account for a portion of their funds, ISIS' criminal enterprises ensure that the group is financially solvent.
- › Disregard for international law: ISIS has no respect of humanitarian and legal norms. Based on their extreme interpretations of Sharia law, ISIS inflicts violence against women and minorities, including barbaric punishments such as stoning and amputations etc.

The “Russian” model

The culminating point of the hybrid war discussion has been the debate surrounding the “*Russian*” model as used in the Ukraine, with Russia's aggressive actions there since 2014. The Russian military's general staff has been preparing for Ukraine-type hybrid operations for years building on the “Gerasimov doctrine” – named after the Chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of Russia. This doctrine focusses primarily on the part played by interagency forces and components and on the crucial role of all manner of information warfare – kinetic and/or non-kinetic, blended in such a way as to confuse, surprise, immobilise and eventually defeat an opponent without even needing to openly commit regular forces to that end.²⁰ Many elements of this doctrine are not new. Others, such as the use of cyber weapons or the use of social networks for propaganda purposes have only become possible due to the digital age. Yet, the core capability comes from the orchestration of all these seemingly small and disconnected pieces within a comprehensive concept.

A key to understanding the new doctrine has become the speech given by General Gerasimov at the annual meeting of the Russian Academy of Military Science in January 2013 and it is, thus, particularly worthy of being studied in depth. Here follows a brief excerpt: *“In the 21st century we have seen a tendency toward blurring the lines between the states of war and peace. Wars are no longer declared, and, having begun, proceed according to an unfamiliar template. The experience of military conflicts ... confirm that a perfectly thriving state can, in a matter of months and even days, be transformed into an area of fierce armed conflict, become a victim of foreign intervention, and sink into a web of chaos, humanitarian catastrophe, and civil war ... In terms of the scale of casualties and destruction – the catastrophic social, economic, and political consequences – such new-type conflicts are comparable with the consequences of any real war. ... The very “rules of war” have changed. The role of non-military means of achieving political strategic goals has grown, and, in many cases, they have exceeded the power of force of weapons in their effectiveness.”*²¹

²⁰ Dave Johnson, “Russia's Approach to conflict – Implications for NATO's Deterrence and Defence,” Research Paper 111, NATO Defense College, April 2015.

²¹ Gerasimov, Valery. “The Value of Science Prediction”. In: Military-Industrial Courier. Moscow. 2013. http://vpk-news.ru/sites/default/files/pdf/VPK_08_476.pdf

Gerasimov in fact observed that these methods tactics have been used by the United States for decades; he stated that Russia would therefore now fight in the same way. Russia, as per this doctrine, perceives an asymmetry of military capabilities and economic strength between herself and the United States including its Western allies. In view of this, the need is felt to be more aggressive and smarter than its opponents in fighting this new kind of war.

Long before the Ukraine crisis there were manoeuvres in several military districts. Particularly the Russian military's ZAPAD 2013 exercise²² involving more than 75,000 troops proved to be a form of rehearsal for parts of the Ukraine campaign. Consequently, the Russian military played a well-trained and well-orchestrated role.

In mid-February 2015 there were approx. 15,000 Russian troops on Ukrainian territory backing up approx. 30,000 illegally armed formations of separatists in eastern Ukraine. These units were well equipped with superior body armour as well as body-armour-piercing ammunition which can easily defeat normal infantry when combined with night vision and snipers. Artillery and multiple-rocket launchers utilise advanced munitions, which in combination with RPV/UAV target acquisition caused 85% of all Ukrainian casualties and can take battalion size units out of action in one strike. The modern Russian dense and overlapping air defence system drove opponent Close Air Support and Attack Helicopters off the battlefield, particularly due to the fact that sophisticated ECM and air defence suppression was not available to the Ukrainian troops. UAVs, drones & RPVs ensure front-end operational intelligence and tactical targeting. Electronic warfare techniques- including high-power microwave systems – jammed not only the communications and reconnaissance assets of the Ukrainian Armed Forces but also disabled the surveillance feed of unmanned aerial vehicles operated by Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) monitoring teams. At one point during the Ukrainian crisis Russia had more than 55,000 troops lined up on the Ukrainian border. But when it came to sowing instability in the Ukraine, conventional forces were not the ones used, but rather unorthodox and varied techniques.

What defines Russia's course of action in the Ukraine is the systematic use of varied means that, all together, has the capacity to undermine and seriously weaken their adversary without crossing established thresholds that would trigger a military response. The Russian military hierarchy has been remarkably open in describing its use of hybrid warfare in the Ukraine. While the rebels directly engaged the Ukrainian army in the Donbas, the Russian military engaged in training exercises just inside Russian territory. These exercises include the use of space, missile and nuclear forces, Special Forces and conventional military units, psychological operations teams and political operatives. All branches of Russia's military and security services were pulled in, as well as the civilian leadership.

²² Pauli Järvenpää. "Zapad-2013, A View From Helsinki". Washington DC August 2014. http://www.jamestown.org/uploads/media/Zapad_2013_View_From_Helsinki_-_Full.pdf

The non-military instruments of Russia's hybrid concept work impressively well, notably via²³:

- › Investments in key sectors of European economies;
- › The use of Russian investments, trade, and capital to bribe and influence key economic and political elites;
- › Buying up media to support anti-integration and pro-Russian political parties;
- › Arms sales to gain influence over military decision-making;
- › Large-scale intelligence penetration of European organisations;
- › Forging of links between Russian organised crime and local criminal elements;
- › Establishment of ties among religious institutions, exploitation of unresolved ethnic tensions and campaigns for "minority rights";
- › Large-scale support for Russian information outlets abroad; and
- › Massive coordinated cyber strikes on selected targets.

Although the specific features of Crimea and the Donbas may not be replicable elsewhere, it becomes clear that this repertoire of instruments allows Russia enormous flexibility in orchestrating relentless hybrid attacks wherever they may be. Russia has learnt how to "tailor" forces and non-military instruments to the requirements of the theatre or targets, e.g. targeting British finance in the City of London, French arms sales, German oil, gas, and electricity or Balkan media. And other actors may learn from them.

Particularly remarkable has been Russia's on-going propaganda element of their 'hybrid' war in order to silence independent voices – an aspect which has received much less attention than their (para)military engagements. Kremlin controlled radio, television and the printed press have become dominant players in Russian life, greatly shaping public opinion especially to reinforce resentment of the West. The Sputnik News Channel, which is used to spread Russian propaganda, has begun recruiting Estonian journalists. Russia Today has replaced the state owned RIA Novosti along with the Kremlin's international radio station, Voice of Russia. Russian media is once again owned by the state and all communications are shaped according to President Putin's political agenda through editors and journalists loyal to the Kremlin.

Apart from controlling news services throughout Russia the Kremlin has also recognised the power of social media to win hearts and minds of young Russians. VK, which was originally named VKontakte, is the largest Russian social network and is available in 17 languages. Launched in 2003, by 2006 it had a revenue in excess of US\$ 121.4 million and by 2012 had over 209 million users. Once owned by Maluru.org, this popular social network for users living in Eastern Europe is now owned and controlled by the Kremlin. Many of the account holders who regularly contribute to these pages are either fighting in the Ukraine or have recently returned from the conflict. So-called 'Freedom Fighters' discuss their combat experiences and post graphic images of their activities. Since the start of the proxy war against the Ukraine there has been a dramatic increase in the number of account holders living in Russia.

²³ Stephen Blank. "Russia, Hybrid War and the evolution of Europe". Second Line of Defense. 2015-02-14. <http://www.sldinfo.com/russia-hybrid-war-and-the-evolution-of-europe/>

Lessons to learn

Up to this point, all involved nations and actors strive with significant difficulty when it comes to effectively fighting hybrid threats. It may be observed with both the models of ISIS and Russia that the exploitation of modern information technology, including modelling and simulation, has enhanced the learning cycle of hybrid opponents, improving their ability to transfer lessons and techniques learnt both inside a specific theatre of conflict, as well as from one theatre to the next. To successfully meet these hybrid challenges will require that decision-makers and first responders, societies and media learn faster and better than their opponents engaging hybrid warfare.

The art of hybrid warfare is not found in front line manoeuvres, but rather in the zones of security that either not black-and-white: grey is the new colour of war. In the past, irregular tactics and protracted forms of conflict have mostly been marked as tactics of the weak, employed by non-state actors who do not have the means to do better. Today and in the future, opponents may exploit hybrid opportunities because of their effectiveness. Unlike conventional warfare, the “*centre of gravity*” in hybrid warfare is the individual. The adversary tries to influence key policy- and decision makers by combining kinetic operations with subversive efforts. The aggressor often resorts to clandestine actions to avoid attribution or retribution. It is a type of warfare particularly dangerous to multi-ethnic societies.

There are lessons available²⁴:

- › Mixed ethnic societies are particularly susceptible to mass and social media manipulation.
- › Prior to conflict, subtle economic influence and the practice of corruption serve to establish leverage and achieve compromises from key politicians and security organisations.
- › Political agents, volunteers and mercenaries provide a variety of low visibility insertion, sabotage, training and advisory options.
- › Terrorist type techniques include building seizures, infrastructure attack, intimidation of police, cyber disruption, political assassination, kidnapping of children, hostage taking, torture and mutilation.
- › Low-intensity conflicts that escalate rapidly to high-intensity warfare unveil unpreparedness of police, border guards, security units and even SOF teams to deal with these challenges.
- › A variety of subtle and direct nuclear threats, including nuclear alerts and fly-bys reopen the nuclear debate.

²⁴ Dr. Phillip A. Karber. “Russia’s Hybrid War Campaign, Implications for Ukraine & Beyond”. Washington. CSIS 10 March 2015. <http://fortunascorner.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/hybridwarfarebrief.pdf>

Hybrid warfare will be a defining feature of the future security environment. This should widen the perspective of decision-makers and their interest to cooperate with relevant partners. Success in hybrid war requires that political, military and civil echelon leaders be equipped with decision-making and cognitive skills that enable them to recognise and/or quickly adapt to the unknown. Organisational learning and adaptation is of importance, as is investment in training and education. To this end, nations and defence organisations need to make far better use of lessons identified and learnt in recent campaigns. These lessons should be incorporated into a programme in which future capabilities to meet hybrid challenges are developed via a series of linked exercises and security education initiatives. Exercise and training programmes need to be adapted to reflect recent developments in and reactions to hybrid warfare.

Clearly prevention is vital. Early indicators should be established to enable more agile responses to hybrid threats, especially in the early phase of the conflict cycle. To counter complex hybrid challenges, nations – individually and within an allied framework – should firstly:

- › Determine how to best promote democracy, human rights, and the rule of law.
- › Emphasise transparency and due process across all elements of society.
- › Strengthen cooperative regional approaches that build support for like-minded partners.

Hybrid warfare seeks to exploit the seams between collective defence. In view of this, crisis management, co-operative security, military responsiveness and agility need to be enhanced.

A time for partnerships?

The nature of hybrid warfare is such that it is difficult to know whether we are still in times of peace, or already at war. Unpredictability has become a weapon. Up to now approaches countering hybrid warfare have been centred on rapid military responses. This approach has weaknesses. Particularly in defence alliances, when member states need to agree on the source of and response to conflict, the debate of which constitutes a significant barrier to rapid collective action.

Either way, hard power may prove insufficient to counter hybrid threats. The military instrument per se plays an important but nonetheless limited role. The challenge is to orchestrate the balanced employment of all of the instruments of power: diplomacy, information, military, and economic (DIME). This highlights the need for a broad-based approach, using:

- › Rapid deployment and power projection.
- › Special Forces and cyber operations.
- › Intelligence operations and police investigations.
- › Financial and economic measures.
- › Information and social media campaigns.

Such a broad spectrum of instruments cannot come from a single source, from a single nation or a single organisation. In other words, while the colour of hybrid warfare

is grey, meeting hybrid challenges requires a colourful spectrum of partner capabilities. Successfully meeting hybrid challenges requires trusted, capable and interoperable partners. Consequently, within any hybrid warfare strategy specific consideration must be given to the role of partner nations and organisations, regarding how best to enhance not only one's own resiliency but also that of Allies and Partners. Particular focus should be put on the protection of critical national information and infrastructures as well as on consequence management. A useful first-step could be an analysis of key vulnerabilities to better understand how individual nations could be undermined by hybrid warfare. Such an analysis would include a better understanding of:

- › How minorities are susceptible to manipulation.
- › How vulnerable media are to external saturation.
- › How the lack of a binding national narrative could be exploited.
- › How electorates could be alienated from leadership during a hybrid warfare-inspired crisis, particularly through elite corruption.

Hybrid threats and risks are likely to become increasingly relevant on a global scale as they reflect a world pervaded by conflict. Asia provides first examples. The Japanese in particular have concerns about Chinese behaviour in terms of utilising 'grey-zone' contingencies regarding the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands.²⁵ Another issue of concern is whether North Korea will become a close ally of Russia, perhaps even playing China and Russia against each other. As Moscow loses traction with the international community it aims to antagonise the U.S. as payback for what it sees as meddling in Russia's backyard over the Ukraine. North Korea and Russia have already announced that they will be holding joint military drills later in 2015. Their growing closeness is a likely scenario. The prospects for increased hybrid challenges in the region are considerable and the danger of unmanageable escalation has increased.²⁶

Hybrid warfare presents considerable institutional challenges to both domestic defence capabilities and wider security alliances. NATO for example will need to strengthen cooperation with international organisations and partners such as the European Union. The NATO Summit in Wales last year has already acknowledged the European Union as a strategic partner. The common threat of hybrid warfare within the Euro-Atlantic area presents a solid opportunity to develop this partnership. Alexander Vershbow, Deputy Secretary General of NATO stated recently: "*NATO and the European Union each have distinct hard and soft power tools. Our challenge is to bring them together so that we complement each other, and reinforce the essential measures taken by our member states.*"²⁷ NATO and the EU could create an effective institutional tandem that has a wide range of diplomatic, information, military and economical instruments at its disposal. Further steps aim at building the capacity of other arms of government,

²⁵ Prashanth Parameswaran. "Are We Prepared for 'Hybrid Warfare'?" The Diplomat. February 13, 2015. <http://thediplomat.com/2015/02/are-we-prepared-for-hybrid-warfare/>

²⁶ The Hague Centre for Strategic Studies. "Assessing Assertions of Assertiveness: The Chinese and Russian Cases." June 2014. <http://www.hcss.nl/reports/assessing-assertions-of-assertiveness-the-chinese-and-russian-cases/145/>

²⁷ Alexander Vershbow, "ESDP and NATO: better cooperation in view of the new security challenges". Speech by NATO Deputy Secretary General Ambassador Alexander Vershbow at the Interparliamentary Conference on CFSP/ESDP. Riga, Latvia. 5 March 2015. http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/opinions_117919.htm

such as interior ministries and police forces, to counter unconventional attacks, including propaganda campaigns, cyber assaults or home-grown separatist militias.

Both NATO and the European Union will need to engage with strategic neighbours to bolster their security and capacities. Brazil and the European Union entertain a strategic partnership – a strategic partnership in political, economic, social and cultural terms. Brazil is a trusted, likeminded partner with which the European Union shares fundamental values as well as many common interests. As the next EU-Brazil summit will take place in autumn 2015, hybrid challenges – including cyber – will most certainly be discussed. There is already agreement “*to intensify EU-Brazil relations, strengthening political dialogue, deepening cooperation and encouraging all actors to make full use of the ample opportunities offered by our broad and diverse partnership.*”²⁸ At the recent EU-CELAC summit in Brussels, where Leaders from the EU and the Latin American and Caribbean Countries met, Federica Mogherini, High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, made a valid point: “*We share a lot of past, but we also share the challenges of today and shaping the future for next generations.*”²⁹ In the spirit of that consideration, future hybrid challenges may find Brazil and Europe as close, capable and resilient partners.

²⁸ Press Release, Meeting of the High Representative/Vice-president Federica Mogherini and Minister of Foreign Affairs of Brazil, Mauro Vieira on 9 June 2015, in the margins of the EU-CELAC summit. Brussels. http://eeas.europa.eu/statements-eeas/2015/150609_02_en.htm

²⁹ European Union External Action, “EU and Latin American and Caribbean leaders agree to deepen their partnership”, Brussels 12 June 2015, http://eeas.europa.eu/top_stories/2015/120615_eu-celac_en.htm



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Values and Interests at the Heart of European Union Foreign Policy

Sven Biscop

Both when designing and when analysing foreign policy, the first question is: Whose foreign policy? This essay seeks to understand what the foreign policy of the European Union (EU) is, without any attempt to hide what the author feels it ought to be. It is in equal measure analysis and design (or, some might say, wishful thinking). The starting point therefore must be: Which EU are we talking about? What is Europe?

In his 2005 magnum opus *Postwar*, British historian Tony Judt answered that question very concisely: the heart of Europe is the European social model. Through a combination of democracy, capitalism and government intervention at the national and European levels, Europeans have constructed a model of society distinguished by its egalitarian aspiration. And the model really works: Europe is the most equal continent on the planet, providing the greatest security, freedom, and prosperity (the three core public goods to which every citizen is entitled) to the greatest number of people in the world. Looking at each one of these in turn:

1. Security: every citizen has to be kept free from harm.
2. Freedom: every citizen needs to participate in democratic decision-making, has to have his human rights respected, and has to be equally treated before the law.
3. And prosperity: every citizen has a right to a fair share of the wealth that society produces; not an equal share, but a just one.

The model does not of course work perfectly well, and there are many differences in how the social model is organised between one Member State and another. But the aspiration is real and shared. In 2009, the Member States even codified it in the Lisbon Treaty, which amended Article 2 of the Treaty on European Union and added equality and solidarity to the list of values upon which the EU is based:

“The Union is founded on the values of respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights, including the rights of persons belonging to minorities. These values are common to the Member States in a society in which pluralism, non-discrimination, tolerance, justice, solidarity and equality between men and women prevail”.

Because they constitute an integrated economy with a distinctive social model, Member States also have shared interests. Values and interests are not in contradiction: one’s values determine which kind of society one wants to build and preserve, which in turn determines which conditions need to be fulfilled for that to be possible: one’s vital interests. One’s values further determine which types of instruments one can legitimately use to achieve those ends. Thus the EU need not be timid in defending the following vital interests, but must – as much as possible – do so in such a way that it does not harm the legitimate interests of others:

1. Preventing direct military threats against Europe’s territory from materialising: such threats may appear unlikely today, but that does not mean this will always be the case.
2. Keeping all lines of interaction with the world open, notably sea lanes and cyberspace: as a global trade power, any interruption of the global marketplace immediately damages the European economy.
3. Assuring the supply of energy and other natural resources that society and the economy need.
4. Managing migration in an ethically acceptable way: on the one hand migration is necessary in order to maintain a viable work force, yet on the other hand the social model might not be able to cope with a surplus of migrants.
5. Mitigating the impact of climate change in order to limit its multiplier effect on security threats and, of course, to save the planet.
6. Upholding the core of international law, notably the interdiction of the use of force in the UN Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights: the more the rules are respected, the better it is for international stability.
7. Preserving the autonomy of decision-making by preventing undue dependence on any foreign power: Europe should make its own decisions and not have decisions taken for it in Moscow, Beijing or Washington.

What many have forgotten is that the social model that depends on the safeguarding of these vital interests was, and remains, an inherent part of the EU project. Everybody is familiar with the founding myth of the EU: after the end of the Second World War, in order to prevent that another world war would start in Europe, the founding fathers launched upon a path of integration between states that made war between them a practical impossibility. But: this is only half of the story. At the same time the countries of (western) Europe also made a quantum leap in the establishment of the comprehensive

welfare state. This happened for a reason: they had learned in the 1930s that without the social buffer of the welfare state, democracy could not cope with severe economic crisis and its resulting political upheaval. For the founding fathers, the social model was thus an inherent part of their peace project. It is not a luxury, nice to have when things are going well but easily discarded when things are going badly; on the contrary, it is precisely in times of crisis that one has to invest in it. At the time, building the welfare state was of course a national undertaking. Today, there is a single market and, for most Member States, a currency union, a banking union, and common budgetary rules enforced by the European Commission; maintaining the social model increasingly requires that some aspects of it at least be incorporated into this common EU system of governance.

The strength of EU foreign policy is that it takes this very same egalitarian aspiration and turns it into a positive project for Europe's relations with the world. "A secure Europe in a better world" is the subtitle of the 2003 *European Security Strategy* (ESS), the first grand strategy for EU foreign and security policy adopted by the Heads of State and Government. That says it all: the aim of EU foreign policy is to secure Europe; the best way of doing that is to, so to speak, make the world a better place. The core of this strategy is neatly captured in just two sentences in the ESS:

"The best protection for our security is a world of well-governed democratic states. Spreading good governance, supporting social and political reform, dealing with corruption and abuse of power, establishing the rule of law and protecting human rights are the best means of strengthening the international order".

In other words, the key to everyone's security is an international order of effective states that provide for the security, freedom and prosperity of their own citizens. Only where governments treat their citizens equally are lasting peace and stability possible. Where governments do not provide for their citizens however, tensions will arise; instability, repression and conflict will follow. Citizens will eventually revolt, and regimes will either implode, relatively peacefully (think of the Soviet Union in 1991 or Tunisia in 2011), or explode, with a lot of violence (as is happening all around Europe today). Therefore, put less diplomatically: the more the rest of the world becomes like Europe, the better for everybody. The better for Europe, for there will be less ground for the influx of mass migration, less interruption of trade, and less risk of conflict spilling over to its territory. But the better also for citizens in the rest of the world, for they will enjoy more security, freedom and prosperity.

That does not mean however that the EU should simply try to export its own social model in all its intricate detail to the rest of the world. Not only would that be all too paternalistic, it just would not work. Circumstances around the world are too different for a one-size-fits-all model. What Europe should try to promote is the egalitarian aspiration, the sense that government is responsible for the *res publica* – and not just for the wellbeing of the ruling elite. Europeans should abandon the idea that they know better how to govern other countries than the citizens of those countries themselves, but they can legitimately advertise the results that they have achieved in Europe. There are many ways of achieving the same result, and it is the result, as well as the sincere commitment to at least attempt it,

that counts. In many countries that is what citizens are already demanding, loud and clear. The brave people who went out into the streets in Tunisia in 2011, whose actions would bring down the authoritarian regime of Ben Ali and trigger the Arab Spring, demonstrated because they wanted exactly this: a government that protects their security, respects their human rights, gives them a say in decision-making, and tries to make the economy work for everybody. These Tunisian demonstrators were not different from Belgian workers striking, and getting shot at, for the right to vote in the 1880s, Polish trade unionists resisting dictatorship in the 1980s, or Chinese citizens denouncing corruption today.

In the end, for EU foreign policy to embody the same values which its domestic social model is based upon is a moral duty in itself. No polity can be called truly democratic unless it is democratic in all of its actions. One could never imagine that for the sake of expediency the EU would suspend the rule of law or respect for human rights when dealing with the Common Agricultural Policy or regulation of the telecommunications sector. It should be as unimaginable to do so in foreign and security policy. If the EU gives up on its own values, its foreign policy would perpetuate the very challenges that it tries to address: war, authoritarianism, and inequality. The more Europe is perceived to put into practice the values it professes, not just in its foreign policy but even more so domestically, the more legitimacy it gains with citizens of other countries. The biggest source of Europe's influence is neither its soldiers nor even its trade, but the success of the way it does things internally.

The implication for the EU is evident: a foreign policy founded on promoting the results of its social model cannot be credible if it no longer adheres to it itself. Unfortunately this is exactly what the EU and several Member States began to do when the financial and economic crisis hit Europe. That the crisis did not bode well for EU foreign policy was self-evident. In times of austerity there simply is less money available for foreign policy, and as the EU Heads of State and Government devoted summit after summit to the crisis, foreign policy inevitably fell to the wayside. Faced with the fact that the Eurozone as it existed did not work, Member States could do one of two things: they could abandon the Euro, or they could save it by deepening financial and economic integration. The fundamental choice for the latter option has been made, and the trend therefore remains ever closer union. But the painful and drawn-out decision-making process created the image of a weak Union, paralysed by dissent and unable to take resolute action. Still today, the EU is struggling to find a just answer to the crisis in Greece. Could anyone imagine, in the United States, that kicking a state out of the federation would be seriously considered? Yet this is what many in the EU seem to be steering towards when it comes to Greece. All of this inevitably undermines the credibility of any foreign policy initiative which the EU might want to undertake.

But the Eurozone crisis also affected EU foreign policy on a less evident but actually much more fundamental level, because the way in which it was initially addressed was at odds with the values underpinning the EU. How to save the Euro was presented as a technocratic issue, devoid of political or ideological choices. The medicine was known, it was just a matter of convincing the unwilling patient to swallow it. Certainly the purpose could not be doubted: the Euro had to be saved. But not as

an end in itself. The Euro is a political project, of course, and a symbol of European integration, but first and foremost it is a means to enhance the security, freedom and prosperity of European citizens. If the Euro were to be saved in such a manner that the prosperity and equality of European citizens were destroyed, the end result would be extremely dangerous for the European project as such, for citizens would no longer feel committed to the Union and the governments that did not respect its core egalitarian aspiration. Great internal instability would be the result – hardly a base for decisive external action. Many citizens have already lost faith in the EU. Even though the European Commission under its President Jean-Claude Juncker has now charted a different course, accepting that jobs and growth are more likely to save the Union than austerity, restoring trust in the EU will be a task of many years.

The world will not stand still until the EU has found its bearing again, however. The turmoil in Europe's neighbourhood, rising tensions in a multipolar world, and the shift in the focus of US strategy ensuing from its pivot to Asia more than merit the drafting of a new strategy for EU foreign policy, replacing the 2003 ESS. At the June 2015 meeting of the European Council, the Heads of State and Government gave a mandate to the High Representative, Federica Mogherini, to draft an EU Global Strategy for Foreign and Security Policy by June 2016. As the EU is working out which kind of Union it wants to be for its own citizens, so it must work out which kind of power it wants to be in world politics.

The existing ESS outlines an agenda for EU foreign policy that is not only ambitious, but that in political science terms makes the EU a revolutionary power: a power that seeks to change the existing order. To state, as the ESS does, that "the quality of international society depends on the quality of the governments that are its foundation" is to say in couched yet clear enough terms that the EU does not think that said quality is currently assured. To add that "the best protection for our security is a world of well-governed democratic states" is a call for regime-change across the globe, for there are, alas, far too few such states. The EU would of course like to see this happen gradually and smoothly, not by force of arms, but through "positive conditionality": governments being offered greater access to the European market (for people, goods, services and capital) for every step they take towards more equal provision of security, freedom and prosperity for their citizens.

Yet in practice the EU more often behaves as a status quo power, happy with things as they are. The clearest symptom of this is Europe's addiction to partnership as a way of conducting international relations. It seems as if almost every country in the world has a formal partnership of some kind or other with the EU. In reality partnership cannot be the beginning of a diplomatic relationship, but is its desired end-state. For effective partnership is only possible if there is sufficient consensus on foreign policy objectives and on what are acceptable ways of achieving them, so as to enable systematic consultation and regular joint action. The EU has ten high-profile "strategic partnerships": with NATO allies, the United States and Canada; with the BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa); with Japan, Mexico and, most recently, South Korea. But even with many of these strategic partners the afore-referred degree of consensus does not exist. Rather

than stimulating its “partners” to change for the better (for why would they as they are on the list of the “good guys” already) the EU itself has become tainted by associating too uncritically with all kinds of unsavoury regimes. That is the consequence of something that happens rather too often in the EU: after a while it begins to mistake an aspirational notion in one of its policies for reality. Thus, the EU ended up believing that all those which it had dubbed partners really were partners. Europe’s southern neighbourhood is a case in point. The EU gave up on its reform agenda and on the promotion of the egalitarian aspiration in favour of a status quo policy, working with every dictator that seemed to meet its concerns over terrorism, migration and energy supply. And then came the Arab Spring that toppled Europe’s “partners” in Tunisia, Libya and Egypt... The eastern neighbourhood presents a mirror image: in the Ukraine the EU pushed too far too fast, ignoring that the country was not ready for a Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Agreement and that its other neighbour, Russia, might have a less benign reading of EU intentions. The resulting image is one of a blundering and reactive EU.

The easiest way to overcome this problem of double standards would be to simply give up on the lofty rhetoric and pursue a status quo strategy in words as well as in deeds. That however is not an option for the EU because, as seen above, the notion that “the best protection for our security is a world of well-governed democratic states” remains absolutely true and is but the reflection of the EU project itself. If EU foreign policy abandons its distinctiveness, this would be a disavowal of its own values – Europe would simply no longer be Europe. Europe would be but one international actor among others, and a weak one at that: an EU without its distinctive egalitarian project would just be like the US, but without the latter’s armed strength. The EU cannot and should not give up on its “revolutionary” agenda, but instead find better ways of achieving it.

A middle path has, thus, to be found – neither dreamy idealism nor unprincipled pragmatism. The revolutionary agenda has proved to be far too optimistic. If change does not emerge organically from within a country, it cannot be engineered from the outside. All attempts to do so have ended in disaster, as seen in Iraq and also Afghanistan. In such circumstances playing a reforming role is extremely difficult. However, a pure status quo policy, just working with the powers that be, has also proven harmful to Europe’s interests. Regimes that do not provide for the security, freedom and prosperity of their citizens are inherently unstable and will eventually implode or explode – one cannot, therefore, count on long-term cooperation. When internally driven change does occur, however, Europe has to be on the right side of history or it will find itself without legitimacy. An external actor can attempt to play a moderating role, aiming to curb excesses by exerting pressure via diplomatic channels, and in the case of serious threats to EU interests or serious human rights violations, applying sanctions. Military intervention under the principle of the Responsibility to Protect is the ultimate emergency break in case of the gravest violations (genocide, ethnic cleansing, war crimes, and crimes against humanity), which only the Security Council can trigger. But these are emergency measures and not a basis for day-to-day policy.

The middle path could be an active strategy of pragmatic idealism. To remain consistent with itself, Europe has to adhere to the long-term overall objective of “a world of

well-governed democratic states”, but it must do so in the knowledge that said objective will only be reached through incremental steps, as opposed to great leaps.

In places where, for the time being at least, the situation seems impervious to change Europe should at least not do anything that puts even more obstacles in the way of achieving “well-governed democratic states”. In other words, if one doesn’t see what can be done, a good general rule is at the very least to not do anything that clashes with one’s own values. Therefore a pure status quo policy of cooperation with the powers that be is not an option. This does not mean that the EU cannot cooperate with them at all. On the contrary, it should seek to continuously engage all relevant actors in such countries, the opposition and civil society as well as the regime – but the EU cannot cooperate with any regime in ways that strengthen its authoritarian foundations. To put it very bluntly: rendition of terrorist suspects to be “interrogated” by the security services of an autocracy while preaching about human rights is not good for Europe’s credibility. But the EU definitely ought to engage economically: trade and even more so investment leading to job creation are the best ways of positively affecting a society.

When a situation is unfrozen and change does occur it can be for the better or for the worse, but there is, at such a moment, at least a chance of improvement. This is the moment when – building on the legitimacy that a policy of pragmatic idealism ought to have endowed it with – the EU can actively attempt to generate multiplier effects, and to steer change in a direction that is beneficial to its interests. While Europe’s preferred instruments are diplomatic and economic, military intervention is an option if change creates security concerns. A cost-benefit evaluation must determine, on a case-by-case basis, whether European military involvement is called for. If Europe does not intervene, will there be a threat against its vital interests? And what will the humanitarian consequences be for the population of the country itself? If it does intervene, what are the chances of averting the threat and creating the conditions in which change for the better can be achieved and consolidated? And what will be the risk of creating negative effects (such as escalation to other countries), of incurring casualties among European forces and collateral damage?

Trade-offs are inevitable. When choosing to intervene militarily against the self-styled Islamic State in Iraq and Syria, one cannot do without regional actors in the coalition, even if many of those countries themselves sustain practices (such as decapitating criminals and hanging homosexuals) that are absolutely at odds with the universal values espoused and propagated by the EU. Academics may try to develop elegant strategic concepts, such as this author pertains to do, but unfortunately elegance cannot always be preserved when conducting foreign and security policy. And yet these strategic concepts can help the EU to make decisions, to assess what is important for Europe and what is not, which responses are possible and which are not, and which resources ought to be allocated where. Pragmatic idealism ought to ensure two things: that the EU remains true to universal egalitarian values and thus to itself, and that it plays an active, leading role in the international arena. Sometimes taking the reins will lead to failure, but oftentimes it will lead to success – passively accepting the course of events may not do the former, but it will also never do the latter.



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The Impact of the Risk Perception Society on Sovereignty, Security and Development in the Global South

Bill Durodié

New Order

In 1972, at the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment in Stockholm, the prospective head of what was to become the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), Maurice F. Strong, proposed a need for '*new concepts of sovereignty*' to tackle global ills. His call coincided with a growing premonition of problems that was beginning to emerge in the West, as also expressed by the influential report of the so-called Club of Rome, '*Limits to Growth*'.

This gloomy cultural mood and the ideas associated with it were, in their turn, undoubtedly shaped by various other factors impacting on Western nations at that time. These included, the ending of gold convertibility and the devaluation of the dollar in 1971 (driven by a faltering US economy combined with the expenditure needed to meet the demands of the Vietnam War), along with various episodes of civil unrest that, from May 1968 onwards, had gripped nations in Europe as well as further afield.

Together with a Cold War that – at the time – was heating up quite considerably, it is unsurprising that a number of thinkers in the West felt a sense of doom and started advocating new ways of organising domestic and international affairs. However these thinkers were then still a minority of the nervous, educated elite and their unease, and the

proposals for change they proposed were kept in check by the material and ideological threat still posed by the Soviet Union.

The Cold War provided a degree of moral purpose and direction to the West. The period witnessed substantial sums of capital directed to and invested in the Global South as part of concerted campaigns to show that the market system worked. This also served to support various authoritarian leaders and military juntas in these regions. But as the Cold War drew to a close so too did Western interest in those regimes. And the associated drive for development both beyond and within its own borders also faltered.

In the early 1990s, in the West, it was as if the floodgates had been opened to the opportunity of reconceptualising society along new lines, which had lain dormant for twenty years or more. The end of the Cold War was portrayed as a period of opportunity for the West, but the demise of old enemies and ideologies combined with the inability to shape and promote an alternative vision led instead to speculation over a plethora of new threats. Risk management emerged as a new organising framework for a period lacking clear direction.

The central referent of security, which had until then been understood as the nation state was – like everything else – also brought into question. Nations, it was argued, had exposed their citizens to great insecurities through war, economic turmoil and environmental damage. Accordingly, attention shifted more and more to what came to be known as human security, combined with a perceived need to address matters at the individual – rather than state – level.

It is in this context that we ought to understand the initial euphoria which led to early successes of initiatives such as the 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development held in Rio de Janeiro, which came to be known as the first Earth Summit. The relative decline in approval of the nation state led to more attention being paid to, and vested in, supranational institutions – such as the UN and EU – as well as subnational bodies – such as civil society groups and non-governmental organisations. But whilst all of these seem popular in certain quarters and some have considerable competency in specific areas, their legitimacy and authority remain open to question.

Before the start of the new millennium therefore, the new institutional configuration emerging in the West was shifting away from the Cold War divisions of Left versus Right, towards more apolitical forms of organisation. This was expressed by vocal but unrepresentative activists, as well as by increasingly managerial, process-oriented parties, who – lacking the comprehensive visions of old – often suffered from a heightened (and even exaggerated) sense of insecurity. This became manifest in campaigns primarily centred around issues of identity, corruptibility, vulnerability and sustainability.

If not already present in the Global South these outlooks and priorities were soon exported to its shores by a nervous West that no longer sought to colonise territory but rather (and less consciously) minds and attitudes through the prism of its own dire assessments and pessimistic projections. At the same time the crisis of authority and accountability became worse as these approaches failed to engage, let alone inspire, the people they purported to represent.

Apocalypse Now

Human security and non-state actors may have come of age, but this has not been without its drawbacks. In recent years, maybe with a view to highlighting their causes, a tendency appears to have developed among many professionals associated with these milieus to use apocalyptic language to describe almost any problem. By doing so they transform specific challenges pertaining to development, health and the environment into supposedly more significant security-related concerns in pursuit of attention and resources for their respective agendas.

Viewed through the now fashionable prism of risk management, the world, it would seem, is steadily getting worse. And the source – as well as the victim – of these problems is held to be abundantly clear: namely humanity itself. That is why development, which is still urgently needed across vast swathes of the Global South, is now viewed with considerable ambivalence by influential commentators and actors in the West – for the instabilities it may unleash (as well as its potential for competition and corruption).

Brazil may be less unpopular than China, it may be a country people like to like and it may be helping to address two of the main security concerns of the world today – pertaining to food and energy production. However, how it goes about resolving these concerns will be scrutinised increasingly by external actors, leading to new and unexpected pressures internally. For example, genetically modified organisms (GMOs) have been a cause of concern in the West and even supposedly clean hydroelectric power can be presented as a problem if it means large scale construction in a romanticised rainforest.

In the popular parlance of activists and governments (the latter seeking to regain some support and legitimacy by adopting the outlook of the former), catastrophe and conflict abound. Repeated reference is made to the possibility of epidemic and extinction. We are constantly reminded of human insecurities and vulnerabilities. Little wonder then that, from the outset of the outbreak of H1N1 influenza in 2009, Margaret Chan, Director-General of the World Health Organization (WHO), declared: “*it really is all of humanity that is under threat*”.

When humanity was not wiped out, the WHO declared it a victory for its new warning system, and when the price of this victory was called into question by governments, dismayed at having spent so much preparing for a non-event, the WHO sought to blame others for the hysteria, as well as advising that commenting in hindsight was always easy. But the WHO is just one example of many pertaining to our new risk perception society in which every challenge is problematized.

Chan’s phrase above could be applied by anyone to almost anything. Similar utterances have been made in relation to international terrorism and climate change. It could relate to other pandemic fears like Ebola, or health issues such as cancer and obesity. Some campaigners have used this language to warn of the impact of both existing and new technologies, such as nuclear power or nanotechnology, as well as in regard to natural events such

as earthquakes and floods. But by becoming so profligate the words begin to lose their potency and meaning. Worse, they end up as self-fulfilling prophecies – since preparing for worst-case scenarios requires reorganising the world as if these were already real.

Part of the problem, it is asserted, is that we now live in a *'risk society'*, shaped by uncertainty, unknowns and even *'unknown unknowns'*. But when was human existence ever assured or fully understood? What seems more to the point is that we live in a *'risk perception society'*, whereby our assessment of challenges is shaped by a contemporary social mood that emphasises negative presumptions and dystopian fantasies, as well as understating our existing knowledge and collective ability to resolve the challenges we confront.

In fact, how societies define and respond to a challenge or crisis is only partly dependent on their scale or the agent causing them. Historically evolving cultural attitudes and outlooks have been shown to play a far greater role. These social elements explain why it is that, at certain times and in specific circumstances, a calamity can fail to be a point of discussion, but in other situations relatively minor events may become key reference points.

Emergencies are acted upon differently according to what they represent to particular societies, irrespective of objective indicators, such as total cost or lives lost. The inability to make sense of threats, attribute meaning or draw positive conclusions from their existence can be quite disarming. It can determine whether our focus is on resourcefulness, reconstruction and the future, or vulnerability, blame and the past. Our responses, therefore, often teach us more about ourselves, than about the problems that trigger them.

In turn, public perceptions of risk are – to a significant degree – shaped by the pronouncements and interpretations of elites and experts. Assumptions and allegiances develop over protracted periods of time, long before particular problems manifest themselves. Thus, the manner in which an incident or development is framed can determine its outcome. For instance, an absence of trust in the authorities – or in other human beings – will impact on the response to an emergency, irrespective of its specific contours.

Developing South

The implications of the changes described above for developing countries is that these nations are – to an unprecedented extent – buffeted by social and cultural currents that have emerged beyond their borders in a similar, but possibly more insidious, way to the external political and economic forces that shaped them in previous centuries. Under such circumstances independence can easily become an illusion for those who fail to notice and understand these forces, especially if they lack a clear vision or the confidence to assert their own direction and interests for the period ahead.

It is a moot point to ask whether the Global South is any better served by the confused and uncertain actors in the West today – who react nervously to world events and view everything through the prism of risk – as opposed to by the overly-confident and assertive powers of old. Whilst anti-communism was a motive for Western intervention

across the world in the latter half of the twentieth century the key drivers today are less transparently political – or even conscious.

Capital still determines economic and business matters. In a post-political world it increasingly provides potential for abuse and corruption through the pursuit of government largesse in its issuing of contracts, permits and licences. But while the market may focus on adding value, it has little to say about values themselves – in the moral sense. The old political Right may have won the economic wars, but the old Left continues to wage the cultural ones. There is, of course, more to life than mere economic existence, but the social fears promoted by contemporary critics have an unfortunate tendency to narrow the terrain of human potential still further to survival itself.

The problem is that all sides promote an interventionist state model in which the population is projected as a mass of vulnerable victims in need of protection, as opposed to viewing people as rational agents shaping their own destinies. This outlook provides hesitant and isolated elites with a regulatory agenda (irrespective of their political views), and a new, if limited, sense of moral purpose. By emphasising process management through expert knowledge it disenfranchises people from the possibility of solving their own problems, while offering the confused authorities clear actions to engage in – preparedness, surveillance and vigilance – that project their internal confusions as external threats.

It is important to understand these trends as not being driven by cynicism, dishonesty or hypocrisy in the West, but rather by confusion. When viewed through a calamitous mind-set, the benefits of development do not clearly outweigh the supposed risks. Accordingly, advocates for restraint are found in all arenas today, possibly none more evident than those relating to large infrastructure projects. In this manner, China is projected as a problem for the West – not through the use of old-fashioned racially prejudiced ideology – but simply because development is problematized in and of itself.

To take just one example, by 2006 supposed environmental concerns – promoted by activists but accepted and acted upon by governments – had stopped more than 200 hydroelectric projects globally. Many other projects have been delayed or significantly scaled-down following this pattern: the Three Gorges Dam on the Yangtze River in China; the Ilisu Dam on the River Tigris in Turkey; the Sardar Sarovar Dam on the Narmada River in India; and the Belo Monte Dam on the Xingu River in Brazil. This has also affected countless smaller projects globally and led to the dismantling of existing dams, not just in the developing world but in developed countries such as the United States.

No doubt corruption does exist, short-cuts are taken and socio-environmental damage will be caused – but these challenges are not insurmountable as campaigners insist. High-profile support from urban intellectuals such as the writer Vandana Shiva in India and the filmmaker James Cameron in Brazil has tended to a romanticisation of the way-of-life of indigenous people and, while compensatory measures are demanded, the real consequences are ignored. So, in India the establishment of the Shoolpaneshwar Wildlife

Sanctuary in Gujarat – an area almost six-times as great as that to be flooded – has effectively imprisoned inhabitants by outlawing modern farming and development. In Brazil, while apparently defending the Kayapo people, activists have been shown to exaggerate adverse impacts of development while understating any benefits.

Similar arguments were wielded in opposition to the Inter-oceanic Highway that now stretches across Latin America connecting the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans, thereby opening up potential for a vast increase in trade. The \$1b project that would facilitate regional integration and allow the countries concerned to become serious global players was presented by some in the West in pessimistic terms – focussing solely on the potential for crime that might ensue, as well as environmental damage. This was a far cry from the euphoria that greeted the completion of the first transcontinental railway across America in 1869, which was seen as a triumph and as a symbol of the American Dream.

Domain Expansion

It is not just dams and other major infrastructure projects that suffer from a demand of excessive justification in the current climate – both science and society are being reorganised through the stultifying focus on the need to act in a supposedly precautionary manner in all circumstances. But, by doing so, the West reveals its own inner insecurities as the real driving force behind such concerns. For the Global South, the solution to this will come – not by lambasting environmentalism as some kind of renewed foreign domination – but rather by highlighting the benefits of development for all globally, thereby promoting a human agenda with more engaged people.

A narrative has been allowed to emerge that – far from promoting much-needed economic growth and infrastructure improvements – proposes that the very opposite be applied – human restraint and humility in the face of supposedly unquestionable natural imperatives. Many even propose a simplistic link between development and adverse weather events or geological incidents. But our greater awareness of such occurrences, as well as the larger numbers affected and greater reparation costs, should be understood as a sign of human success rather than failure, as there are now more people with more to lose than ever before.

According to the American academic, Joel Best, “[o]nce a problem gains widespread recognition and acceptance, there is a tendency to piggyback new claims on to the old name, to expand the problem’s domain”. A recent example of this has been the tendency by environmentalist groups to promote their long-standing opposition to nuclear energy through reference to fears about terrorist attacks or earthquakes in the aftermath of 9/11 and the Fukushima power plant incident in Japan. But it is not just environmental interest groups making use of such tactics. Politicians, officials, businesses and the media – as well as varied NGOs and other civil society groups – have all become increasingly adept at posing the issues they wish to see addressed and prioritised in this manner.

The profligate use of the term ‘*pandemic*’ in the early phase of the worldwide H1N1 outbreak also illustrated this catastrophising trend. Many using the term did not appear to understand – or care – that such terminology applied to the geographical spread, rather than the rate of incidence – let alone severity – of the virus. Others do not seem to appreciate the real meaning of the word ‘*toxic*’, which relates to all substances (including water), or how what is deemed to be a ‘*resource*’ depends rather more on human resourcefulness than any supposedly natural limits.

Writing in the revised edition of his 1997 book ‘*Culture of Fear*’, the UK-based sociologist, Frank Furedi, noted how reference to the phrase “*at risk*” had increased almost ten-fold in British broadsheet newspapers over the six-year period covering the end of the 1990s. This cultivation of the language of vulnerability is unlikely to resolve things. Instead, by presenting human-beings as being both the cause and victims of powerful forces beyond our control, it may help breed a climate of apathy and disengagement.

The end of the Cold War proved to be very destabilising for Western elites. Some looked for new threats to focus upon, from the ‘*war on drugs*’ to the ‘*war on terror*’ and even a supposed ‘*war on obesity*’. Others hoped that the period would usher in a new focus on humanitarian assistance. The problem with all of these however, was that they were largely driven by a search for purpose and meaning within the West, rather than by any actual attempt to address the demand for solutions and development elsewhere. At the time the French cultural theorist, Jean Baudrillard, sought to distinguish between two concepts:

“This is the difference between humanitarianism and humanism. The latter was a system of strong values, related to the concept of humankind, with its philosophy and its morals, and characteristic of a history in the making. Humanitarianism, on the other hand, is a system of weak values, linked to salvaging a threatened human species, and characteristic of an unravelling history”.

Another way of expressing this is to distinguish between solutions that are done for people, as opposed to those that are done by people. Outside intervention – no matter what its aims – comes associated with all manner of presumptions and prejudices that rarely relate to the specifics of particular situations. With regard to the Global South, this is as true for the external intrusions they are often faced with as it is for the relationship between their governments and increasingly regulated citizens internally.

For instance, the dominant narrative on climate change is one that urges restraint in development and emphasises human culpability in creating the problem. But what the poor need most may well be further growth and a heightened sense of their own agency in resolving things. Similarly, ordinary people are the real ‘*first-responders*’ in any emergency. Disasters – whilst destroying physical and economic capital – also present a tremendous opportunity for the creation and enhancement of social capital – provided the spontaneous human need to exert and assume control is not subsumed to the agendas and presumptions of existing or external authorities. Sadly, despite the

variety of ways in which it is possible to interpret and respond to different challenges, the emphasis today seems to be on gloomy, apocalyptic visions.

None of the preceding points are to suggest that there are no problems to be resolved in the world. However, the presentation of humanity as the simultaneous cause and vulnerable victim of all problems is unlikely to help. The history of human responses to disaster – from environmental disasters to terrorist attacks – is actually quite heartening. People tend to be at their most cooperative and focused at such times. There are few instances of mass panic. Amidst the tales of devastation and woe from recent episodes, numerous individual and collective acts of bravery and sacrifice stand out, reminding us of the ordinary courage and conviction that are part of the human condition.

People often come together in an emergency in new and unexpected ways, using the experience to re-affirm social bonds and their collective humanity. Research reveals communities that were considered to be better off through having had to cope with adversity or crisis. Rather than being psychologically scarred, it appears equally possible to be enhanced and strengthened.

What may be needed most from all agencies at such times then – in addition to physical aid and support – is a degree of moderation and circumspection in attempting to impose their interpretation of events onto each situation and thereby seeking to steer future courses of action. An appropriate sense of proportionality and balance could do with being applied in such circumstances, as well as the avoidance of apocalyptic language. History shows that it is simply not the case that things are continuously getting worse or that technological arrogance is driving us all to the brink of disaster.

Indeed, far from human agency being the problem, it is rather its in-agency that has become manifest in recent years – as evidenced by the governmental dithering and simultaneous popular inaction at the time of hurricane Katrina in America. The tendency to associate an increasing number of phenomena – from climate change and energy supplies to population growth and the provision of food – with security, further confuses matters and is likely to yield significant problems. Far from holding back, it is time to move forwards.

Despite good intentions, humanitarianism has increasingly been reduced to interventionism, and all sense of humanity as both a progressive and vital force in our lives has been eviscerated with it. It is high time we celebrated the human in humanitarianism and relegated those who would portray us as both the cause – and vulnerable victims – of our own hubris to the dustbin of history where they belong.





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The Geopolitics of Future Wars

Fabio Paggiaro

The world shaped by the European empires in the second half of the nineteenth century, by its very multipolarity, caused the First World War (1914-1918) and the Second World War (1939-1945). Despite being distinctly named, both were part of the same conflict, separated only by an intermediary cease fire.

At the end of this period of significant tragedy, in 1945 the United Nations was born with the purpose of promoting and maintaining peace in the world, a purpose which was, arguably, never reached. The Security Council was instituted with five permanent members China, the United States, France, the then-Soviet Union and the United Kingdom with power to veto any multilateral resolution. The strong ideological antagonism between the capitalist and communist systems structuring these powers led, however, to the promotion of conflict as opposed to peaceful resolution under the rules of the international law.

A bipolar international system emerged from this very intense struggle, based on the prevalence of the use of force in spheres of influence, which lasted until the fall of the Berlin Wall (1989). Centred around the United States and the Soviet Union, this system was characterised as a period of dangerous stability. The nuclear arsenals of both parties led to the concept of mutual assured destruction; a theoretical possibility to extinguish the planet in a matter of hours prevented *World War III*.

In this context, two major military alliances were formed: in the West, the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), and in Eastern Europe, the Warsaw Pact. The conflicts between them happened indirectly, through support states or insurgent groups in Latin America, Africa, Asia and the Middle East. Occasionally, as in Vietnam and Afghanistan, the United States and the Soviet Union's troops engaged directly with insurgents, but not with each other. Communists acted to destroy capitalism, and vice versa, anywhere in the world, whenever there was a possibility.

After 1989 the communist countries of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union itself collapsed and disbanded the Warsaw Pact. There was state fragmentation, acute economic crisis and revival of religious, ethnic and nationalist conflicts in regions such as the Balkans and the Caucasus. Resentments choked for the period of European empires appeared to have been resurrected.

It was in this environment that the unipolar hegemony of the United States was crystallised and the European Union, created (1993). The United Nations increased resolutions instituting multinational coalitions to enforce peace – usually led by North Americans and composed of NATO members. This alliance, along with the European Union was extended towards Eastern Europe, receiving many countries that were former members of the Warsaw Pact.

In 2003, the United States and the United Kingdom, citing the supposed possession of weapons of mass destruction by Iraq, and disregarding the United Nations and NATO views on this issue, invaded the country and overthrew its dictator, Saddam Hussein. They remained there until 2011.

However, the international system seems to be changing towards a situation of greater multipolarity. From 1989 to the current period, the economic situation in Russia has improved a lot due to oil and gas exports. China, meanwhile, grew at annual average rate close to 10%. Both countries are enhancing their military budgets. Other emerging countries also grew at higher rates than developed ones, which since 2008 have entered and still remain in financial and economic crisis. The global balance of power is shifting and spraying towards the Asia-Pacific.

This rebalancing of economic power, while at the same time promoting global chains, interdependence between countries and enhancing the political power of rising nations, might also, inevitably, augment rivalries, arms races and conflicts between them. At such a turning point, History could return to a period akin to that lived shortly before the First World War, – or not.

So, to discuss a *world politics of security for a world defined by stability*, peace and prosperity for all, demands the assessment of current geopolitical aspects and their future developments within the international system; the future of multipolarity, territorial conquest, control of the seas, control of airspace, outer space and cyberspace, geographic spill-over of wars and conflicts, their pervasiveness and motivations.

The International System

The current environment of shifting power could frame the international system in such a way as to provoke wars if circumstances turn into those of a multipolar world with abundant rivalry and weak multilateral organisations, unable to promote peaceful solutions to increasing conflicts.

Considering the current global context, there are a number of factors that could generate such a system, and for the same reason of shifting power, it is difficult to foresee a bipolar or a unipolar world in a few decades.

New economic powers are emerging: developing economies are growing faster because of the globalisation process. At the same time, many countries are excluded and suffer from starvation, lack of healthcare, education, social goods and security.

Global power is gradually fragmenting; the enrichment of former peripheral nations is reducing the asymmetries between periphery and centre that still exist in the US led international system.

These conditions may lead to increasing rivalries and disputes between those which did not previously have enough power to credibly engage in such endeavours. These nations will possess more money to buy weapons, which are in turn becoming more accessible and lethal due to modern technology.

Nationalisms, political ideologies and religious extremisms may be exacerbated by this new multipolarity.

Countries and/or populations excluded from the globalisation process exhibit trends to internal states conflicts in the frame of insurgency, organised crime and terrorism, as currently occurs in the Middle East, South Asia and Africa.

In such a multipolar international system, these low intensity conflicts, instead of being resolved through multilateral institutions, may be sponsored by regional or global powers in accordance with their interests.

On the other hand, global powers will probably not clash directly themselves, considering the deterrence effect exerted by nuclear arsenals and the possibility of substantial economic losses, given the integration of global markets.

Multipolarity

Multipolarity will prevail and spread. It is the natural consequence of economic growth. Developing and emerging countries become more attractive markets for investment as well as turning into significant global investors themselves, generating complementarity and interdependencies among developing and developed economies, leading to a win-win scenario of mutual enrichment. And this process is replicated regionally: in East and

Southeast Asia, where communist China, since 1978 followed Korea, Singapore, Hong Kong and Taiwan; and, nowadays, Vietnam, Malaysia, Thailand and Indonesia are on the same path.

The 'poles' in this multipolar world should be the United States, the Europe Union, China, Russia, Japan, India, Indonesia, the Arabian Peninsula and Brazil, whose achievements, geopolitical positions or potential economic and/or military power provides them – or likely will do so in the near future – with the necessary political power to maintain or achieve such a status in the international arena.

The United States, the European Union, Japan, Brazil, Russia, India and China were/are noted for their military and/or economic status. Besides current economic and political troubles in Brazil and Russia, their geographic and economic dimensions can assure them such a position, disregarding military capabilities.

The Arabian Peninsula has already a significant and growing GDP; it has considerable investments in developed and emerging countries besides high and incremental military expenditures, particularly Saudi Arabia.

Indonesia has a large population (around 250 million people) and a sizable GDP, besides a strategic geographic position – all of which are favourable to take advantage of the globalisation process.

As regards the stability of the international system, multipolarity does not necessarily have to generate conflict. The current and increasingly interconnected economies worldwide will probably exert a role of stabilisation or, at least, of crisis de-escalation, considering that the gains from commercial exchanges clearly surpass the spoils of war.

On the other hand, the enormous asymmetry between the United States' military capacities and the other nuclear powers will remain the same, because any attempt to reduce it would probably result in an unaffordable arms race promoted by the enormous North American economic and technological complex.

However, it is possible that such an international system will not be able to stabilise poor and fragile states or regions excluded from the globalisation process and which are currently desolated by ethnic, nationalist, religious and/or political struggles.

To be successful, the 'poles' of multipolarity will need to act in a joint and coordinated manner; however this is not what is seen at present times.

Territorial Conquest

Wars of territorial conquest will always be a possibility, but with declining likelihood. The payoff from the acquisition of territory offers less value in the modern world than it did in earlier times.

Territorial conquests presuppose occupation, which has its costs. Invaders may face permanent insurrections that always demand plenty of troops, and provoke both military and civilian casualties. Financial and political costs are high. Rulers of democratic countries may see their popularity and support rapidly evaporate.

The international community could impose economic, political and even military sanctions in such situations, such as at the time of the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in 1991 or in current days concerning Russia's seizure of Crimea. Furthermore, the more world economies integrate, the stronger will be this trend and the same is true for the advances of democracies.

Alongside economics, political and military levers, the media will also exert a crucial role in containing initiatives of territorial conquest. Moreover, world populations are now directly connected and share information through modern technologies. Large groups of people can be rapidly mobilised anywhere in the world to defend causes, protest, press leaderships and organise boycotts.

However, the likelihood of wars for territorial conquests could be greater in poorer regions, such as fragile states, where these tensions might be combined with struggles of ethnic, nationalist, religious and political natures. The evolution of such potential conflicts will depend on how intensely they damage the interests of the international system in general, or those of NATO, Russia and China, in particular, besides the political and logistical constraints to military interventions, generally.

Control of the Seas

Maritime transportation, due to its enormous shipment capacity, will probably remain the world's most important mode of trade. It is hard to envision some technological solution that could replace it.

On the other hand, global supply chains will develop much further, along with the growth of the world economy and interconnections between nations and firms will become increasingly interdependent.

In this sense, the freedom of maritime navigation is vital to the global economy. If it is compromised by unilateral attitudes, divergent to international laws, conflicts may be sparked.

Today, the most dangerous point of potential conflict is the South China Sea, encompassing an area from the Singapore and Malacca Straits to the Strait of Taiwan. The area's importance largely results from one-third of the world's shipping transiting through its waters, and that it is believed to hold huge oil and gas reserves beneath its seabed.

Several countries have made competing territorial claims over this maritime body; the People's Republic of China is building islands on reefs and, just as the Republic of China (Taiwan), they claim almost the entire body as their own, despite overlaps

with virtually every other country in the region. Competing claims include Indonesia, Philippines, Vietnam, Brunei, Cambodia and Malaysia.

The United States are also present in the region and have several defence agreements with most of the countries involved.

Control of Airspace, Outer Space and Cyberspace

The use of outer space, cyberspace and airspace is already a basis for both military engagements and civilian activities.

Technological development has expanded the domain of conflict, once restricted to land, sea and air. Currently five arenas must be considered: sea, land, air, space and cyberspace. Detection systems, imaging, global positioning and communications embedded in satellites and aircraft along with networked systems placed on land and sea surfaces allow full monitoring and control of activities. Information is processed, updated and disseminated immediately.

These technologies offer significant benefits to their owners. Since 1991, in Operation Desert Storm, it became evident that intensive and appropriate use of technology can result in the annihilation of powerful enemies in a matter of weeks.

In their passive state, such capabilities act as a deterrent, while in their active usage they ensure success, with few casualties, minor damage to the civilian population and little logistical effort. In most cases, technological capabilities allow a military force to impose its will on that of its opponent through selective attacks, with reduced or no ground troops and without the need for territorial occupation. This causes less psychological impact on a nation's troops and on public opinion, making wars less troublesome for political leaders.

Successful military operations depend on Command, Control, Communications and Intelligence (C3I). This means that the gathering, flow, reliability and opportunity of information are all as crucial as combat capabilities. Hence, a contender needs to assure his own freedom of communication and deny such liberty to his opponents. This means ensuring information superiority and demands the control of outer space, airspace and cyberspace domains.

Analysing the issue from the viewpoint of civilian activities, there is a large and incremental dependence on satellite services and computer nets. The data collection and transmission provided by these platforms support global communications; global positioning systems; environmental monitoring; and scientific research on subjects such as meteorology, climatology, geology, geography, hydrology, oceanography, hydrography, agriculture, fishing and urbanism.

Space orbits, especially the geostationary, are, however, finite and their usage by satellites is negotiated at the United Nations in its Office for Outer Space Affairs

(UNOOSA). The same criteria are used concerning the electromagnetic frequencies spectrum used for signals transmission. The current situation is that space segments, such as those used for communications, are already near saturation.

Therefore, outer space and cyber space could either be inducers of human development or militarily disputed domains since controlling them may provide significant power to the controllers.

Geographic Spill-over of Wars and Conflicts

Given the interconnected nature of the world economy, it is quite difficult for the effects of future wars to be restricted to a regional environment.

Global supply chains permeate the globe. Raw materials, plantations, industrial plants and markets are all linked, making nations interdependent, for good or ill.

Thus, anywhere a war sparks it will probably affect both producing and consuming nations as well as supply routes. This could spread losses outside conflict zones in the form of scarcity, inflation, unemployment, and market failure.

Meanwhile, wars which occur in very poor regions of underdeveloped and disconnected economies, although unlikely to result in economic collateral damage beyond its borders, could, in case of high populated areas, trigger the displacement of large human contingents as refugees. Difficulties of this kind occur right now in Syria and North Africa.

Wars and Conflicts: Pervasiveness

As noted above, the interconnections of the global economy tend to deter conventional conflicts. Their pervasiveness makes them counterproductive, thus undesirable to the international community. Unlike prior times, the huge financial and human costs far outweigh the profits; this cost is reflected politically upon the decision-makers.

On the other hand, in poor and fragile states, inequality and feelings of injustice will probably continue to fuel internal and external conflicts, facilitating the proliferation of safe havens for criminals, insurgents and terrorist organisations, which could establish parallel centres of power to states or even seize governmental control.

In this way, insurrections and terrorist activities could easily spread around the world, supported, funded and abetted by networks of transnational organised crime.

Wars and conflicts: motivation

Parodying Thucydides, honour, fear and interest will continue to fuel war and conflict. But the drivers will be a combination of nationalisms and ethnic rivalries, Islamic radicalism, inequality and poverty, natural resource scarcity and unstable leadership.

Nationalisms and ethnic Rivalries

The increasing multipolarity feeds state fragmentation and, since the colonial period, passing by World Wars I and II, the borders of the world have undergone a fair few shifts. Many of these border changes are still unrecognised by nationalist and ethnic groups and so, have the potential to turn into conflicts. Rivalry, hate and the desire for revenge are not gone from the world, sometimes surfacing in the form of genocide.

Increasing nationalist feelings are identifiable in great powers, like China, India, Japan and Russia, besides the hegemonic posture of United States.

China claims territories all around its borders and is occupying reefs in the South China Sea, disregarding the protests of neighbouring nations. Chinese resentment stemming from European and North American colonialist behaviour – in addition to historical wars with Japan – is latent.

India has always presented internal problems concerning ethnic and religious conflicts, as well as external ones related to Pakistan, Bangladesh and China.

In Russia, Vladimir Putin seized Crimea from the Ukraine and is supporting insurgents to seize another eastern part of the country. These movements seem to be part of a strategy to deter NATO and the Europe Union's supposed attempts towards an advance eastward and enjoy the support of the Russian people.

Japan, led by the nationalist premier Shinzo Abe reshaped its defence policy in order to allow the participation of its troops in conflicts *to defend its allies if the security of the nation is threatened*. The change means a departure from the pacifist position that characterised Japan since its defeat in World War II.

The United States understand they have a role as *leader of the world*; they are present and defend their interests worldwide, allied to NATO and Asian partners. This posture is understood by Russia and China as a threat and an attempt to consolidate the U.S.'s political and military hegemony.

Islamic Radicalism

Islamic radicalism is increasing and spreading, mainly in the Middle East, North and Central Africa. This radicalism is giving birth to terrorists groups capable of defying states and supporting or motivating proxy group attacks all around the world, such as the case of the French incident against the Charlie Hebdo magazine (2015).

Nowadays, the most significant example is the Islamic State that has seized parts of Syria and Iraq, but claims its domains as stretching from Morocco to Northwest China. In Nigeria the Boko Haram is defying national authorities and armed forces. Al Qaeda and the Taliban, despite the attempts to destroy them, still exist.

The violence practised by such groups in the name of God is shocking and growing. They have settled in oil producing areas and could compromise its supply chains; their intention to seize and control the entire Islamic World is clearly stated and shown. A more decisive reaction from western powers may well be but a question of time.

Inequality and Poverty

Globalisation has promoted economic development but has done so unequally within and across countries and regions; meanwhile, extreme poverty is still a challenge to be overcome. This situation will probably continue to fuel perceptions of injustice among those whose expectations are not met. Socioeconomic and opportunity disparities among individuals, groups, countries and regions could result in social and political instabilities expressed as insurgency, terrorism and incremental criminal activities.

However, due to economic and political constraints, it is not possible to envision a fast change in the international system in the sense of suddenly providing less developed countries greater access to the benefits of globalisation.

Natural Resource Scarcity

Global population is growing. Economic development is enabling more consumers' access to goods before unaffordable. However productive activities are not sustainable, worsening climate change capable of provoking environmental hazards. For this reason among others, the world could face a situation of scarcity, provoking generalised conflict around the world. However, this hypothetical situation would be conditioned to human capacity to develop and/or improve technologies and behaviours in order to avoid such a threat.

In recent decades, the world has seen significant economic development and population growth, but always at the expense of the environment. As a consequence, deforestation and greenhouse gas emissions have increased due to fossil fuel and vegetation burning, factors identified as the main cause of global warming. Countries' development took place at the expense of the environment.

On the other hand, there are more than one billion people living at extreme levels of poverty, an unacceptable reality, yet when they leave such a condition it will inevitably increase the demand for natural resources, especially food.

These trends, if consummated, will accelerate environmental degradation, which is already at a critical level and could provoke natural disasters around the world, reduce agricultural productivity, raise sea levels, spread tropical diseases, cause floods in some areas and drought in others.

In this context, and considering the technological capabilities available today, without factoring in the potential for technological advances, natural resource scarcity is foreseeable in the near future, especially that of food. Such a situation would cause

economic, political and social instability worldwide and could propel nations with a resource-deficit, but with surplus power, to coercive searches for supplies abroad. Weak and poor states could derail and develop into operational bases for criminal and terrorist organisations.

Unstable Leadership

The escalation or de-escalation of crises in general depends on leadership stability. Leaders may search for pacific solutions for conflicts and calm the population down, or, conversely, motivate them to support war.

As examples of unstable leadership – and sanguinary wars derived from the inconsistency of their actions – we can mention the invasion of Kuwait by Saddam Hussein (1990); the invasion of Iraq by George W. Bush (2003); the recent annexation of Crimea (2014) by Vladimir Putin and his support to the Ukrainian separatists – in the latter case it still cannot be glimpsed how far the Russian president is willing to go –; and the situation in North Korea, where president Kim Jong-un, who considers himself a form of deity, is systematically eliminating his collaborators and has nuclear weapons, making for a very unstable region.

As to the reason why any ruler would behave in such a manner, one may again recall Thucydides: honour, fear and interest. Such arguments have great appeal and are very current. They were used in all the examples cited above and will very likely continue to be so, by the same or other leaders in the future.

Conclusion

Globalisation promotes development and global economic integration but not in an all-inclusive way. It extends multipolarity, which can either be a factor for stability because of trade flows, or a cause of conflict, due to the greater political, economic and military capacity gained by emerging countries.

There will be many differing reasons for humanity to choose these opposing outcomes of multipolarity and the role of leadership will be crucial. Unfortunately, it seems that in many areas of the world today the worst option has been chosen. It is now up to the international community to respond to that in such a way as to return multipolarity to a path of positive and peaceful interconnectivity.





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States in a Changing Global Order: Where does Africa fit?

Madeleine Goerg

For centuries the international system has been structured around sovereign states. First concerned with maintaining domestic order within a given territory, sovereignty later came to imply autonomy from other states and therefore non-interference in their domestic affairs. For centuries, however, access to sovereignty remained limited to a small set of countries. The values articulated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948, which are structuring values for the international system as we know it, find their root in European nineteenth century culture. These values, which originated in a specific cultural and historical context, took on a decidedly universal character following the end of the Second World War, the creation of the United Nations system, and the establishment of the Bretton Woods institutions. Whilst very few actors, including emerging powers, propose radically different values to those prevailing in the international system, their interpretations of these values differ, and the degree to which they adhere to them varies. Decolonisation meant the inclusion of a host of newly sovereign countries in the international system, changing the basis for their participation in the global arena and putting economic development higher on the global political agenda. The emerging powers, current champions of the global South, are a set of countries that have managed to make the leap from developing country status to that of challenger of the economic and political dominance of advanced economies. Over the past three decades, the rise of new centres of economic and political power that were historically colonised and which demonstrate a strong will to assert their autonomy from previous forms of domination has brought

the importance of state sovereignty back to the fore. Emerging powers have also exerted pressure on the post-Second World War international architecture and questioned the principles of the Washington Consensus on which it remains largely based.

While this development is often framed as a clash of values between established and emerging powers, the tensions arise in large part from a divergence of interests and the profound shift in economic and political power which has led to the increased ability of developing countries to guard and defend their sovereignty against the interference of external actors. Indeed, respect for sovereignty largely depends on whose sovereignty is being curtailed.

In the midst of this rebalancing the question arises of how African nations fit in the changing international configuration. Sovereignty remains a key organising principle but continues to be limited in practice, with significant intrusion by external actors into the domestic affairs of African states. While sovereignty as a principle of international law remains applicable, sovereignty as effective autonomy and authority over a given territory is much more tenuous. The rise of new centres of power presents an opportunity for African states to better guard their sovereignty and to craft and implement national policies, especially with regard to their economic and political development trajectory. In an attempt to address this issue, a brief discussion of sovereignty is developed along with considerations pertaining to existing formal and informal hierarchies in the international system. A closer look is then taken at four key countries, namely China, Brazil, India, and South Africa, whose strategies impact Africa's place in the international system. While South Africa is an African state, its unique history and relations with the African continent find it straddling the line between the BRICS¹ grouping and its regional bloc. Chinese, Brazilian, Indian, and South African articulations of their Africa policies broaden the range of options available to African states, especially with regard to development strategies. These approaches have tended towards a greater respect of sovereignty and non-interference, providing leverage for the re-negotiation of Africa's place in the international system. The New Development Bank founded by the BRICS is an interesting attempt by emerging powers to provide new models and alternatives for developing countries. Advanced economies, particularly the United States and the European Union, have been harshly criticised for the dissonance between their professed principles and practice. As emerging powers continue to rise and their relations with the African continent grow more complex, their credibility as alternatives will hinge on their ability to keep the gap between principle and practice narrow. While the rise of new centres of power represents an opportunity for some, for those less able to defend their sovereignty, intervention and interference from external actors is never far. New partnerships need to be approached differently so as to avoid reproducing existing hierarchies. Pooled sovereignty and regional integration have been attempts to redress the imbalance.

¹ The BRICS grouping comprises Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa. While Russia is also an important challenger to the current order, its interaction with African states decreased sharply with the end of the Cold War. This paper will therefore focus on those countries providing Africa with alternatives for development.

Setting the Scene: Sovereignty and the International System

Hans Morgenthau, a leading twentieth-century analyst of international politics, once defined sovereignty as “the supreme legal authority of the nation to give and enforce the law within a certain territory and, in consequence, independence from the authority of any other nation and equality with it under international law.”² Despite differences in size, power, and age, states are recognised as having final authority over a defined territory and population and are equal under international law. Mutual recognition is a key component of sovereignty and membership in the international system on the basis of this recognition grants access to a set of goods. At the basic level, actors recognised as sovereign have the right to exercise authority within their borders with limited, if any, interference from other actors. They are also given a seat at the table and are able to participate in international governance, which non-sovereign entities are not. Other specific goods, such as peacekeeping, loans, or disaster relief are also available to them by virtue of their status as members of the international community. While the rise of new centres of power such as the BRICS countries has upset the balance in the international system, it has not yet managed to change it entirely, supporting Lora Anne Viola’s observation that a system’s recognition criteria tend to be conservative and to favour the political aims, interests and values of the dominant members of the system at any given moment.³ Advanced economies, with the United States front and centre, continue to dominate the system and use recognition as a means of demanding conformity to dominant norms. For instance, Chinese and Russian accession to the World Trade Organisation (WTO) required their adherence to previous agreements and a degree of adaptation on their part.

Juridical equality between sovereign states does not preclude a *de facto* hierarchy within the international system. Indeed, sovereign equality does not guarantee the equal distribution of resources or governance rights for all members. Most analysts accept such categories as major powers, emerging powers, regional power or hegemons as opposed to ‘ordinary’ states, thereby distinguishing subsets of states. In other words, advanced economies, BRICS countries, and African states might all be sovereign and equal before the law, but they are treated differently in the international system. The BRICS ability to challenge the current international order, which remains anchored in the Bretton Woods system, owes in large part to their size and power.

Institutions like the United Nations General Assembly or the WTO, while predicated on the one-state-one-vote principle, still reflect dynamics of dominance. The United Nations Security Council, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) or the World Bank (WB), on the other hand, have gone a step further, institutionalising the hierarchy in the international system. It follows that a large number of sovereign states remain ‘rule takers’ despite being important stakeholders in particular issues. With regard to development cooperation, as practiced by the members of the OECD’s Development

² Morgenthau 1967 in Mathias Albert, Barry Buzan and Michael Zürn, “Introduction: differentiation theory and international relations,” in *Bringing Sociology to International Relations: World Politics as Differentiation Theory* ed. Mathias Albert et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013): 12.

³ Lora Anne Viola, “Stratificatory Differentiation,” 118-119.

Co-operation Directorate⁴, the ability of recipient countries to decide on allocation of funds or priority areas is greatly constrained. Successive declarations have attempted to address the issue of ‘ownership’ of development cooperation with limited success. Furthermore, consensus on norms and common goals in development cooperation has often been taken for granted by advanced economies or traditional donors. The assumption of agreement on norms and “what should be done” has supported expectations by traditional development partners of an “automatically positive response to their calls for ‘good governance’, including fighting corruption, or adherence to the Millennium Development Goals.”⁵ The perception of traditional powers that weaker countries’ acquiescence is the same as agreement is at the core of the criticism levelled at the international system. Whilst very few actors propose radically different values from the prevailing ones, the interpretation of these values, the relationship between values and policies, and the ability of actors to enact these values are contested.

The international community, which advanced economies have gradually sought to build since the end of the Second World War, looks different when viewed from the United States and the European Union than it does from the global South. Kingsley Chiedu Moghalu distinguishes between an international community and an international society. According to Moghalu, a community is a “close-knit entity that regards itself, really, as an extended family. A community is held together by custom and by norms that, written or unwritten, spring from a common understanding and frequently, a common heritage. What happens in one community member’s home is of concern to other members, and for this reason they become their neighbour’s keeper.”⁶ A society, on the other hand, is a “group of people who have come together, as in a social club, recognising their different backgrounds but reaching agreement to pursue clearly identified common objectives. Members of a society return to their individual homes after the society’s meetings. They agree at their gatherings on when to meet again and what each member will do to contribute to realising the society’s objectives.”⁷ Most members of the global South, in part due to their colonial past, seem to lean towards an international society rather than an international community. With the BRICS countries leading the charge, the issue of state autonomy and freedom from interference, especially with regard to development trajectories, is gaining traction.

⁴ The DAC currently has 29 members: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Czech Republic, Denmark, European Union, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Slovakia, Slovenia, South Korea, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

⁵ Goran Hyden, “After the Paris Declaration: Taking on the Issue of Power,” *Development Policy Review*, 26-3 (2008): 262-263.

⁶ Kingsley Chiedu Moghalu, *Emerging Africa: How the Global Economy’s ‘Last Frontier’ Can Prosper and Matter*, (UK: Penguin, 2014): 238.

⁷ Moghalu, *Emerging Africa*, 238-239.

Challengers and Reformers: The Emerging Powers and Africa

Thinking about development cooperation differently...

The rise of countries from the global South has put the concept of sovereignty back in the debate. China, Brazil, India, and South Africa, have been particularly keen to challenge former colonial powers and the United States as regards their relations with African states. Emerging economies' interest in Africa has had significant implications for the continent, contributing in large part to its economic growth and increased political weight. As they are also part of the developing world, their growing presence in Africa has mostly been framed in terms of South-South cooperation and solidarity. South-South cooperation is defined as much by its actors as by the approaches, methods, and justifications such actors choose to use. Unlike development cooperation with traditional donors, which stays within the confines of official development aid, most economic relations and forms of development cooperation undertaken by states of the global South fall under the umbrella of South-South cooperation. South-South development cooperation does however encompass elements closer to western definitions of official development aid, such as grants, loans falling under official development aid requirements, debt relief, or technical assistance. It also includes trade, investment, and private loans. Yet, whereas traditional donors have long used a discourse of charity, altruism, and compassion to justify development aid, emerging powers frame their decisions in terms of solidarity, mutual benefit, and shared identities, highlighting the shared experience of colonialism, post-colonial inequality, and the current imbalances in the global system of governance. On the basis of this shared identity as developing countries, China, Brazil, India, and South Africa reject the hierarchy inherent in the donor-recipient relationship, emphasising mutual respect and equality. These have become tropes for leaders and are used to frame the narrative of speeches, high-level meetings, and fora. Self-reliance and self-help, two core principles of southern development cooperation, are also articulated so as to emphasise the win-win outcomes of southern cooperation.⁸ Rejection of conditionalities – which are a central feature of traditional development aid and were initially introduced by the IMF as a guarantee for repayment – as well as a strong commitment to the respect for sovereignty and non-interference in domestic affairs are also core principles upheld by emerging powers. South-South cooperation is a quid pro quo in which recipient countries present clear economic opportunities for their partners. A closer look at the Chinese, Brazilian, Indian, and South African approaches to African states provides insight into their interpretation of these principles.

Chinese articulation of its Africa policy is anchored in history, with references stretching back to the 15th century and a narrative of continuity from the 19th century through to the Cold War. Positioning itself in stark contrast to the IMF, the World Bank, and traditional donors, China's foreign policy relations with Africa are marked by a discourse of political equality, mutual benefit, sovereignty and territorial integrity, and 'win-win

⁸ Sachin Chaturvedi, "Development Cooperation: Contours, Evolution and Scope," in *Development Cooperation and Emerging Powers: New Partners or Old Patterns?* ed. Sachin Chaturvedi et al. (London: Zed Books Ltd, 2012): 18.

cooperation'. Beijing's refusal to openly set conditions for cooperation with African states (with the exception of the non-recognition of Taiwan) follows the principle of non-intervention in the politics of a sovereign state, and illustrates its general reluctance to prescribe policy preferences and options. This attitude sets it apart from traditional donors, providing an alternative for African governments. It is frequently emphasised that despite the unequal economic relations that characterise China's engagement on the African continent, China recognises its African counterparts as politically equal.⁹ Beijing sees its approach as exceptional or unique in that it represents a new form of engagement, distinct from the post-colonial links African countries share with Europe and the United States; by defining itself as a "developing donor," China eschews comparisons with traditional donors.¹⁰ Embodying the more pragmatic nature of South-South cooperation, Chinese cooperation with African states favours practice-based methods and outcome-based approaches. Unlike the EU's budget support, China privileges projects with concrete end products where it can retain a significant amount of control over expenditure and quality. The Chinese firms and workers largely employed during these projects represent a means of exercising oversight, in line with China's professed goal of advancing its own national economic interests. China's relative flexibility, apparent lack of conditionalities, speed of decision making, less risk-averse approach, and willingness to work with imperfect institutions all make for attractive elements for African governments seeking to further national development goals, especially with regard to infrastructure development.

Development cooperation has historically been a central principle of Brazil's foreign policy and the country has long positioned itself as a bridge between developing and developed countries. With the election of President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva (Lula) in the early 2000s, Brazilian foreign policy shifted to South-South cooperation, primarily through the BRICS grouping, and relations with Africa. Lula's emphasis on Brazil's cultural affinities with Africa and on the shared experience with Lusophone Africa served as the backdrop for increased engagement with African countries, an engagement which has been consistently framed in terms of Brazil's developmental and commercial aims. Brazil, which shares basic values with advanced economies such as representative democracy and the protection of human rights, has justified its non-interventionist stance by arguing that these are domestic issues for states to contend with. President Lula's administration instead put the emphasis on denouncing hierarchies within the global governance system, using a discourse of opposition to the United States and, to a lesser extent, Europe. Development cooperation with Africa goes beyond the borders defined by official development aid to encompass a wide range of activities and actors. For instance, due to the relative success of social and economic development programmes domestically, Brazil has become a primary exporter of 'social technology', particularly with regard to agriculture, health, and vocational training. In addition, Brazil has encouraged, and at times created, a seamless link between private sector interests and development cooperation, with a pivotal role played by

⁹ Christopher Alden and Daniel Large. "China's Exceptionalism and the Challenges of Delivering, Difference in Africa." *Journal of Contemporary China*, 20-68 (2011): 21, 28-30.

¹⁰ Zhou Hong, "China's Evolving Aid Landscape: Crossing the River by Feeling the Stones" in *Development Cooperation and Emerging Powers: New Partners or Old Patterns?* ed. Sachin Chaturvedi et al. (London: Zed Books Ltd, 2012): 156.

the Brazilian Development Bank (BNDES). According to Alden, Brazil's large private firms, such as Vale and Odebrecht, were instrumental in shifting Brazil's foreign policy focus, often drawing the parallel to the Chinese approach of linking state diplomacy with commercial interests.¹¹ The Brazilian private sector is an active contributor to development cooperation across Africa and, in turn, development has become central to Brazilian firms' sustainable commercial interests. The Brazilian government actively encourages large Brazilian companies present in African countries to employ the local workforce, to use local goods and services, and to make parallel investments in social services for local communities directly or indirectly affected by their activities. However, Brazilian engagement towards Africa has largely tapered since the election of President Dilma Rousseff in 2010 due to an overall less active foreign policy.

While Brazil's claim to being the largest African country outside of Africa links it to the African continent, historical ties also link India and Africa. The large voluntary and involuntary movement of Indians to East and Southern Africa over the past few centuries has led to the presence of significant Indian communities in certain parts of the continent. As one of the first decolonised countries, India was also a key supporter of the decolonisation struggles in the African continent. Starting in the early 2000s, the Indian government began to place greater emphasis on outreach to diaspora communities, including in Africa.¹² India is a development aid partner for a number of African countries, with a recent focus on energy-rich West and Central African countries. Technical assistance has included areas such as capacity-building in information and communication technologies (ICT) and access to agrarian technologies. Indian foreign assistance also includes lines of credit, which blend development and commercial interests.¹³ Entrepreneurs and small-scale businesses have spearheaded Indian economic relations with Africa rather than state-owned enterprises, as is the case with China. This difference accounts in part for the dissimilarity in profile of India-Africa and China-Africa relations. India's economic interests in Africa were given a considerable boost from state support in 2007. The third India-Africa summit set to be held in New Delhi in October 2015 could further advance relations between the two, marking an attempt by Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi at a continent-wide approach. Given other key priorities, Africa, however, is not likely to climb significantly up India's foreign policy agenda; since his election in May 2014, Prime Minister Modi has not yet visited a single African country.

Another significant actor impacting Africa's clout in the international system is South Africa. The democratic transition of 1994 marked a shift in South Africa's approach to development cooperation. Apartheid South Africa launched numerous destabilisation campaigns against neighbouring states. Post-apartheid South African governments used development aid as a means of repaying the African continent for its support during the anti-apartheid struggle and of repairing the damage done by previous

¹¹ Christopher Alden, "Resurgent continent?", 17.

¹² Dhruva Jaishankar, "India in the Southern Atlantic: An Overview," in *China and India: New Actors in the Southern Atlantic* (Washington, DC: The German Marshall Fund):26.

¹³ Emma Mawdsley, "Development and the India-EU Strategic Partnership: Missing incentives and divergent identities," *European Strategic Partnerships Observatory, Policy Brief 14* (2014): 3.

administrations. Successive African National Congress (ANC) governments have used South Africa's development cooperation as a means of bolstering the country's African identity, countering apartheid South Africa's narrative of being a 'European' outpost on the African continent. South Africa's development cooperation is rooted in the idea of solidarity with national liberation movements and former supporters of the anti-apartheid movement. South Africa's development cooperation is based on the normative priorities of promoting peace, stability and economic development of and within the African continent. These principles are articulated in South Africa's so-called 'African Agenda' and via South-South cooperation. South Africa has also moved away from the terms and practices of traditional donors, using the discourse of partnership rather than donor-recipient and rejecting the use of conditionality.¹⁴ South Africa's role as a BRICS country and as the only African member of the G20 has further elected African concerns to the global stage. While it aims to represent African interests abroad and to be a gateway into the continent, South Africa has at times struggled to balance pursuing its own national interests and strategies with its bid to represent the continent as a whole.

The broad principals of South-South cooperation are present in the foreign policies of the four emerging powers discussed above. In response to the lack of reform of global lending institutions like the IMF and the World Bank to adequately reflect new political realities, the BRICS countries are providing developing nations with an alternative. The creation of the New Development Bank (NDB), as the first international development finance institution proposed by major developing countries, could lead to the institutionalisation of these principles. Samir Saran argues that the NDB has the potential to change "the ethos of development finance irreversibly."¹⁵ The proposal for the bank and its announcement at the 6th BRICS Heads of State and Government Summit, in Fortaleza in July 2014, reenergised the debate on the reform of global lending institutions. This is a sign that the bank could have ripple effects and, "through competition as well as complementarities, [generate] valuable externalities in the rest of the development finance institutions."¹⁶ The NDB, which was launched in July 2015, still raises more questions than it answers with regard to the future of its own governance structure; the possible inclusion of other developing countries, including African states, as contributors and shareholders; the ability of the private sector to weigh in; the potential for conditions on loans; and the possibility of technology and skills transfer.¹⁷ Furthermore, it is reasonable to suppose that having been built on the model of the World Bank and other regional development banks, it will add to the existing lending architecture rather than fundamentally changing it. The ability of emerging powers to create alternate institutions, however, represents a major step in rebalancing the existing system. The World Bank could become one of many lending

¹⁴ Elizabeth Sidiropoulos, "South Africa: Development, International Cooperation and Soft Power" in *Development Cooperation and Emerging Powers: New Partners or Old Patterns?* ed. Sachin Chaturvedi et al. (London: Zed Books Ltd, 2012)

¹⁵ Samir Saran, "Waking up to the BRICS," *The Hindu*, August 6, 2014, accessed August 5, 2015, <http://www.thehindu.com/opinion/lead/waking-up-to-the-brics/article6284755.ece>

¹⁶ Stephany Griffith-Jones, "A BRICS Development Bank: A Dream Coming True?" *United Nations Conference on Trade and Development*, 215 (2014): 15.

¹⁷ Discussions, African Development Bank Annual Meetings, May 25-29, Abidjan, Cote d'Ivoire

institutions available to developing countries and thereby lose the ability to dictate terms. Although the NDB is not an Africa-focussed bank, African states are expecting loans from the new institution to function as additional financing mechanisms to bridge the infrastructure gap on the continent. Whether these expectations will be met remains to be seen.

... but hierarchies persist within the South-South context.

South-South cooperation provides new models and alternatives for developing countries. References to the global South, however, tend to obscure hierarchies between developing countries. Ambiguities in the positions and policies of emerging powers reflect the differences within the global South and the discordant tone between discourse and reality. Indeed, when examined in practice, core principles of South-South cooperation such as non-conditionality, non-interference, and solidarity come second to economic interests. While states will, and should, seek to pursue their national interests, the dissonance between values, discourse and policy is at the core of the criticism levelled against traditional partners. As emerging powers continue to rise, they too will be faced with criticism on the part of their developing nation peers.

As has been noted above, a distinctive feature of emerging power relations with Africa, and with other developing countries, is the apparent lack of conditionalities. Both China and India, however, use what have been termed “indirect conditionalities,”¹⁸ provisions that ensure Chinese and Indian firms will secure significant portions of the work financed. India expects partner countries to procure between 65 and 75 percent of the goods and services associated with projects and lines of credit from Indian firms.¹⁹ The same is true of projects financed by China, which are largely carried out by public or private Chinese contractors, in effect circumventing the need for conditions but also curbing the positive externalities such as training, job creation, and technology transfer, which might arise from a given project. According to Alden, “technology and skills transfer [are] standardly not privileged in any Chinese sponsored projects unless negotiations require their inclusion.”²⁰ China rather prefers the use of “extensive technical training and exchange programmes which run in parallel with particular projects.”²¹ Chinese firms signed contracts worth around \$40 billion in Africa and “by the end of 2007, 114,000 Chinese were legally working on the continent, and 67,000 of them had arrived in the preceding 12 months.”²²

With regard to the principle of non-interference, China has come to draw a line between involvement with the approval of the host within the framework of a

¹⁸ Barry Sautman and Hairong. Yan. “Friends And Interests: China’s Distinctive Links With Africa.” *African Studies Review*, 50-3 (2007): 86.

¹⁹ Samir Saran and Vivan Sharan, “Behind the Lines of Credit,” *Business Standard*, March 28, 2015, accessed August 5, 2015. http://www.business-standard.com/article/opinion/samir-saran-vivan-sharan-behind-the-lines-of-credit-115032800908_1.html

²⁰ Christopher Alden and Daniel Large. “China’s Exceptionalism,” 37.

²¹ Christopher Alden and Daniel Large. “China’s Exceptionalism,” 37.

²² Kingsley Chiedu Moghalu, *Emerging Africa*, 359.

multilateral intervention – and involvement which may be perceived as interference, which could have a negative impact on nation-building and the ability of a state to exert authority over its territory. In May 2007, China deployed 1,800 peacekeepers to missions in Sudan, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Liberia, Côte d'Ivoire, Ethiopia/Eritrea, and the Western Sahara. According to Adekeye Adebajo, this contribution, though small compared to the 80,000 UN peacekeepers deployed globally at the time, was greatly appreciated by African governments, especially when compared to the more selective and often interest-driven European and American peacekeeping engagements.²³ Contributing to peacekeeping missions falls under the umbrella of acceptable involvement with country approval and international backing. China's response to the failure of respective African governments to prevent violence against Chinese nationals in Ethiopia, Nigeria, South Africa and the Sudan, along with the decision to ship small arms to Zimbabwe on the eve of contentious elections in March 2008, however, are examples of interference into domestic affairs. Alden argues that China's position on Darfur, having pressured the Sudanese government into curbing the activities of its militias and strongly encouraged Khartoum to accept the African Union-UN peacekeeping force, was a clear departure from the principle of non-intervention.²⁴ In 2014, China's support of the U.N. Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS) was a reflection of concerns for the safety of Chinese investments in the country and included provisions for the protection of these investments. The U.N. resolution issued was criticised for undermining the neutrality of the U.N. and intervening at the national level to protect existing Chinese interests. This attitude on the part of China – backed by the United States, Britain, and France – is reminiscent of American approaches to peacekeeping.²⁵ Talks of setting up naval facilities on the Horn of Africa and the non-combatant evacuation operations in Libya point to a new phase in Chinese engagement with African countries. The protection of economic assets, the evacuation and protection of Chinese nationals or the establishment of permanent military facilities will come to play a more significant role in China's cooperation policies, as it does for traditional powers²⁶.

The solidarity that emerging powers profess towards the developing world is also put to the test when interests do not align. A recent study on protectionist measures enacted by states after the 2008 financial crisis and their impact on trade for least developed countries (LDCs) pointed to the detrimental effect of behind-the-border measures such as export subsidies which have negative effects upon LDC trade. Among the top 10 trading partners of LDC's responsible for the most adverse export incentives, Brazil, China, and India rank the highest. In the case of Brazil, for instance, the post-crisis protectionist measures put in place affect 357 products or

²³ Adekeye Adebajo, *Curse of Berlin – Africa After the Cold War*, (South Africa: University of Kwazulu-Natal Press, 2010):168.

²⁴ Christopher Alden and Daniel Large, "China's Exceptionalism and the Challenges of Delivering, Difference in Africa." *Journal of Contemporary China*, 20-68 (2011): 21, 33-34; Christopher Alden and Christopher R. Hughes, "Harmony And Discord In China's Africa Strategy: Some Implications For Foreign Policy," *The China Quarterly*, 199 (2009): 570, 568.

²⁵ Colum Lynch, "U.N. Peacekeepers to Protect China's Oil Interests in South Sudan," *Foreign Policy* (June 16, 2014), accessed August 21, 2015 – <http://foreignpolicy.com/2014/06/16/u-n-peacekeepers-to-protect-chinas-oil-interests-in-south-sudan>

²⁶ Interview, Andrew Small, Transatlantic Fellow, Asia, The German Marshall Fund of the United States.

tariff lines which amount to over 75% of tariff lines exported by LDCs. The number and reach of the adverse export incentives put in place by these three emerging powers far outpace the negative measures introduced by the EU and the United States (which rank 8th and 9th, respectively).²⁷ With regard to development cooperation in Africa, an ethnographic study on triangular partnerships showed that Brazilian development workers in Mozambique are criticised for the same superior attitudes western aid workers have long been guilty of. Southern development actors are no more immune to the attitudes that donor status seems to bring about than their Northern counterparts.²⁸

Furthermore, despite the rapid increase in interest and economic ties between emerging countries and African states, advanced economies still remain more important to emerging powers politically and economically.²⁹ The fact that emerging powers, with the exception of South Africa, failed to support the Nigerian candidate over the American candidate for the presidency of the World Bank in 2012 was a case in point.³⁰ The credibility of emerging powers as system-challengers and alternatives to the current dominant actors will hinge, in part, on the coherence of their policies and on limiting the dissonance between their discourse and their actions. Furthermore, the discourse of South-South cooperation obscures significant differences in interests between countries of the global South. While the rise of new centres of power is an opportunity for the creation of new partnerships as well as for the renegotiation of old ones, African states must act with a strategic and interest-driven approach to South-South cooperation so as to avoid reproducing traditional hierarchical relationships with their new partners.

Sovereignty viewed from Africa

When delving into questions of nation-states and nation building, many have asked themselves why African states are how they are and remain, in large part, fragile. With a few notable exceptions, such as South Africa or Nigeria, the focus of these studies has remained inward-looking with a general dearth of scholarship on African foreign policies, especially in recent years. Little attention has been paid to their place in the international system. In assessing the importance of state sovereignty in an African context, the discrepancy between formal sovereignty and the actual ability of states to enforce said sovereignty is key. Or, as Janice Thompson argues, “sovereignty is limited to those who possess the material resources to defend it while the less powerful are nominally sovereign.”³¹ Pure sovereignty, or autonomy, does not exist and powerful states are also subject to encroachments on their sovereignty. The degree to which

²⁷ Simon Evenett, “Throwing Sand in the Wheels: How Protectionism Slowed Export-Led Growth for the World’s Poorest Countries” (paper presented on June 17, 2015).

²⁸ Madeleine Goerg, “Development in the Atlantic: Between Cooperation and Competition,” Atlantic Future Scientific Paper (2014): 8.

²⁹ Adekeye Adebajo, *Curse of Berlin*, 186.

³⁰ Kingsley Chiedu Moghalu, *Emerging Africa*, 271.

³¹ Janice Thomson, “State Sovereignty in International Relations: Bridging the Gap between Theory and Empirical Research,” *International Studies Quarterly*, 39-2 (1995): 220.

states are able to guard against such encroachments, however, varies greatly and in the case of African states is often negligible.

African states, although they have, for the most part, inherited arbitrary borders and have young and fragile institutions, are not overly prone to separatist movements. Despite the great cultural diversity and the many challenges they face, the frequency of separatist conflicts and challenges to territorial integrity in Africa is less intense than that of other regions. With recent exceptions such as the Sudan and South Sudan or Mali, most civil conflicts in Africa have taken place within state boundaries in competition for the resources of existing state structures. According to Pierre Englebert, “[g]iven the undiversified nature of Africa’s economies, their lack of industrialization, their dependence on commodity extraction, and their small and parasitic private sectors, the continent offers a significant material premium to internationally recognized sovereignty, tilting the odds for elites in favour of staying within the state, even if they do not immediately benefit from power at the centre.”³² While certain champions have emerged on the continent over the past decade with stronger institutions and growing private sectors, Englebert’s observation still applies to the majority of African states. The importance placed on state sovereignty in the international system allows states to both impose their laws and structures upon their citizens, thereby giving state institutions and personnel “substance, structure and power”³³, shielding them from outside interference, as well as to access the substantive goods that membership in the international system confers, such as foreign aid, loans, or foreign direct investment. The respect for state sovereignty and for the principle of non-intervention is a bone of contention between African states and traditional partners. Emerging powers, with their adherence to non-intervention, whilst not replacing relations with advanced economies, represent an alternative for African states and can be used as leverage with traditional donors to change the basis of their engagement.

Systematic encroachment on the sovereignty of African states has been facilitated in part by traditional foreign assistance and the mechanisms associated with it, conditionalities chief among them. The national plans developed by African governments of the 1960s and 1970s – and their ability to pick and choose the type and area of support – gave way to economic and political conditionalities starting in the 1980s. The introduction of the structural adjustment programmes and the good governance principle in the 1980s and 1990s was used to justify a significant degree of intrusion into the national policy making process of African states.

Sovereignty, viewed as authority rather than control and a state’s ability to make authoritative political decisions, is undermined by the weight – within national policy-making – of non-state actors, such as international non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and international institutions. Through conditionalities, global institutions like the IMF and the World Bank or donor agencies are heavily involved in the structure of policy-making at the national level, limiting the autonomy of the state. To be

³² Pierre Englebert, “Let’s Stick Together: Understanding Africa’s Secessionist Deficit,” *African Affairs*, 104-416 (2005): 412.

³³ Pierre Englebert, “Let’s Stick Together,” 413.

sure, this has happened to varying degrees across the continent. Caryn Peiffer and Pierre Englebert point to the case of Chad and Benin in the ability of states to resist donor demands for institutional, democratic change. Chad, with its natural resources and geostrategic importance in the fight against terrorism, has – in relative terms – more flexibility and autonomy from specific political demands of donors than Benin, which, with fewer resources, can only offer political concessions, including regime change, for additional revenue.³⁴

In addition to the activities of foreign governments and international organisations, African states with limited capacity to provide public goods and services have also had to contend with the presence of foreign NGOs as alternative centres of power within their borders. African states' relations with traditional partners have, to different extents, been characterised by systematic institutional intrusion, if not intervention. Institutional intrusion refers here to the process of imposing new institutions or policies, which are only accepted by the recipient because of significant power imbalances or structural constraints, and in a context where the recipients have few other choices.³⁵ The rise of emerging powers and their growing interest in Africa could serve to widen the range of policy choices, giving African states more political leeway. However, African countries, more than others in the world, become the subject of international discussion when perceived as failing to govern themselves. Exhortations by the United States and the European Union that emerging powers become responsible stakeholders of the international community seek to bring these new actors into conversations about Africa. Such asymmetry has significant implications for the sovereignty of African states and their self-respect as members of the international system.³⁶

African states have not been passive but have attempted to redress existing asymmetries by developing 'pooled sovereignty' in the form of regional and continental organisations. These organisations provide their own interpretations of the values of the international system. A continental shift took place in the early 2000s with the creation of the African Union (AU). African states, which had until then staunchly adhered to the principle of non-intervention, took stock of the crises of the 1990s in Rwanda and Somalia among others. The AU then recognised the right of other African states to "intervene in the internal affairs of its members in egregious cases of gross human rights abuses and to stem regional instability".³⁷ African states rallied around the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) principle, adopted by the UN General Assembly in 2005, and campaigned to increase the international peacekeeping operations on the continent. However, tensions arose between African states and traditional partners during the Libya crisis and what the AU perceived as NATO's agenda for regime change. The AU's relations with the International Criminal Court

³⁴ Caryn Peiffer and Pierre Englebert, "Extraversion, vulnerability to donors, and political liberalization in Africa," *African Affairs*, 111-444 (2012): 356-62.

³⁵ Landry Signé, *L'innovation en stratégies de développement en Afrique. Acteurs nationaux, régionaux et internationaux de 1960 à nos jours* (Karthala: Paris, 2015):119.

³⁶ Kingsley Chiedu Moghalu, *Emerging Africa*, 329.

³⁷ Adekeye Adebajo, *Curse of Berlin*, 153.

(ICC) also became strained in recent years with the AU's refusal to cooperate in the arrest of President Omar al-Bashir of Sudan, in 2009 and with the charges brought against Kenyan President Uhuru Kenyatta in 2011. In 2014, the AU decided to exempt senior government officials from prosecution by the ICC, reverting to a stricter interpretation of non-interference by outside actors. The AU, however, continues to take positions against unconstitutional changes of government on the continent, as showcased by the suspension of Mali (2012), Guinea-Bissau (2012) and Egypt (2013) following military coups. All three have since been reinstated and the Central African Republic is the only country currently under political sanction by the AU. The AU further expressed concern at the role of the military during the political transition in Burkina Faso (2014) and condemned the use of violence by President Pierre Nkurunziza in Burundi (2015).

Regional organisations, such as the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), also have regional protocols on democracy promotion and have sanctioned member states that underwent military coups.³⁸ Meanwhile, the AU and the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) voice traditional, if not European, interpretations when it comes to issues regarding development. The African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM), one of NEPAD's main instruments, however points to the enduring attachment to the principle of state sovereignty. The APRM, which was launched in 2002, aims at developing best practices for democratic institutions, political governance, and economic governance. In 2004, 23 countries had signed the APRM's protocols. The APRM expresses the "good governance" principles of traditional donors and international financial institutions but did away with the constraints associated with conditionalities since adherence to the mechanism is voluntary.³⁹ The launch of the Tripartite Free Trade Area (TFTA) in June 2015, bringing together three of Africa's major regional economic communities – namely the Southern African Development Community (SADC), the East African Community (EAC), and the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) – is another attempt at strengthening African markets and furthering regional integration. As for many other initiatives by African states, implementation remains wanting. The TFTA, however, could serve as the basis for a continental free trade agreement with a significant impact on intra-regional trade. Increased intra-regional trade would further rebalance African economic relations, providing states with a set of viable regional options in addition to international partnerships. While African states might tolerate interference by peers on the continent, which generally has more bark than bite, their acceptance – at the rhetorical level – of interference by traditional partners is waning.

Sovereignty implies authority and responsibility over a territory and its population. Although many African states struggle to defend their sovereignty, they are members of the international system which grants them access to a set of goods and tools by which to pursue their national interest. Hans Morgenthau noted, "[...] it is not only a

³⁸ Gilbert M. Khadiagala, "South Africa and Nigeria in the Liberal Order," in: *Liberal Order in a Post-Western World* (Washington, DC: Transatlantic Academy, 2014): 103.

³⁹ Landry Signé, *L'innovation en stratégies de développement en Afrique*, 214-215.

political necessity, but also a moral duty for a nation to always follow in its dealings with other nations but one guiding star, one standard for thought, one rule for action: The National Interest.”⁴⁰ African states need to identify and pursue domestic interests, just as advanced economies and emerging powers do. Moghalu argues that “international economic governance [is] a framework for cooperation at best, and hegemonic domination by self-interested sovereign states in an anarchical international society, at the worst.”⁴¹ Following this line of thought, African countries have no other alternative but to develop ‘home-grown’ approaches to their development. The national strategies developed by countries such as Senegal, Côte d’Ivoire, or South Africa are steps in the right direction but it will all hinge on implementation. African states need to create structures for strategy formulation, execution, and monitoring as well as risk management. While the presence of emerging powers might afford African states some breathing space in their relations with traditional partners, they will also need to develop clear, collective strategies towards countries like China, in order to make the most of these new partnerships.⁴² Above all, African states need to develop what Moghalu refers to as a worldview or an understanding of how the world is structured, a national vision and values, and a knowledge system supporting national transformation.⁴³ Said worldview should act as the basis for how African states see their place in the international system and how they choose to act within it.

Conclusion

Although the international system’s prevailing values stem from a particular historical and cultural context, they have attained the rank of universal values with very little open and radical opposition. In the main, emerging powers do not challenge core values of the international system but present alternative interpretations of and approaches to them. The respect for state sovereignty, which is central to the worldviews of emerging powers, does not represent a change in values but rather a shift in the ability of states to defend their sovereignty. While dominant actors, such as the United States and the European Union, can brush off attempts at interference into their affairs, many developing countries do not have the means of guarding against intervention and intrusion, including African states. Sovereignty guarantees equality before international law but the international system remains defined by formal and informal hierarchies. Emerging powers, which aim at challenging the dominance of traditional powers, represent their own set of hierarchies within the global South.

- › The rise of emerging powers has renewed the debate on the primacy of sovereignty and provided weaker states with alternatives for new partnerships and relations. The principles put forth by the Bretton Woods institutions have been undermined by their failure to bring about real economic development, especially in Africa, and shaken by the 2008 financial crisis. Advanced economies, emerging powers, and developing

⁴⁰ Hans Morgenthau, *In Defense of the National Interest* (University Press of America, 1982) quoted in Kingsley Chiedu Moghalu, *Emerging Africa*, 21.

⁴¹ Kingsley Chiedu Moghalu, *Emerging Africa*, 275.

⁴² Adekeye Adebajo, *Curse of Berlin*, 169.

⁴³ Kingsley Chiedu Moghalu, *Emerging Africa*, 347.

countries should launch discussions anew, setting goals for the reform of the Bretton Woods institutions and reviewing their overarching assumptions and principles.

- › The global rebalancing of the past decades provides African states with a window of opportunity to leverage competing partnerships and re-assert their sovereignty and ability to determine the future of their nation. If Africa is to be the next growth frontier, its governments must construct worldviews on which to base their individual and collective strategies for development along with the institutions and implementation mechanisms to support them. The shift from rhetoric and declarations to implementation will be crucial.
- › African states also need to take on strategic and interest-driven approaches to South-South cooperation so as to avoid reproducing existing hierarchies with new partners, and improve their standing when it comes to relations with traditional ones. Increased regional integration, especially intra-regional trade and investment will further diversify relations and move African states away from the tendency of overreliance on one or two main partners, whether advanced economies or emerging powers.
- › Traditional powers, which have dominated the international system, have come under harsh criticism due to a dissonance between the values they profess and defend on the international stage and their actual activities and practice. As emerging powers gain more clout in the global arena, their credibility and capacity to provide alternate interpretations of the prevailing values will hinge on their maintaining a level of coherence between policy and discourse.
- › Advanced economies, particularly the United States and the European Union, should move away from placing a moral value on the partnerships that African states are creating with emerging powers and other developing countries. Relations with emerging powers are no better or worse than relations with traditional powers but are tools for sovereign African states to pursue their political and economic interests and development goals.

Sovereignty endures as an organising principle of the international system. African states, most of which were only granted sovereignty in the 1960s and 1970s, are increasingly reclaiming and guarding their ability to make political and economic decisions in pursuit of national development trajectories.





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A Stake in the System: the Evolution of Criminal Links to Politics, and how they can be mitigated

Ivan Briscoe

Pamela Kalkman

Anxiety over the influence exerted by organised crime has rarely been as widely or acutely felt. In a number of countries that may be considered weakly governed, or undergoing erratic democratic transitions, the issue of organised criminal influence upon public affairs is so serious and entrenched that it no longer appears responsive to traditional countermeasures: law enforcement, anti-corruption campaigns, institutional purges and reform. Instead, in the cases of the Ukraine or Mexico, as well as in many of the world's more fragile states, serious organised crime has become not so much an illegal profit-making activity as a modus operandi for significant parts of the social and political system. According to one global survey, "people in Latin America, Africa, Asia and the Middle East all see crime and corruption as the greatest problems in their countries".¹

The symptoms of this criminal presence are notorious. Extreme violence, coercive and predatory public administration, judicial impunity, economic distortions, and even a broad cultural tolerance of the coveted criminal lifestyle are among the effects seen in states suffering from this presence.² But familiarity with the consequences of illicit activity has not

¹ Pew Research Center, *Crime and Corruption Top Problems in Emerging and Developing Countries*, November 2014.

² There is a copious literature detailing these effects in different regions of the world. For example, on Latin America see Briscoe, I., Perdomo, C., and Uribe Burcher, C., *Redes Ilícitas y Política en América Latina*, ed., International IDEA, Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy, and the Clingendael Institute, 2014; on West Africa, see USAID, *The development response to drug trafficking in Africa*, 2013; for an analysis of economic effects, see UNODC, *Estimating illicit financial flows resulting from drug trafficking and other transnational organized crimes*, Vienna: UN,

always translated into sustained efforts by states and international bodies to act upon the systemic nature of crime. The diverse composition of criminal activity, its linkages with the formal economy and public authorities, or its intelligent usage of the evolving nature of governance remain issues that are daunting in their scale and complexity.

Perhaps due to the overwhelming dimensions of the challenge, treating organised crime and corruption as a “cancer” or a “virus” has become the shorthand in international policy circles.³ This paper will, however, argue that this outlook is seriously mistaken. For various reasons, illicit activity has become part of the complex living organism that forms many countries’ public and business affairs. It must be treated not as a foreign body, but as an integral part of governance and economic systems, to which policy responses must necessarily be adapted.

Crime, Development and fragile States

To start with, it is essential to understand how crime has evolved even when the methods to tackle it have not. The fight against organised crime has long been the prerogative of law enforcement agencies, charged with combatting “mafias”, “gangsters” or “racketeers”, above all in Europe and North America. But modern organised crime has substantially changed – to the extent that the term itself is at risk of becoming obsolete, and, in so doing, forms a growing obstacle to the understanding of illicit phenomena.

Until the end of the Cold War, the relevance of organised crime to the concerns of developing, post-colonial or transitional contexts was marginal. The relative perceptions of its threat and importance, however, changed markedly from the 1990s onwards. Countries emerging from communist rule proved fertile ground for criminal protection rackets, none more so than Russia.⁴ The development of new transnational trafficking networks – generating large mark-ups in value for their products, as well as sophisticated new divisions of labour – brought resources, recruits and weakly governed or fragile countries into an increasingly sophisticated criminal business chain.⁵ It is this development that has been synonymous with the rise in violence in Central America, or the conversion of parts of the Sahel, such as northern Mali and Niger, into hubs for illicit activity, notably the trafficking of drugs and humans. Many of the conflicts that are now attracting high geopolitical concern feature illicit activity and organised crime at their heart.⁶

2011; for a concise account of organized crime’s relations to society, see Van der Bunt, H., Siegel, D. and Zaitch, D. “The Social Embeddedness of Organized Crime”, in Paoli, L. (ed), *The Oxford Handbook of Organized Crime*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.

³ See, for example, UN New Centre. 2011. “Time to fight back against ‘cancer’ of corruption – UN chief.” 08/12/11. <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=40661#.VbluQNpVQ5s>

⁴ For example see Sukhareno, A., ‘Russia’s Regional Challenge: Organized Crime in Russia’, *Per Concordiam, Journal of European and Defence Studies*, Vol. 5 (2), 2014.

⁵ One way of understanding this shift is from a predominantly predatory model of organized crime (extortion and racketeering) to one anchored in market-based crime, involving the supply of illegal products. This differentiation is derived from the typology of R. T. Naylor, discussed in Picard, J., ‘Can We Estimate the Global Scale and Impact of Illicit Trade,’ in: *Convergence: Illicit Networks and National Security in the Age of Globalization*, ed. Miklaucic, M., and Brewer, J., Center for Complex Operations, Institute for National Strategic Studies, National Defense University Press, 2013.

⁶ See Tabib, R., *Stealing the revolution: violence and predation in Libya*, NOREF & the Clingendael Institute, 2014; and Hallaj,

These concerns have already been noted by many governments, and across the community of development donors. Grand ambitions for peace and state-building in developing countries, particularly those entering a post-conflict phase, have been watered down as the rise of criminal activity and armed violence continues to thwart progress. Brought into the mainstream of donor thinking by the World Bank's World Development Report of 2011,⁷ considerations pertaining to organised crime and the supposed means to combat it are increasingly folded into the approaches of peacekeepers, peacebuilders, development practitioners and conflict mediators.⁸ Despite this increased awareness, however, the costs to life and human security caused by crime in fragile states continue to highlight a number of extremely thorny dilemmas that test the resourcefulness of both development and foreign policy. Questions as to the future of the international drug-control regime have been raised: prohibition only seems to have intensified the power of narco-trafficking cartels and the violence they use⁹. New challenges for US border control have been posed as a result of the flow of unaccompanied child migrants fleeing criminal violence in Central America¹⁰. And a complex new front has surfaced as regards efforts to combat Islamist terrorism due to these groups' great dependence on illicit revenues.¹¹

A certain amount of progress has been made towards understanding the issues posed by crime, the ways crime is linked to other state or non-state actors, and how these problems might in principle be addressed.¹² But the hallmark of contemporary crime is the astonishing speed of its evolution, often outpacing the means adopted to tackle it, as well as the sheer diversity of its connections to other legal sectors. As a result, while efforts are underway to understand and mitigate the effect of crime in fragile states, new forms of illicit activity with an unprecedented impact on public life have emerged. This paper explores what these most recent shifts in criminal practice mean for international peace and security, and what sorts of innovative responses may be required.

In particular, this paper argues that the terms currently used to describe the phenomenon of organised crime are an increasing obstacle to more sophisticated responses, notably since they fail to explain the way illicit activities are embedded in local communities and state structures. The paper analyses how the risks and threats posed by

O. A., *The balance-sheet of conflict: criminal revenues and warlords in Syria*, NOREF & the Clingendael Institute, 2015.

⁷ *World Development Report 2011: Conflict, Security and Development*, The World Bank, 2011.

⁸ For example see International Alert, *Crime and Conflict: The New Challenge for Peacebuilding*, August 2014; Cockayne, J., *State fragility, organised crime and peacebuilding: towards a more strategic approach*, Norwegian Peacebuilding Resource Centre, NOREF Report, 2011; Whitfield, T., *Mediating criminal violence: Lessons from the gang truce in El Salvador*, Oslo Forum Papers, HD Centre, June 2013; Kavanagh, C., *Getting Smart and Scaling Up: Responding to the Impact of Organized Crime on Governance in Developing Countries*, ed., New York University, Center on International Cooperation, 2013; and Jespersen, S., 'Development engagement with organised crime: a necessary shift or further securitisation?', *Conflict, Security & Development*, 15:1, 23-50, February 2015.

⁹ Organization of American States (OAS), *Scenarios For the Drug Problem in the Americas 2013 – 2015*, 2012, and LSE Ideas, *Ending the Drug Wars: Report of the LSE Expert Group on the Economics of Drug Policy*, London School of Economics and Political Science, May 2014.

¹⁰ UNHCR, *Children on the Run: Unaccompanied Children Leaving Central America and Mexico and the Need for International Protection*, Regional Office for the United States and the Caribbean, Washington D.C., July 2014.

¹¹ Briscoe, I., 'The New Criminal Blitz: Mali, Iraq, and the Business of Asymmetry', International Relations and Security Network, 10 July 2014.

¹² For example, see *The Global Initiative Against Transnational Organized Crime, Improving Development Responses to Organized Crime*, conference report, July 2014.

criminal activity are not simply manifestations of disorder or challenges to statehood, but are instead systemic to statehood, above all in emerging democracies – where they can, as a result, be deeply destabilising. It is concluded that any new approaches must recognise the need for a revolution in strategic outlook, one that focusses as much upon the form of crime as on its content.

The Link to Governance

The seepage of organised criminal activity into the political affairs of low-income and fragile countries raises a set of issues that require urgent consideration. Until quite recently, the profit-making criminal activities carried out by other governments rarely preoccupied the international community, and were treated far more leniently than the atrocities or human rights violations carried out by states and associated militias. However, recent wars in Afghanistan and Mali, or cases of criminalised states in Guatemala and Guinea Bissau, have pointed towards a change in this approach, and a much firmer commitment to international support for law enforcement, above all when the crises involve narco-trafficking linked to the actions of state officials and non-state armed groups. Nonetheless the same dilemmas that beset foreign military interventions by developed nations continue to entrap policy-makers when it comes to crime-affected conflicts and states. In short, there is no quick and easy way to navigate the tensions between the needs of the countries themselves for broad-based, equitable development, and the demands of Western donors for swift “wins” in campaigns to bring about “stability.”

However, over the past five years the threat posed by organised crime has assumed a different guise. From being a matter for law enforcement in the West, or a human security and development issue in the fragile states of the South, crime has emerged as a systemic challenge to governance and a trigger of mass public discontent in North and South.

Country-wide protests following the disappearance of 43 trainee teachers in Mexico last year appeared to express public discontent not merely with criminal violence, but with defective governance as a whole. “The present movement legitimately calls into question whether Mexico is a democracy,” argued law professor John Ackerman.¹³ For a number of scholars, such as Louise Shelley¹⁴ or the Carnegie Endowment’s Sarah Chayes, indignation over criminal rackets in any given state resonate far beyond stirrings of public unrest, particularly when it relates to conflict-affected states. “Acute government corruption may in fact lie at the root of some of the world’s most dangerous and disruptive security challenges,” argues Chayes, “among them the spread of violent extremism.”¹⁵

¹³ Ackerman, J., ‘We have an opening up in history: John M. Ackerman discusses Ayotzinapa and what’s next’, Latin Correspondent Blog, 17 December 2014, <http://latin correspondent.com/mexico/opening-history/>

¹⁴ For instance, Shelley argues that all mass terrorist attacks committed between 2001 and 2008 were facilitated or inspired by corruption. See Shelley, L., *Dirty Entanglements: Corruption, Crime, and Terrorism*, Cambridge University Press, July 2014, 29-52.

¹⁵ Chayes, S., *Thieves of State: Why Corruption Threatens Global Security*, W. Norton & Company, 2015, chapter 1.

One recent example illustrates the seriousness of this issue. Ukraine's revolution of 2013-14 stands out for having been driven in large part by indignation at the corruption and illicit financial engineering practised by ex-President Viktor Yanukovich and his allies: having embraced the fight against graft in his inaugural address as President in 2010,¹⁶ up to 100 billion dollars are thought to have been spirited out of the country under Yanukovich's rule.¹⁷ Despite the entrenchment of fraudulent practices, notably in public procurement,¹⁸ as well as the hardships engendered by war and economic depression, the post-revolutionary government remains under intense public pressure not to relent on its drive to eliminate these corrupt practices.

Although they bear certain similarities, these and other examples of recent public anti-crime and corruption uprisings¹⁹ are distinct in a number of critical ways. Whereas general perceptions of predatory behaviour by rulers have undermined the legitimacy of a number of democratic governments in Latin America (and have even generated demands for a return to military rule in some cases),²⁰ the same collective, public discontent at high-level graft – and above all, the ostentatious excesses practised within presidential families – reinforced the demand for greater civic freedoms in Egypt and Tunisia in 2011. It is of course significant that the incident which sparked the wave of Arab uprisings involved the self-immolation of a young street vendor, Mohamed Bouazizi, who suffered repeated humiliation at the hands of local police and municipal officials demanding bribes.

In other contexts, public indignation has been directed at national governments, and generated calls for deeper international intervention in national affairs. Upon its creation in 2007, the International Commission Against Impunity in Guatemala (CICIG), a UN body, assumed certain entitlements to initiate prosecutions; its most recent investigations have led to a succession of prosecutions against senior political officials, and prompted the arrest and imprisonment of the incumbent President and Vice-President. Regular EU assessments of Bulgaria, Kosovo and Romania likewise aim to guide national progress in the battle against entrenched corruption and crime in those countries.²¹

¹⁶ See OECD, *Anti-Corruption Reforms in Eastern Europe and Central Asia, Progress and Challenges 2009-2013*, 2014, p. 24.

¹⁷ This figure was named by Ukraine's chief prosecutor General Oleh Makhnitsky in April 2014 and Prime Minister Yatsenyuk in February 2014, see: Foulconbridge, G., 'Toppled 'mafia' president cost Ukraine up to \$100 billion, prosecutor says,' Reuters, 30 April 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/04/30/us-ukraine-crisis-yanukovich-idUSBREA3TOK820140430>, and Walker, S., and Grytsenko, O., 'Ukraine's new leaders begin search for missing billions,' The Guardian, 27 February 2014, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/feb/27/ukraine-search-missing-billions-yanukovich-russia>

¹⁸ See Bullough, O., 'Welcome to Ukraine, the most corrupt nation in Europe,' The Guardian: The long read, 6 February 2015, <http://www.theguardian.com/news/2015/feb/04/welcome-to-the-most-corrupt-nation-in-europe-ukraine>

¹⁹ For an overview of all corruption-related crises, see map 'Corruption Related Security Incidents Since 2008' in: Carnegie Endowment, 'Corruption: The Unrecognized Threat to International Security', Working Group on Corruption and Security, June 2014, 13, http://carnegieendowment.org/files/corruption_and_security.pdf

²⁰ Certain protesters against corruption in Brazil have called for military rule: see Pitts, B., 'Who's Protesting in Brazil and Why?', NACLA, 9 April 2015, <https://nacla.org/print/10950>. One recent survey in Latin America shows that "levels of trust in political and social institutions are generally falling, with the Catholic Church and the Army the most trusted, and political parties the least. Of all institutions, trust in elections suffered the greatest decline between 2012 and 2014". See: *Americas Barometer 2014*, Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP), 194-198, http://www.vanderbilt.edu/lapop/ab2014/AB2014_Comparative_Report_English_V3_revised_011315_W.pdf

²¹ Mechanism for cooperation and verification for Bulgaria and Romania, European Commission, <http://ec.europa.eu/cvm/> (accessed April 2015)

On the other hand, accusations against international bodies for aiding and abetting local fraud are also well-known. The target of mass Brazilian protests in 2013 was a perceived pillage of national resources mediated by an international organisation: the World Cup organiser, FIFA. Meanwhile, in southern Europe and elsewhere, new left-wing forces, such as Podemos in Spain and Syriza in Greece, tend to regard international finance, the European Union's economic policies, and the corrupt behaviour of national governments and business as part of an indivisible continuum, not a series of contending forces.²²

A common Thread of Perceptions

There is a vast array of suspected criminal rackets, as well as multiple manners in which public discontent with crime and corruption has been expressed, whether as a pretext for armed insurgency, or a cause for international intervention, public protest movements or a new political party. This varied canvas would suggest that no single explanation can account for such different manifestations of illicit activity, or the radically different reactions to them.

Understanding the local political economy of crime and corruption is obviously a *sine qua non* for knowing exactly who is involved in which illicit activity, and for what purpose. Yet although it is important to acknowledge that criminal activities have many local particularities, this should not obscure the fact that illicit phenomena have become central to the way the public perceives the actions of their governments across much of the developing world: 83 per cent regard crime as a very big problem in their countries, and 76 per cent do so for corruption.²³ Even in Europe, where personal experience of corruption is far lower, 76 per cent of people believe that corruption is widespread in their countries.²⁴

Such widespread perceptions of criminalised governance, whether accurate or not, demand a robust explanation. In many cases, it would appear that democratic or quasi-democratic environments have become affected by the exacerbated contrast between political expectations and reality. Expectations of transparency, accountability and responsiveness in government, as well as equality between citizens, stand in stark contrast to politicians' unscrupulous efforts to acquire resources, their legal impunity, support from powerful vested interests and armed protection. In other words, the formal precepts of the democratic system and all the ethical values connected with it are proving fundamentally irreconcilable with the informal requirements for electoral success and the achievement of political or economic stability – the resources needed to 'win' at an

²² For example, in a speech before the European Parliament on 1 July 2014, Podemos leader Pablo Iglesias said that "It's scandalous how easy lobbies of huge corporations move around here; how revolving doors convert public representatives into millionaire bosses of big companies... We have to acknowledge that this type of functioning undermines democracy." See Iglesias, Pablo, *Discurso de Pablo Iglesias como candidato a la Presidencia de la eurocámara*, speech, Podemos, 1 July 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QuehOJnHZQg>.

²³ Pew Research Center, *op. cit.*

²⁴ European Commission, *EU Anti-Corruption Report 2014*, European Commission, Brussels, February 2014, 6-7.

intrinsically shallow form of democracy.²⁵ This contradiction is visible in numerous popular uprisings, such as the recent Honduran protests against political misuse of social security funds.²⁶

The near-universal discontent over political and institutional complicity with crime – whether this relationship is regarded as direct, indirect, overt, tacit or passive – can thus be understood as the expression of broader and more diverse crises of state legitimacy, such as in the cases of flawed democracies or unpopular autocracies. Protests in the Arab world (notably in Tunisia), or Mexico, Brazil and the Ukraine, are illustrative of the dissimilar, context-specific conditions that have given rise to strikingly similar outcries against state-level criminal collusion. In other cases, notably in sub-Saharan Africa, perceptions of criminal activity in the state likewise exist, yet without always entailing any collective public response due to low expectations of state performance, or to the fact that political competition tends to be dominated by the contest between ethnic factions.

However, Mali's crisis in 2012 also provided a telling case from sub-Saharan Africa, and one that is emblematic of the shift in the nature of organised crime, and its broader implications for international security. The role of criminal activity in fuelling the armed insurgency in northern Mali was emblematic of the consequences of illicit activity in poor, fragmented and weakly governed environments, of the sort that has preoccupied the development community for several years, and will likely continue to do so.²⁷ But it was the central government's own perceived corruption and complicity with criminal elements that prompted an eventual coup by junior military officers in Bamako, converting a separatist threat in the north of the country into an existential challenge to the nation-state.²⁸

Embedded Criminality: Society

Even as the existence and perception of serious state-level crime endanger the stability of imperfect democratic regimes or failing autocracies, the means to address this predicament, be it with national resources or international support, appear more elusive than ever.

As mentioned above, the concept of organised crime – itself a contested term with multiple rival definitions – is ill-suited to capturing the mercurial, opportunistic arrangements that bring together high-level officials, private sector actors and low-level operatives in criminal endeavours.²⁹ On many occasions the levers through which

²⁵ For example, see OECD, *Financing Democracy: Framework for Support Better Public Policies and Averting Policy Capture*, 2014, 3-7.

²⁶ Mejia, Thelma, 'Hondurans lead unprecedented anti-corruption movement,' Inter-Press Service, 21 July, 2015. <http://www.ipsnews.net/2015/07/young-hondurans-head-unprecedented-anti-corruption-movement/>

²⁷ See Strazzari, F., *Azawad and the rights of passage: the role of illicit trade in the logic of armed group formation in northern Mali*, NOREF & the Clingendael Institute, January 2015.

²⁸ Briscoe, I., *Crime after Jihad: armed groups, the state and illicit business in post-conflict Mali*, The Clingendael Institute, 2014

²⁹ These characteristics of contemporary "organized crime" are widely noted in recent academic and policy literature. Examples include Miklaucic, M., and Brewer, J. (eds), *op. cit.*; Paoli, L (ed), *op. cit.*; Europol, 'EU Serious and Organised

criminal activity is facilitated are legal, if not wholly legitimate. This is illustrated by the case of former Ukrainian President Yanukovich’s manipulation of the judicial system in which the rotation of dissident judges and the use of disciplinary proceedings against them were common techniques.³⁰ An analysis of the network that enabled the disappearance of trainee teachers in Mexico last year shows a deep level of corruption, seemingly extending a degree of culpability to numerous branches of the state, as well as to two national political parties. Here, the concern is different: so prevalent is complicity in or tolerance of criminality that binary notions that oppose law-abiding officials to violent criminal actors may no longer apply. “Articulating the problem of organized crime and its entrenchment in the Tierra Caliente³¹ as a matter of good people versus bad people was one of the errors of [former President] Felipe Calderón’s government,” the Mexican journalist Denise Marker has argued. “Seen from outside, without any knowledge of the area and its history, all the region’s inhabitants might be defined as bad.”³²

Any assessment of national and international policies towards organised crime must begin by recognising the ways in which crime is deeply embedded in society and politics.³³ The process of criminal entrenchment depends greatly on time and place: the examples offered by the Colombian city of Medellín in the 1970s (source of Pablo Escobar’s infamous cocaine-trafficking cartel) or by northern Mali three decades later suggest that a negative structural change in people’s livelihoods enabled by pragmatic political collusion are prerequisites for a generalised shift in public attitudes to crime.³⁴ Escobar’s huge economic influence was predicated on the collapse of the city’s cotton industry. Mali’s shift to illicit drugs and arms trafficking came about after substantial investments were made in coastal trade facilities across North and West Africa, starving the trans-Saharan route of conventional commercial opportunities.³⁵

Once embedded in everyday social and economic practice, complicity with crime can become de facto inescapable: in the northern Honduran town of La Ceiba, named the fourth most violent city in the country in 2014³⁶, “many customers, who are perhaps not always involved in narco-trafficking, strike up conversations in the clinic,

Crime Threat Assessment (SOCTA),’ March 2013.

³⁰ Other abuses of power were of course also deployed. See Bullough, Oliver, *Looting Ukraine: How East and West Teamed up to Steal a Country*, Legatum Institute, July 2014.

³¹ Literally Hot Land. This refers to the low-lying regions of the Michoacán, Guerrero and the State of Mexico, considered to be an epicentre of criminal activity.

³² Marker, D., as quoted in Aguilar Camín, H., ‘La captura criminal del Estado’, Nexos, January 2015.

³³ Van de Bunt, H. et al, op. cit.

³⁴ See Scheele, J., *Smugglers and Saints of the Sahara. Regional connectivity in the 20th Century*, Cambridge University Press, 2012; Strazzari, F., op. cit.; Thoumi, F., ‘Necessary, sufficient and contributory factors generating illegal economic activity and specially drug related activity, in Colombia,’ *Iberoamericana* 35, 105-126, 2009; and Adams, T., *Chronic Violence and Its Reproduction: Perverse Trends in Social Relations, Citizenship and Democracy in Latin America*, Woodrow Wilson Center, 2011.

³⁵ Reitano, Tuesday and Shaw, Mark, *Fixing a fractured state? Breaking the cycles of crime, conflict and corruption in Mali and Sahel*, Global Initiative against Transnational Organized Crime, 2014, p. 8.

³⁶ Honduras has been in recent years the country with the highest murder rate in the world. Vargas, Y., ‘tasa de homicidios de la Ceiba es mas alta que la de paises en guerra’, *Presencia Universitaria*, 13 March 2014, <https://presencia.unah.edu.hn/seguridad/articulo/tasa-de-homicidios-de-la-ceiba-es-mas-alta-que-la-de-paises-en-guerra>

the beauty salon, or the workshop. And the storekeeper, unable to escape... ends up loaded with secrets that he or she never asked to hear.”³⁷ In West Africa and the Sahel, according to the lapidary analysis of one recent report based on fieldwork, “illicit trafficking and organised crime are not considered criminal behaviour in the communities interviewed: they are merely modes de vie – ways of life.”³⁸

This embedding of criminal practice at the community level has signalled a need to consider policy responses beyond traditional law enforcement and imprisonment. Mass incarceration, as borne out by the examples of El Salvador and Honduras, has simply led to stronger and far more violent forms of criminal activity, raising the question of whether some form of dialogue or mediation with criminal groups – however undesirable this might at first appear – could not in fact be a preferable alternative.³⁹

It is not the aim of this paper to explore the issue of mediation with criminal groups in depth, nor that of the emerging policy agenda regarding the involvement of development and humanitarian actors rather than security forces in dealing with highly criminalised, violent environments. However, it is essential to note that the possibilities for innovative policy responses to criminalised communities or states – involving broader institutional reform, or even efforts at cultural change – are themselves circumscribed by the embedding of criminal influence in national elites, and particularly in central governments.

Embedded Criminality: the State

Criminal linkages to the state are far from being a novel concern. The very rise of Western states is considered by Charles Tilly and others to have depended on the establishment of larger and better resourced protection rackets.⁴⁰ More radical authors have regarded illicit activity as part of the very fibre and functioning of modern capitalism,⁴¹ while the criminalisation of states in recent decades has received abundant attention from a number of different perspectives, encompassing analyses of almost every region in the world.⁴² The influence of neo-liberal market reforms on this process, whether by dismantling state oversight bodies or encouraging the outsourcing of public works and services (and thus increasing the risk of corruption in procurement), has been widely commented.⁴³

³⁷ López, J., ‘El sombrío panorama de Honduras,’ Plaza Pública, 2012. <http://www.plazapublica.com.gt/content/el-sombrio-panorama-de-honduras>

³⁸ Shaw, M., and Reitano, T., *People’s perspectives of organized crime in West Africa and the Sahel*, ISS Paper 254, Institute for Security Studies, 2014.

³⁹ Van der Borgh, C., Savenije, W., ‘De-securitising and Re-securitising Gang Policies: The Funes Government and Gangs in El Salvador,’ *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 2015 vol. 47 no. 1 p. 149-176; and International Alert, *Crime and Conflict: The New Challenge for Peacebuilding*, August 2014.

⁴⁰ Tilly, C., “War Making and State Making as Organised Crime”, in Evans, P., Rueschemeyer, D. and Skocpol, T. (eds), *Bringing the State Back*, Cambridge University Press, 1985.

⁴¹ Block, A. A. and Chambliss, *Organizing Crime*, New York: Elsevier Press, 1981.

⁴² See, for example, Bayart, J-F., Ellis, S. and Hibou, B., *The Criminalization of the State in Africa*, Indiana University press, 1999; Miklaucic, M. and Brewer, J., op. cit.; Karstedt, Susanne, “Organizing Crime: The State as Agent”, in Paoli, L. (ed), op. cit.; Bridenthal, R. (ed), *The Hidden History of Crime, Corruption and States*, Berghahn Books, 2013.

⁴³ See, for instance, Chayes, S., op. cit.

Naturally, the illicit predisposition of national political elites, most notably nowadays in Central America and West Africa,⁴⁴ points to another fundamental impediment to tackling the systemic presence of crime and corruption in governance. The current international legal and regulatory apparatus to combat serious crimes that do not break humanitarian or human rights law remains extremely weak: criminal law and prosecution is predominantly national; international police co-operation is voluntary and restricted, while the main conventions on organised criminal activity are not binding on member states in any meaningful sense. As a result, the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) suffers from a number of structural weaknesses, not least in terms of its core funding.

According to anti-corruption expert Edgardo Buscaglia, out of the 108 countries to have ratified UN conventions against crime and corruption, 86 per cent are complying only in theory.⁴⁵ Moreover, the risks of non-compliance are relatively low. A 2012 assessment revealed that the most important multilateral anti-corruption agreements and agencies – the United Nations Convention Against Corruption (UNCAC), the Financial Action Task Force (FATF), the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI), and StAR (Stolen Asset Recovery Initiative) – all have a limited impact on state compliance.⁴⁶ The main reasons behind the weakness of these instruments are the lack of any sanctions or real reputational cost when norms are violated, and the essentially voluntary nature of the transparency requirements. Meanwhile, in the case of money laundering, it has been argued that the lack of coordination between global anticorruption and anti-money laundering bodies leads to missed opportunities for effective controls in many countries.⁴⁷

Non-binding international agreements and supervisory organisations without sanctioning power may even be counterproductive, serving as a “fig leaf” for governments to hide behind whilst continuing their illicit practices.⁴⁸ In the worst cases, nominal compliance with these agreements can even open the door to increased financial support from donors, which is then captured by predatory elites in a vicious circle of corruption and criminality. According to one recent report, “the emergence of states where organized criminal groups have overwhelming influence over political and state institutions completely undermines the very concept of international law enforcement cooperation.”⁴⁹

⁴⁴ See Briscoe, I., Perdomo, C., and Uribe Burcher, C., *Redes Ilícitas y Política en América Latina*, ed., International IDEA, Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy, and the Clingendael Institute, 2014; and Shaw, M., and Reitano, T., *The evolution of organised crime in Africa. Towards a new response*, Institute for Security Studies, 2013. For a deep analysis of illicit activity in the African state, see Bayart et al, op. cit.

⁴⁵ Buscaglia, E., ‘Judicial and Social Conditions for the Containment of Organized Crime: A Best Practice Account,’ in Schönenberg, R. (ed.), *Transnational Organized Crime: Analyses of a Global Challenge to Democracy*, Heinrich-Böll Stiftung, 2013. See also Søreide, T., *Democracy’s Shortcomings in Anti-Corruption*, CMI Working Paper, 2012.

⁴⁶ Johnson J., Taxell, N., Zaum, D., *Mapping evidence gaps in anti-corruption: Assessing the state of the operationally relevant evidence on donors’ actions and approaches to reducing corruption*, Bergen, Chr. Meichelsen Institute, U4 Issue 7, 2012; Brunelle-Quirashi, ‘Assessing the Relevancy and Efficacy of the United Nation Convention Against Corruption: A Comparative Analysis,’ *Notre Dame Journal of International & Comparative Law*, 2011.

⁴⁷ Levi, M., ‘How Well Do Anti-Money Laundering Controls Work in Developing Countries?’ in Paoli, L. (ed.), op. cit., p. 399.

⁴⁸ Chayes, S., op. cit..

⁴⁹ Kemp, W., and Shaw, M., *From the Margins to the Mainstream: Toward an Integrated Multilateral Response to Organized Crime*, International Peace Institute, 2014, 22.

Nonetheless, this absence of a strong international framework to tackle serious and organised crime does not mean that international responses are wholly absent. Counter-narcotic interventions and judicial extraditions have long been used by the United States in numerous countries, while robust policing and prosecution as part of UN or other peacekeeping missions (notably in Haiti under MINUSTAH, or through EULEX in Kosovo) are by now well-established features of international anti-crime policy. Likewise, active pursuit by the US government of money laundering and sanctions evasion in international high finance circles has proven critical to judicial actions taken against HSBC, BNP Paribas and the Banca Privada d'Andorra.⁵⁰ As is well known, the most recent action of this sort by the US Department of Justice has involved a fully-fledged judicial offensive against corruption in the world's football governing body, FIFA.⁵¹

However, these somewhat informal, and very often unilateral forms of engagement – many of them geared towards disrupting drug trafficking and now increasingly human trafficking – tend to cater primarily to the needs and concerns of powerful countries. Most importantly, in the case of many of the measures taken against drug and human trafficking, instead of effectively combatting these activities, they simply divert the trade to areas where national political authorities are even more hospitable to collusion, or where violent armed groups can ensure uninterrupted supply.⁵²

The political-criminal Nexus

For the moment, the fight against organised crime would appear to be at an impasse, hemmed in by the embedded nature of illicit activity in communities and states. In order to begin sketching a more effective and comprehensive set of policies to address crime and corruption worldwide, and its impact within nations and regions, we must begin by understanding why organised criminal activity has evolved in such a way that it has become entrenched in communities and state systems, particularly in fragile and conflict-affected states; and, on this basis, explain its evolution into a recurrent feature of popular discontent with governments. In short, it is incumbent upon us all to recognise and account for the systemic presence, real and perceived, of crime and corruption in our societies and states.

At the risk of excessive brevity, the account given below focusses on three processes that complement one another, and to a great extent account for this systemic entrenchment. The first looks to the evolving nature of money in politics, above all in the developing world; the second turns to the adaptations in criminal practice; lastly, the third part considers the current global implications.

⁵⁰ Minder, R., 'US inquiry brings crackdown in Andorra,' International Herald Tribune, April 11-12, 2015.

⁵¹ For full details of the indictments of May 2015, see <http://www.justice.gov/opa/pr/nine-fifa-officials-and-five-corporate-executives-indicted-racketeering-conspiracy-and>

⁵² Also see Briscoe, I., Dari, E., *Crime and error: why we urgently need a new approach to illicit trafficking in fragile states*, Cru Policy Brief, Clingendael Conflict Research Unit, May 2012.

Politics, Money and Crime

Official estimates suggest that the income of organised criminal groups has grown exponentially over the past two to three decades. Criminal syndicates participate in activities whose income streams have been greatly enhanced by global trade, transport and communications: these include drug trafficking, human trafficking, wildlife trade and illicit extraction of natural resources. While rarely operating at the transnational scale, extortion and kidnapping have also reportedly grown in magnitude.

According to the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), in 2009 the total income of transnational organised crime amounted to \$870 billion – an amount equal to 1.5 percent of global GDP.⁵³ Although this figure is contested by a number of experts, some of whom argue that crime as a proportion of global GDP may in fact have fallen⁵⁴, the rise of high-value criminal activities and the diversification of markets – particularly cocaine, amphetamine-type substances and human trafficking – suggests that global criminal revenue has increased significantly, both in gross terms and as a share of the world economy. For instance, in 2014, Giovanni Brauzzi, security policy director of the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, declared that, with an annual income in excess of €00 billion, the combined turnover of all the country's mafia groups had exceeded that of the entire yearly EU budget.⁵⁵

At the same time as criminal revenues have risen, particularly in countries and regions heavily exposed to illicit trafficking, the role of private money in public life has equally assumed greater prominence across the globe. This development is driven by the increasing competitiveness of elections, on the one hand, and the weak enforcement, or lack of campaign finance rules, on the other.⁵⁶ In Latin American countries in particular, elections are more fiercely contested than ever: opposition candidates won more than half the presidential elections in 18 Latin American countries between 2000 and 2010.⁵⁷ While trying to win votes in these tight races, often without traditional party structures or partisan loyalties to rely upon, candidates are liable to spend increasing amounts of money on their campaigns. For instance, in Panama the 2009 campaign of former President Ricardo Martinelli was conducted at a cost of over US\$18 million, an extraordinary amount for a country with just over two million voters.⁵⁸ Furthermore, an

⁵³ UNODC, *Estimating Illicit Financial Flows Resulting from Drug Trafficking and Other Transnational Organized Crimes*, Vienna, October 2011, www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/Studies/Illicit_financial_flws_2011_web.pdf

⁵⁴ See Picard, J., 'Can We Estimate the Global Scale and Impact of Illicit Trade,' in Miklaucic, M., and Brewer, J. (eds.), op. cit.

⁵⁵ Day, M., 'Ndrangheta mafia family makes more money than McDonald's and Deutsche Bank combined, report claims,' *The Independent*, 26 March 2014, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/crime-does-pay-mafias-annual-income-surpasses-that-of-european-union-9217422.html>

⁵⁶ For example see Ferguson, T., *Golden Rule: The Investment Theory of Party Competition and the Logic of Money-Driven Political Systems*, The University of Chicago Press, 1995; and Casas-Zamora, K., *Dangerous Liaisons*, ed., Brookings Institution Press, 2013.

⁵⁷ Casas-Zamora, K., 'Dirty Money: How to break the link between organized crime and politics,' *Americas Quarterly*, Issue Trafficking and Transnational Crime, Spring 2010, <http://www.americasquarterly.org/casas-zamora>

⁵⁸ In comparison: in Uruguay, a country with more than 3,5 million voters, winning presidential candidate Tabaré Vázquez recently spent US\$6,7 million during the 2015 election campaign. See: 'Partidos Gastaron US\$9 en la campaña electoral,' *El País Uruguay*, 15 April 2015, <http://www.elpais.com.uy/informacion/partidos-politicos-gastaron-campana-electoral.html>.

inspection of political finance legislation in Latin American countries shows that, due to weak checks and balances, campaign and party finance rules are rarely enforced.⁵⁹

It is important to note, however, that the influence of private money in politics is not merely a feature of developing countries. In fact, the United States is currently one of the countries with the fewest restrictions on private donations to political parties or candidates.⁶⁰ A recent report by the intergovernmental organisation International IDEA (International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance) found that most of the world's countries set no quantitative limits upon private donations to political actors whatsoever.⁶¹ In these settings, the risk that both corporate and criminal revenues may find their way into political life is considerable – above all in a fragile state. According to one recent multi-country study, investing in politics is a logical step for a criminal industry that, to thrive economically and take advantage of global trade and finance facilities, requires pliable law enforcement and a measure of selective control over public institutions.⁶²

Lastly, while criminal revenues and private influence over politics have simultaneously grown, traditional structures of political and social authority have undergone a sustained loss in legitimacy. The mass public protests of recent years reflect precisely this uncertainty as to the nature of state legitimacy and authentic democratic representation in an era marked by financial crisis, subsequent austerity measures, the evident failures of the neoliberal model in numerous countries and a rise in global inequality.

At the same time, the revolution in technology and rise of social media have generated increased transparency in public affairs, and a public constituency that is far better informed as to elite wrongdoing, and to the possibilities for creating horizontal networks of protest and activism in response.⁶³ These circumstances have generated far greater possibilities for collective action at a point in time where economic reality dictates that prospects for a more prosperous, mobile future are grim (especially for unemployed youth in the Global South).⁶⁴ The combination has contributed to a general erosion of public trust in traditional institutions.

On Martinelli case see: Rodríguez, I., 'Gasto en campañas similar al costo de las elecciones,' *PanamaAmerica*, 19 March 2014, <http://www.panamaamerica.com.pa/content/gasto-en-campa%C3%B1a-es-similar-al-costo-de-las-elecciones>

⁵⁹ Perdomo, C., 'Análisis regional comparado sobre la legislación contra el crimen organizado y su relación con la política,' in Briscoe, I., Perdomo, C., and Uribe Burcher, C (eds), op. cit. See also Casas-Zamora, K., *Dangerous Liaisons*, ed., Brookings Institution Press, 2013.

⁶⁰ In the late 1970s, the Supreme Court upheld contribution limits and ruled that "corruption is inherent in a system permitting unlimited financial contributions". However, this approach was overruled in 2010 when the Court decided to abolish caps on individual contributions to independent Political Action Committees (PACs), while at the same time ruling that companies and unions should be treated the same as individual donors. See: Wertheimer, F., 'Democracy drowning in sea of dark money,' Reuters, 28 January 2015, <http://blogs.reuters.com/great-debate/2015/01/16/democracy-is-drowning-in-a-sea-of-dark-money/>

⁶¹ Ohman, M., *Political Financial Regulations Around the World: An Overview of the International IDEA Database*, International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA), Stockholm, 2012, <http://www.idea.int/publications/political-finance-regulations/loader.cfm?csModule=security/getfile&pageid=52121>

⁶² Casas-Zamora, K. (ed), 2013, op. cit.. See also Buscaglia, E., and van Dijk, J. 'Controlling Organized Crime and Corruption in the Public Sector,' *Forum on Crime and Society*, Vol. 3:1 & 2, December 2003, 3 – 34.

⁶³ See Mason, P., *Why it's Kicking Off Everywhere: The New Global Revolutions*, Verso Books, 2012; and Mason, P., 'Why it's still kicking off everywhere: are we witnessing a global revolt against neoliberalism?', *New Left Project*, 26 April 2013, http://www.newleftproject.org/index.php/site/article_comments/why_its_still_kicking_off_everywhere

⁶⁴ For example see: 'Youth Unemployment: Generation jobless,' *The Economist*, 27 April 2013, <http://www.economist.com/news/international/21576657-around-world-almost-300m-15-24-year-olds-are-not-working-what-has-caused>

These various dynamics have had two contrasting yet complementary effects on criminal activities connected to state. On the one side, criminal organisations have come to occupy the interstices between state structures and policies, which, due to acute institutional fragmentation and high levels of social exclusion, are largely bereft of popular consent. This appears to have been the case in countries as diverse as Guinea-Bissau, Guatemala and post-conflict Libya. On the other hand, and above all in middle income democracies, the widespread perception of criminal collusion with state actors has become a very effective, highly tangible means to account for and mobilise against the perceived exploitative use of public authority by private actors. Even in Europe, one recent survey shows that citizens have low levels of trust in government, and even lower levels of trust in political parties; they fear that some parties and candidates, once in office, will use corruption to place the interests of particular groups of donors before that of the public.⁶⁵ According to the analyst Moisés Naím, the threat to the old “mega powers” by smaller groups of disaffected and alienated social actors risks leading to a generalised breakdown of state authority.⁶⁶

In short, whilst illicit activity is playing a greater role in shaping political life by taking advantage of the weak controls upon private financing of politics, or by stepping into the gaps and vacuums generated by institutional fragmentation and in weak state environments, this criminal presence further destabilises the state by serving as a source of collective discontent and mass mobilisation. Whilst such mobilisation could bring about far-reaching benefits as regards the probity and integrity of public life, as may occur in Latin America⁶⁷, it is also able to endanger basic political stability; or, in the case of the Ukraine or Mali, international security as a whole.⁶⁸

Evolution of criminal Practice

Not only has the income of organised crime undergone a major boost over the past two decades; the make-up of criminal organisation has also been transformed. Organised crime is no longer a sphere of nationally-confined mafias and gangs. The post-1990 boom of transnational trafficking networks has instead led to an expansion of criminal networks across borders, and to a mutation in criminal practice.

Corruption has been the necessary condition for the expansion of criminal networks within states and across state borders, ensuring a permissive or even cooperative response from law enforcement, judicial and political actors to illicit activity. Blocs of corrupt elites are especially powerful in many developing countries because, as Mushtaq Khan has argued,

⁶⁵ Key factors cited to explain distrust were “wrong incentives driving policies” and “corruption/fraud”. See OECD, *Financing Democracy: Framework for Support Better Public Policies and Averting Policy Capture*, 2014.

⁶⁶ Naím, M., *The End of Power: From Boardrooms to Battlefields and Churches to States, Why Being In Charge Isn't What It Used to Be*, Basic Books, 2014.

⁶⁷ See ‘Corruption in Latin America: Democracy to the Rescue?’, *The Economist*, 14 March 2015, <http://www.economist.com/news/americas/21646272-despite-epidemic-scandal-region-making-progress-against-plague-democracy>

⁶⁸ A recent report likewise states that “highly corrupt states are more likely to be fragile states, and, over the long term, it appears popular perceptions of high level corruption are likely to exacerbate conflict dynamics.” See Department for International Development, *Why corruption matters: understanding causes, effects and how to address them*. Evidence paper on corruption, January 2015, p. 52.

processes of economic transformation involve the creation and entrenchment of new elite groups. As the state often plays an important role in the economy in such countries, it will tend to support this process of elite-creation and assuage the prospective losers with the distribution of rents and material privileges.⁶⁹ Because corruption is seen as a means of “smoothing” political and economic transitions in fragile political orders, some authors argue that it can actually be an instrument to ensure peaceful economic growth.⁷⁰

Yet the human costs of such arrangements in an era of advanced globalisation may outweigh the apparent benefits of what is, in fact, a very fragile peace.⁷¹ For instance, earlier this year the UN Secretary-General underlined the negative effects of corruption on development such as misuse of public funds, reduction in public trust, and the weakening of the rule of law.⁷² Furthermore, corruption has become the main portal through which organised criminal groups have associated with an array of state and security officials in the construction of illicit networks. By engaging numerous different sectors and officials on a case-by-case opportunistic basis, these networks tend to avoid the sort of exposure to law enforcement that permanent, organised criminal activity entails. As a result, they have become the primary vehicle for criminal activity attached to the state, ready to emerge or dissolve as circumstances dictate.

The range of officials that can be involved, as well as the manifold public powers which they may cede or sell for illicit purposes, offers huge possibilities for criminal organisations to innovate, expand, and diversify, while simultaneously reducing the risk that the entire criminal enterprise be dismantled. “Starting at the lower levels, police exchange their powers against bribes, and low-level bureaucrats offer services only in exchange for payment and favors,” argues Susanne Karstedt. “At the highest level, government officials abuse their positions of power in issuing government contracts, and they are in a position to influence prosecutions and courts thus curbing the independence of the judiciary.”⁷³

Fragile and conflict-affected states are places where the variable geometries of illicit networks flourish. In Libya, alliances between armed groups, backed by political coalitions and criminal networks are undermining efforts to establish a national unity government.⁷⁴ Likewise, in Guinea Bissau, state and military officials have become

⁶⁹ Department for International Development, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

⁷⁰ See: Johnston, M., *Syndromes of Corruption: Wealth, Power and Democracy*, Cambridge University Press, 2006; North, D., Wallis, J., Webb, S., Weingast, B., ‘Limited Access Orders: An Introduction to the Conceptual Framework,’ In *The Shadow Of Violence: Politics, Economics, and the Problems of Development*, ed., Cambridge University Press, 2013; and Kang, D., *Crony Capitalism: Corruption and Development in South Korea and the Philippines*, Cambridge University Press, 2002.

⁷¹ Department for International Development, *op. cit.*, 51-52.

⁷² ‘State of crime and criminal justice worldwide. Report of the Secretary General,’ Thirteenth United Nations Congress on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice, Item 3 of the provisional agenda, A/CONF.222/4, 19 January 2015, 8-9.

⁷³ Karstedt, S., *op. cit.*, p. 313. According to the same author “states that rank highest in the Failed States Index equally top the rankings of organized crime.” See Karstedt, S., ‘Organised Crime, Democracy and Democratization: How Vulnerable are Democracies?’ in Robertson-von-Trotha, C., *Organised Crime. Dark Side of Globalization*, ed., Baden: Nomos, 2012, 102-104.

⁷⁴ See El Kamouni-Janssen, F., Abdo, I., ‘Understanding Instability in Libya: will peace talks end the chaos?’ Clingendael Conflict Research Unit, 17 March 2015, <http://www.clingendael.nl/publication/understanding-instability-libya-will-peace-talks-end-chaos>

heavily involved in corrupt and criminal activities.⁷⁵ While conflict-affected states are usually connected to the global economy in multiple ways, their governments and institutions are often too weak to fully control their national territory or institutions, including security forces. Due to the limited openings for legitimate commercial activities, “criminal groups can make use of these opportunities to make money... usually those who already have money and power and who are in a good position to spot the opportunities.”⁷⁶ In this context, it is not simply that organised crime “infiltrates” or “infects” politics, but rather that corrupt private sector and political actors are themselves willing accomplices in the facilitation of illicit activity for profit-making.

To understand how such illicit networks now operate and have expanded, it is instructive to take the example of Paulo Maluf, a Brazilian congressman and former governor and mayor of São Paulo. Maluf is a key political figure in the country, and has the dubious honour of having a verb named after him: *malufar*, meaning “to steal public money.” He gained his reputation by inflating the price of construction contracts, thereby making a fortune in bribes and kickbacks. In one notorious case, a motorway went over budget by US\$400 million, of which US\$11.6 million was reportedly garnered by Maluf according to documents published by the World Bank and the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime.⁷⁷

By way of a shadow intermediary, Maluf was able to open and control a bank account in New York, which processed US\$140 million dollars in two years. The cash moved from Manhattan’s 5th Avenue to the British Channel Island of Jersey while registered under secret shell companies owned by Maluf and his son. Some of this money was then repatriated back to Brazil through the black market to fund Maluf’s political campaigns.⁷⁸ Extraordinarily, even though Interpol has issued an international warrant for his arrest⁷⁹, he continues to serve in Congress. The recent indictment of 22 members from his Partida Progresista (PP) party⁸⁰ in the Petrobras scandal – the biggest corruption scandal in Brazilian history⁸¹ – indicates that Maluf’s criminal behaviour is a mere illustration of a widespread practice of graft.

⁷⁵ For example see Strazzari, F., ‘Captured or Capturing? Narcotics and Political Instability along the “African route” to Europe,’ *European Review of Organized Crime* 1(2), 2014, 5-34.

⁷⁶ Shaw, M., and Kemp, W., *Spotting the Spoilers: A Guide to Analyzing Organized Crime in Fragile States*, 2012, International Peace Institute, 4.

⁷⁷ See Stolen Asset Recovery Initiatives Database, ‘Paulo Maluf’, The World Bank – UNODC <http://star.worldbank.org/corruption-cases/node/18559> (accessed March 2015).

⁷⁸ Hartocollis, A, and Rohter, L., ‘Brazilian Politician Indicted in New York in Kickback Scheme,’ *The New York Times*, 9 March 2007 http://www.nytimes.com/2007/03/09/world/americas/09indict.html?_r=2&

⁷⁹ Interpol Red Notice, ‘Maluf, Paulo’, <http://www.interpol.int/notice/search/wanted/2009-13608>

⁸⁰ Maluf’s Partida Progresista had by far the biggest share of a total of 54 indicted politicians. For full list see: Aranda, G., ‘El Supremo brasileño divulga la lista política del caso Petrobras’, *El Mundo*, 7 March 2015, <http://www.elmundo.es/internacional/2015/03/07/54fa4370268e3e42558b4582.html>

⁸¹ For more information on details of this scandal see for example: ‘The Big Oily: The Petrobras scandal explained,’ *The Economist*, 3 January 2015, <http://www.economist.com/news/americas/21637437-petrobras-scandal-explained-big-oily>; and Millard, P., ‘Web Comic: Brazil’s Petrobras Corruption Scandal,’ *Bloomberg Business*, 29 January 2015, <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2015-01-29/brazil-s-petrobras-corruption-scandal-a-web-comic>

A new Era of transnational Crime

The case of Maluf also sheds light on the way criminal practice has evolved to the detriment of legitimate public governance. Many recent cases of mass public discontent have hinged not on everyday corruption and bribery, but on high-level or “new corruption”⁸², involving both legal and illegal actors. Crime in these cases manifests itself as a fusion of state and private actors in complex, opaque financial arrangements, where the apparatus of law and state power both disguises and facilitates a criminal enterprise. Moreover, when these arrangements are linked to a global financial system characterised by secrecy and complexity, illicit transnational networks emerge, in which it is hard to distinguish the legal from the illegal in a host of cross-border operations.

Shadow intermediaries or brokers play a pivotal role in forging these national and international partnerships, and are reputed to have become the best remunerated and most important players in much of organised criminal activity.⁸³ Lawyers, for instance, often play a lead role as intermediaries between criminal and legal entities. According to one comprehensive Dutch analysis of recent trends in organised crime, other key shadow facilitators include financial specialists, notaries, airport personnel, and corrupt civil servants.⁸⁴ The 2014 OECD Foreign Bribery Report shows that three out of four foreign bribery cases involve payments made through such – technically legal – actors.⁸⁵ Transnational illicit networks involving a range of brokers, financiers and front companies can also play a significant part in the direct funding of armed conflicts. For instance, traders, border officials, refiners, and transport companies in Iraq and its neighbouring countries, conjoined in a pre-existing network of informal oil refining and trafficking, have made it possible for the Islamic State to earn millions of dollars from captured oilfields.⁸⁶

Global Financial Integrity reports that US\$991.2 billion flowed illicitly out of developing countries in 2012, a sum greater than the combined total of foreign direct investment (FDI) and net official development assistance (ODA) received by those economies in the same year.⁸⁷ China, Russia, Mexico and India top the list of countries with the highest annual illicit outflows in 2012, although it should be noted that fragile or conflict-affected states such as Iraq, Syria, and Nigeria were also heavily exposed to these financial movements.⁸⁸

⁸² See Wedel, J., ‘Beyond Bribery’, *Foreign Policy*, 17 February 2015, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2015/02/17/beyond-bribery-corruption/>

⁸³ Paoli, L (ed), op. cit., p. 297.

⁸⁴ Kruisbergen, E., van de Bunt, H., Kleemans, E., *Georganiseerde criminaliteit in Nederland: Vierde rapportage op basis van de Monitor Georganiseerde Criminaliteit, Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek- en Documentatiecentrum (WODC)*, Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam, Boom Lemma Uitgevers, O&B 306, 2012, 93-105.

⁸⁵ OECD, *OECD Foreign Bribery Report: An Analysis of the Crime of Bribery of Foreign Public Officials*, OECD Publishing, December 2014, <http://www.oecd.org/corruption/oecd-foreign-bribery-report-9789264226616-en.htm>

⁸⁶ Hawramy, F., Shalaw, M., Harding, L., ‘Inside Islamic State’s oil empire: how captured oilfields fuel Isis insurgency,’ *The Guardian*, 19 November 2014, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/nov/19/sp-islamic-state-oil-empire-iraq-isis>

⁸⁷ Global Illicit Financial Flows Report 2014, *Global Financial Integrity, December 2014*, <http://www.gfintegrity.org/report/2014-global-report-illicit-financial-flows-from-developing-countries-2003-2012/>

⁸⁸ In 2012, an estimated \$14,649 million flowed out of Iraq; \$8,641 million out of Syria; and \$7,922 million out of Nigeria. See: *Global Illicit Financial Flows Report 2014*, Global Financial Integrity, December 2014.

The international policy debate on corruption, driven by organisations such as the World Bank, Transparency International and the OECD, has tended to focus mostly on petty corruption, or what some scholars refer to as “need corruption”, referring to the everyday corruption that citizens have to deal with when trying to access basic goods and public services. In their foreign policy designs for developing countries, donor governments are also inclined to focus mostly on how to address corruption in the public sector.⁸⁹

However, whether the origins of money are legitimate, corrupt, or criminal, and whether the sources of the latter are tax evasion, stolen public funds, or money laundering from drug trafficking, global money now tends to flow through the same international financial institutions, blurring the lines between licit and illicit.⁹⁰ Often they pass through so-called “tax havens” and secrecy jurisdictions such as Panama or the British Virgin Islands, but also Switzerland, Luxembourg, Germany, the USA, Hong Kong, Japan, and Singapore.⁹¹ According to the Tax Justice Network, “a global industry has developed involving the world’s biggest banks, law practices and accounting firms which not only provide secretive offshore structures to their tax- and law-dodging clients, but aggressively market them”.⁹²

An illustration of these trends can be found in the recent leak of HSBC files, which revealed that the Swiss subsidiary of this bank concealed large sums of money for people facing serious allegations of illegal activity, including cocaine smuggling, blood diamond trading, money laundering and corruption. Much of this money originated in countries severely affected by armed conflict or criminal violence, including Nigeria, Angola, the Ukraine and Mexico; in the case of the latter, the bank has admitted wrongdoing in laundering \$881 million in money for Mexican drug cartels.⁹³ This kind of facilitation has been made possible by bank secrecy norms, and the fact that financial institutions can claim to be unaware of the illicit origin of their funds since most money enters through semi-legitimising intermediaries working beyond the borders of the original crime.

Banking laws and secrecy jurisdictions have recently come under increased scrutiny as a result of such scandals. In response to such criticism, the G-20 summit in late 2014 gave fresh political impetus to this issue by backing a transparency drive aimed at curbing the use of anonymous shell companies and trusts.⁹⁴ However, it remains the case that the global financial system is porous to flows of money whose illicit origins often go undetected, whether by omission or design.

⁸⁹ For example see report ‘Eerlijk zaken doen, zonder corruptie: praktische tips voor ondernemen in het buitenland,’ Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs, October 2012, <http://www.rijksoverheid.nl/documenten-en-publicaties/brochures/2012/10/02/eerlijk-zakendoen-zonder-corruptie.html>

⁹⁰ Also see Baker, R., *Capitalism’s Achilles Heel: Dirty Money and How to Renew the Global Illicit Financial Flows Report 2014*, Global Financial Integrity, December 2014, Free-Market System, John Wiley & Sons, 2005.

⁹¹ For full list of secrecy jurisdictions see: Tax Justice Network, *Financial Secrecy Index 2013*, <http://www.financialsecrecyindex.com/introduction/fsi-2013-results>

⁹² Tax Justice Network, *Financial Secrecy Index*, Introduction, <http://www.financialsecrecyindex.com/> (accessed April 2015).

⁹³ Leigh, D., Ball, J., Garside, J, and Pegg, D., ‘HSBC files: Swiss bank hid money for suspected criminals,’ *The Guardian*, 12 February 2015, <http://www.theguardian.com/news/2015/feb/12/hsbc-files-swiss-bank-hid-money-for-suspected-criminals>

⁹⁴ Smyth, J., Parker, G., Houlder, V., ‘G20 leaders back drive to unmask shell companies,’ *Financial Times*, 16 November 2014, <http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/25ae632e-6d60-11e4-8f96-00144feabdc0.html#axzz3W99sNhkn>

Furthermore, a number of cases and incidents suggest that similar practices may have spread to actors and organisations operating as informal institutions of global governance, often serving as intermediaries between states, individual government officials and private business interests. As mentioned earlier, FIFA has gained notoriety as an example of a global governing body whose informal regulations and multiple stakeholders have made it allegedly complicit in corrupt activities. The lawyer who was in charge of investigating corruption during the bidding process for the 2018 and 2022 World Cups, Michael Garcia, quit citing a “lack of leadership” within FIFA to become more transparent in its behaviour.⁹⁵ Given the existing illicit connections to the financial system, it is a matter of some concern that opaque and informal political-business linkages operating on a transnational scale run the risk of facilitating ever more complex corruption networks.

Conclusions

For the reasons cited earlier – most notably the embedding of crime in certain societies and states (particularly fragile or conflict-affected states); the paucity and weakness of international instruments of control and regulation; and the counter-productive nature of certain interventions against transnational trafficking – public policies have so far made little progress in reducing the power and wealth of illicit transnational networks. As a result, the regulations in place have failed to address the ways in which ever more complex and business-like criminal networks are making use of the global financial and political system.

The overarching focus of much international law enforcement on the content of criminal activity (e.g. the flow of drugs, arms, money or clandestine migrants) has distracted policy makers from what now needs to be at the centre of attention, namely the form of crime: the structures and networks facilitating, deepening and extending criminal activity, above all through links to business and state structures. Tackling these networks will not be easy. It requires new and creative policies and, above all, political will. However, the mass worldwide citizen calls and protests for transparency provide some political momentum for reform, as do initiatives undertaken by the United Nations, the OECD and the G-20 leaders.

Political engagement of civil society, stronger and better-enforced regulation of political campaign and general financing, efforts to improve judicial systems, and a genuine attempt to improve transparency in international finance all stand out as measures that would address the forms through which criminality has evolved and extended its influence. Knowing that the risks associated to criminalised states are now some of the world's most pressing security dilemmas is surely impetus enough to move forward along these paths of reform.

⁹⁵ Garcia also said that “No independent governance committee, investigator or arbitration panel can change the culture of an organization,” cited in: Longman, J., ‘FIFA Investigator Michael J. Garcia quits in Dispute over Report’, *The New York Times*, 17 December 2014, <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/12/18/sports/soccer/michael-j-garcia-resigns-as-fifa-prosecutor-in-protest.html>



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World Politics of Security: Global Cooperation facing the Predominance of Geopolitics

Israel Hernández Seguin

Today's international system is said to suffer from a renewed uncertainty due to the lack of global hegemons. During the Cold War nations faced the prospect of (in the worst possible scenario) potential destruction as a product of a direct confrontation between the U.S. and the Soviet Union, or (as actually happened) of being saved from extinction as a consequence of mutual deterrence. In any case, the rules of the playing field were certain. Nowadays, even with a militarily undefeatable U.S., there is no such certainty anymore. The number of wars between States has diminished (76% lower than the average in the Cold War¹) but the world is not yet a safe place, which can be seen in the proliferation of internal violent conflicts².

Plenty of cooperation mechanisms aim to facilitate a cooperative dialogue among nations. Multilateralism has certainly allowed countries to work together on given issues; however, it still lacks the backbone to face the world's new global challenges. There has not been an efficient multilateral response to end the Syrian crisis, to fully maintain the UN arms embargo on Libya or to contain the Islamic State, to mention but a few examples.

Geopolitical calculations have hindered unabridged multilateral cooperation, especially in the collective security agenda. Moreover, as explained by game theory literature, no State wants to make the first move to cooperate or engage as it could lead other players to take

¹ Human Security Report Project. 2012. Human Security Report 2012. Vancouver: Human Security Press.

² Christopher A. Preble. 2014. *The most dangerous world ever?*, Washington: Cato Institute.

advantage of such an action. Nonetheless, this does not mean that multilateral cooperation in security affairs is unfeasible. Besides which, from a pragmatic point of view, cooperation is useful.

Challenges that nations face cannot be solved by traditional State-based policies, they require global actions. A more globalised and interdependent world has led to various positive social, economic, political and technological advances but it has also allowed for new modes of warfare and the proliferation of potentially volatile non-State actors to emerge. Consequently, domestic criminal groups have become transnational organised networks and the increasing integration between countries, communities and processes has led those criminal organisations to act with greater force and secure a greater reach. In view of this, international cooperation is ever more vital to address the new demands of a globalised world. This article suggests emerging powers (such as BRICS, MIKTA and similar groups) could play a more significant role in guaranteeing that multilateralism works more effectively regarding the global security agenda. By working together with developed nations traditionally supportive of international cooperation, this objective becomes more feasible.

In the first section of this article, a discussion of geopolitics unfolds. The argument is that States still follow a realist perspective in the International System, planning their actions as strategic moves to increase their relative power. This can be seen in two cases: the developments that ended up with Russia's annexation of Crimea and the situation in the South China Sea. Elements from game theory structure the analysis. In the second section, and in contrast with a pure realist view of international affairs, the article shows that cooperation is useful in a context of globalised problems and challenges. In view of the importance of increasing cooperation on geopolitical interests, the article proposes that a cooperation framework between emerging countries and developed nations – the latter being those that traditionally tend to favour multilateralism – could help advance the collective security agenda.

Geopolitics of Security: what's implied?

Geopolitical calculations and tactics have always prevailed. There is no such thing as a return of geopolitics but new players in the field. It is today more difficult for traditional players to act. Recent events have shown that geopolitical interests have to be re-considered. This can explain Russia's aggressive actions in Eastern Europe or the tense situation in the South China Sea. Together, geopolitical analysis and game theory are theoretical frameworks that can help to explain States' behaviour when it comes to the international security agenda.

Geopolitics is the study of geography and its relation with political power. This discipline analyses States' strategies to dominate natural resources and strategic geographical space as sources of power³. Colin Flint proposes that States develop a "geopolitical code" as the area where they have influence. Furthermore they make decisions to expand their code⁴.

³ Bert Chapman, *Geopolitics: a guide to the issues*, California: Praeger, 2011, pp. 4-5.

⁴ Colin Flint, *Introduction to Geopolitics*, New York: Routledge, 2011, p. 47.

Hans Morgenthau, the father of realism and the United States' advisor after World War II, highlighted the importance of geopolitics for the role of a State in the international system. He identified State characteristics such as geography, natural resources, industrial capacity, military preparedness, population, national character, national morale, the quality of diplomacy, and the quality of government⁵ as elements of national power. These were key elements that would help a State in the struggle for power and that were crucial to maintain its national security.⁶

Some analysts argue that we are witnessing the return of geopolitics from its retreat since the Cold War. Carl Marklund, however, argues that geoeconomics, geopolitics and grand strategies have not been dismissed in the post-Cold War analysis of international relations⁷. Meanwhile, Hans Peters defines game theory as “a formal, mathematical discipline which studies situations of competition and cooperation between several involved parties”⁸. This theory develops scenarios where different players, in varying situations, make choices to act in particular ways in a context in which all other players are also searching for their own satisfaction. The players make rational decisions to achieve their objectives. The prisoner's dilemma model allows for the analysis of situations in which countries interact. Cooperation between States in this model is explained as a “coordination game” where players try to anticipate and take advantage of the strategy of their counterparts so as to obtain the best possible outcome⁹.

When it comes to the security agenda, geopolitical analysis and game theory are theoretical frameworks that can explain States' behaviour. In the two main cases explored in this article, all players involved have taken actions based on strategic calculations, which explain how things have evolved in each respective region. In neither case has multilateral cooperation been efficient or even taken into account.

Considering firstly Russia's annexation of Crimea: since the end of the Cold War and the breakdown of the USSR, Russia has always denied Western intervention inside the ex-soviet sphere. Some experts feel that this is what led President Putin to proclaim war against Georgia and to proceed to the annexation of Crimea¹⁰. It all started in 2008 when the Czech Republic allowed the U.S. government to install its defence missile system supposedly to protect against a potential threat from Iran or North Korea¹¹. This act was seen by Moscow as a direct threat to the integrity of the Russian sphere of influence. It was again repeated when Georgia started the process of joining the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) in the same year¹². Some analysts have argued

⁵ Francis P. Sempa, “Hans Morgenthau and the Balance of Power in Asia”. *The Diplomat*, May 25th, 2015.

⁶ Karen Mingst, *Fundamentos de las Relaciones Internacionales*, CIDE: México, 2009.

⁷ Carl Marklund, *The return of Geopolitics in the Era of Soft Power: Rereading Rudolf Kjellén on Geopolitical imaginary and competitive identity*, Taylor & Francis Ltd., Num .20 (Spring 2014), pp. 249-251.

⁸ Hans Peters, *Game theory: a multi-leveled approach*, Maastricht: Springer, 2008, p. 1.

⁹ George Ehrhardt, *Beyond the Prisoner's' Dilemma: Making Game Theory a Useful Part of Undergraduate International Relations Classes*, *International Studies Perspectives*, No. 9, (Winter 2008), pp. 57-74.

¹⁰ Nikolas Gvosdev, *The ultimate game of chicken: The west vs Russia*, *The National Interest*, Diplomacy, April 17, 2015.

¹¹ Judy Dempsey and Dan Bilefsky, *Czechs, Disliking Role, Pull Out of U.S. Missile Defense Project*, *New York Times*, June 15th 2011.

¹² Sophia Kishkovsky, *Georgia is warned by Russia against plans to join NATO*, *New York Times*, June 17th, 2008.

that the war between Russia and Georgia was the result of Moscow trying to keep this Western military organisation away from its borders, and also to maintain the control over the ex-soviet country¹³.

In 2011, as an attempt to avoid the Ukraine's incorporation into the West, Vladimir Putin forced Viktor Yanukovich, then President of the Ukraine, to reject an economic deal with the European Union. It can be argued that the Russian Federation could not allow itself to lose control over the country where most of its gas pipelines transit, as well as to lose influence over an important geopolitical pivot that connects Europe with Asia. As Zbigniew Brzezinski, the former national security advisor to Jimmy Carter, from 1977 to 1981, wrote in his book *The Grand Chessboard*, "Ukraine, a new and important space on the Eurasian chessboard, is a geopolitical pivot because its very existence as an independent country helps to transform Russia. Without Ukraine, Russia ceases to be a Eurasian empire."¹⁴ By highlighting the importance of the Ukraine and, in a wider sense, of Eurasia, as the field in which the struggle to achieve global primacy would continue to be played, Brzezinski uttered an early warning. The risk he warned against was that of Russia's regaining control over the Ukraine and recovering access to the Black Sea and, therefore, becoming a once-more powerful state with influence in both Eastern Europe and Asia.

It was not a real surprise when the annexation of the Crimean province occurred, flaunting international law. This geopolitical strategy gave Moscow access to the sea at Sevastopol (Russia's Black Sea Fleet) via which it is now capable of addressing naval threats from other states, as well as the Mediterranean, the South Atlantic and Indian Oceans¹⁵

Considering secondly the situation in the South China Sea: another geopolitical chessboard. China together with Japan, Vietnam, Malaysia, Brunei, the Philippines and Taiwan have all claimed their territorial sovereignty of the area. Each country pursues different strategic objectives. According to the World Bank, the South China Sea holds extensive oil reserves of at least 7 billion barrels and 900 trillion cubic feet of natural resources. It is no wonder that small countries such as the Philippines, Vietnam and Malaysia see this as an economic opportunity for development, while China sees it as an opportunity for energy security¹⁶.

Since its economic reform in 1978¹⁷, China has improved its industry and has become the world's second largest economy. Today, as a great economic power, it is a priority for China to ensure two things: on the one hand, increased access to raw materials and, on the other hand, secured shipping routes. Around 50% of *global oil tanker shipments* pass through the South China Sea¹⁸. In addition, two thirds of South Korea's

¹³ Gopi Chandra Kharel, *New Russian invasion from Southern Front Rattles West*, International Business Times, August 28th, 2014.

¹⁴ Zbigniew Brzezinski, *The Grand Chessboard*, Basic Books, 1997.

¹⁵ Paul N Schwartz. 2014. "Crimea's Strategic Value to Russia", CSIS.

¹⁶ Robert D. Kaplan, "The South China Sea will be the battleground of the future", Business Insider, Feb 21st, 2015.

¹⁷ Bruce L. Reynolds, *Chinese economic reform: How far, how fast?*, Boston: Academic Press, 1988, 1-8.

¹⁸ Beina Xu, *South China Sea Tensions*, Council on Foreign Relations: 2014.

energy supplies, nearly 60 percent of Japan's and Taiwan's energy supplies, and 80 percent of China's crude oil imports transit through this area¹⁹.

China's interests are obstructed by the U.S., which is determined to limit China's increasing power, an aim which finds supporters in Japan, Taiwan and Australia. The containment of China is part of the South China Sea neighbourhood's agenda. This can be seen in the "string of pearls" strategy implemented by the U.S., Australia and Japan, that strives to cut China off from its access to vital raw materials, which it would access mainly via its oil corridors to the Middle East and Africa; by increasing U.S. military navy and air presence across and over the South China Sea, in Japan, Taiwan, the Philippines and Vietnam, China finds its access to needed external natural resources constrained.²⁰ The stated motive of this strategy is "to protect freedom of navigation" but the reality is that the U.S. government may see China's increasing capabilities as potentially destabilising to the regional military balance, risking, thus, increased regional tensions and anxieties. However, to counter this strategy, China is itself steadily growing its military power and building artificial islands nearby the Spratly island chain to secure its position in the region.²¹

It is worth noting that most South China Sea disputes are based on the importance of the Spratly Islands. Vietnam, Malaysia, Brunei, Indonesia and the Philippines are all concerned about reclaiming sovereignty over these islands due to their strategic location. Not only is the area rich in natural gas and oil²², but the islands' location is also useful, being in the middle of the South China Sea, giving whichever nation that controls them the simultaneous advantage of controlling the movement of vessels, as well as aircraft and maritime trading routes in the area. No form of multilateral negotiation or mediation has, as yet, been effective in solving the dispute over the South China Sea islands. Even after the Declaration on the Conduct of Parties in the South China Sea was adopted in 2002²³ to guarantee peace and stability in the maritime territory, little progress towards conflict-resolution was made. Involved countries have focussed on following their national interests and attempting to increase their access to resources and maritime power. The interests of Vietnam, the Philippines, Taiwan and Indonesia regarding the Spratly and Paracel islands are all of import when it comes to the evolutions of the South China Sea power game. Nevertheless it is U.S. involvement that makes this conflict more complex. The U.S. has tried to constrain China's power by backing up the territorial claims of both the Philippines and of Vietnam, raising the conflict to a different platform.

¹⁹ Kaplan, *ibid.*

²⁰ F. William Engdhal, *Obama's Geopolitical China "Pivot"*, Frankfurt: Voltaire Network, 2012.

²¹ Joel Guinto, "China builds artificial islands in South China Sea", Bloomberg, June 19th, 2014.

²² Kaplan, *ibid.*

²³ ASEAN Briefing. "ASEAN Update: Understanding the Geopolitics of the South China Sea Dispute".

The Need for Cooperation: a pragmatic View

For realists, the international system remains in an anarchical stage where States have to protect their national interests in their constant struggle for power. However, in the context of globalisation, transnational challenges require multilateral cooperation for solutions to be effective. Global security challenges have grown, leaving countries with a diminished capacity to tackle them unilaterally. Today transnational criminal organisations have access to modern technology and are quite easily able to expand their operations worldwide. Added to this, difficulties such as internal conflicts in failed States force populations to flee their countries of origin, disrupting security in their respective regions if not globally, as well as leaving the initial failed state as a potential paradise for terrorists.

From a utilitarian point of view, cooperation seems to be the best solution for maintaining international security. Donald H. Regan coined the term “cooperative utilitarianism” to define a new strategy in which a group can generate optimum results for both the group and each member²⁴. Cooperative utilitarianism claims that when others are cooperative, each party then strives to act in the optimal manner with both its own and the group’s interests. This of course only holds as long as States are genuinely interested in acting as a group.

It is true that States often have plenty of reasons not to cooperate with each other. Nonetheless, it is rational for States to prefer the outcome of universal contribution over that of universal non-contribution, since the difficulties and damages of the latter far outweigh those of the former. Thus, by applying cooperative utilitarianism to international relations, States could, in any given situation, achieve the best possible outcome not only as a group, but also individually. Following this line of thought, States ought to embrace “security cooperation” as a strategy to accomplish their national interests.

In order to avoid coordination problems that could lead to failed cooperation, States must act as collective agents²⁵. This means that it is necessary for them to understand that the collectivity is made up of a complex conjunction of the intentions of each member state. Ergo, States must be cognizant of the idea that the final objective of security cooperation is not the sum of each national interest, but a new framework addressing the concerns and needs of the collectivity, shared by all members.

²⁴ Christopher Woodward, *Reasons, Patterns and Cooperation*, New York: Routledge, 2008.

²⁵ Simon Rosenqvist, *Collective Consequentialism*, Lund Universitij Publications: Sweden, 2012.

Cooperation between emerging Countries and developed Nations: overcoming pure geopolitical Calculations

After World War II, security cooperation was a main concern in the global agenda. The United Nations – and the Security Council in particular – were, supposedly, to be rooted on the idea of collective security. According to the principle of collective security, one of the main liberal ideas at the core of Woodrow Wilson’s idealist agenda, war would be prevented by containing States’ military and nuclear capacities. And in the case of aggression, there would be a unified response against the aggressor²⁶. Notwithstanding these ideals, the idea of collective security has not always worked, since not all countries are willing to act as a unified entity. Reasons for this reluctance come from the pursuit of national interests or the associated costs of engaging in international security operations²⁷. Karen Mingst, in her book *Essentials in International Relations*, gives two examples of the failure of collective security and explains the reasons for it: “Collective Security does not always work. In the period between the two World Wars, Japan invaded Manchuria and Italy overran Ethiopia. In neither case did other states act as if it were in their collective interest to respond [...] In this instance, collective security did not work because of lack of commitment on the part of other States and an unwillingness of the International Community to act in concert”²⁸.

Despite the failures of collective security, this concept is still relevant in the international system of today. It prevails as an overarching goal in the discourse of the UN and that of many of its members, and it is unlikely to disappear anytime soon. However, so far this concept has been approached from a perspective which comprises the notion of developed countries providing assistance to developing countries.

During the end of the 20th, and at the beginning of the 21st century, most of the global agenda was driven by North-South relations. This meant that the very notion of security cooperation implied industrialised nations (mostly Western Europe and Anglo-Saxon countries) providing assistance to developing nations. The key concerns of this cooperation were poverty alleviation, democratic strengthening and issues related to human development and stability of institutions, generally. Security collaboration meant that developing nations were supposed to receive training and financial aid. There are plenty of examples of this type of approach, such as the Central America Regional Strategy Paper 2007-2013, a cooperation agreement signed by the European Commission and Central America, in which one of the three priorities of the European Union was the reinforcement of regional governance and security²⁹. Another example is that of the Merida Initiative, launched by the U.S., which included not only financial aid but also police training and arms supplies to Mexico. Yet even if this form of security assistance may still have a role to play in international security strategies, results have been slightly wanting: being neither completely beneficial, nor entirely effective.

²⁶ Karen Mingst, *Fundamentos de las Relaciones Internacionales*, México: CIDE, 2009.

²⁷ *Ibidem*.

²⁸ *Ibidem*.

²⁹ José E Durán Lima, et.al, *Latin America-European Union: A partnership for development*, Chile: ECLAC, 2014.

The reason behind this failure lays in the lack of cooperation frameworks able to adjust to the new context of the international scenario. Traditional powers no longer need to play a leading role. New players, namely emerging countries, need to seriously and significantly participate in the decision-making process. Without such a structure, the new multipolar international community cannot adequately face global challenges.

At the beginning of the 21st century, countries like Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa accounted for 9% of the world's aggregate GDP; in 2009 this figure increased to 14%³⁰. Today, other emerging countries, such as Indonesia, Mexico, Nigeria and Turkey also play a major role – both on the wider international stage and also in their respective regions. The importance these emerging countries gained as global economic and political players led to the creation of the G20; and therefore, to greater participation in setting the global agenda.

On account of these changes in the international system, traditional North-South relations appear to be outdated³¹. With the increasing participation of emerging countries in the international arena, the way to face global challenges must shift into a “new bargain” that involves emerging and developed countries on an equal footing. This means that the new global agenda should not operate upon the old basis of “North-South assistance”, but rather on one of cooperation amongst equals who are seeking to achieve their common interests. Emerging nations have realised that they have a key role to play in the international system and have attempted to create alliances to face global challenges in a cooperative manner, including as regards security cooperation. An illustration of this is the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation, formed by China, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan, with minor participation from India and Pakistan as observers. This regional organisation focusses on combatting terrorism, separatism and extremism. Other partnerships among emerging countries, such as the MIKTA or BRICS groupings, address for the most part economic issues. MIKTA is mostly focussed on promoting free trade and democracy, whilst the BRICS, although predominantly addressing trade, technology and agriculture, have also paid some attention to security cooperation. The BRICS High Representatives Responsible for Security meet annually since 2009 to exchange views on cybersecurity, counterterrorism, transportation security, and regional crises. This said, there have not yet been any substantial results in the form of measures taken as a consequence of these meetings³².

It is true that traditional great powers are aware of emerging countries' role in matters pertaining to the global security agenda. Nonetheless, little has been done in terms of multilateral cooperation; instead, developed countries keep negotiating through bilateral relations. For instance, the EU has partnerships with each BRICS member country but has not attempted any treaty or negotiation with the alliance itself³³.

³⁰ IPEA, 2014. “Learn about BRICS”.

³¹ Christine Hackensch and Janus Heiner, *Post-2015: how emerging economies shape the relevance of a new agenda*, Bonn: German Development Institute, 2013.

³² BRICS Ministry of External Relations. “Main areas and topics of dialogue between the BRICS”.

³³ EUROSTAT. “The European Union and the BRIC countries”. Belgium, 2012.

These cases illustrate that even when new cooperation fora exist between emerging countries, a strong framework of security cooperation has not yet been instituted. Indeed, since the 20th century's post-war era in which collective security and security assistance were developed as global policies, these strategies have failed to build a secure international system. So the question is now which security cooperation strategy ought best be promoted.

The answer depends on the ability of countries to realise that in order to achieve security-related common interests, they must approach multilateral negotiations with the joint and equal participation of developed and developing nations. This form of participation would lead both North and South to achieve consensus in an efficient and beneficial manner for every member of the international community. As previously mentioned, to successfully cooperate, the collectivity must be made up by a complex conjunction of the intentions of each individual member; in other words, national interests from each country should converge in order to create a new global security strategy.

Conclusions

By way of this analysis it can be observed that security cooperation and the pursuit of national interests need not be mutually exclusive. The South China Sea conflict and the Crimea crisis are illustrations of the fact that the international system remains driven by geopolitical strategies and that countries' predominant goal is that of increasing their own power. However, even when the realist theory seems to prevail, there are other factors at play such as globalisation and increasing interdependence between nations that reaffirm the need for cooperation in the security arena, as in all other areas of the global agenda.

Collective security as traditionally envisioned and security assistance have failed to achieve their purpose. On the one hand, collective security has failed because national interests drive the actions of States in the international system; consequently, security cooperation lacks mechanisms to effectively enforce unified strategies. On the other hand, security assistance, in which developing countries receive financial aid and/or military capacitation from developed nations, has not substantially improved global security; in fact, quite contrary to what was expected, it has even caused damaging results to the developing countries that receive it by making them assistance-dependent or bound to conditionalities in such a way as to reinforce traditional hierarchies between North and South.

With emerging countries gaining increasing weight in the economic and political dimensions of the global agenda, the third alternative for ensuring international security lies with multilateral cooperation. With the participation of both emerging and developed countries, a consensus can be reached by achieving a convergence of States' national interests around shared challenges; this form of equal and updated cooperation may be able to produce optimal results for the international community as a whole, as well as for each member State in particular. Cooperation is difficult to achieve in spite of its positive results as compared to purely realist world-views; setting up multilateral

frameworks that allow for increased dialogue on security matters between emerging countries and developed nations may be the first step towards this complex goal. In this sense, a more substantive dialogue between the European Union and countries such as Brazil or Mexico may have a significant and positive impact in generating a new perspective on global security cooperation.

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European Natural Gas Security Challenges in the Wake of the Ukraine/Russia Crisis

David Koranyi

Geostrategic Context

Tectonic shifts are occurring in gas markets, globally. The focal point of demand shifts towards Asia, while market and trade patterns are changing in Europe and Eurasia. The U.S. is just beginning to fully grasp the consequences of its unconventional gas and oil revolution that has already dramatically reduced U.S. exposure to the political and economic volatility associated to dependency upon external sources of fossil fuel supplies – a fact with global repercussions. In 2005, the U.S. Energy Information Administration predicted that the U.S. will become the world's largest natural gas importer by 2015. Today, the U.S. is not only the largest natural gas producer globally¹ but is also planning to start exporting liquefied natural gas (LNG) at the end of this year.² North America (the U.S., Canada and Mexico together) may technically become energy independent by 2020³. Meanwhile, fossil fuel import needs will steadily increase in all major consumers outside the United States in the next two decades. Japan is totally dependent on imports of both oil and gas, and its dependence has only been exacerbated by the Fukushima nuclear accident in 2011. Even if China proves to be more

¹ The US overtook Russia as the largest natural gas producer in the world in 2011.

² US Energy Information Administration data.

³ Edward Morse, et al., Citi GPS, Energy 2020: North America, the New Middle East? (March 20, 2012), <https://ir.citi.com/%2FSyMM9ffgfOZguStaGpnCw5NhPkvdMbbn02HMA05ZX%2BJHjYV507GqhxF2wMk%2Bh4tv7DEZ5FymVM%3D>.

successful in kick-starting and then ramping up its domestic shale gas production, despite the enormous difficulties on that front, it will still require massive quantities of imported natural gas to satisfy its fast-growing demand. India, finally, will be the demand growth epicentre in the next decade, heavily reliant on fossil fuel imports⁴.

As conventional gas reserves in Europe become depleted, the continent's dependence on gas imports is also expected to grow further. The E.U. is already 60 percent plus dependent on gas imports. These numbers could go up as high as 85 percent by 2035⁵. Moreover, Europe depends on suppliers that are either unstable, or politically contentious – often both. Chief among them is Russia, whose aggressive behaviour in the Ukraine and its willingness to use energy as a weapon alarmed E.U. decision-makers from across the whole geographic and political spectrum and triggered a fundamental rethink of Europe's energy strategy, an analysis that is still ongoing.

The E.U.'s Energy Security Strategy⁶ adopted by the European Council in October 2014 and its plans to build a 'European Energy Union' as outlined by the European Council in March 2015⁷ both recognise the E.U.'s vulnerability on the gas front, and aim to address it via a wide set of measures that include energy efficiency and conservation, as well as a strategy of diversification. Natural gas demand forecasts widely differ for the medium- and long-term, but gas will continue to play a crucial role in Europe's energy mix and the E.U. will also remain a major natural gas importer for decades to come. Demand may even pick up again towards the end of this decade, if and when: Europe's emissions trading system is reformed; coal and in some cases nuclear are phased out from the energy mix; and gas is used – in the absence of a breakthrough in grid-scale storage technologies – as backup capacity for a growing renewable energy generation portfolio.⁸

To be sure, the E.U. has already made great strides towards improving security of supply in the wake of previous gas crises⁹ and building an integrated and liquid gas market. Its second and then third energy packages successfully promoted competition and market principles such as unbundling and third party access in a vertically integrated industry prone to monopolistic abuse. This approach, pioneered by DG Competition in Brussels, is slowly bringing results as member states – however reluctantly – implement their provisions, and external suppliers find no alternative but to comply.

Yet Europe's gas market integration is still incomplete. As the Ukraine/Russia Crisis wages on, gas remains a headache for European leaders, especially in Central and

⁴ WEO 2013, International Energy Agency

⁵ Jose Manuel Barroso, "Energy Priorities for Europe, Presentation of J.M. Barroso, President of the European Commission to the European Council of 22 May 2013," European Commission, 4, http://ec.europa.eu/europe2020/pdf/energy3_en.pdf; International Energy Agency data

⁶ <https://ec.europa.eu/energy/en/topics/energy-strategy/energy-security-strategy>

⁷ <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2015/03/conclusions-energy-european-council-march-2015/>

⁸ International Energy Agency, World Energy Outlook 2014

⁹ With special regard to the crises ensuing gas disputes between Ukraine and Russia in 2006 and 2009 and Belarus and Russia in 2004 and 2007

South-eastern Europe, as an issue of economic competitiveness, social stability, and national security. Although gas prices have recently decreased on the back of the declining oil prices (oil-indexed contracts make gas prices follow oil prices by a 6-9 month delay typically), countries highly dependent on Russian gas, predominantly in Southeast Europe are still exposed to political blackmail by Moscow. This affects their domestic stability, foreign policy and ability to support joint E.U. positions on sanctions and other measures to pressure Russia to return to a path of normalcy.

Europe's external Supply Options and associated Security Risks

Gas will remain a security of supply issue also because Europe's indigenous gas resources are in decline. As evidenced by the chart below, Europe will need new external supplies to fill the gap between declining indigenous conventional production and demand.

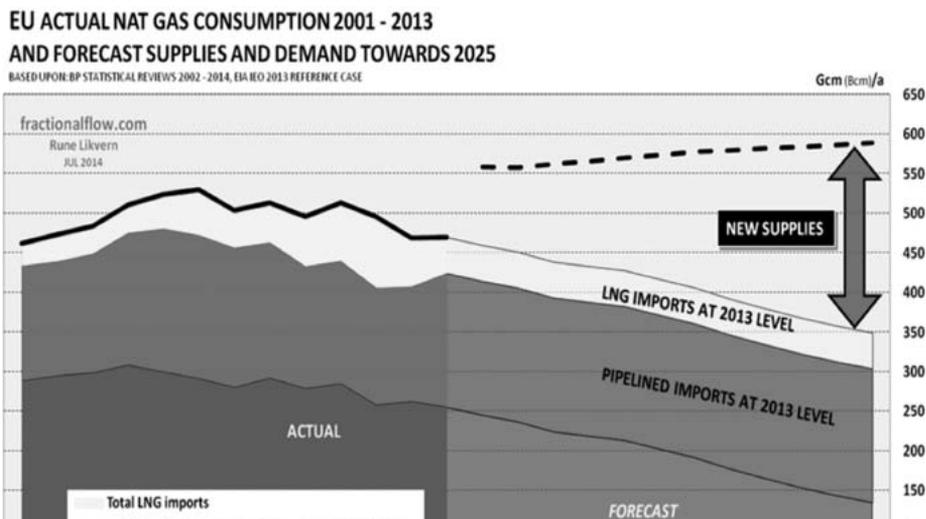


Chart 1. European Union Natural Gas Production and Import Forecast

The unconventional energy revolution in the U.S. has prompted some countries in Europe to look into their own unconventional resources. The United Kingdom, Poland, Lithuania, Romania, Hungary, and the Ukraine have all been actively exploring their underground materials in the past five years¹⁰. Yet the results have mostly been disappointing. The initial hopes were proven to be illusory, and most companies withdrew from the region, citing unfavourable geology as well as above-ground challenges, such as regulation and lack of social acceptance. Therefore, unconventional gas developments will unlikely be a panacea to Europe's gas sector vulnerabilities in the immediate or even in the medium-term future.

That leaves Europe with a heavy reliance on external sources of gas for at least the next two decades. On the bright side, the E.U. is in a good position to access external gas supplies, as it is surrounded by major producing regions and global gas reserves

¹⁰ Bulgaria – similar to France – placed a moratorium on fracking.

and production is slated to largely keep up with demand in the coming decades, even if gas consumption is forecast to grow dramatically, especially in Asia¹¹.

At the same time, virtually all existing and prospective external gas supply sources and routes are fraught with political and security risks, which the E.U. will have to be acutely aware of as well as grapple with for decades to come.

Europe's Abundant Supply Options



Data source: Gas Infrastructure Europe and IEA Medium-Term Gas Market Report 2013

Map 1: Europe's External Gas Supply Options

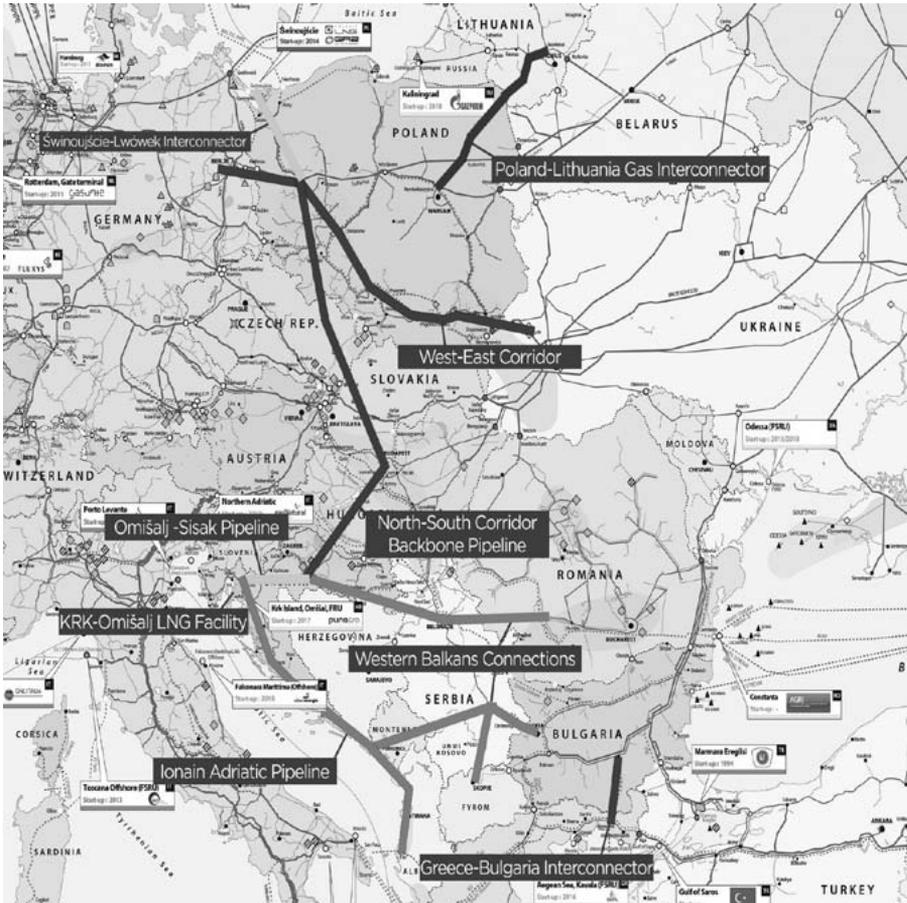
¹¹ World Energy Outlook 2013, International Energy Agency

Russia

Despite the ongoing crisis with Russia, it is hard to fathom a scenario where Russia will not remain one of Europe's key gas suppliers for the foreseeable future. Russia supplies around 130-150 bcm of gas to Europe annually that could not be easily replaced overnight or even in a longer period of time without significant additional economic costs. Russia still has the world's largest conventional natural gas resources in addition to significant unconventional potential. Despite Russian posturing, Russia's increasing attention to Asia shall likely not be a big concern for European gas supply security. On the contrary: to a large extent Russia is being squeezed between two buyers both of which enjoy positions of strength: an increasingly integrated European gas market on the one side and a fast-growing Chinese market on the other – both with multiple supply options. Meanwhile, Russian producers face increasing costs of gas production at home while they have to operate in a much more competitive environment in Europe and increasingly so in East Asia too, as piped gas options from Central Asia and Myanmar grow and LNG markets become more liquid in the region. As the first pillar of the E.U.'s dual strategy to lessen its vulnerability via market integration and supply diversification is beginning to yield results, Russia's Gazprom – also squeezed by sanctions – has to compete on an integrated market. That diminishes Russia's ability to play 'divide et impera' and apply political and commercial pressure on individual countries. This is critically important for the E.U. as a whole, and in particular for those countries and companies in Central and South-eastern Europe that are still overwhelmingly dependent on Russian supplies and exposed to monopolistic abuse. Countries in the region that are increasingly integrated into the European gas market already witnessed their wholesale gas prices decrease as European wholesalers renegotiated prices on all of their contracts with Russia's Gazprom. By contrast, those who are less integrated into the European gas market, especially in the Balkans, continue to pay higher prices in absence of alternative options.

In that context, the ongoing anti-trust investigation against Gazprom will further improve Europe's standing as it will act as a restraint on Gazprom's ability to exploit its monopolistic position, even if it leads to further political friction between Brussels and Moscow. Provided that the E.U. remains firm in its commitment to complete its internal market integration, ramping up its diversification strategy and strictly enforcing its own competition rules, Gazprom will eventually have no other choice but to accept the new strategic and commercial realities and readjust its business model accordingly. Even if Nabucco, the project that was widely considered as the silver bullet in supply diversification in Central and South-eastern Europe eventually failed, countries in the region already enjoy improved access to alternative supplies. This access is enabled through interconnectors – providing access to Western European gas hubs and hub pricing – that have been built throughout the region, as well as via new supplies from the Southern Gas Corridor, and through existing and planned LNG terminals providing access to global LNG markets. Completing this infrastructure is critically important to blunt the Russian energy weapon in this region as advocated by the Atlantic Council's report on 'Completing Europe – The North-South Corridor' published in November 2014¹².

¹² Completing Europe – From the North-South Corridor to Energy, Transportation, and Telecommunications Union – A joint



Map 2. The North-South Corridor Concept in Europe with Planned Gas Infrastructure of Strategic Importance

Yet Russia is still fighting a rearguard battle in trying to preserve its political influence that comes with control over supply sources and routes. Southstream, Russia's strategic pipeline plan to circumvent the Ukraine and lock in markets in Central and South-eastern Europe was a key element in that strategy. It failed miserably as Moscow had to understand that the European Commission is serious about enforcing its own laws¹³. Now in a revamped form – through the so-called Turkish Stream – Moscow wants to reintroduce the project through the backdoor. Turkish Stream – along with talk of the expansion of Nordstream, a pipeline bringing gas from Russia directly to Germany – is an attempt to circumvent the Ukraine and dry out transit through that route, while locking in markets in Southeast Europe. Yet the project faces many challenges and its full realisation remains far from certain.¹⁴

report by the Atlantic Council and Central Europe Energy Partners: <http://www.atlanticcouncil.org/publications/reports/completing-europe-from-the-north-south-corridor-to-energy-transportation-and-telecommunications-union>

¹³ See more in 'Gazprom – Just Follow the Law' by Ambassador Richard Morningstar, Founding Director, Atlantic Council Global Energy Center – <http://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/new-atlanticist/gazprom-just-follow-the-law>

¹⁴ See more in 'The Impact of Turkish Stream on European Energy Security and the Southern Gas Corridor' by John Roberts – <http://www.atlanticcouncil.org/publications/reports/the-impact-of-turkish-stream-on-european-energy-security-and-the-southern-gas-corridor>

Irrespective of the transit route debates, the critical piece in the E.U. strategy is to ensure that Russian gas has to compete with alternatives in any European market, thereby reducing the risk of supply disruptions and curtailing Moscow's political leverage. Putting the E.U.–Russia gas trade on a purely commercial footing and minimising the political elements could be an unintended, yet positive result of the current crisis.

The Southern Gas Corridor

The giant Azeri offshore gas field, Shah Deniz II will supply gas to Europe towards the end of this decade through a string of pipelines, collectively called the Southern Gas Corridor (SGC). The Corridor will open a fourth major gas pipeline route to Europe, a key element in the E.U.'s supply diversification strategy. While the SGC will rely solely on Azeri gas for its initial phase, beginning physical supplies in 2019, it could over time carry additional resources from the eastern Mediterranean (Israel, Cyprus), northern Iraq, and possibly from Georgia, Turkmenistan and Iran.

However, the challenges along the route that affect security of supplies are many, as are the obstacles to ensure that strategic volumes reach Europe through the SGC. The potential for renewal of conflict in the Caucasus portends dangerous consequences for Europe's energy security, especially with Russia's ability to stir up tension in the region. Azerbaijan, which will be the main supplier of the SGC also depends on hydrocarbon revenues. As, in the coming years, oil production plateaus in Azerbaijan, gas export revenues will be key to maintain stability in the country. Conversely, reduced income would likely contribute to social unrest in Azerbaijan, and could increase the probability of a renewal in the Nagorno Karabagh conflict with Armenia. Any resumption of violence would jeopardise the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan (BTC) oil and the South Caucasus (SCP) gas pipelines, which pass very close to the current line of control separating Azerbaijani and Armenian forces. Georgia's internal political volatility is also key to both the BTC pipeline and the SGC. Without Georgia's cooperation, the SGC becomes defunct, Azerbaijan isolated and Baku diminished in its ability to conduct an independent, Western oriented foreign policy.

Central Asia may become another key gas supplier to Europe through the SGC. Turkmenistan in particular is very much willing to diversify its exports to the West as well. But that bumps up against a whole range of problems, including legal disputes over the status of the Caspian Sea. Furthermore China is the one that increasingly defines the geopolitical and economic landscape in Central Asia in large part because of energy. China is already purchasing large quantities of gas from the region and is investing heavily into upstream (the giant Kashagan oil field in Kazakhstan) and midstream (new pipelines from Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan) assets. These factors will hinder if not preclude European access to Central Asian gas resources for the foreseeable future, despite repeated attempts by the European Commission to open up that route.

Recent hydrocarbon discoveries in the Eastern Mediterranean Basin have prompted a re-evaluation of the strategic value of the region also from an energy perspective. Israel, Cyprus, and possibly Turkey and Lebanon have significant – albeit smaller than

previously thought – gas resources. Yet the lack of a Cyprus settlement, maritime boundary disputes and a range of other problems such as tensions between Turkey and Israel prevent the parties from agreeing on an export infrastructure that would ensure that some of the gas would actually end up in Europe. Though to date the discovery of gas resources has only exacerbated existing tensions in the region, a resolution of the Cyprus question and thus the unlocking of exports from Israel and Cyprus to Turkey and onwards to Europe could further boost the diversification value of the Southern Gas Corridor.

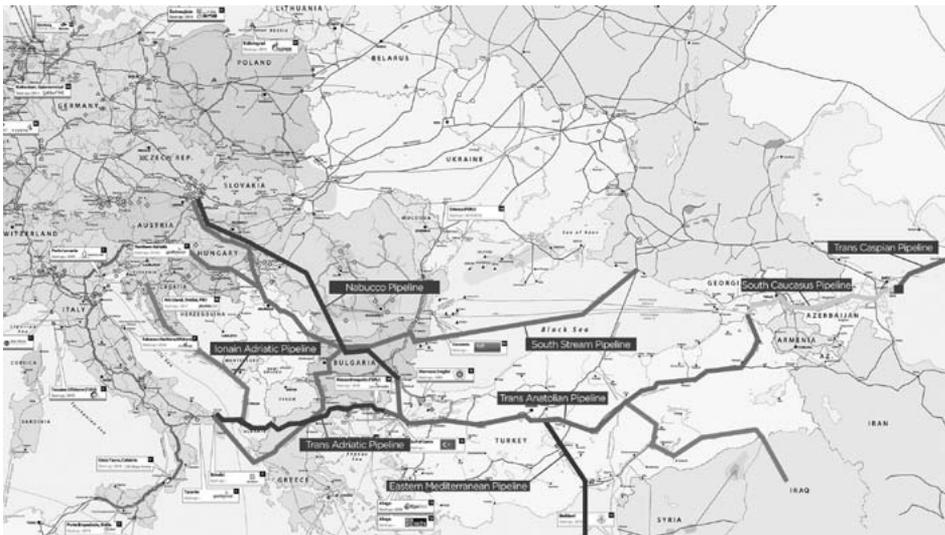
Iraq and especially Northern Iraq is central to Turkey's gas supply diversification strategy and of gas supplies which could eventually make their way to Europe. Yet Iraq is grappling with existential security challenges. Furthermore, increasing domestic gas demand and the inability to reach a lasting internal agreement between Baghdad and Erbil over hydrocarbon development and export strategy and revenue sharing continues to act as an impediment to Iraq becoming a major gas supplier to Europe. Regrettably U.S. and Turkish efforts are not complemented by a robust E.U. strategy towards Iraq as a potential supplier.

It is worth recalling that the original Nabucco concept was conceived to bring Iranian gas to Europe. A number of conditions are necessary for Iran to become a gas exporter: the nuclear deal struck in July 2015 must hold; a normalisation process with Iran must ensue; a major overhaul of Iran's domestic oil and gas production policies must occur, including the permitting joint ventures between Iranian and foreign firms. If these conditions are fulfilled then the ongoing developments in Iran's giant South Pars field and others could accelerate and Iran's gas production can be ramped up towards the second half of the decade. Exports could go towards Turkey and Europe, but will likely have to compete with demand from the Middle East and Pakistan, and even East Asia (where Iran could export gas in the form of LNG).

Another critical factor in the future of the SGC is the Trans-Anatolian Pipeline (TANAP) crossing Turkey. TANAP has served as the enabler to finally get the SGC moving, but it may end up being a missed strategic opportunity for both Turkey and Europe. The Corridor could be developed as a strategic project that goes beyond transporting gas from Azerbaijan and eventually becomes the fourth gas superhighway to Europe. TANAP will be controlled by SOCAR, Azerbaijan's state oil and gas company and will not fall under the E.U.'s Third Party Access rules, since Turkey is not a member of the Energy Community that extends E.U. rules and regulations to third party countries¹⁵. TANAP will thus enjoy control over gas transits via the pipeline in Turkey, including allowing transit of additional gas volumes from other sources and setting transit tariffs. In the 2020s Baku plans on shipping additional quantities of gas to Europe beyond the initial 10 bcm from Shah Deniz Phase II from prospective Caspian offshore fields such as Absheron, Umid and ACG Deep and may want to keep TANAP open to those volumes. Therefore, feeding Israeli or Northern Iraqi gas into TANAP and onward to Europe may not be an option and might lead

¹⁵ Energy Community members outside the EU as of September 17, 2013: Ukraine, Moldova, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, Kosovo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Albania.

to the development of a separate, dedicated pipeline infrastructure at significant additional costs. On the other hand, TANAP may well prove to be an enabler of additional non-Azeri gas transits so that early transit fees may help to make the expensive pipeline more bankable. In any case the inability of the E.U. to act in unison and see through the implementation of the original Nabucco concept (that would have been governed by E.U. law all along) having failed to provide more forceful diplomatic support and increased funding may prove to have been a strategic mistake.



Map 3. The Southern Gas Corridor Concept

North Africa is another key region to supply gas to the E.U. with its own set of challenges. Algeria is the third largest gas supplier of the E.U. and holds the fourth largest shale gas reserves globally. The country has so far escaped the political turmoil of the Arab Awakening. Yet it is worth recalling the unprecedentedly large-scale attack against the Amenas gas facility in early 2013 by Islamic militants from Mali. The Amenas attack and other domestic and regional security challenges raise the spectre of potential disruptions in the future. Moreover, rapidly increasing Algerian domestic consumption could also limit the country's export potential¹⁶. Libyan production is now mostly back up to pre-war levels, but both oil and gas supplies have been interrupted for a prolonged period of time during and after the conflict. Given the state of general political disarray and abysmal security, Libyan supplies will likely remain volatile. And although Egypt will play a lesser role in the future as an energy exporter, as its own domestic consumption increases, the Suez Canal will continue to play a strategic role for global energy trade routes and European oil and gas supply security, not least as a chokepoint for LNG supplies from the Middle East and elsewhere.

LNG will continue to play an important role in Europe's gas supply as the role of LNG

¹⁶ See more in 'Algeria field report: Developing shale gas in North Africa' by Tim Boersma – <http://www.brookings.edu/blogs/markaz/posts/2015/03/24-algeria-field-report-shale-gas-boersma>

increases in the global gas trade and new LNG projects crop up all over the world in the next ten years, such as those already projected in Australia, Tanzania, Indonesia, Papua New Guinea, Qatar, Nigeria, East Africa, Equatorial Guinea, Peru, as well as in Canada and the U.S. LNG brings about its own challenges from pricing to maritime security but it provides added liquidity and diversity to satisfy European gas demand. LNG from North America in general and the U.S. in particular could be of special significance for European gas supply security.

Conclusions

Europe will remain dependent on gas imports and there are still countries within the E.U. that are in a vulnerable position due exposure to a single supplier. At the same time, Europe is in a good position to fight back against monopolies and promote access to additional external gas supplies to improve both its security of supplies and market competitiveness. To ensure success, European strategy needs to be reinforced on both fronts. Equally, a European Energy Union built on solidarity and cohesion, with enhanced capacities to deal with the challenges, is required.

Significant progress has been made in the past few years in integrating the European gas markets as the first pillar of this strategy. But critical pieces, particularly the North-South Corridor in Central and South-eastern Europe remain unfinished. They require a coordinated approach as well as targeted E.U. and regional resources to ensure the timely completion of strategic infrastructure.

The second diversification pillar aims to develop multiple pipeline supply options and tap into a more liquid global LNG market to help boost the E.U.'s security of supply. This external component of the Energy Union's strategy is of critical importance. The E.U. will have to devote considerably more attention and resources to develop and stabilise its existing and future external supply routes, by promoting stability and security in North Africa, ensuring the realisation and eventual expansion of the Southern Gas Corridor, developing a new *modus vivendi* with Russia and devising a more proactive external E.U. energy policy with regard to the Eastern Mediterranean, Iraq, Iran, and Central Asia.

Maximising the effectiveness of the E.U.'s external energy policy will require enhanced authority and capabilities at the E.U. level, including an Energy Diplomacy Office as a joint bureau by the External Action Service and European Commission's DG Energy, modelled upon the U.S. State Department's Bureau of Energy Resources, and the ability of the European Commission to access and review all gas supply contracts with third parties.



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Security, Trust, and the NATO Alliance: European Security and the Question of Reassurance

Jan Ruzicka

In March 2015 Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Poland witnessed the conclusion of yet another in a series of NATO military exercises that jointly form the ongoing Operation Atlantic Resolve. Since the onset of the crisis in Ukraine in 2014, such exercises have become a staple in the Central and Eastern European region. One specific measure, however, made the end of this engagement particularly noteworthy. It was the decision to send the U.S Army's 2nd Cavalry Regiment, which participated in the joint drills, to its home base in southern Germany not by rail, as is the common procedure, but rather on the road with stops scheduled in all three of the Baltic countries, Poland, the Czech Republic and, finally, Germany. All in all, the regiment covered about 1800 kilometres during its trip lasting eleven days. Its stated goal was simple – to provide a publicly highly visible manifestation of allied unity and determination. The ride received robust coverage in the media and while not all perceptions of it were positive – there was, for instance, broad public debate about the wisdom of such measures – the result was a resounding success. As the armoured vehicles made their way through the region, they were warmly greeted by hundreds of thousands of citizens.

Similar convoy rides have since been repeated in other countries, such as Romania, and more are scheduled to take place this autumn. The convoy rides fall within the wide spectrum of actions called for in the United States' 1 billion dollar budget allocation (aptly titled European Reassurance Initiative), which initially authorised Operation Atlantic Resolve. As the fact sheet of the U.S. European Command put it, the

Operation aims ‘to reassure our NATO allies and bolster the security and capacity of our partners in the region.’¹ It therefore serves a dual purpose. First, activities conducted within the Operation’s framework are designed to manifest to European NATO allies the enduring American commitment to collective defence that is central to the alliance’s mission.² Second, its objective is to demonstrate deterrence capacity in the face of what has been perceived as Russia’s increased assertiveness in the region and hostility toward the NATO alliance as a whole. The Operation Atlantic Resolve thus sends internal as well as external signals intended to ensure security in Europe.

In this process of dual signalling, most analyses and public discussion have focused on the external dimension. Questions that are typically asked concern the persuasiveness of the deterrent measures adopted by the NATO alliance. This is understandable. The source of insecurity has been Russian assertiveness in Ukraine, chiefly the annexation of the Crimean peninsula and the ongoing (though officially denied) military intervention in Eastern parts of Ukraine. These actions have led to significant revisions of the territorial status quo, which was established following the end of the Cold War and the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991. Besides the actual territorial changes, Russia’s conduct has also undermined important principles, such as honouring written agreements guaranteeing borders and territorial integrity. In the Ukrainian case this refers to the 1994 Budapest Memorandum as well as the 1997 Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Partnership between Ukraine and the Russian Federation. The latter document in particular proclaimed (in its Article 2) the respect for territorial integrity and the inviolability of each other’s borders. Russia’s actions have rendered the agreements and principles contained in them void. All this explains why the focus of observers, the general public and policy-makers has shifted to the role of deterrence.³ The question of how to avoid further territorial and political instability in Central and Eastern Europe has, thus, become the primary focus of concern. Given the underlying parameters of this question – the assumption that absent one’s own countermeasures additional moves by Russia are likely – deterrence offers a range of tools signalling to Russia that it ought not to carry out actions similar to those which have occurred in Ukraine. In short, it is premised on the belief that signalling to one’s opponent that the costs of certain activities will be higher in future will make these less appealing. What may in the absence of deterrent signals be perceived as an inviting opportunity could become as a result of deterrent postures a prohibitively risky adventure. Because most of the countries in Central and Eastern Europe are NATO members, the alliance has been at the forefront of articulating and conducting deterrent signals.

The goal of this paper is to explore the internal dimension of signalling. Put simply, the paper aims to examine how various actions of states within the NATO alliance

¹ U.S. European Command, Operation Atlantic Resolve Fact Sheet – 2014, available at http://www.defense.gov/Portals/1/features/2014/0514_atlanticresolve/Operation_Atantic_Resolve_Fact_Sheet_2014.pdf.

² The scope of the Operation is not limited to Central and Eastern Europe. Indeed, it is billed as a Europe-wide initiative and there have been exercises in Germany, Italy or the Netherlands. But a mere glance at the geographical distribution of various exercises quickly reveals that they have been overwhelmingly conducted in the Baltic States and Poland. See the map of Recent U.S. Military Events in Europe, available at http://www.defense.gov/News/Special-Reports/0514_Atantic-Resolve.

³ A fitting example, although just one among many, is the lead story in the August 2015 issue of the British monthly *Prospect*. Its cover page is even more evocative as it depicts the three Baltic countries in cross-hairs and boldly proclaims ‘Putin’s next target’.

– and of the alliance as a whole – have addressed the problem of reassurance within NATO borders. Although alliances help to address their members' security concerns, they may also give rise to what Glenn Snyder coined as the 'alliance security dilemma'.⁴ For NATO this is not a novel issue. During the Cold War the question of reassurance continually reappeared as a concern, particularly among the European allies. It used to be summed up most starkly in the question of whether the United States would be willing to risk Washington for Bonn in a hypothetical conflict with the Soviet Union that might escalate to the level of intercontinental nuclear war. What is new, of course, are the circumstances in which NATO allies have had to consider the problem of reassurance in the past two decades or so. Their security situation has fundamentally changed from the Cold War era. The alliance itself has likewise undergone significant changes, most notably the increase in membership. It is therefore crucial to consider the question of reassurance in Europe within the particular context of today's world politics.

In doing so, the paper seeks to contribute to the overarching theme of this volume – the world politics of security – in three ways. First, at the theoretical level, it aims to examine the general relationship between the concepts of alliance security dilemma, signalling, and trust. The conceptual triangle holds potentially important insights for the understanding and shaping of policies within military alliances in general and within the NATO alliance in particular. Second, it explores the drivers, external and internal to NATO, which have led to the renewed concerns about reassurance within the alliance. In this regard, comprehending the changing face of international politics and security – what might well be called the world politics of security – is crucial to grasping and potentially addressing some of the worries within NATO. Finally, the paper outlines some of the chief actions and demands that have been articulated by NATO member states in Central and Eastern Europe and the impact this may have on the world politics of security. Two main sections consider the points outlined in this paragraph. In the first section, the conceptual and theoretical questions and propositions are articulated. The second section then goes on to use these tools to address the security situation on the continent with a specific focus on Central and Eastern Europe.

Alliance Security Dilemma, Signalling, and Trust

This section explores the concepts of the alliance security dilemma, signalling, and trust. It focusses upon how a chief property of signals – their intersubjective nature between the sender and the receiver – shapes relations among states. While there are good explanations of how signalling may lead to the security dilemma in general, the same is not the case for alliance politics. Alliance membership may affect states' ability to interpret signals. To better understand this point, the concept of trust must be further analysed. Some scholars, most notably Ken Booth and Nicholas Wheeler, have argued that trust leads to the transcendence of the security dilemma in interstate relations.⁵ It is therefore worth considering

⁴ Glenn H. Snyder, 'The Security Dilemma in Alliance Politics,' *World Politics* 36(4), 1984, pp. 461-495.

⁵ Ken Booth and Nicholas J. Wheeler, *The Security Dilemma: Fear, Cooperation, and Trust in World Politics* (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008). See also Ali Bilgic, 'Security through Trust-building in the Euro-Mediterranean Cooperation: Two Perspectives for the Partnership,' *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies* 10(4), 2010, pp. 457-473.

whether states in an alliance may be more likely to develop trusting relationships with each other and thus be able to overcome the negative effects of the alliance security dilemma.

Signalling is a fact of life in international politics. All actions taken by states are at least partly informed by signals sent by other states or actors. Moreover, any action that a state takes is by definition a signal, because it carries information about the emitting state. Policy-makers in charge of various official doctrines, policy reviews, or national security strategies are well aware of this fact. It is one of the chief reasons for the generic and bland nature of such documents and also for their striking similarity across countries. Their authors cannot say much beyond the obvious (though what may seem obvious to them, need not be perceived as such by others), lest they wish to take some risks of alarming others. Risks arise primarily from the inherent indeterminacy of signals, as regards both their content and veracity.⁶ Signals may, of course, be interpreted correctly just as they were intended by their senders. However, signals may also be perceived in ways that are not congruent with the intentions of the sender. In those instances we may speak of misperception.⁷ Misperception can lead actors to undesirable outcomes which they would have preferred to avoid and which they originally had no intention of reaching. On the other hand, senders may engage in emitting such signals so as to deliberately mislead others. In those instances we would be dealing with deception, i.e. an activity designed to use signals in order to confuse others and bring about advantage to one's own state.

In the sphere of security studies, the perils of signalling are well known and have been captured in the concept of the security dilemma. Its initiators, John Herz and Herbert Butterfield, depicted the inescapable problem of not being completely sure of what others might be up to and therefore what their signals may in fact mean.⁸ Robert Jervis translated the security dilemma into the problem of arms races and the balance of power.⁹ But perhaps the most apt treatment of the difficulty caused by the indeterminacy of signals comes from the conceptualisation of the security dilemma offered by Ken Booth and Nicholas Wheeler. Booth and Wheeler conceive of the security dilemma as two fundamental and inter-connected questions faced by decision-makers. The first is the dilemma of interpretation (what does a given signal mean?), the second is the dilemma of response (how should one react to it?).¹⁰

⁶ With regard to veracity of signals, or what is sometimes deemed to be the question of their credibility or trustworthiness, there have been important contributions in the IR literature. Andrew Kydd, most prominently, has developed the notion of 'costly signaling', which could make it possible for actors to cooperate even at a low level of trust and eventually to develop reputation for being trustworthy. See Andrew Kydd, 'Trust, Reassurance, and Cooperation,' *International Organization* 52(4), 2000, pp. 325-357. The idea is powerful. An actor would not be sending a costly signal, unless cooperation was meant seriously. The problem with costly signals is, however, that their costliness is in the eye of the beholder. What the sender may perceive as a costly signal could well be interpreted by the receiver as cheap talk. Robert Jervis captured this problem well when he noted that 'knowing how theorists read a signal does not tell us how the perceiver does.' See Robert Jervis, 'Signaling and Perception: Drawing Inferences and Projecting Images,' in Kristen Renwick Monroe (ed.), *Political Psychology* (Taylor & Francis e-Library, 2008), p. 298.

⁷ Robert Jervis, *Perception and Misperception in International Politics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976).

⁸ Herbert Butterfield, 'The Tragic Element in Modern International Conflict,' in *History and Human Relations* (London: Collins, 1951), pp. 9-37; John H. Herz, *Political Realism and Political Idealism* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1951), pp. 1-16.

⁹ Robert Jervis, 'Cooperation under the Security Dilemma,' *World Politics* 30(2), 1978, pp. 167-214.

¹⁰ Booth and Wheeler, *The Security Dilemma*.

Most of the literature in international politics applies the security dilemma to states in general. The question of the security dilemma in alliances has not been much explored with the exception of Glenn Snyder – and even his treatment focusses chiefly on the period between the two world wars.¹¹ Following Michael Mandelbaum, Snyder argues that the alliance security dilemma raises two main worries – the fear of abandonment and the fear of entrapment.¹² The former is the worry that despite counting on the alliance partners in bolstering one's own security, a state might find itself abandoned at the critical moment when assistance from allies will actually be needed; they might at such a point simply defect from their commitments. The fear of entrapment, meanwhile, means that a state might be dragged into a confrontation it would otherwise prefer to avoid, simply because of its alliance links. An ally might become more bellicose and adventurous in its policies precisely because it thinks it can count on the help of its alliance partners.

To some degree, during the Cold War both of these concerns were present in the case of NATO, especially among the European members. On the one hand, the questioning of the United States' willingness to risk its own annihilation in an all-out nuclear war to stop the Soviet aggression in Europe suggested the fear of abandonment. On the other hand, many in Europe were alarmed that they might be dragged into a war between the superpowers that would be primarily fought on the continent, which would consequently suffer the worst consequences. France, for instance, decided to address both concerns by developing its own nuclear force. The possession of the force de frappe meant that France was not entirely reliant on the American nuclear deterrent and simultaneously allowed France to pursue (or perhaps more precisely to think that it was pursuing) a more independent policy between the two superpowers. For others, however, such as the Netherlands or Denmark there was little they could have done to avoid the worries of abandonment and entrapment. Unless they wanted to massively increase their defence spending (and even then their chances of a military success would have been miniscule) or capitulate, their best course of action was to rely on the guarantee offered by the United States and the NATO alliance as a whole.

The structural distribution of power during the Cold War led Glenn Snyder to conclude that the alliance security dilemma 'is weak in a bipolar alliance.'¹³ In his view, the fact that the conflict was primarily between the two superpowers made it highly unlikely that their respective European allies might have suffered the fate of being abandoned. The Soviet Union repeatedly confirmed this by militarily intervening in its allied countries (most notably in Hungary in 1956 and in Czechoslovakia in 1968, but there were other instances of outright intervention or the threat of it) to prevent them from potentially leaving the Warsaw Pact. The United States did not have to resort to similar strategies of alliance management. The European allies and the United States shared threat perceptions: both viewing the danger posed by the Soviet Union as being at the core of these. Furthermore, the United States was unlikely to leave its allies, because it had a strong

¹¹ Snyder, 'The Security Dilemma in Alliance Politics.'

¹² See Michael Mandelbaum, *The Nuclear Revolution: International Politics before and after Hiroshima* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), pp. 147-175.

¹³ Snyder, 'The Security Dilemma in Alliance Politics,' p. 484.

interest in protecting its European partners and preventing the Soviet domination of the continent. Snyder did realise that the European allies on both sides of the divide faced the danger of entrapment, but there was little that they could have done to change this, since their 'capacity to restrain the superpowers is much smaller than vice versa.'¹⁴ In line with much of the structural realist theorising of the 1980s, Snyder's argument demonstrated that the actual Cold War situation was remarkably stable and by implication preferable to alternative structural distributions of power, particularly multipolarity.¹⁵

The end of the Cold War therefore almost inevitably brought about concerns over the continued existence of the NATO alliance. In the absence of a clear adversary, what was the alliance for and why should it continue to exist?¹⁶ Moreover, was it not to be expected that the European countries would revert back to their past rivalries and power balancing?¹⁷ In terms of the alliance security dilemma conclusions for structural realists must have been clear. If the bipolar structural distribution of power meant that one of the two main worries (that of abandonment) was dampened and only the fear of entrapment remained, the end of bipolarity must have implied the renewed worries about the fear of abandonment, while the worries over entrapment could, by logical extension, have been eased. And yet, this did not seem to have happened across the board among the European allies. Irrespective of the re-unified Germany and despite the claims that the success of European integration was due to the presence of the American pacifier, European NATO member states did not increase their military capabilities in such a way that would protect them against the potential dangers of American abandonment. This was the case even with the new member states in Central and Eastern Europe (the first three – the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland joined the alliance in 1999, others followed subsequently), which remained concerned, at least rhetorically, with the threat that Russia might pose to their security. The vastly divergent approaches various European countries adopted with regard to the war in Iraq in 2003 – what was back then labelled as the divide between the 'Old' and 'New' Europe – demonstrate quite well that there was no uniform concern over abandonment.¹⁸

If the fear of abandonment did not apply across the board among the European allies, the key question that one must ask is what exactly allowed for the mitigation or even transcendence of the alliance security dilemma. Supposing Booth and Wheeler are correct in their view that trust may help states transcend the security dilemma in general, does it then make sense to look for the presence of trusting relationships within the alliance enabling this transcendence? And how would such trusting relationships manifest themselves? Towards this end, the standard ways of identifying trust in interstate

¹⁴ Snyder, 'The Security Dilemma in Alliance Politics,' p. 484.

¹⁵ The classical and founding text in this regard is Kenneth N. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* (Reading: Addison Wesley, 1979).

¹⁶ Among many articles asking these questions in the 1990s, see Robert B. McCalla, 'NATO's Persistence After the Cold War,' *International Organization* 50(3), 1996, pp. 445-475; Celeste A. Wallander, Institutional Assets and Adaptability: NATO After the Cold War,' *International Organization* 54(4), 2000, pp. 705-735.

¹⁷ John J. Mearsheimer, 'Back to the Future: Instability in Europe After the Cold War,' *International Security* 15(4), 1990, pp. 5-57.

¹⁸ Indeed, if Tony Blair is to be believed, some in Europe stuck with the United States chiefly because they were worried that the United States itself might feel being abandoned by its European allies. The engagement in Afghanistan, what some might actually view as entrapment, was apparently not enough to show sufficient solidarity with the United States.

relations are insufficient.¹⁹ Typically, authors take either cooperation or actors' discourses as signs of the existence of a trusting relationship. But as the transatlantic discords during the George W. Bush's administrations amply demonstrated, there was neither uniform cooperation, nor a dominant discourse of trust in the alliance. Quite the opposite was the case and there were many observers, like Robert Kagan, who pointed out that Europe and the United States were inevitably headed for separation because they lived, cognitively, in different worlds.²⁰ We thus need a different tool to identify trusting relationships.

Following our work with Vincent Keating, I propose to focus on whether or not states pursue hedging strategies against allied abandonment.²¹ The extent to which hedging strategies are adopted or declined can serve as a useful indicator of the absence or presence of trusting relationships. A state that is distrustful of an ally's commitment to their security alliance will seek to protect itself against the negative effects of abandonment by adopting hedging strategies. A lack of hedging or free-riding makes no sense, if one deems allies to be untrustworthy.²² On the contrary, a trusting relationship will enable two or more states to pool their resources and thus avoid developing and implementing costly hedging strategies individually. This is precisely why alliances offer a way to address a state's security situation efficiently and without the high costs of absolute self-reliance. The absence of hedging may therefore be taken as an indicator of the existence of trusting relationships within an alliance.

Why are trusting relationships important? In such relationships the dilemma of interpretation, which arises from the need to interpret allies' signals, is resolved in such a way that allies' actions are given the benefit of the doubt. If this were not the case, states would have to hedge against potential allied abandonment.²³ Returning to the original question, of whether an alliance membership makes a difference, we may conclude that it affects how states perceive and interpret signals of other alliance members.²⁴ The lack of hedging by European allies suggests the existence of trusting relationships amongst NATO members. As the following section will show, however, trusting relationships within the NATO alliance are not uniformly robust and there is a good deal of variation. In short, alliance effects differ. This may help to explain why the countries in Central and Eastern Europe have called for and received most reassurance measures.

¹⁹ For a broad overview of this topic see Jan Ruzicka and Vincent Charles Keating, 'Going Global: Trust Research and International Relations,' *Journal of Trust Research* 5(1), 2015, pp. 8-26.

²⁰ Robert Kagan, *Of Paradise and Power: America and Europe in the New World Order* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003).

²¹ Vincent Charles Keating and Jan Ruzicka, 'Trusting Relationships in International Politics: No Need to Hedge,' *Review of International Studies* 40(4), 2014, pp. 753-770.

²² Keating and Ruzicka, 'Trusting Relationships in International Politics,' p. 769.

²³ The important question how precisely alliances produce such effects is beyond the scope of this paper. Some possible explanations may include the role of institutional mechanisms and routines, frequent communication at various political and bureaucratic levels, or shared identities. All this is the subject of the research project on 'Alliances and Trust-Building in International Politics' that I lead with Vincent Keating.

²⁴ James Fearon suggests a similar possibility with regard to the democratic peace thesis, namely that democracies are able to send more credible signals. See James D. Fearon, 'Domestic Political Audiences and the Escalation of International Disputes,' *American Political Science Review* 88(3), 1994, pp. 577-592.

The Quest for Reassurance

The calls for reassurance within an alliance may have a number of sources. There may be various signs of disengagement by some allies. Yet these signs need not necessarily mean abandonment, and could instead simply reflect a change of policy priorities. Any such change, however, could potentially provoke other alliance members to call for reassurance. Alternatively, policy-makers in some countries might think that engaging in the politics of security, that is identifying threats and calling for greater alliance measures to counter them, could be beneficial to their future electoral success. Similarly, they might view such political moves as an opportunity to appropriate a greater share of resources for their own institutions, be it domestically or at the alliance level, which is a typical feature of bureaucratic politics. There could be historical legacies that make both politicians and the general public apprehensive and quick to react to any perceived changes in their security environment. None of these factors, along with many others, should be ignored in the study of reassurance. They are a useful reminder that states are not unitary actors, though it may often be analytically convenient to treat them as such. However, there are three sources which particularly stand out as having driven the quest for reassurance with the NATO alliance in the last couple of years. Inevitably, they are all embedded within wider and broader historical contexts. First, the calls for reassurance are influenced by behaviour of actors external to the alliance. Second, there are distinct perceptions of such behaviour by individual member states as well as by the alliance as a whole. Finally, the quest for reassurance depends on mutual perceptions of the alliance member states vis-à-vis each other. While the first group encompasses external drivers, the latter two are primarily internal to the alliance. Identifying the sources of the calls for reassurance matters because a remedy, i.e. something that would provide reassurance, can only be achieved if actions are directed towards the correctly identified sources.

The 2014 Annual Report issued by the Secretary General of NATO, Jens Stoltenberg, in February 2015 was unambiguous about the security situation faced by the alliance. In his words, repeated at other high-profile policy venues, the previous year ‘was a black year for security in Europe.’²⁵ The report identified key threats emanating from outside of Europe, chief among them the Russian annexation of the Crimean peninsula and the continuing interference in the conflict in Ukraine. It was quick to list the range of specific deterrence measures undertaken to provide reassurance to alliance members in Central and Eastern Europe. But as the report admitted, ‘NATO does not have a permanent military presence in the eastern part of the Alliance.’²⁶ This has long been a sore spot for some states in the area, and Poland has been particularly vocal in its efforts to rectify the situation.

In terms of the quest for reassurance such demands are justified by a combination of both external and internal factors. As regards Central and Eastern Europe, the external motivation is most importantly, though not exclusively, provided by Russia’s latent or

²⁵ The Secretary General’s Annual Report 2014, available at http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/opinions_116854.htm?selectedLocale=en

²⁶ The Secretary General’s Annual Report 2014.

actual hostile actions. This apprehension about Russia's behaviour preceded the situation in Ukraine; the historical backdrop, of course, is that of Soviet domination in the decades after World War II. Good examples of actions that have externally influenced the security situation in Central and Eastern Europe during the last decade include:

1. Russia's military build-up in the Kaliningrad enclave, which borders on Poland and Lithuania;
2. Russia's war against Georgia in 2008
3. The unclear number and status of Russian tactical nuclear missiles stationed in the area, which have been used to make veiled and even explicit threats towards NATO countries;
4. Russia's strong opposition to both permanent NATO installations in the area and to the stationing of missile defence system components, be it within the NATO framework or on the basis of bilateral agreements between the United States and countries such as the Czech Republic, Poland, and Romania. This opposition has, in turn, been accompanied by explicit threats to target such bases, possibly with nuclear-armed missiles.²⁷

All this has led observers, and not only those in Central and Eastern Europe, to conclude that Russia still harbours ambitions to regain control of the region.

Besides the external sources, there have been important drivers of the calls for reassurance coming from within the alliance itself. Plans to place an advanced-warning radar in the Czech Republic and missile interceptors in Poland, laid during the second Bush presidency, were eventually scrapped by the Obama administration in 2009.²⁸ Whether this was done because the initial plans were not workable and would be replaced by a technically superior solution, as the administration claimed, or whether the plans were in fact scrapped in order to appease Russia, as the critics charged, the decision provided an important intra-alliance driver for the calls for reassurance. Critics of the decision perceived it as – at best – yet another sign of the growing American disengagement from Europe, even though the administration proclaimed its steadfast commitment to the continent, and – at worst – as a sign of flagging U.S. resolve, showing an unwillingness to stand up to Russia, some even viewing it as appeasement.²⁹ Doing so, critics of the Obama administration conveniently ignored arguments presented by Secretary of Defence Robert Gates, who originated the plan under President George W. Bush and remained to serve in the first Obama administration.³⁰ In a typical sign of distrust, the opponents suggested that words do not carry the same weight as actions. Boots on the ground, much like the stationing of the American soldiers in Western Europe during the Cold War, would have allegedly provided for the tripwire that would give security commitments greater validity.

The concerns about the firmness of American ties to Europe have also been heightened by the “reset” in U.S.-Russia relations, which culminated in the signing of the New Start Treaty in 2010. Interestingly, the treaty was signed in Prague, the Czech Republic, a location preferred by the American side, whereas the Russians allegedly wanted the ceremony

²⁷ Bruno Waterfield, 'Russia Threatens NATO with Military Strikes over Missile Defence System,' *Daily Telegraph*, 3 May, 2012.

²⁸ Peter Baker, 'White House Scraps Bush's Approach to Missile Shield,' *New York Times*, 17 September, 2009.

²⁹ Glenn Kessler, 'The GOP Claim That Obama Scrapped a Missile Defence System As a "Gift" to Putin,' *Washington Post*, 28 March, 2014.

³⁰ Robert M. Gates, 'A Better Missile Defense for a Safer Europe,' *New York Times*, 19 September, 2009.

to take place in another Central European country, namely Slovakia. All this was happening against the backdrop of a long-term decline in the number of American troops stationed in Europe; the reputed strategic shift towards Asia (the so-called pivot); and the changing terms of the strategic debate in the United States, where the proponents of the grand strategy of retrenchment seemed to have been gaining the upper hand.³¹ Perceptions of these developments in Europe – and their interpretation as signals – largely depended on observers' perceptions of the external security environment. If Russia was seen as a security problem that had to be dealt with through the means of deterrence, the American actions were viewed as worrisome, and sometimes taken as signs of abandonment.

In the wake of the crisis in Ukraine, those warning against Russian revisionism felt vindicated.³² Irrespective of all the actions undertaken by the United States and the NATO alliance to provide reassurance in Central and Eastern Europe, there never seems to have been enough of it to satisfy the critics. Sceptics can always point to yet another instance of Russian assertiveness. But it is the nature of deterrence that the other side will react with its own countermeasures, if only to demonstrate that it has not been intimidated. Thus, for instance, President Obama's visit to Estonia in September 2014, which was a high-profile gesture of reassurance and security commitment, was almost immediately followed by the Russian abduction of an Estonian security officer from the territory of Estonia, and his eventual conviction in a mock trial in Russia. Critics take this as a sign of insufficient toughness, which is combined with the notion of alliance abandonment. However, there is little evidence to suggest abandonment. The list of reassurance measures is long and includes air-patrolling in the Baltic region, joint military exercises involving land, sea, and air units, rotating troop deployments in Central and Eastern Europe, as well as political meetings and visits.³³ The perceived insufficiency of these measures suggests a different problem at least among some states in the alliance. It is the problem of finding signals sent by allies as credible and trustworthy.

What we may be ultimately witnessing in today's Europe is a set of differentiated trusting relationships, which influence the interpretation of signals within the NATO alliance as a whole and by member states individually. States that have long been NATO members possess more robust trusting relationships and perhaps even more general trust in the alliance as a whole. The newer members, on the other hand, have not only brought with them understandable worries about Russia, but have not been exposed to tests of alliance resolve and credibility before. In short, they are more likely to perceive the alliance security dilemma in its unmitigated form. Given time, however, the routine of reassurance measures should change this by building up trusting relationship across the alliance as a whole.

³¹ Stephen G. Brooks, G. John Ikenberry, and William C. Wohlforth, 'Don't Come Home, America: The Case against Retrenchment,' *International Security* 37(3), 2012/13, pp. 7-51.

³² A good summary of a typical position is Charles Krauthammer, 'What Six Years of "Reset" Have Wrought,' *Washington Post*, 27 August, 2015.

³³ NATO even has a dedicated website called 'Assurance News', which keeps track activities designed to provide reassurance. See <http://www.aco.nato.int/reassurance-news.aspx>





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Brazilian International Perspectives and the Fate of Security Relations with the European Union: a brief Assessment

Alcides Costa Vaz

The present text comprises an initial appraisal of core issues and major trends shaping Brazil's position and role in regional and global affairs in the coming decades. The country's prospects as regards its relations with the European Union are also considered, in the same time frame and with a particular accent on the security dimension. Most forecasts regarding Brazil's future international profile usually highlight its economic rise, its status as a regional power and its willingness to play a more assertive role in the international arena. These aspects are generally seen as core determinants of its acknowledged condition of a rising global actor. Even though both Brazilian foreign policy and economic performance have respectively experienced a significant slowdown over the past four years, the afore-mentioned 'global actor' premises have not been changed, both as regards mid- and long-term prospect assessments. Therefore, these aspects shall continue to provide Brazil with important leverage capabilities and represent important assets for the country's pursuit of an improved international status.

Brazil: still a rising Actor?

Brazil has significant political and economic assets that provide stable grounds for strengthening its international profile as a global actor. However, translating these assets into an improved international status is neither natural nor automatic. On the contrary, considerable difficulties and setbacks still prevent – and will probably continue, in the near future, to do so – Brazil from taking full advantage of its regional

prominence. Despite its position amongst the ten largest economies of the world, Brazil's share of global production and exports as well as its participation in global financial flows is still fairly small, and strongly subject to domestic and external constraints. This generates a gap between the enthusiastic expectations regarding the country's political and economic influence on the global stage – and that which it is actually able to wield.

The Place of the EU in Brazil's international Strategy

In such a context, Brazil shall likely continue to pursue a strategy of expansion and diversification of its major international partnerships with the intent of maximising political and economic opportunities. This might entail closer relations not only with other emerging powers, as seen during the Lula da Silva presidency, but with major world powers as well. In either case, the European Union has surprisingly been depicted as of secondary importance to Brazil's intent to rise as a global actor. This is a strong paradox if one considers that the EU is Brazil's major economic partner second only to China, and that Brazil is the fourth largest destination of European foreign investment. Equally, Brazil and the EU have a number of converging interests in global affairs – interests which paved the way for the strategic partnership launched in 2007.

Clear references to the EU's declining importance were made at the time of the reassessment of Brazilian foreign policy priorities carried out during the Lula da Silva administrations¹. This trend was confirmed during Dilma Rousseff's first term. South America and Africa along with the other BRICS members were the key targets for Brazilian trade partnerships. The promotion of South-South co-operation was prioritised while the relations with Europe continued to face difficulties on several fronts, from trade negotiations to political issues. Points of tension ranged from human rights to policies towards the Middle East; respective positions on the Syria and the Ukraine crises were also touched upon more recently. Over the past seven years, these difficulties have been exacerbated by the 2008 economic crisis, by the crisis affecting the Eurozone, and finally by Brazil's own political and economic difficulties and loss of impulse in foreign policy. In current prevailing interpretations, the pursuit of a more Global South oriented approach to its partnerships might be leading Brazil to distance itself from its traditional foreign policy approach anchored in the Atlantic axis with a view to exploiting new possibilities of international insertion in other regions of the globe.

The Prospects for Security Relations

Although Europe still remains a privileged political and economic partner to Brazil, for most of the past decade bilateral relationships have not met mutual expectations as to their political and economic outcomes, either bilaterally or internationally. The strategic partnership offered by the EU in 2007 was intended to provide a proper political framework so as to generate greater impetus, but its effective importance and actual impact have not been evident so far. On the contrary, in some cases, the influence of

¹ Brazil and Europe towards 2015. http://www.econ.uba.ar/planfenix/aportes/8/Bekerman_Montgu. China en el futuro del Mercosur.pdf

Europe not only in Brazil but in Latin America as a whole continues to be regarded as secondary to that of the USA and, more recently, to China. Such a view certainly applies to Central America, somehow less so to South America and much less so to Brazil alone. Regardless of these considerations, Brazil will continue to seek to exploit political convergences with the EU at the global stage, namely those associated to the strengthening of multilateralism and multipolarity as well as to the treatment of major global issues². This strategy pertains to pave the way for the pursuit of positive initiatives regarding many key global issues. These range from strengthening the security realm and dealing with transnational threats to sustainability issues such as energy and food provision, as argued in the following paragraphs.

The growing relevance of food and energy security concerns in both Brazilian domestic and foreign policy agendas reflect developments directly associated to:

- › changes at the production level (increase of productivity and international competitiveness of the agro-industrial sector, the changing dynamics of the domestic and international market for biofuels, the findings of huge deep-sea-oil and gas reserves;
- › the increased strategic importance, internationally, of access to natural resources and energy sources;
- › the uncertainties related to oil markets and the prospect of the oil age coming to an end;
- › the food crisis associated to rising prices of basic agricultural commodities and to the mid- and long-term effects of global climate change on food production.

These factors taken altogether – plus the worldwide recognition of Brazil as a major food exporter and energy supplier, along with the imperative of addressing the effects of global climate change – have led sustainability to become inextricably associated to security concerns. Therefore, the securitisation of environmental, energy and food policies may be expected to become a driving force of Brazil's domestic and foreign policies in the near future.

The rise of non-conventional security concerns in Brazil's foreign and domestic security policies is a trend which favours closer links with the EU. Alongside this consideration, the rise of Brazil as a regional power and a global actor has taken place in a context in which access to natural and energy resources has become a key issue in and of itself within the arena of international politics. This has led to greater concern in Brazil with traditional security issues such as the control of its territory and the protection of its natural and biodiversity resources. Such concern is explicitly expressed in the National Defence Strategy³ and is now a major directive for military planning regarding the protection of continental and maritime territories. This is equally seen in the control of Brazil's northern borders where, due to insufficient security capabilities, an intense flow of illegal trade in drugs, arms, wild animals, plants and minerals takes place.

² Gilberto Calcagnoto, *O Brasil e a União Européia*. Nueva Sociedad, Special Edition, OCT. 2008, p. 115.

³ Ministério da Defesa (2008). *Estratégia Nacional de Defesa*.

Therefore, a meaningful improvement in the provision of security in such areas remains a significant endeavour that Brazil is gradually addressing. As such, defence concerns play an important role in shaping Brazil's international profile as a regional power and global actor. Indeed, as global competition for natural resources intensifies, Brazil – despite its intent to improve its defence capabilities – will still face significant restrictions as regards its dissuasive capabilities. It is not certain that the country would be able to prevent and/or defensively react to unauthorised foreign presence and activities on Brazilian soil. This sense of vulnerability and insecurity must therefore remain as a driving force shaping Brazil's defence policies, and its international partnerships and initiatives in this domain. In opposition, thus, to the favourable prospect for Brazil-EU relations in dealing with non-conventional security concerns such as food, energy and environmental security, Brazilian defence stances regarding the more traditional protection of resources and the possibility of an unwanted engagement of NATO in South Atlantic security issues will entail political grievances to Brazil's relations with the European Union.

Beyond these issues, threats such as transnational organised crime and drug trafficking are also expected to remain as major security challenges with important implications for Brazil's domestic policies and for its relations with its neighbourhood and with extra-regional actors. To a great extent, developments in this realm also pend upon economic performance and on the effectiveness of policies forged to respond to the unabated escalation of organised crime, both domestically and internationally. Economic prospects are not really favourable in this regard: even in a highly optimistic scenario (not to say highly unfeasible one, if seen from Brazil's current economic outlook) of steady GDP growth at the 4% level over the next two decades would still not suffice to reduce poverty and social inequalities. Difficulties in sustaining higher levels of economic growth will, thus, also increase the challenge of countering organised crime and transnational threats in the Brazilian territory. Simultaneously, it is widely and internationally recognised that the difficulty in fighting organised crime in its different expressions is a serious political liability for Brazil as a regional power and global actor. International terrorism, meanwhile, although naturally acknowledged as an issue to be dealt with carefully, is not particularly high on Brazil's security policy agenda. Brazil is neither envisaged as prime target for terrorist activities, nor as a safe breeding ground for terrorist organisations. However, given current international trends and the Brazilian desire to be a global player, this is an issue which must acquire greater visibility and importance within Brazilian security policies.

The greater exposure to the risks and threats posed by the convergent strengthening of energy and food security concerns, along with the continued challenges posed by organised crime and terrorism, provide grounds for closer co-operation between Brazil and the European Union. Such co-operation may feasibly yield positive side effects in the domain of defence. The major hindrance in this regard is associated to NATO's potential future activities in the South Atlantic, which would directly confront Brazilian strategic interests.

Strategic Implications for Relations between Brazil and the European Union

The current context is marked by the diversification of options for Brazil to forge its international insertion in the decades to come, and by a quest for greater autonomy driven by the prominence of nationalist forces in the realm of foreign and security policies. In view of this, more immediate efforts intended to revert perceptions of the declining importance of Europe as a political and economic partner are of utmost importance for the sake of defining the prospects of EU-Brazil relationships in the midterm future. It is worth noting that there are actual incentives for Brazil to take advantage of the US/ EU relative decline so as to favour its own political ambitions as a global actor. However fulfilling these ambitions and deepening Brazil-EU relations in particular are not mutually exclusive concepts; a decisive political investment towards strengthening bilateral relations will however be required.

In the next two decades, as the need for global governance mechanisms will reach unprecedented levels with increasingly high stakes, understanding the domestic dynamics of foreign policy decision-making including as regards the forging of international alliances and partnerships (such as that which exists between the EU and Brazil) will be of ever-greater importance. A greater appeal of cosmopolitan perspectives on global governance will probably provide more room to accommodate international interests but this endeavour will evolve in a more critical and demanding political environment, particularly when issues related to sovereignty over territory and natural resources as well as environmental, energy and food security concerns are at stake. On the other hand, fighting transnational threats (organised crime, terrorism and cyber threats) will provide opportunities to foster mechanisms and partnerships for international co-operation both bilaterally and multilaterally. In this regard, the framework of the EU-Brazil strategic partnership is a favourable departing point from which to address these security issues.

In the near future, there might be more convergence between Brazil and Europe on global security issues and governance mechanisms, a scenario favoured by the strengthening of cosmopolitan views regarding global issues traditionally approached from a nationalistic bias within Brazilian society. However, concerns regarding the protection of territory and resources as well as efforts towards reconciling sustainability, food, energy and environmental security concerns might lead to political discrepancies. Given the limitations of inter-regionalism in providing a broader framework for bilateral relations, the prospect of an updated, enduring and all-encompassing security relationship between Brazil and the EU will increasingly rely on the possibility of working together on the most contentious issues of the global agenda. In this regard, a more open and flexible attitude will be required from both sides to find common ground in addressing the political and security challenges posed by the interplay of sustainability, environmental, food and energy interests and concerns at the international level. Failing this, the enduring inertial trend and the political obstacles that have marked EU-Brazil security relations will inevitably subsist.



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National Laws and the Internet: The Making and Implications of Brazil's Marco Civil

Nivedita Kashyap

The Internet today serves a global population and is central to economic development worldwide. It began, in the seventies, as a tool for collaboration amongst university researchers in the U.S and has since evolved beyond the wildest imagination of its early pioneers. By 1998, every single populated country on the planet had an Internet connection¹. The Internet's user base is now shifting south and east and is drastically different from when it started to grow in the U.S. and Europe in the early nineties. This has implications for the future of global Internet governance because the ideas of the early Internet community are no longer left unchallenged by new actors who demand a role in deciding how the Internet is run. During its early years, Internet governance was decentralised and governance policies and practices were developed in an organic and ad hoc manner; non-state actors enjoyed a prominent role and there was limited government involvement. However, the old model no longer holds for a global Internet that serves populations with different cultural values, norms, and expectations.

The term 'Internet governance' is applied to activities as diverse as coordination of technical standards, operation of critical infrastructure, development, regulation, and legislation, amongst others². In 2005, at the United Nations' World Summit on the Information Society (WSIS), heads of state agreed on the following definition: Internet Governance is the development and application by governments, the private sector and civil society, in their respective roles, of shared principles, norms, rules, decision-making procedures, and programmes that shape the evolution and use of the Internet³.

The nub of the current debate on global Internet governance is mainly about the nature of cooperation and participation of actors, with blocs of nations preferring either the multistakeholder or the multilateral approach. The multistakeholder decision-making model includes the participation of civil society, the technical community and the private sector along with state actors. A purely multilateral model would be akin to the United Nations system where decision-making is solely the domain of state actors.

The current global Internet governance arrangement is decentralised, with a mix of fora ranging from multistakeholder to multilateral. The Internet Corporation for Assigned Names and Numbers (ICANN) is a multistakeholder platform to regulate the technical maintenance of the Internet's address pool. The Internet Governance Forum (IGF) is another multistakeholder platform for policy dialogue on Internet governance issues that seeks to establish consensus based global norms. The Group of Governmental Experts constituted under the United Nations is an example of a forum exclusively open to government officials to discuss potential threats, such as cyberspace attacks and related countermeasures. This indicates that the range of policy issues that arise out of a global Internet require different fora and participation of all stakeholders.

National Laws shape global Internet Governance

The IGF and many international civil society groups seek to establish core Internet values and norms but the meeting outcomes and reports they generate are non-binding. This opens the question of the implications that Internet-related policy making at the national level can have on global Internet governance. National laws governing Internet use can have profound implications for its global structure and governance. Governments have realised the importance of the Internet for their economies and want to assert sovereignty over their national networks to ensure digital security and stability. Despite the global nature of the Internet, local norms play a pivotal role in determining national laws and regulation governing Internet usage. Authoritarian countries limit freedom of speech on the Internet so as to reduce the political risk that free information can bring. Even countries that are democratic and share political values can end up with incompatible rules for privacy, data protection, and data localisation.

Consequently, the international Internet community must pay close attention to national laws and public policy because they are essential for keeping the Internet open and free. For instance, directives issued by the European Union (EU) for Internet users under its jurisdiction have far-reaching effects on commerce and data flows on the Internet. In the last decade, open web activists have convened around core principles that guarantee basic rights of freedom of expression, protection of personal information, and a neutral network, amongst others. The terms in which the rights are expressed are crucial since they determine the obligations of the private sector and of government towards the Internet user. Creating such a bill of rights for the Internet should be a participative and transparent process, and – similar to the dialogue at the international level – should include the voices of all stakeholders.

In April 2014, Brazil became the first country to create a digital bill of rights. Called the ‘Marco Civil’, the enacting of such a ‘constitution for the Internet’ was praised by open web activists around the world. The inventor of the World Wide Web, Sir Tim Berners-Lee, who advocates for an open and participative Internet, endorsed the Marco Civil throughout its making. The law was particularly exceptional because of the participative nature in which it was drafted and the fact that the core principles in the draft bill were intact when the law finally emerged after years of legislative debate and political give-and-take, common in a democratic setup.

This paper will take an in-depth look at the civil society advocacy, debates, politics, and controversy that went into the creation of the Marco Civil. Policy making for the Internet often brings up issues that are common across countries. For instance, the telecommunications industry that operates the physical infrastructure underlying the Internet almost always clashes with digital rights activists over the principle of net neutrality. A close look at the enactment of such a foundational piece of Internet law by a large democratic country that will be responsible for a significant chunk of the ‘next billion’ Internet users offers an instructive example of how these debates can play out for policymakers and activists. The Brazilian Marco Civil model has become an inspiration to countries around the world and the key actors behind the effort now share the lessons learnt while drafting the bill with those currently attempting the enactment of a similar law. The final part of the paper will discuss the effect of the passage of the Marco Civil in Brazil and beyond.

The Build-up to a Civil Law for the Internet in Brazil

In many developing countries where rapid expansion of the Internet happened relatively late, such as in much of Africa, the Internet is considered a telecommunications service subject to government regulatory agencies. In Brazil, the Internet was considered a “value added service” and therefore did not fall under the umbrella of the national telecommunications regulatory authority, Anatel, which enforces bureaucratic processes, such as, for instance, license requirements. This helpful lack of regulatory red-tape facilitated the expansion of the Internet in Brazil.

In 1995, the Brazilian Internet Steering Committee, CGI.br (Comitê Gestor da Internet no Brasil), was created to manage Internet governance within Brazil. It was created as a public-private partnership and became the registrar for Brazil’s top-level domain, .br. In addition to the government and private sector, CGI.br also included voices from academia, the technical community, and civil society. Many of Brazil’s Internet pioneers formed part of the initial staff of CGI.br, which had an open decision-making structure that operated by near-consensus. CGI.br did not write laws or make regulations, publishing only guiding principles and serving as a model of multistakeholder management of the Internet’s technical operations.

In the 1990s the term “Internet” began popping up in Brazil’s Congress and was mentioned in a few bills. But it was not until the 2000s that the legislature and society at large clashed over the role of the state, responsibilities of Internet service providers,

and principles of privacy, security, and freedom of expression⁴. In April 2007, Senator Eduardo Azeredo submitted a controversial legislative proposal that required user identification and registration so as to access the Internet. Companies that did not keep connection logs for a minimum period of five years could be penalised. This bill criminalised everyday practices of millions of people such as transferring songs from an iPod back to a personal computer or “jailbreaking” a cell phone. It even criminalised open Wi-Fi networks.

The new proposal was met with criticism from lawyers, the press and the general public and spurred digital activists across Brazil to organise themselves against it. In May 2007, Ronaldo Lemos, founder of the Centre for Technology and Society at Rio’s Fundação Getulio Vargas (FGV) University, criticised the bill in *Folha de São Paulo*, and advocated passing a civil law for the Internet instead of the proposed criminal law⁵. In June 2008, as the Azeredo bill continued to gain wider attention, Sergio Amadeu and André Lemos, both professors and members of the Brazilian Association of Researchers in Cyberculture (ABCiber), wrote an online manifesto in defence of freedom for the Brazilian Internet with the aim of gaining support of the academic community⁶. Within hours the manifesto went viral and in a matter of weeks, it received more than a hundred thousand signatures.

In January 2009, activists nicknamed the Azeredo bill ‘AI-5 Digital’ after a much hated law that limited civil liberties during Brazil’s military dictatorship. Later in May 2009, an activist blogger, João Carlos Caribé, started a blog called ‘Mega Não’, with the aim of providing a platform for collective action against the ‘AI-5 Digital’. The ‘Mega Não’ movement brought together volunteers from all over Brazil who organised protests in cities across Brazil: Porto Alegre, Belo Horizonte, São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Brasília, Vitória and Campo Grande.

Widespread public protest had the desired effect of slowing the progress of the Azeredo bill in Brazil’s Congress. The Ministry of Justice also expressed concern with the Azeredo bill and affirmed its support for dialogue with civil society. The final blow to the Azeredo bill fell in June 2009 when the tenth annual International Free Software Forum held in Porto Alegre welcomed a rather high-profile individual – Brazil’s then president Lula da Silva. The organisers of the forum were unequivocal in their criticism of the Azeredo bill and the danger it presented to the Brazilian Internet. The president was sympathetic to the concerns of the participants of the conference and acknowledged the need for a civil law for the Internet. On the following week, the Ministry of Justice called the activists to Brasília to initiate discussions on what would become the collaborative platform of the Marco Civil.

Drafting and legislative debates

Two main groups worked together on developing the idea of a Marco Civil: the Centre for Technology and Society at Rio’s Fundação Getulio Vargas (FGV) University and the Office of Legislative Affairs of the Ministry of Justice. They intended to draft the text of the bill from scratch via online public consultations. The Ministry of Culture

stepped in to help the Marco Civil project by providing its WordPress-based platform 'culturadigital.br' to invite public comments. In October 2009, representatives of the FGV, Ministries of Justice and Culture, and CGI.br announced the launch of the on-line public consultation phase of the Marco Civil.

A foundational document that established basic principles for a new Internet constitution based on universal human and digital rights was posted on the platform. The document was based on studies and debates conducted by Brazil's multistakeholder Internet steering committee, CGI.br. Brazilian Internet users were encouraged to comment on discussions that were categorised into sections. The team managing the platform travelled to various cities across Brazil to publicise the availability of an online platform open for comments and to encourage participation in the discussion. The majority of comments received were from people associated with cyberspace: programmers, digital activists, professors and researchers of cyberculture, and IT professionals. The online discussion was self-moderated, civil, clear, and objective.

This first phase of public consultation, which closed in December 2009, formed the basis for creating a draft Marco Civil bill. The draft bill was circulated among various ministries within Brazil's government, was subject to discussions in the lower and upper houses of the Brazilian Congress, and posted on the public platform once again for comments. The second phase of public consultation received comments that included intense debates between stakeholders with different policy positions. This phase of public consultation closed in May 2010, with 1,168 contributions⁷. Given that Internet policy was still a niche subject in Brazil in 2010, the contributions represented an impressive figure.

The members of the Marco Civil committee at FGV and the ministries divided up the job of reading the public comments. By June 2010, a draft of the Marco Civil bill was ready for submission to Brazil's Congress. The bill had to wait for the transition from Lula da Silva's presidency to the new government of president Dilma Rousseff. The bill was then sent to Brazil's lower house of Congress on August 2011 where it awaited a rapporteur. In March 2012, house representative Alessandro Molon was appointed the rapporteur for the bill in the lower house.

The bill died and came to life many times over during the course of more than two years of debate before it finally became law. There were frequent phases in which it was ignored and languished in wait for debate to restart. Voting on the bill was postponed several times⁸ due to lack of quorum or consensus until some agreement over a change in the wording brought it back into the game and revived expectations of its approval. The fact was that the bill was ambitious and touched upon various diverging interests of many influential lobbies and associations. As the bill was put to debate in Congress, actors with significant influence emerged defending corporate interests, especially those of the telecommunication and entertainment industries. Lack of agreement on issues such as data retention, net neutrality, third party liabilities, and copyright delayed voting for months.

The rapporteur and supporters of the bill realised that they needed to make alliances and find commonalities to keep the Marco Civil project alive. In order to build political capital they had to pick their battles carefully and compromise in some cases. For instance, to decrease the strength of the alliance opposing the bill, its supporters compromised on the issue of taking down content in case of an alleged copyright violation. Instead of insisting on a judicial order to take down content, the draft text was amended to defer this issue to a separate bill that was already under consideration by the Ministry of Culture⁹. This move was met with protests by some supporters of the Marco Civil but it was necessary to gain the support of the entertainment industry so as to keep the project alive in Congress. In contrast, the rapporteur and authors of the bill considered net neutrality to be a principle worth fighting for. Thus, they entered into a prolonged negotiation with the telecommunication industry to ensure that exceptions to net neutrality would be regulated by the President in consultation with the multistakeholder Internet steering committee CGI.br, in addition to the regulatory authority for telecommunications, Anatel.

The final Push thanks to Revelations by Edward Snowden

While the Marco Civil was struggling with the legislative impasse, the news of a hacker stealing nude photos of a popular Brazilian actress, Carolina Dieckmann, and leaking them on the Internet caught public attention. The case received extensive media coverage and the government came under pressure to take concrete measures for punishing such violations. Consequently, a law that would criminalise hacking was proposed in Congress. The bill was passed in record time by both houses, surprising even its creators¹⁰, and in a matter of days the bill was sanctioned into law by Brazilian President Dilma Rousseff. After the lightning enactment of the Dieckmann Law interest in the Marco Civil was rekindled. However, despite endorsement for the Marco Civil by Tim Berners-Lee at the World Wide Web Conference that was held in Brazil on May 2013, the legislative hurdles continued. The passage of the Marco Civil would have taken many more months were it not for the revelations by Edward Snowden about U.S. spy programs in June 2013.

Documents leaked by Edward Snowden showed that Brazil was by far the most spied upon country in Latin America, and its communications were intercepted by at least three different spy programmes of the U.S. National Security Agency (NSA). On September 1, Brazilian newspaper O Globo revealed that President Dilma Rousseff and her advisors had had their personal communications intercepted by the NSA¹¹. The following week, the newspaper released documents indicating invasion of the private network of Brazil's national oil company, Petrobras. The Snowden revelations affected President Rousseff personally and she made passing the Marco Civil a matter of constitutional urgency. Snowden had awakened the bill again after months of parliamentary lethargy.

With a deadline for voting on the Marco Civil set by Presidential decree, the lobbying by both supporters and detractors of the bill intensified. Even after more than two years of debate, the tangle of conflicting interests still blocked any attempt at

consensus on wording¹². Despite the declaration of constitutional urgency, Rapporteur Molon still received thirty-four different amendments to the text. More worrying still was the demand from the office of the President to insert a new provision to require Internet companies to store Brazilian user data in servers located within the country; this was a direct response to the U.S. spying on Brazilians. The provision was extremely unpopular with civil society and with Internet companies such as Google, Twitter and Facebook. It was even met with resistance in Congress: representatives viewed the measure as having no practical effect to ensure privacy and generating additional cost to Internet companies¹³. The combined efforts of civil society and Internet companies convinced the President's office to drop its provision.

The last burst of effort required to vote the bill into law happened in the few weeks before a major international conference, called NETmundial, which Brazil was to host in São Paulo on April 23 and 24, 2014. The organisation of the conference was to be led by CGI.br on multistakeholder lines, along with partners ICANN (Internet Corporation for Assigned Names and Numbers) and the World Economic Forum. On March 25, 2014, the Marco Civil was finally put to vote and approved by the lower house. On the eve of NETmundial, the Senate approved the bill and President Rousseff signed sanctioned it into law on April 23, 2014.

The creation of the Marco Civil, the first such digital rights law in the world, was announced by President Rousseff in her opening speech at the NETmundial conference. Despite some areas of concern in the law, such as the mandatory data retention requirement, Brazilians are justified in taking intense pride in this achievement. The Marco Civil represents a pioneering experience of establishing a constitution for the Internet that protects the principles of freedom of expression, net neutrality, and privacy. Its key strength lies in the participatory and democratic on-and-offline consultation process behind the bill's drafting. Implementation of the principles guaranteed in the law will be decided by secondary legislation that is going through a public consultation process similar to that of the Marco Civil and which will travel the long and winding road towards consensus that the Internet community in Brazil already knows well.

Implications of the Marco Civil for the Rest of the World

The main lesson from the making of the Marco Civil is the importance of collective action, participation, and persistence in and by civil society. The creation of a complicated piece of public policy or law in a democratic setup needs a window of opportunity when political interests are aligned in its favour. The Marco Civil waited for a long time for such an opportunity. Snowden's revelations and the constitutional urgency provided the right moment for the bill, but the fact that it was able to make use of such a moment was due to years of advocacy and persistence by supporters of the bill.

Brazil's experience creating the Marco Civil is a useful roadmap for other countries attempting similar legislation. In October 2014, six months after the Marco Civil was sanctioned, the Italian Congress' first draft of an Internet Bill of Rights was opened to online public consultations. Similar to the Marco Civil, the period of public

consultation lasted for four months. The participative nature of the online platform open to all stakeholders was influenced by the Brazilian model of Internet governance. In fact, officials from Brazil were directly involved in the debates and dialogues in Italy that led to the formulation and adoption of the Bill of Rights. In February 2014, CGI.br directors attended an event on Internet governance in Italy where they presented a detailed account of the institutional development of Internet governance in Brazil. In June 2014, the Marco Civil rapporteur, Alessandro Molon, accompanied by a delegation of Brazilian officials involved in the creation of the Marco Civil, attended a public hearing in the lower house of the Italian legislature and gave a presentation on the collaborative process of creating the law¹⁴. The Italian bill shares several principles with the Marco Civil – from net neutrality to the focus on privacy and freedom of expression. In July 2015, Italy became the first European country to introduce an Internet Bill of Rights, which was open to comment by the country's citizens¹⁵.

The content of the Italian Bill of Rights also draws inspiration from European Internet legislation and ongoing dialogue within Italy and internationally. The Council of Europe set up a multistakeholder Committee of Experts on Rights of Internet Users on April 2012 composed of Council of Europe member states and independent experts from civil society and academia¹⁶. The committee held a public consultation with participants from Internet governance fora held in Lisbon, Portugal in June 2013 and in Bali, Indonesia in October 2013. The committee also received contributions from representatives of the private sector, key civil society organisations, the technical community, and academia from across the world. On 16 April 2014, a few days before the Marco Civil bill became law, the Council of Europe adopted the recommendation of the committee and delineated core rights for the Internet age based upon the European Convention of Human Rights¹⁷.

France and Germany have created legislative committees specifically to consider the issue of rights and freedoms in the Internet age. Both countries have published reports and guidelines, which, besides the Brazilian Marco Civil, were also used as inspiration in the drafting of the Italian Digital Bill of Rights. The Italian bill inherits the principle of 'informative self-determination' from the 'Digital and fundamental rights' report written by the French Council of State¹⁸. The Italian committee responsible for the bill also considered as inputs judgements by the Court of Justice of the European Union in the case of Google vs. the Spanish Data Protection Agency and the case brought by Digital Rights Ireland against the EU Data Retention Directive¹⁹ in April and May 2014 respectively.

Sir Tim Berners-Lee created the World Wide Web foundation in 2009 to promote global human rights protection online and the decentralisation of Internet governance. He called for crowdsourcing a 'Magna Carta' for the web²⁰ and praised efforts such as those in Brazil and the EU as the best path to a stronger and freer web²¹. The foundation launched the Web We Want project to empower citizens to make, claim and shape the Web they want both nationally and globally. The initiative is rooted in the UN Declaration of Human Rights and the goals of social justice.

In effect, the Web We Want initiative is an effort to transform the groundswell of civil society awareness about digital rights into concrete legislation so the future of the Internet can be decided in a truly participative manner. The Marco Civil itself benefited from this transfer of ideas across borders through a coalition of civil society activists. Ronaldo Lemos, one of the authors of the Marco Civil, had just returned to FGV after completing his Master's in the United States, where he had studied with digital rights pioneers, such as Lawrence Lessig and William Fischer²². International Internet companies too made sure that their representatives participated in the creation of the bill.

Brazil benefited from the early adoption and spread of the Internet unencumbered by red tape or regulations due to its classification as a 'value added service'. Brazil's Internet pioneers shared the decentralised and participative decision-making ethos of the early Internet community. These factors played a role in laying a fertile ground for the creation of a law like the Marco Civil. Brazil is a relatively young democracy; its modern constitution was written in 1988 after a period of military dictatorship and consequently, the judicial decision-making process for the balancing of rights and obligations is a space which allows for dynamic and lively debate. Creating a constitution for the Internet brings this ongoing discussion into the digital age, which is a new domain for judicial systems everywhere. The active civil society that coalesced to bring about the Marco Civil will be a valuable voice as these debates continue within Brazil.

Historically, Brazil has been an active participant in international fora of Internet governance. The domestic multistakeholder governance model within Brazil anchored around the general principles of CGI.br has informed the country's official diplomacy at such fora. A push towards multilateralism and data storage within Brazil post the Snowden revelations was gradually defeated by a coalition of actors, including CGI.br. In her speech at the NETmundial, President Rousseff reaffirmed Brazil's commitment to the multistakeholder model of Internet Governance²³, also stating that state participation in global Internet governance should occur on an equal footing, with every country bearing equal weight.

Brazil's domestic Internet governance model and participative process that led to the creation of the Marco Civil offer insights into the domestic debates that shape national Internet laws. The Marco Civil – an illustration of positive domestic Internet legislation – has made Brazil a trendsetter for other nations because it managed to disentangle the conflicting interests that usually block such legislation. Sovereign nations have the right to create national laws governing Internet usage; ensuring universal values such as transparency and freedom form the basis of such laws leading, thus, to an open and free web, need not necessarily exclude the influence of national norms and culture. Brazil's Marco Civil provides an example to the global Internet community on how national laws can be built in a democratic and participative manner creating laws that do not balkanize the Internet but strengthen it.

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The Shifting Flows of Global Energy and Trade: Implications for Latin America

Paul Isbell

Over the past 25 years, two vectors of global change with important strategic implications for Latin American countries have gone by relatively unnoticed – at least until recently. These underlying vectors of global change run against the grain of established conceptualisations and practices – globally, in general, but particularly in Latin America – with respect to regional integration, above all in the areas of energy and trade.

Perhaps the most visible of these changes has been the dual shift in the centres of gravity for global energy supply and demand. While the centre of gravity for global energy demand has moved eastward from the Northern Atlantic into Asia (driven by the emergence of Asian economies and by the increased efficiency of Northern Atlantic economies), the centre of gravity for global energy supply has progressively shifted westward from the Middle East, Central Asia and Russia (the 20th century's traditional hydrocarbon producers) into the Atlantic Basin, driven by an 'Atlantic energy renaissance,' particularly in terms of supply.

The other less visible but nearly simultaneous change has been the shifting gravities of the webs of sub-global regional 'connectedness.' These evolving flow circuit vectors have provoked a slippage of the centres of gravity for regional connectedness – as embodied in energy and total merchandise trade – from the 'continental' landmasses into the ocean basins (which the continents surround as 'rim lands').

In the sections that follow, these recent tendencies shall be examined through a presentation of remapped global energy and trade data, reconfigured into new ‘ocean basin regions’ and compared to the currently predominant continental conceptions of energy and trade (see Box 1). Key implications for the future of land-based ‘continental’ integration in both South America and ‘Latin America’ shall also be reviewed, as well as those particular to some Latin American countries in broader strategic terms.

Atlantic Energy Renaissance

Only a decade ago, international analyses typically pointed ahead to an energy future in which Asia would increasingly rival the Northern Atlantic in terms of demand, and eventually overtake it. Most major international bodies, like the International Energy Agency (IEA) or the World Energy Council (WEC), along with most large oil and gas companies, projected that this increasingly prominent ‘Asian demand call’ on world supply (along with the net demand call then projected still to come from the Atlantic world) would be met exclusively and indefinitely by the Middle East and, at the margin, by Saudi Arabia.

Earlier than that, however, the actual underlying picture was already suffering a dramatic change. But only in the last ten years has a new picture emerged that more and more are beginning to see: an ‘Atlantic energy renaissance’ has been unfolding across the ‘Atlantic Basin.’¹ The wider ‘pan-Atlantic world’ is where roughly half of the world’s known fossil fuels are located and more than two-thirds of the world’s renewable energy is currently generated. The decades of globalisation have witnessed a significant expansion of energy ‘resources,’ ‘proven reserves’ and ‘production’ in a broad range of energy sources and uses within the Atlantic Basin.² Today, the Atlantic Basin energy supply is increasingly meeting Asian demand at the margin, reversing the historical net East-to-West direction of global energy flows.³

Once highly dependent on significant oil imports from the Middle East and the ex-Soviet Union (i.e., Central Asia and Russia), the Atlantic Basin has been rapidly catching up – in terms of total petroleum resources, ‘proven reserves’ and production – with the ‘Great Crescent’ (as the Middle East plus ex-Soviet Union region is sometimes called; see Box 1). A remapping of British Petroleum’s (BP) annual global energy data

¹ See Box 1 for a deeper discussion of the definitions of the Atlantic Basin used in the analysis of both trade and energy in this paper. Generally speaking, two definitions used: a broader Atlantic Basin (or Atlantic Hemisphere, i.e., the four Atlantic continents in their entirety) and a more precise Atlantic Basin, which includes only Atlantic coastal countries and certain landlocked countries. The broader definition has generally been applied to energy stocks, while the later has been applied to energy and trade flows. An important point not to be missed is that the ‘Atlantic Basin’ is far broader and more inclusive than the traditional ‘transatlantic relations’ between the US and Europe, as it also critically embraces the ‘Southern Atlantic.’

² The phenomena of the expansion of Atlantic energy supply and the broader ‘Atlantic energy renaissance’ have been developed previously in Paul Isbell, *Energy and the Atlantic: The Shifting Energy Landscapes of the Atlantic Basin*, Washington, D.C.-Brussels, The German Marshall Fund, 2012; and the Atlantic Basin Initiative (Eminent Persons Group), “A New Atlantic Community: Generating Growth, Human Development and Security of the Atlantic Hemisphere: A Declaration and Call to Action,” a *White Paper of the Atlantic Basin Initiative*, Center for Transatlantic Studies, School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University, March 2014.

³ The reversal of the historic East-to-West global energy flow circuit has been analyzed previously in Paul Isbell, “Atlantic Energy and the Changing Global Energy Flow Map” *Atlantic Future Scientific Paper 17*, Brussels, 2014, although the analysis is updated and extended here.

and projections reveals that the Atlantic world now engages about half of the broad global supply of conventional and unconventional oil resources, including the key categories of 'proven reserves' and daily production. Most of the fossil fuels discovered in the last two decades have been found in the Atlantic Basin. More than 45% of both proven oil reserves and daily oil production are Atlantic, and these shares are rising. Nearly three-quarters of projected growth in daily oil production up to 2035 is set to take place within the Atlantic Basin.⁴

The Unconventional and Offshore Revolutions

Beyond conventional petroleum, the real value-added contribution of the Atlantic energy renaissance comes from advances along the frontiers of 'unconventional' and 'difficult' hydrocarbons – in shale and offshore above all – and, importantly, from the technological, market and geopolitical 'revolutions' these new energy sources have unleashed. More than any other single factor, the Atlantic Basin shale and offshore revolutions have shifted the global centre of gravity for energy supply away from the 'Great Crescent' and into the 'Atlantic Basin.' Figures 1-9 help tell this story, first in shale and then in the offshore.

In contrast, the Atlantic Basin participates only modestly in the global supply for conventional gas. Only 2% of conventional gas production comes from the 'Atlantic Basin.'⁵ However, some two-thirds of unconventional gas reserves (mainly shale) are 'Atlantic,' as is nearly all unconventional gas production (predominantly in the United States). Nearly the same is true of shale oil.⁶ Shale production could also begin to spread to other parts of the Atlantic Basin, if an array of pending pre-requisites – ranging from distinct subsoil rights cultures to conflicting energy policy and regulatory regimes – is adequately addressed. All told, two-thirds of the world's estimated shale gas resources and upwards of one-half of all technically recoverable gas reserves are thought to be located within the Atlantic Basin.⁷

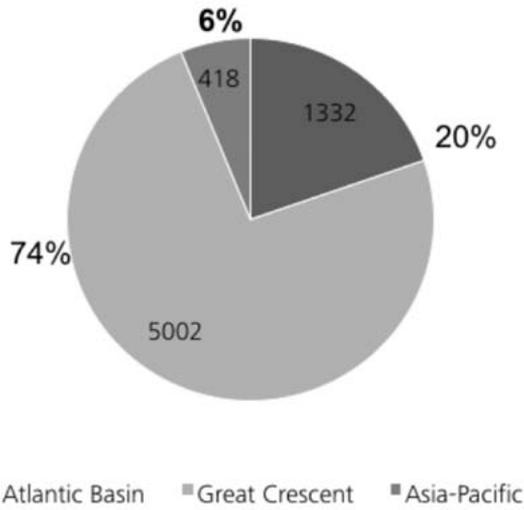
⁴ The remapping technique, in terms of energy stocks and for both historic and future projections, involves rearranging, or 're-projecting,' of British Petroleum's annual global energy statistics and bi-annual projections forward 20 to 25 years so as to present them in Atlantic Basin terms. (See Box 1) BP Statistical Review of World Energy 2013 and 2014, and author's own elaboration.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ More than two-thirds (70%) of the world's estimated shale oil resources and reserves are located in the broad Atlantic, according to a remapped version of USGS data.

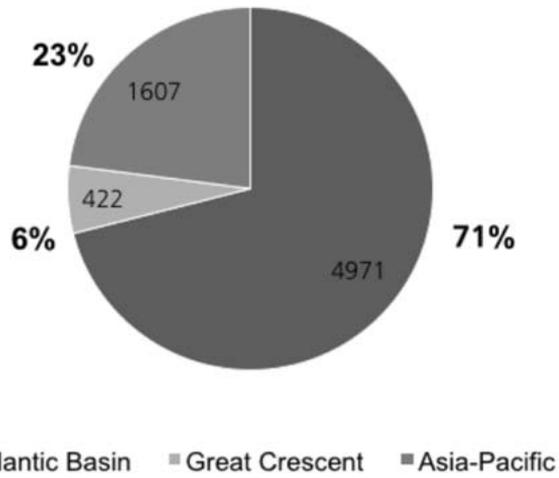
⁷ Understood in 'pan-Atlantic' terms, and based upon a broad 'Atlantic Hemisphere' 're-projection' of the US EIA's most recent estimates of global shale resources. See Box 1. EIA 2013, BP 2015, and the author's own elaboration.

Figure 1 *Conventional Gas, Proven Reserves, trillion cubic feet*



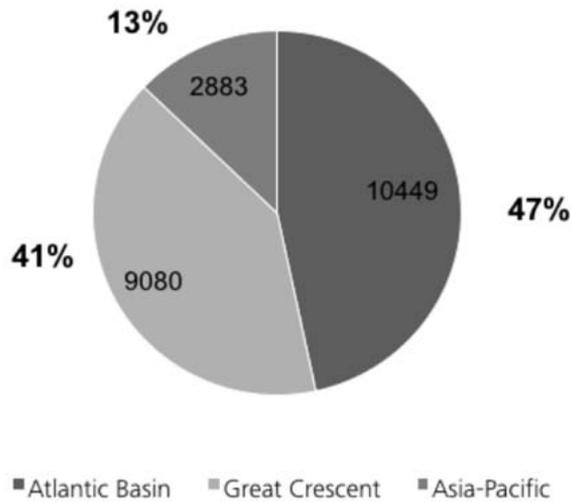
Source: EIA 2013 and own elaboration.

Figure 2 *Shale Gas, Resources (technically-recoverable), trillion cubic feet*



Source: EIA 2013 and own elaboration.

Figure 3 *Total Gas Resources (technically-recoverable), trillion cubic feet*



Source: EIA 2013 and own elaboration.

But Atlantic comparative advantages on the cutting edge frontiers of hydrocarbons are even greater in the realm of the offshore, both for oil and gas – an advantage so strong as to make the Arctic largely irrelevant in terms of global hydrocarbons potential.⁸ Already Southern Atlantic offshore oil reserves (130bn barrels) dwarf those of the Arctic (90bn barrels).⁹ The Atlantic Basin now produces over 60% of global offshore oil (nearly 30mbd globally) and nearly all (95%) of the world's deep offshore oil.¹⁰ The corresponding numbers for Atlantic Basin offshore gas are 54% and 97%.¹¹ The only non-Atlantic anomaly is Australia, a potential pole of market share dominance in both offshore gas and liquefied natural gas (LNG). However, at the frontier of the deep offshore horizon, Atlantic Basin dominance is clear, particularly in the Southern Atlantic.¹²

⁸ Although the Arctic Basin's energy will remain important to a few particular countries and a few particular private companies, in both geostrategic and balance sheet terms, even despite the Atlantic energy renaissance.

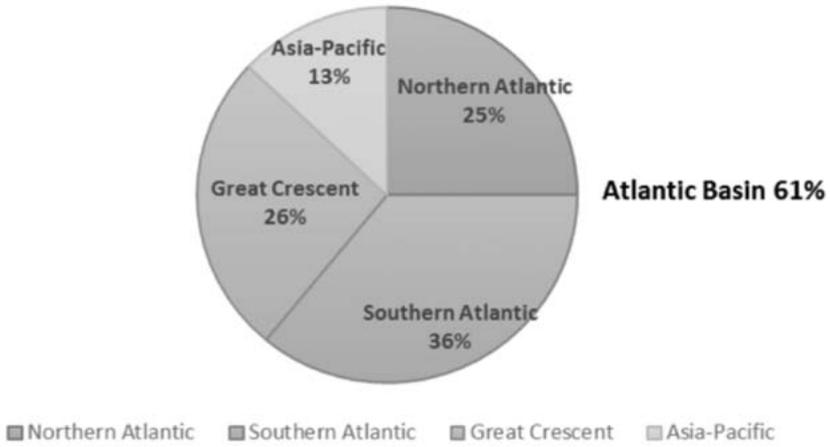
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¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid.

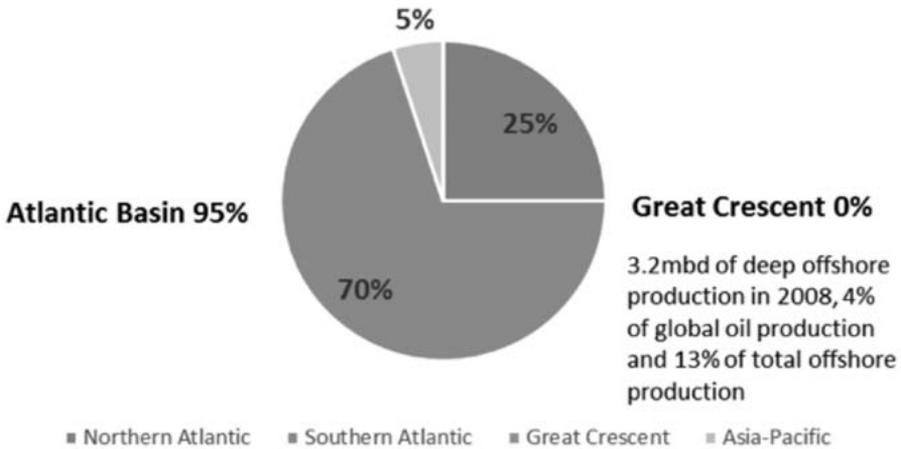
¹² Supporting these upstream offshore Atlantic advantages are recent developments and future projections in the areas of offshore discoveries and offshore investment. The Atlantic Basin accounts for over 60% of global offshore oil discoveries from 1995 to 2012 (Deutsche Bank and Wood Mazkenzie, 2013). Approximately US\$210bn was invested globally in deep offshore hydrocarbons during 2011-15. Over 80% of this was invested in the Atlantic Basin offshore, and nearly 60% in the Southern Atlantic (Infield Energy Analysts, 2014).

Figure 4 *Offshore Oil Production, by Major Region, 2012*



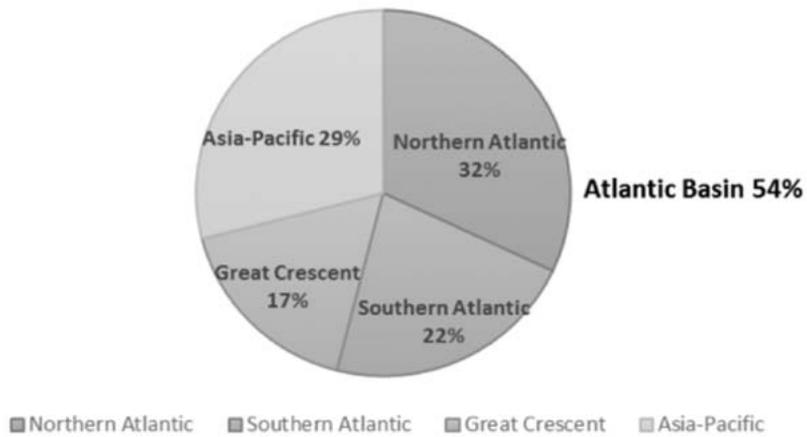
Source: IFP Energie Nouvelle 2012 and own elaboration.

Figure 5 *Deep Offshore Oil Production, by Major Region, 2008*



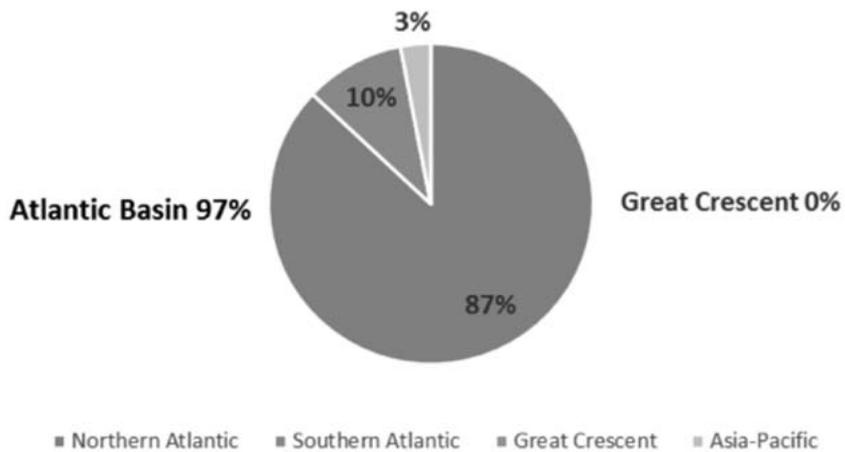
Source: IFP Energie Nouvelle 2012 and own elaboration.

Figure 6 *Offshore Gas Production, by Major Region, 2012*



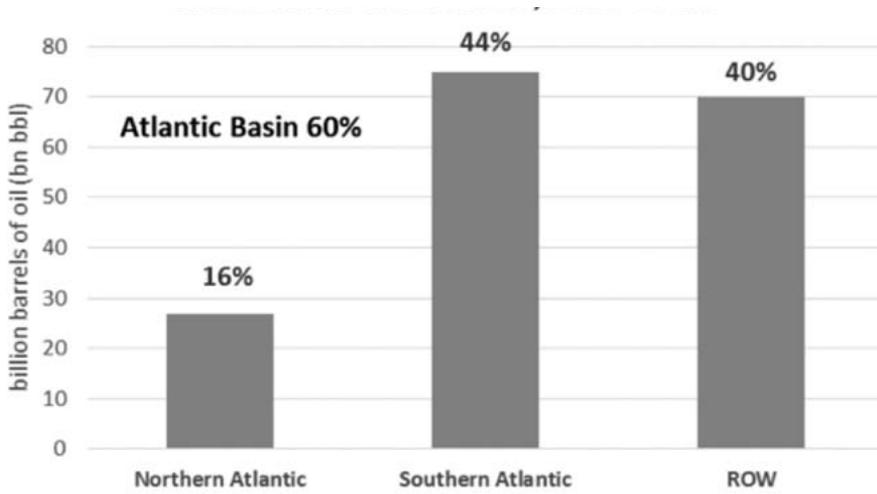
Source: IFP Energie Nouvelle 2012 and own elaboration.

Figure 7 *Deep Offshore Gas Production, by Major Region, 2008*



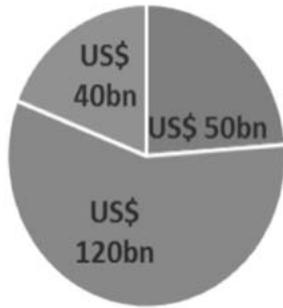
Source: IFP Energie Nouvelle 2012, and own elaboration.

Figure 8 *Offshore Oil Discoveries, 1995-2012*



Source: Deutsche Bank and Wood Mackenzie, 2013 and own elaboration.

Figure 9 *Deep Offshore Oil and Gas Investment, 2011-2015*



■ Northern Atlantic ■ Southern Atlantic ■ ROW

Source: Infield Energy Analysts, 2014 and own elaboration.

The Strategic Significance of the Atlantic Energy Seascape

The comparative advantages of Atlantic Basin offshore energy have significant potential implications, particularly in light of the global shift of strategic relevance from the continental landmasses to the ocean basins. Already one-third of global oil production occurs offshore (28mbd in 2010), with 8mbd coming from the ‘deep’ offshore. Offshore oil production has more than doubled since 1980 – from less than 15% – to nearly one-third – of the global daily total today (rising in absolute daily production terms from 8.9mbd to 28mbd in 2010). Since 1980, offshore oil production has accounted for all of the net increase (20mbd) in global oil production, which grew from 66mbd in 1980 to 86mbd in 2013. Meanwhile, onshore production has fallen from a peak (1970: 60mbd) and now appears to be in long-term decline worldwide – although in the US the shale revolution of North Dakota has partially reversed this trend. This special geostrategic significance of Atlantic offshore oil is nearly just as true of Atlantic offshore gas production – given that current offshore gas production accounts for some 27% of total global gas production¹³ and that by 2050 some 85% of all international energy trade will consist of gas flows, of which most will be LNG flows by sea.¹⁴

In this regard, one of the most far-reaching shifts in the global seascape generated by the Atlantic energy renaissance has been the recent reversal of the net direction of global energy flows – over three quarters of which move by sea.¹⁵ As the centre of gravity for energy supply moves west and the centre of gravity for energy demand moves east, a rising Asian demand call on global energy will be increasingly met by the Atlantic Basin, at the margin, and to the market share detriment of the Great Crescent zone. An increasing amount of this energy, particularly oil and gas, will be transported by sea, and a rising share of this seaborne energy will be moving across the Atlantic Basin energy seascape as a result of the Atlantic energy renaissance and progressive elimination of the historic Atlantic Basin dependence on Great Crescent energy. The Atlantic Basin has already begun to meet Asian demand at the margin – implying the beginning of the net reversal of traditional East-to-West movements of global energy into new West-to-East net energy flows. By 2035 this reversed net global energy flow will meet one-third of the entire Asian demand call, with the Great Crescent falling from recently 100% to two-thirds by the same date, 2035.¹⁶ In gas alone, roughly half of the Asian demand call will be met by the Atlantic (See Figures 10 and 11.)¹⁷

¹³ This global offshore oil picture comes from combining offshore hydrocarbons data from IFP Nouvelle Energie 2012 with offshore production data and total global oil production data from BP Annual Statistical Review of Energy 2013 and 2014.

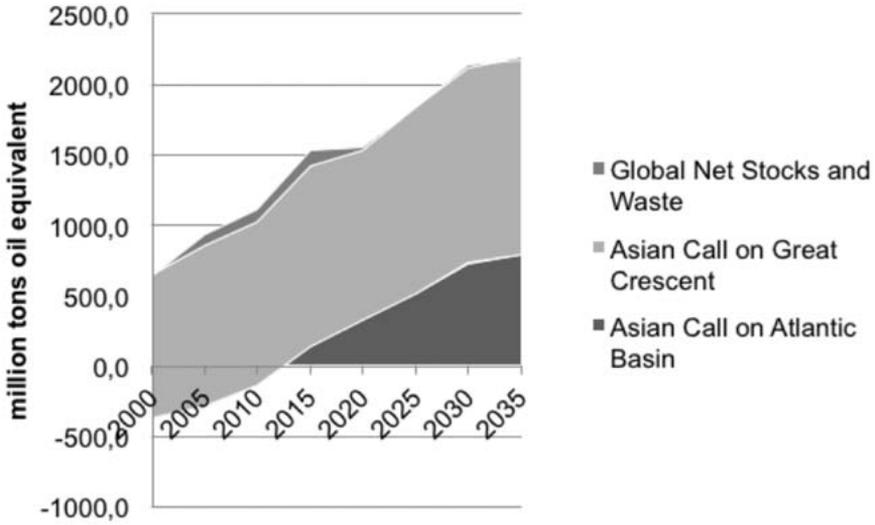
¹⁴ Projection derived from the IASA GEA Model Database and further author elaboration.

¹⁵ BP Statistical Review of World Energy (2013). Over 76% (or some 64 million barrels a day of oil equivalent, or mbdoe) of the world’s cross-border international energy trade (84mbdoe) travels to its destination by sea. In 2012, the world produced approximately 222mbdoe of energy, but in a typical year as much as 40% of that is traded internationally.

¹⁶ According to a re-mapping of BP’s global energy projections to 2035. BP 2015.

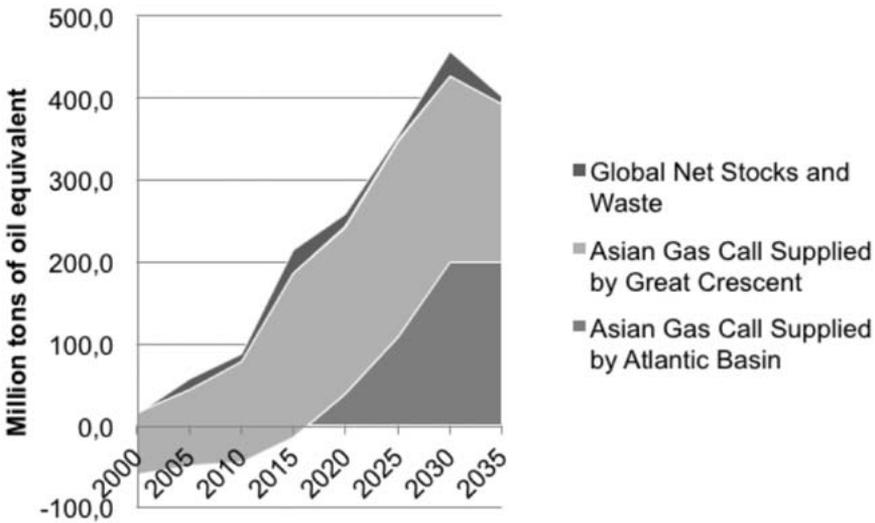
¹⁷ There are other trends, risks and opportunities that could change the variables of the analysis given here. Chief among them are the recent and future trends in renewable energy, low carbon technologies and urban electrification. However the scope of this article does not allow for these variables to be fully integrated into the analysis. Nevertheless, one of the great challenges that faces the Atlantic Basin and its individual societies, including those in Latin America is to square the circle of increasing hydrocarbon dominance within an Atlantic Basin which is now ‘re-carbonizing’ with a low carbon transition consistent with sustainable development. Nevertheless, such a challenge could be addressed in a new and innovative way through ‘pan-Atlantic energy cooperation (see Box 2).

Figure 10 *The Asian Call on Global Energy Flows, Atlantic Basin vs Great Crescent, 2000-2035*



Source: BP Energy Outlook 2035, and own elaboration.

Figure 11 *The Asian Call on Global Gas Flows, Atlantic Basin vs Great Crescent, 2000-2035*



Source: BP Energy Outlook 2035, and own elaboration.

The Oil Price Fall and the Atlantic Energy Renaissance

Some might question the economic sustainability of the Atlantic Energy Renaissance and its commercial, economic and geostrategic importance in light of the significant drop in the global price of oil over the course of the past year from roughly US\$100/bbl in the summer of 2014 to roughly US\$50/bbl in the summer of 2015. A survey of recent production cost estimates (and of budget break-even price levels) suggests that by far the largest share of the recent supply boom in the Atlantic will remain economically viable at mid-to-long term prices within a band of US\$60/bbl to US\$80/bbl – although certain countries, like Venezuela and Nigeria, and possibly a few others, will not clear current budgets unless the sustainable band begins at US\$100/bbl.¹⁸

One provisional conclusion in this regard, then, is that the Atlantic Basin energy renaissance is a sustainable structural change upon the global energy flow map. Although, certain traditional Atlantic Basin energy producers, such as Venezuela or Nigeria, could fall prey to now mounting centrifugal forces, threatening current levels of ‘global production’ (if ‘Atlantic’) thereby placing a certain floor with downward resistance beneath the global price of oil, lending it certain upward momentum towards the above-mentioned US\$60/bbl to US\$80/bbl price band projected for the mid-term. So it is possible that production stagnation or decline in some Atlantic Basin countries could help restrict supply so that the majority of the Atlantic Basin’s recent supply boom will continue to be economically viable.

Furthermore, as can be demonstrated historically (at least broadly), times of softer, or even of low, prices typically generate forces which facilitate domestic energy reform as well as international (or ‘transnational’) energy cooperation and integration. Although the International Energy Agency took shape during a period of high prices, most other international, multilateral or regional energy fora have been initially launched, or initially thrived, in low periods of the global energy price cycle. This is particularly true of Eurasian multilateral energy cooperation that stemmed from the Energy Charter Treaty process, dating from the end of the Cold War at the beginning of the 1990s – a time of low prices. And it is certainly true for most Atlantic Basin domestic energy reforms of the past three decades which involved certain calculated doses of liberalisation and opening (as opposed to reforms of heightening state intervention which tend to come in periods of higher or rapidly rising prices).¹⁹ Higher prices in general have tended to undermine international energy cooperation, at least the official state-driven variety.

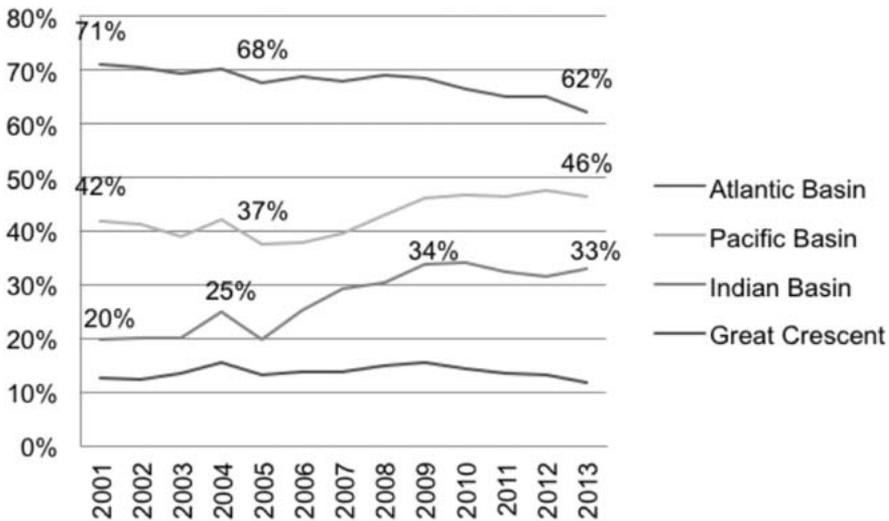
¹⁸ This analysis was based on a Google survey for images of ‘global oil production costs’ which yielded some 20 graphic analyses of global production costs (i.e., ‘economic breakeven’) by both geographic and oil type (e.g., shale, offshore, arctic etc.) categorisations; and another 20 graphic analyses of the ‘political breakeven’ oil price level (i.e., the oil price level needed, given a projected export volume, assumed necessary to cover the national budget) were also incorporated into the estimated bands here.

¹⁹ Venezuela’s energy ‘apertura’ of the 1990s, Brazil’s oil privatisation and liberalisation of the Cardoso era (1997), Spain’s energy liberalisations of the post-cold war globalisation period, and Mexico’s most recent reforms all fall into this low oil price cycle-reform paradigm, as do Argentina’s energy reforms of the Menem 1990s. It is true that some of these reforms are not remembered well, in both senses of the word by many; but this does not change the historical lesson that times of lower oil prices generate opportunities for strategic re-definition and change of trajectory.

Pan-Atlantic Energy Cooperation

So rather than get side-tracked into a likely zero-sum discussion of shifting ‘global power’, the far more interesting implications of the Atlantic energy renaissance suggest the potential for new forms of transnational cooperation and governance along the strategic horizon for Atlantic actors. New research reveals high levels of intra-regional connectedness in terms of energy trade within the Atlantic Basin.²⁰ Applying an ‘Atlantic Hemisphere projection’ (which focusses on a broader, four-continents-version of the Atlantic Basin, see Box 1) to the data-flow map reveals that some 75% of energy trade between the Atlantic continents is ‘intra-regional’ or ‘intra-Atlantic.’

Figure 12 *Intra-regional Energy Trade, Ocean Basin World, 2001-2013*



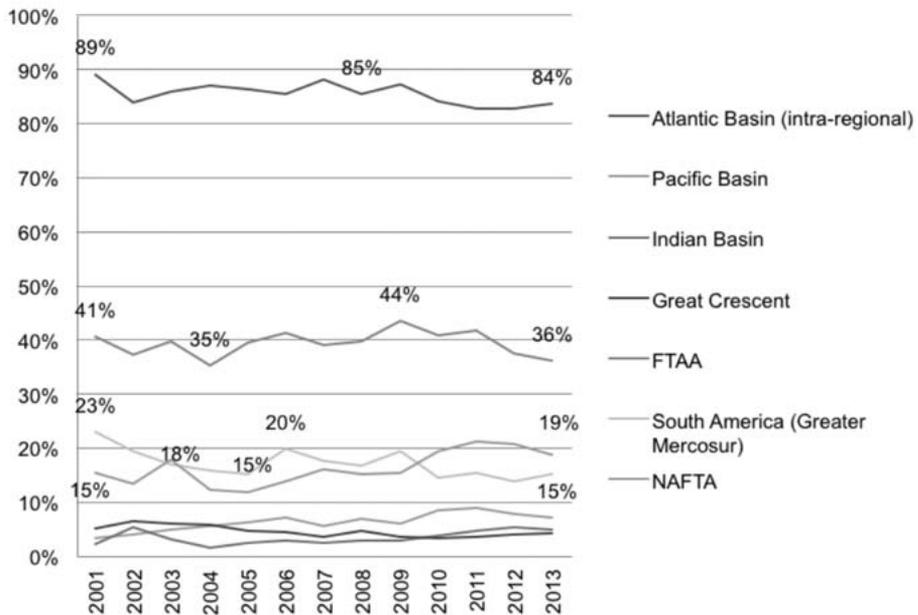
Source: UNCOMTRADE 2015, and own elaboration.

However, if we focus our projection of global data instead on the maritime spaces (rather than on the continental landmasses), we produce a more meaningful, *if not perfectly precise*, notion of an Atlantic Basin space. Such an ‘ocean basin projection’ (see Box 1) reveals that 62% of Atlantic Basin energy trade (see Figure 12) is ‘intra-regional’ or ‘intra-basin’ (although it had long been over 80%, at least until recently when the Atlantic Basin, and particularly the Southern Atlantic, began to serve the role of net supplier at the margin for Asia). The same is true for nearly all Atlantic Basin countries, but particularly for ‘Atlantic Latin America.’ Under an ocean basin projection, Brazil’s energy trade, for instance, is densely engaged with the Atlantic Basin (84%), and Argentina’s even more so (87%).²¹ (See Figures 13 and 14.)

²⁰ Based on a re-mapping of UNCOMTRADE global bilateral trade data, 2000-2013.

²¹ ‘Intra-Atlantic Basin energy trade shares are also notably high for counter-parts in Africa (Nigeria 78%, Morocco 53%), Europe (75%) and North America (US 75%), according to a broad ‘Atlantic Hemisphere’ projection of the UNCOMTRADE bilateral trade data.

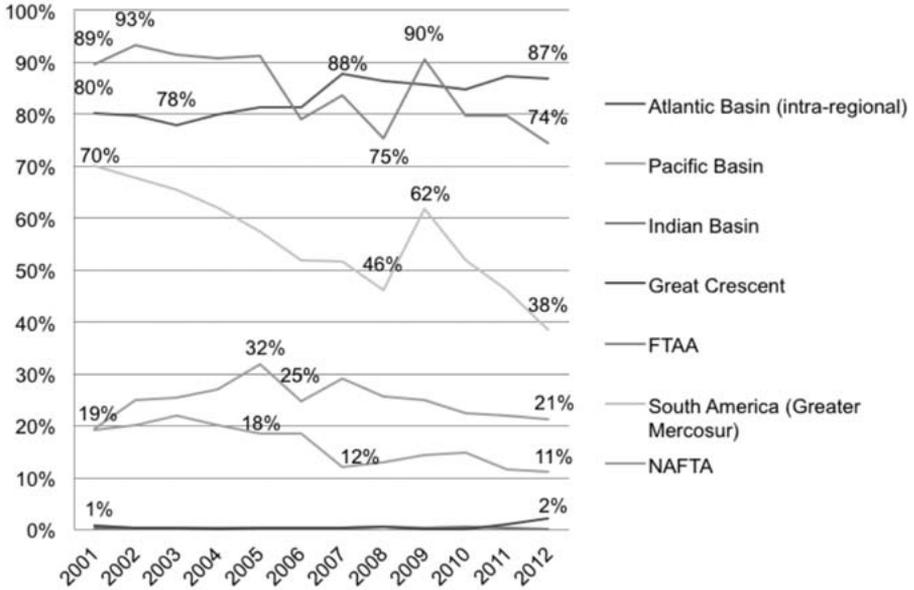
Figure 13 *Brazil, Intra-regional Energy Trade, Ocean Basin vs Continental Projections, 2001-2013*



Source: UNCOMTRADE 2015, and own elaboration.

On the other hand, Brazil's intra-regional energy trade within South America has fallen from 23% in 2000 to 15% in 2013. Argentina's intra-regional energy trade in South America plummeted from 70% to 38% over the same period. And this at the end of a trail of proposed 'continental energy integration' projects. Yet, intra-Atlantic Basin energy trade remained very high in Brazil, and even rose by seven percentage points in Argentina. (See Figures 13 and 14) Anticipating the analytical comparisons to be used in the next section on broader total merchandise trade, if these very high levels of Atlantic Basin intra-regional energy trade are compared with the intra-regional energy trade shares of these countries within the historic space of their aspired 'continental energy integration' – in this case, South America – an argument emerges in favour of focussing upon the Atlantic Basin as a space of both necessity and opportunity for transnational energy collaboration and cooperation.

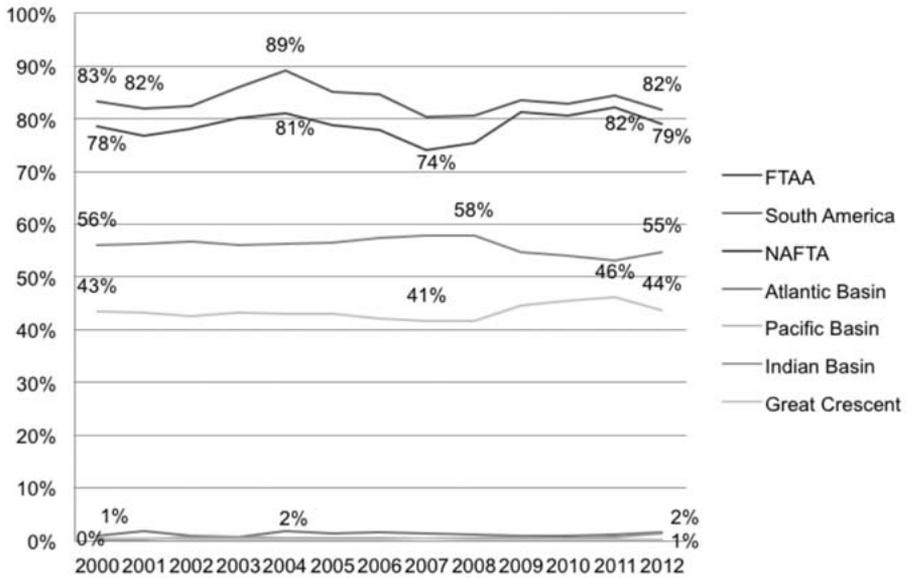
Figure 14 Argentina, Intra-regional Energy Trade, Ocean Basin vs Continental Projections, 2001-2012



Source: UNCOMTRADE 2015, and own elaboration.

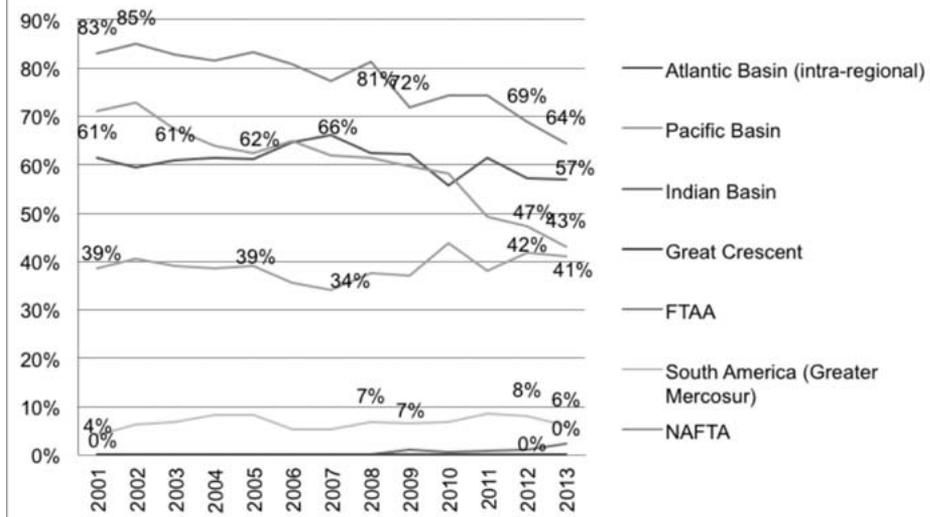
Mexico and Colombia present interesting cases in this regard (see Figures 15 and 16): they are emblematic Latin American ‘dual basin’ countries (a status that is nearly universal in the Americas north of South America). Both countries began the period with the United States – the dual basin country *par excellence* – constituting their single overwhelming energy trading partner. Both also have a relatively evenly distributed energy trade between the Atlantic Basin (Mexico 55%, Colombia 57%) and the Pacific Basin (Mexico 44%, Colombia 41%), although the Atlantic still exerts a stronger gravity upon both. Meanwhile, their intra-regional energy trade, considering all potential continental spaces conceivable (NAFTA, South America or even the entire ‘Western Hemisphere’) is far lower, in general, and/or has been on the decline.

Figure 15 Mexico, Intra-regional Energy Trade, Ocean Basin vs Continental Projections, 2001-2012



Source: UNCOMTRADE 2015, and own elaboration.

Figure 16 Colombia, Intra-regional Energy Trade, Ocean Basin vs Continental Projections, 2001-2013



Source: UNCOMTRADE 2015, and own elaboration.

All of this suggests that horizons for transnational energy cooperation, let alone for any on-going aspirational international energy integration, should be cast like a net across the ocean basin regions of Latin American countries – if not instead of, then at least as new innovative complements to the ‘continental’ horizons already long in place. Four Latin America countries – Mexico and Colombia, along with Brazil and Argentina – are key to any energy cooperation or integration scheme conceived along regional bases, whether ‘continental’ or ‘ocean basin’ based.²² Collectively – or even just via the channelled interaction of their civil society agents – their strategic power is potentially quite large. However, such potential will likely remain misunderstood and unrealised without ‘pan-Atlantic energy cooperation.’ This is consistent with the fact that, across the various sectors of official and civil society agents, these countries have shown the most strategic interest in newly coalescing forms of pan-Atlantic energy cooperation.²³

‘Pan-Atlantic energy cooperation’ – as opposed to the long-standing mechanisms of ‘trans-Atlantic’ energy cooperation (US-EU Energy Council) or ‘Hemispheric’ energy cooperation (e.g., Obama Administration’s US-Latin American energy ‘partnerships’) – would acknowledge the deepening (if shifting) energy linkages across the Atlantic Basin. The east-west links, which criss-cross both north and south, are being facilitated and shaped by the growing strategic importance of the ‘seascape’ and the ‘energy seascape’ in particular. These truly pan-Atlantic energy linkages are now beginning to rival the traditional (and continentally-conceived) north-south global flow circuits long-perceived as dominant in the ‘Western Hemisphere.’

More than coincidentally, this is occurring just as the Atlantic Basin energy renaissance is helping to reverse historic ‘post-World War II, Cold War’ Atlantic dependence upon Great Crescent energy and is now pushing back the net global energy flows eastward. All of this points to a very suggestive but material conclusion: the Atlantic Basin energy space, in general, and ‘energy seascape,’ in particular, is rapidly becoming a key strategic space – representing new forms of risk and opportunity for Latin American countries as well as for their key civil society energy agents – on the newly emerging global flow map, which is increasingly ‘ocean basin based.’

In this regard, intra-Atlantic Basin energy flows constitute between two-thirds and 75% (depending on which version of the Atlantic Basin is being considered) (see Box 1) of all Atlantic Basin global energy flows. These same intra-basin energy flows make up nearly two-thirds (42mbdoe) of total maritime energy transportation on the global seascape (63mbdoe). Total Atlantic Basin global energy flows (including both intra- and extra-Atlantic energy trade) constitute over three-quarters of the total use of the global seascape for the transportation of global energy flows.

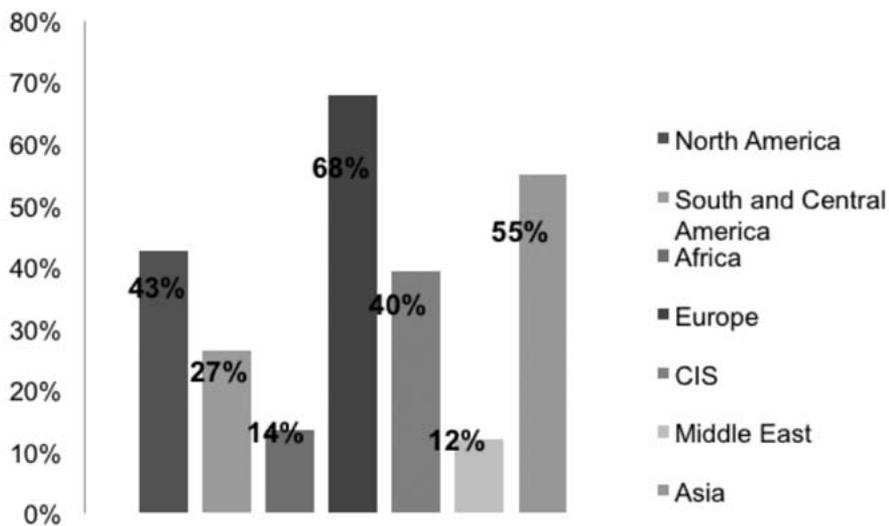
²² The leadership potential of these societies in the realm of transnational energy cooperation is such that it likely explains, at least partly, why civil society agents of all types from these countries have shown the most interest in the recently established Atlantic Energy Forum (see Box 2), and why Mexico has served as host to repeated summits of the Atlantic Energy Forum.

²³ It should be noted that the same potential in broader economic and strategic terms has already been noticed, and acted upon, by the Pacific Latin American countries, within the Pacific Basin. Chile and Peru have joined with dual basin countries Colombia and Mexico, amongst others, in the Pacific Alliance – which looks increasingly to Pacific Basin ventures like APEC and the TTP. Already, there are calls for inter-regional energy cooperation and integration within the Pacific Alliance. See Christian Gomez, **An Energy Agenda for the Pacific Alliance**, Society of the Americas and Council of the Americas, Washington, D.C. 2015.

Atlantic Basin Merchandise Trade in an Ocean Basin World

This section broadens the above analysis: from the Atlantic Basin energy space conceived as, increasingly, *the* regional energy space of global relevance and reference – to the potential reality of the Atlantic Basin as an increasingly important space of strategic relevance in a broader economic sense. The first point worth mention is the currently low level of intra-regional trade (as a percentage of ‘total trade,’ with energy trade a subset) among ‘continental’ groupings, which form the typical aspirational framework of most regional trade agreements (RTAs), particularly in Latin America. Figure 17 presents a comparison of intra-regional trade shares for regions conceived of in sub-continental and continental terms, as per a ‘continental projection’ of the data (see Box 1) from by the World Trade Organisation (provided in these same categories). Central and South American trade (27%) is rivalled in its low percentage of continental intra-regional trade (a de facto ‘ocean basin orientation’) only by Africa (14% of the African total).

Figure 17 *Intra-regional Trade of Principal ‘Continental Regions’*

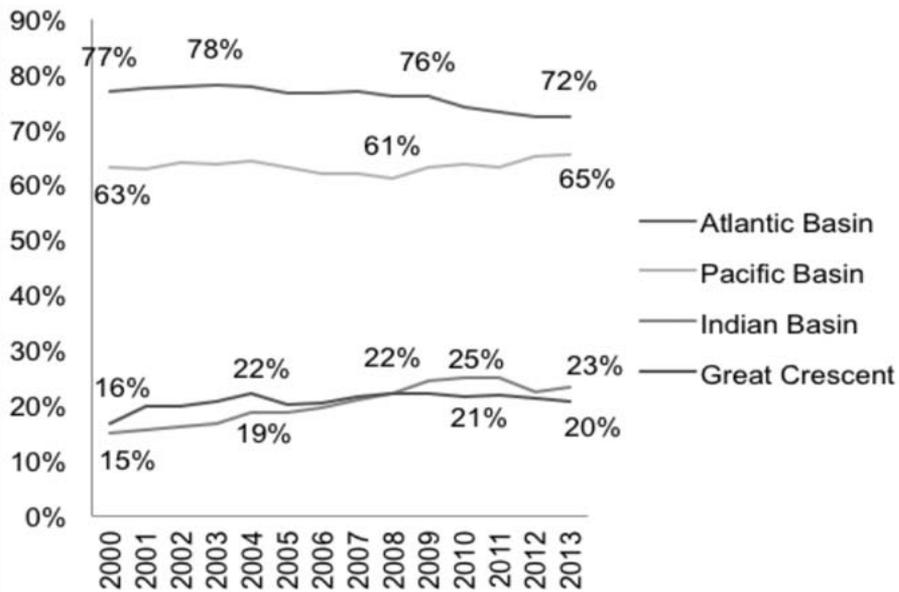


Source: WTO 2013 and own elaboration.

However, as in the narrower case of energy trade, both at the basin and country levels, intra-regional trade is much higher, indeed in general very high – when conceived of as ‘intra-basin’ trade and cast through the new regional frame of the ‘ocean basin projection’ (see Box 1). For the Atlantic Basin as a whole (see Figure 18), the intra-regional share for total merchandise trade comes to 72% in 2013 (down from 77% in 2000). This is nearly double the ‘continental average’ (37%) and still far higher than for Europe itself (68%), the greatest success among all ‘continental integration’ projects. While it is true that the ‘Atlantic Basin’ space – in both geographic and global trade system terms – is larger than Europe, it is also true that the currently high levels of intra-Atlantic Basin

trade have yet to experience the densifying catalyst of regional connectedness that generally comes in the aftermath of successful formal regional cooperation or integration (as in the case of the EU, at least up to a certain recent point in its experience).

Figure 18 *Global Intra-regional Total Merchandise Trade, Ocean Basin Projection, 2000-2013*

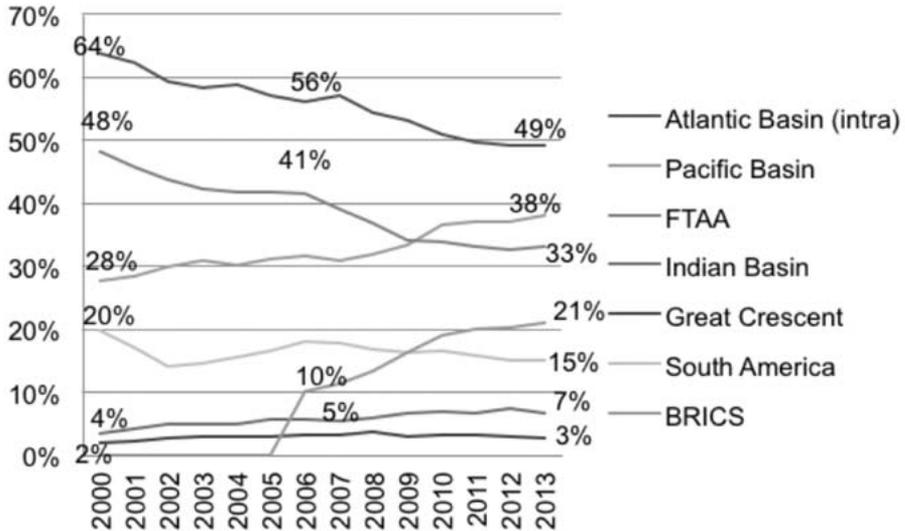


Source: UNCOMTRADE 2015, and own elaboration.

A similar horizon emerges for individual Atlantic Latin American countries (see Figures 19 and 20), including Brazil and Argentina (although, again, as with energy, the same could be said for Pacific Latin American countries with respect to the Pacific Basin). Argentina's Atlantic Basin trade (57%) does not present the same intense Atlantic gravities as in the narrower energy trade field (87%). However, Argentina's Atlantic trade connections remain the strongest of all existing or potential regional gravities of trade connectedness, even despite the strong, one-off gravitational pull of the emergence of Asia into the global economy, and the more direct South-South state diplomacy injected by China in particular, into its trade relations with the countries of the 'Southern Atlantic.' Brazil has been the Latin Atlantic country most significantly affected by the unique one-off China gravities, as its intra-Atlantic trade has suffered a decline during the second decade of the first phase of the 'fin de siècle' epoch of globalisation, falling from 64% in 2000 to 49% by 2013. Nevertheless, Brazil's growth in Atlantic Basin trade continues to make that intra-Atlantic vector its fattest and its fastest growing, in absolute terms.²⁴

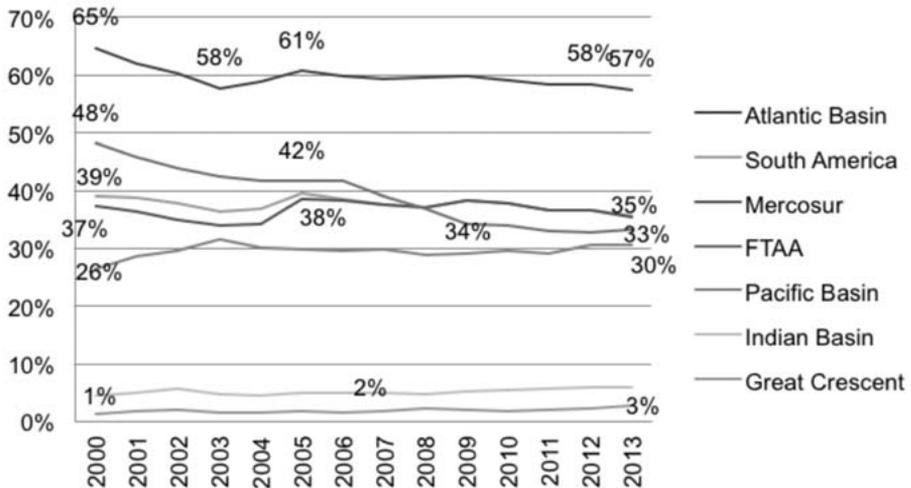
²⁴ For a more complete discussion of the relevant magnitudes of influence exerted by the emergence of Asia in the global

Figure 19 *Brazil, Intra-regional Trade, Ocean Basin vs. Continental Projections, 2000-2013*



Source: UNCOMTRADE 2015, and own elaboration.

Figure 20 *Argentina, Intra-regional Trade, Ocean Basin vs. Continental Projections, 2000-2013*

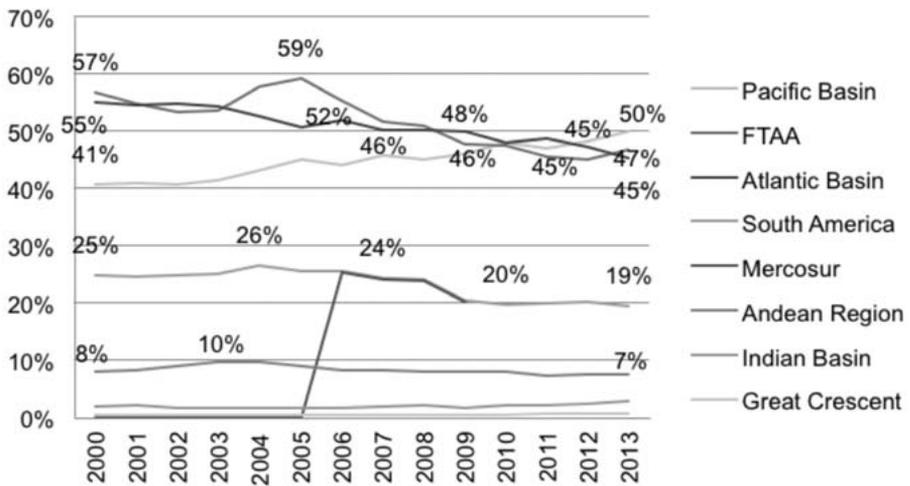


Source: UNCOMTRADE 2015, and own elaboration.

economy on the trade patterns and flows of Brazil and Argentina, and of the Atlantic Basin more broadly (in which the same data is analysed more in depth), see Paul Isbell and Kimberley A. Nolan Garcia, "Regionalism and Inter-regionalism in Latin America: The Beginning or the End of Latin America's 'Continental Integration,'" *Atlantic Future Scientific Paper* 20, Brussels, 2015, pp. 24-26.

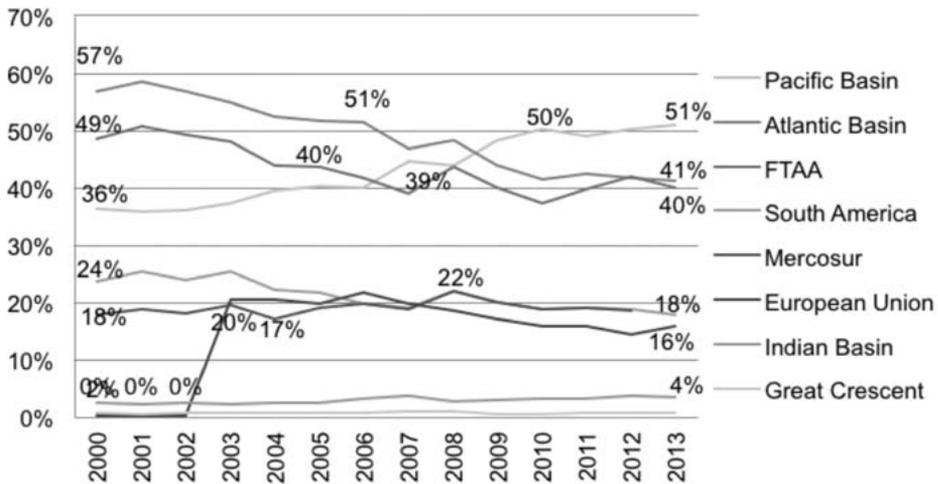
Interestingly enough, not only do the Pacific Latin American countries – like Peru and Chile –register higher intra-regional trade shares (50% and 51%, respectively) within the Pacific Basin than within their traditional ‘sub-continental’ and ‘continental’ trade regions, namely the Andean Community (Peru 7%) and ‘South America’ (Peru 19%, Chile 18%), but their inter-regional trade with the Atlantic Basin (Peru 45%, Chile 41%) nearly matches their intra-Pacific trade. Near-balance in ocean basin trade flows is a trait which these Pacific Latin American countries share (in terms of total merchandise trade) with ‘dual basin’ countries like Mexico and Colombia.

Figure 21 Peru, Intra-regional Trade, Ocean Basin vs. Continental Projections, 2000-2013



Source: UNCOMTRADE 2015, and own elaboration.

Figure 22 *Chile, Intra-regional Trade, Ocean Basin vs. Continental Projections, 2000-2013*



Source: UNCOMTRADE 2015, and own elaboration.

Conclusion

A number of provisional conclusions can be put forward:

1. As regards 'Atlantic Latin American' countries, the case for Atlantic Basin energy cooperation is even stronger than for that of broader Atlantic Basin commercial cooperation – that is, economic, financial and development cooperation – given that the intraregional energy trade of 'Atlantic Latin American' countries such as Argentina (87%), Brazil (84%) and Venezuela (65%) is even higher than their intraregional trade in all merchandise goods (Argentina: 57%, Uruguay: 59%, and Brazil: 49%, respectively).
2. However, the case for such broader Atlantic Basin commercial cooperation is based less on the facts and flows of the map of merchandise trade – a map on which Asia has emerged to provide the gravity of a competitor and where most barriers have already been eliminated through cooperative negotiations – than it is on the stubborn data that reveals that the Atlantic Basin continues to constitute the centre of gravity of the global economy. This is seen through its dominant position in global services, foreign direct investment and other capital flows – the 'invisible' components of the global balance and flow of payments – both in terms of intra- and extra-Atlantic flows.²⁵

²⁵ See Daniel S Hamilton, *Atlantic Rising: Changing Commercial Dynamics in the Atlantic Basin*. Washington DC: Center for Transatlantic Relations, Johns Hopkins University-SAIS. 2015

3. Furthermore, the case for broader pan-basin commercial cooperation in the Atlantic Basin is at least as strong as is the case for Pacific Basin cooperation and integration, following the broad proxy indicator of intraregional trade connectedness. Total intraregional trade within the Pacific Basin for these ‘Pacific Alliance’ countries (Peru 50%, Chile 51%) is lower than the total intraregional trade shares of the Atlantic Latin American countries within the Atlantic Basin (see above). Nevertheless, APEC and the TTP seem to merit the strategic attention of the Pacific Latin American countries in the Pacific Alliance.
4. These conclusions underline a key new trend also identified above: the rising relative strategic significance of the ocean basin seascapes in general (compared to that of the continental landmasses) and of the Atlantic Basin and its energy seascape in particular. New regional gravities have recently been coalescing within and across ocean basins, as opposed to across continental landmasses, presenting the world’s four main ocean basins as the new frontiers for regional cooperation and governance. In the realm of commerce and trade, this new trend can be seen most clearly in the Pacific Basin. Meanwhile, in energy, the Atlantic Basin is now generating the first new ocean-basin based collaborative mechanisms in ‘pan-Atlantic’ energy cooperation. In the future, it is also possible that the Indian Ocean Basin and the Arctic Basin will also develop deeper basin-based cooperative and governance structures around climate change, sea lane security, marine resources and ocean-based environmental services. Such ocean basin regions might serve as more effective building blocks towards – or at least ‘second best’ alternatives to – elusive global governance than have our long-standing land-based and continentally-bound regional systems and imagined realities.

*Box 1***Geopolitical data cartography**

Our approach begins by re-categorising, rearranging and ‘re-projecting’ existing and generally available data. Applying this ‘data cartography’ to the annual volumes of world trade, we have mapped and ‘remapped’ the ‘intra-regional,’ ‘inter-regional’ and other ‘extra-regional’ trade flows (in this particular case, of Latin America countries). To chart these ‘data maps’ we have referred to three different ‘cartographic projections’ of global data over the course of this analysis: (1) the ‘continental’ projection; (2) the ‘Atlantic Basin’ projection (also known as the ‘Atlantic Hemisphere’ projection); and (3) the ‘ocean basin’ projection. Each of these projections (or framings) of a global data set implies a distinct manner of focussing and organising the global map in ‘regional terms.’ Like any cartographic projection of the three-dimensional globe onto the two-dimensional plane of a world map, each of these data projections involves advantages (conveniences), disadvantages (inconveniences) and blind spots (whatever is, or remains, marginalised or obscured as a result of the particular focus) all of which imply trade-offs in revelatory capacity and relevance, depending on the context.

The Continental Projection

The current predominant framing is the continental projection, which organises national and global data in regional terms around categories corresponding to the continental (and sub-continental) landmasses (i.e., North America, Central and South America, Africa, Europe, the Middle East, South Asia, etc.). This is the manner in which most international organisations present most of the world’s open-source public data in regional terms. As a result, most analyses of national, regional and global issues tend to rely on ‘continentally-focussed’ regional data categorisations already received from international institutions. This landmass focus also tends to be evident in the structure, dynamics and aspirations of most of the world’s regional organisations, associations and agreements, which appear to justify and confirm the validity of this land-mass centred continental focus. The intra-regional trade data in Figure 17 have been framed according to such a continental projection.

Furthermore, the recent revolutions in the global energy arena have been defined through the lens of this traditional projection of our mental and data maps. This emphasis on national and global categories – notably when structured solely by economic brackets abstracted from the map or by geographic groupings which marginalise the sea – leads to much of the changing regional or other sub-global dynamics to be lost. The continental projection can reveal neither a complete view of global energy supply and demand (stocks) nor an accurate picture of the evolution of global flows and their actual articulation and evolution across the physical relief map of the real world.

The Atlantic Basin Projection

In response to this existing shortcoming, we have generated two alternative projections. The first, the Atlantic Basin projection (or the ‘Atlantic Hemisphere’ projection), re-cuts the same existing national and global data from the same standard international sources into the following new regional categories, or ‘units of analysis’:

1. The ‘Atlantic Basin’ – which incorporates the four Atlantic continents in their entirety, including Africa, Central and South America (and the Caribbean), North America and Europe;
2. The ‘Great Crescent’ – which groups together the traditional 20th century suppliers of hydrocarbons, including Russia and Central Asia (or the ex-Soviet Union) and the Middle East – a Eurasian region which arcs in a ‘great crescent’ from Southwest Asia all across the northern half of the Asian ‘continent’;
3. The ‘Asia-Pacific’ – already a standard regional categorisation which is comprised of the sub-continental regions of ‘South Asia,’ ‘Southeast Asia’ and ‘East Asia’, together with the islands of the Indian and the Pacific oceans, including Australia and New Zealand.

What the Atlantic Basin projection can reveal (and the continental projection cannot) is the totality of the ‘Atlantic energy renaissance,’ as opposed to just one of its component dynamics (such as the Brazilian pre-salt, the African energy boom, or the recent setbacks of renewable energy in Europe, or the shale revolution in the US). The Atlantic Basin projection also reveals that the ‘global centre of gravity for energy supply’ is shifting into the Atlantic Basin and that the centre of gravity of the ‘global energy seascape’ is also beginning to overlay with the ‘Atlantic energy seascape.’ This projection also begins to reveal the logic and potentials of pan-Atlantic energy cooperation. More than anything, the Atlantic Basin projection reveals a fresh new view of relative global stocks. The graphic data in the section on the Atlantic Energy Renaissance (see Figures 1 through 11) are presented using an Atlantic Basin projection. Such fully and uniquely Atlantic trends and potentials simply cannot be identified clearly enough while relying only on the predominant ‘continental’ framing of our currently predominant maps (real and mental).

Yet the Atlantic Basin projection itself remains ‘land-based’, and only rearranges the groupings of the continents, generating only a partial transformation of our mental and data maps. Although this projection groups together the four Atlantic continents around the Atlantic Ocean into a maritime region, it then divides the rest of the world into the two contiguous landmasses of Asia-Pacific and the Great Crescent. This creates a kind of ‘hybrid’ (land-based/ocean-based) projection that does begin to reveal ‘Atlantic Basin’ flows (as opposed to purely ‘bi-lateral’ inter-continental flows), but it cannot reveal the totality of global flows (including their deepening regional densities).

The Ocean Basin Projection

The third projection is called the ‘ocean basin projection.’ This is the regional data framing applied in Figures 12 to 16 (in the section on ‘pan-Atlantic energy cooperation’) and Figures 18 to 22 (in the section on total merchandise trade).

Rather than start with the continental landmasses as the point of departure (and as the defining units of analysis), an ‘ocean basin projection’ focuses first on the oceans –and only then proceeds to incorporate the ‘maritime rimlands’ of the surrounding continents. As a result, the ocean basin projection casts the global data into three major ocean basin regions and a residual land-based region: (1) the Atlantic Basin; (2) the Pacific Basin; (3) the Indian Basin and (4) the Great Crescent.²⁶

To produce an ocean basin projection of the global geo-economic flow map implies a much larger data and methodological challenge than does the ‘Atlantic Basin projection.’ Above all, it requires a deeper ‘re-cutting’ of the current data to account for a number of geographical realities of the world’s ocean basins. Because the world’s continental ‘rim lands’ collectively surround the world’s oceans, continental data categories need to be split between the ocean basins on their shores. In most cases, this merely involves breaking down the continental aggregation of nationally reported data and then re-arranging the national data into new aggregate ‘ocean basin’ regions. However, this analytical need to ‘split the continents’ does raise the question of how to meaningfully reflect and properly account for the stocks and flows of the ‘land-locked’ (i.e. those with no coastline) and ‘dual basin countries’ (i.e. those with coastlines on more than one ocean basin, like the US, South Africa or Indonesia).

Flow data for a dual basin country in the ocean basin projection is typically split evenly, with each half being identified with one of the country’s two basin possibilities. However, in cases where the trade between a dual basin country and another partner (e.g. the US and Nigeria) is clearly all ‘intra-basin,’ then this entire trade flow vector is accounted for as inter-regional trade within the Atlantic Basin (even though the US is a dual basin country). On the other hand, trade flows which could be reaching a dual basin country via either of its ocean basins (i.e. US-India bilateral flows) are split evenly, with half being accounted for as trade between the Indian Basin and the Atlantic Basin, and the other half as trade between the Indian Basin and the Pacific Basin.

Finally, most land-locked countries are also treated in the same way as dual basin countries. For example, Botswana’s flows are split between the Atlantic and the Indian basins. However, in certain cases, geographic constraints and facilitators (i.e. the barriers implied by mountains and the links provided by rivers) provide a reasonable case to include a land-locked country’s flows exclusively within one basin (as in the case of

²⁶ The Arctic Basin is one of the inevitable ‘blind spots’ of this version of the ocean basin projection. However, we have only ignored the Arctic Basin because of very limiting data and methodological constraints. In particular, to build our regional mapping model of global flows to include the Arctic as the ‘fourth basin’ would require a category for ‘tri-basin countries,’ and much more complex structures and coding within the model. Given these short-term limitations, together with the fact that the Arctic has not yet truly opened to global flows, it has been sacrificed in this initial version of the projection.

Paraguay and the Atlantic). In order to affect this re-cutting of ‘dual basin’ and land-locked countries (and their trade flow ‘splits), and then to aggregate country trade flows into our new ‘ocean basin regions, we have created an Alternative Regional Mapping Model (ARM) capable of re-mapping the complete annual sets of global national bilateral trade flow data.²⁷

Much as a new ‘cartographic projection’ of the world map takes the same ‘data’ used in previous projections of the map (i.e. the geographical and positional ‘facts’ of the planet), but then reveals a new world by altering the formulas of its framing and focus, this new ‘ocean basin projection’ reveals a fresh vision of the strategic horizon, spotlighting strategic trends – like the Atlantic energy renaissance or the coalescence of ocean basin regions, which cannot be readily identified on the currently predominant and land-dominated versions of our global geopolitical and energy maps simply because their focus and framing do not allow for it.

While the ‘Atlantic Basin projection’ reveals the potentials of ocean basin regional cooperation in the Atlantic Basin, an ‘ocean basin projection’ reveals the potentials (or lack thereof) for ocean basin-based regional cooperation in the other basin regions, as well. This ‘ocean basin projection’ of the data onto the global trade map allows for a maritime-centred conception of regionalism that now is beginning to parallel the actual pattern of globalisation that has been unfolding for the last 30 years through the material expressions of ocean basin-based regional cooperation. To date, such ocean basin cooperation has revolved around trade in the Pacific Basin (as in APEC and TTP), energy in the Atlantic Basin (as in the Atlantic Energy Forum of the Atlantic Basin Initiative), security (in its multi-faceted expressions) through the Indian Ocean Rim Community (IORC) in the Indian Ocean Basin, and ecological and maritime security in the Arctic (as in the agenda of the Arctic Council).

²⁷ A description of the ARM model, including an explanation of the dual basin and land-locked adjustments, along with a list identifying each country in the world by basin region – can be found in the Annex to Paul Isbell and Kimberley A. Nolan Garcia, “Regionalism and Inter-regionalism in Latin America: The Beginning or the End of Latin America’s ‘Continental Integration’,” Atlantic Future Scientific Paper 20, Brussels, 2015.

Box 2

The high levels of intra-regional energy trade within the Atlantic Basin (visible through both the Atlantic Hemisphere and ocean basin projections) are now paralleled for the first time in the material reality of pan-Atlantic energy cooperation. In January 2014, the Atlantic Basin Initiative (a public-private civil society platform for cooperation and action led by some 50 former presidents and ministers from across the Atlantic space, along with dozens of CEOs, private firms, and strategic thinkers and strategists) met in Veracruz, Mexico to create the Atlantic Energy Forum (AEF). The inaugural meeting of the AEF took place in Cancun, in the state of Quintana Roo (Mexico) in November of 2014.

The AEF is a new form of ocean basin-based transnational energy cooperation which seeks to harness the potentials – and to face the challenges – of the Atlantic energy renaissance now articulating itself through the coalescence of a new ‘pan-Atlantic’ energy system. The AEF provides the private energy sectors of the Atlantic Basin, along with other agents from civil society, the regular opportunity to collectively review and analyse recent trends affecting the Atlantic energy space, along with projections for the future. The Forum creates a platform for cross-sector industry interaction, in a space in which most Atlantic energy companies find the majority of their global markets, and the most promising alliances for coordinating and influencing the newly developing energy supply chains in the Atlantic, particularly in gas, unconventional and offshore.

The AEF also channels civil-society driven pan-Atlantic transnational cooperation on energy policy and regulation, generating a propitious strategic space for large-scale discussions between segments of the Atlantic energy system, which at the global level are usually considered to be at odds (i.e. the fossil and renewable sectors, IOCs and NOCs, net importers and net exporters, etc.). Finally, the AEF is both ‘pan-Atlantic’ and ‘pan-ideological’ in its membership and agenda, as well as ‘pan-energy’ in the horizon of its concerns. The AEF is also civil-society driven, and does not necessarily seek (at least not in the short term) the typical regional integration schemes organised around state leadership and participation (although it does actively engage sub-national regional states and cities).

The Atlantic Energy Forum’s second annual meeting will take place November 5-6, 2015 in Mexico City, D.F.

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Reflections on the values of the International System of the 21st Century, and Brazil

Eduardo Viola

Democracy, Authoritarianism and Disorder

There are three major types of value systems – and consequent subsystems – present in the international arena of the second decade of the 21st century. These are: the democratic order, the authoritarian order, and disorder. Obviously this is a heuristic classification of ideal types, whereas concrete reality in fact consists of a wide range of differentiated and heterogeneous situations.

In the democratic order, the predominant values are: political pluralism, market economy, free enterprise, the division of powers, institutions with defined and differentiated missions, full freedom of expression, and political party organisation. At the core of the democratic order is Western civilisation, consisting of the United States, Canada, the European Union, Australia and New Zealand. In this article, the West (as it is today) is understood to be a type of civilisation that combines the following components:

1. a market economy system with state regulation that partially incorporates the dimension of environmental sustainability and transition to a low carbon economy;
2. a society based on the principle of the rule of law, equality of all individuals before the law;

3. a society with substantive equality of opportunity, by way of universal and free access to quality education, but also comprising an understanding of individual in which specific qualities and different interests can be taken into account in harmony with those of the community;
4. a political regime based on representative democracy and accountability; a low level of corruption, violence and crime;
5. a culture that values science and humanism as central tenets;
6. and a foreign policy geared towards global governance in matters of economy, security, human rights, climate change and the environment.

The Nordic countries, Germany, the United Kingdom, France, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, Austria, Canada, Australia and New Zealand form the main core of Western civilisation, because in these countries the positive characteristics of the 21st Century West are better developed. It is important to emphasise that this definition of main core of Western civilisation is based on values not on economic/political and military capacity, for which the main core would be the United States. Canada and Australia, while forming part of the core here considered, lag behind in relation to the value which impels a transition to a low carbon economy.

In a secondary position within the core of Western civilisation are the rest of Europe and United States. Western values in both the South and East of the European Union are less developed due to the more recent consolidation of democratic regimes, market economies, and an increase in corruption. The United States already has limitations in various spheres: an increasingly dysfunctional democracy; a radicalised view of individualism which conflicts with collective interests; along with a significant part of its society valuing religion over science and denying scientific evidence regarding both evolution and climate change. In addition, its foreign policy is not directed towards building global governance, particularly when it comes to the Republican Party.

Outside the Western core, democratic order is made up of countries that have made a slower, partial and/or recent transition to democratic rule: e.g. Japan, India, Latin American and Caribbean nations (excepting Cuba and Venezuela), Turkey, Israel, South Korea, the Philippines, Indonesia, Taiwan, Singapore, South Africa, and Nigeria.

The authoritarian order is very heterogeneous, going from the extreme of totalitarian regimes on the one hand (North Korea, Saudi Arabia), passing by authoritarian regimes in the strict sense (China, Russia, Vietnam, United Arab Emirates), to hybrid regimes (Venezuela, Egypt) on the other. In this article authoritarian societies are understood to have the following features:

1. there are no elections, or there are elections with significant limitations on political party organisation and competitiveness;
2. the justice system is not independent from the executive branch;
3. individual guarantees are viewed by the state as limited or non-existent;

4. there is strong state intervention in the economy, and a strong overlap of interests between many businesses and government officials;
5. religion or ideological dogmas are important in the organisation of society;
6. and, the levels of corruption tend to be high due to a lack of accountability.

The authoritarian order has two main power centres – China and Russia – which partially share their state of conflict with the democratic order, and compete in part for influence over the rest of the authoritarian countries. A strong difference between the two is that China is an economic and demographic superpower that is emerging in a rapid and extraordinary manner, whereas Russia is a nuclear superpower in gradual decline.

The subsystem of disorder consists of countries where the state does not hold a monopoly on violence: they can be countries in generalised civil war (Syria, Congo, Yemen, Somalia); or countries with failed and fragmented states due to ethnic, cultural, religious or linguistic divisions (Libya, Iraq, Palestine, Afghanistan). Subsystems of disorder also exist in regions of countries where there are democratic or authoritarian regimes: e.g. Sinai in Egypt, Eastern Ukraine, autonomous regions of Pakistan, areas controlled by the FARC in Colombia, regions controlled by radical Islam in Nigeria and Iraq, municipalities controlled by drug trafficking in Honduras, Guatemala and Mexico.

Democratic Values in Brazil and the World

Brazil has been part of the democratic order since 1985. Since the 1990s the notion of democratic values in Brazil has been deepening: the market economy prevailed over state interventionist policies, the concept of environmental sustainability gained strength among the elites and the population, democracy consolidated itself as a political regime, albeit of low quality and with high levels of corruption; the principle of equality before the law advanced partially – although slowly, due to judicial procedures that allow infinite appeals to higher courts for those who can pay good lawyers; and even the prestige of science advanced in society.

- › In other aspects, however, the country is stagnant. There is no real equality of opportunity, due to the precariousness of the preschool, primary, and secondary level public education system. As a result, a majority of the population remains effectively illiterate or poorly educated. Crime has increased extraordinarily in many Brazilian cities (except São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, where the level of crime remains high, although stable).
- › Foreign policy remains ambiguous as regards furthering global governance: Brazil retains a strong rhetoric of sovereignty; it upholds the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other countries, even in many situations of extreme violation of human rights. Brazil also argues that it be treated as one of the big players on the international stage, viewing itself a form of representative and/or leader of developing countries.
- › During the period ranging from 1994-2006 there was continuous and cumulative progress of the market economy in Brazil: a toppling of inflation; reestablishment

of the national currency; setting of inflation targets; an autonomous central bank; fiscal discipline; a floating currency; and the creation of regulatory agencies. The Brazilian economy suffered a setback since 2007: subsidised loans from the Brazilian Development Bank (BNDES) were made available to large businessmen, who were the financiers of the political class; subsidies to fossil fuels were reinstated and changes were made to the oil exploration policy. These setbacks deepened during the first government of Dilma Rousseff with the erosion in credibility of the inflation targets system, the partial loss of central bank independence, and the manipulation of public accounts in order to mask the deterioration of the fiscal situation.

In 2003 a corruption system began, based on three pillars, involving three key players:

1. High Executives of State-owned businesses (particularly Petrobras, Eletrobras and Banco do Brasil);
2. A cartel formed by major contractors in the country;
3. Political parties of the governing coalition (particularly Workers Party PT, Party of the Brazilian Democratic Movement PMDB and Popular Party PP).

This system (now popularly known as ‘Mensalão’, meaning Big Bribes to Parliamentarians; ‘Petrolão’, referring to the Petrobras Corruption Scandal; and ‘Eletrolão’, regarding Eletrobras’ Corruption Scandal,) resulted in significant losses for Petrobras and Eletrobras, Brazil’s oil and electricity giants, respectively, with extraordinary gains for large contractors and massive funding garnered by political parties of the governing coalition.

In 2012 the Supreme Court held the “Mensalão” trial, with strong sentences dealt to some entrepreneurs and public administrators, but light sentences given to politicians. In August 2013, following a wave of political street demonstrations in June, the government and congress quickly passed a new anti-corruption law that strengthened the public powers’ ability to crackdown on corruption, including provisions especially related to reduced jail sentences for whistle blowers. The new law greatly empowered the judiciary, which in 2014, opened investigations into corruption at Petrobras. The investigations were successful; businessmen and powerful politicians detained, but who revealed what they knew, received reduced jail sentences. By mid-2015 the transformation of values in Brazilian society as a result of the investigations and convictions on charges of corruption appeared to have been profound. The cost to corrupt and be corrupted increased greatly, and the possibility of an act of corruption going by unpunished dramatically decreased. Finally the law was equal for all, including the very powerful. If this transformation of values regarding intolerance to corruption consolidates itself, it will have a strong influence on the quality of democracy in Brazil, which will then increasingly approach that of the Western core.

When one turns to examine Brazil’s relations with the West as a political bloc, however, – the centre of which is the American / European alliance – the situation becomes

far more complex. Brazilian society's perceptions and attitudes to the West as a political bloc – counting both the views of the elites and society in general – can be classified into four groups: the first two, globalists and the last two, non-globalists. These are: Pro-Western Radicals, Pro-Western Moderates, Independent Sovereignists and Anti-Western Sovereignists.

Pro-Western Radicals advocate that Brazil should pursue a foreign policy based upon a strong alignment with the United States and Western Europe, admiring, in general, the American capitalist model. In the event of disagreements among allies, they tend to defend American positions. They form a small minority of the elites and of Brazilian society at large, although with greater representation in some sectors of the economy, such as finance. At a party political level they are represented partially in sectors of the Party of the Brazilian Social-democracy PSDB and Democratic Party DEM, and since March 2015 they have also acquired significant importance in non-partisan movements in favour of the impeachment of President Dilma Rousseff.

Pro-Western Moderates consider Brazil to be an integral part of Western civilisation due to its history, culture, the principles of its Constitution and legal system. Most prefer the model of European capitalism and its welfare state structure over the more individualistic American model. Pro-Western Moderates defend a foreign policy which includes the promotion of human rights and a pattern of (flexible) alignment with democracies. They are critical of US unilateral foreign policies, preferring any intervention in the internal affairs of other countries to be done via the UN Security Council; however, they recognise that sometimes this can be impossible due to the positions of China and Russia. They consider that Brazil should have a role in promoting democracy within the Americas, in cooperation with Mexico, Colombia, Chile, Uruguay, the US and Canada. They value the Organisation of American States' (OAS) mission and are critical of Cuban communism and Chavez's Bolivarian style regime.

In 2015, Pro-Western Moderates represented more than half of Brazilian society, forming a majority of the economic, political, cultural, administrative and military elites. The foreign policy of Fernando Henrique Cardoso's government (1995-2002) corresponded in general to this vision. Pro-Western Moderates have gained some importance in the second government of Dilma Rousseff (2015-). Their achievements include: the rapid negotiation by finance minister Joaquim Levy of an agreement with the OECD to facilitate the entry of Brazil into the organisation (May 2015); the agreements signed during the visit of President Rousseff to the US (June 2015); the favourable signs given by Minister Levy to Brazil's entering into (independent of Mercosur) a Free Trade Agreement with the European Union; the signs given by Minister Levy to the opening of negotiations for various other bilateral and multilateral free trade agreements, equally independent of Mercosur; and a certain distancing from the Maduro regime in Venezuela. At the party political level, the Pro-Western Moderates are represented by majority sectors in the PSDB, DEM, PMDB, Brazilian Socialist Party (PSB), Popular Socialist Party (PPS), Green Party (PV) and the Sustainability Network (Rede).

Independent Sovereignists are favourable to an economic model with strong participation of the state and consider that Brazil's foreign policy should be distanced from the West, in particular the US. They see Brazil as part of a Global South and consider it necessary to limit the excessive power that the West has in the world. To this end, they seek to promote increased interdependence of Brazil with other major societies of the Global South (particularly China, India, Turkey, Indonesia and South Africa) and Russia, and are in favour of loose alliances – such as the BRICS, G77 and BASIC – to counter Western power. The Independents view is that Brazil should lead South America, and limit US power and Mexican influence. The Independents are strongly Sovereignists, they are against the international promotion of human rights and democracy, and support Bolivarian style regimes and Cuban communism.

In 2015, Independent Sovereignists represented approximately one third of society, comprising an important part of the diplomatic and political elites and a minority of the economic elites. The foreign policy of the governments of Lula (2003-2010) and Dilma Rousseff (2011-2014) was influenced by the Independents, whose major actions were: opposition, since 2003, to the signing of the Free Trade Area of the Americas agreement (FTAA), culminating in the collapse of negotiations in 2005; leadership in forming a coalition of developing countries (the trade G20) against developed countries in the WTO Doha Round negotiations, even though Brazil's interests were very different from those of China and India on account of having one of the most competitive agribusinesses in the world; support for the Ahmadinejad regime in Iran when he won the June 2009 elections, which were considered fraudulent by the rest of the democratic world; negotiations (with Turkey) which resulted in strong concessions in favour of Iran's nuclear agreement in May 2010, that were immediately rejected by the UN Security Council; continued support for the Chaves regime in Venezuela and the Castro regime in Cuba; refusal to sign the Additional Protocol to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty; leadership in the suspension of Paraguay from Mercosur in June 2012 and the subsequent entry of Venezuela; and tolerant attitudes towards extreme human rights violations by Gadhafi in Libya (2011) and Assad in Syria (2011 to the present day). At a party political level, the Independent Sovereignists are represented by majority sectors of the PT and Democratic Labour Party PDT, and minority sectors of the PSB, PV and the Sustainability Network.

The Anti-Western Sovereignists are favourable to state capitalism and to imposing limitations on press freedom; they consider that Brazilian media are contrary to the interests of the nation and subservient to the West. This group believes that Brazil's interests are in strong opposition to the interest of the West, and advocate a Brazilian foreign policy of alliance with Anti-Western powers, particularly with Venezuela, Cuba, China and Russia. The Anti-Western view is that Brazil should lead South America in opposition to the US and Europe. They strongly support Cuban communism and Bolivarian style regimes. The Anti-Western Sovereignists form a small minority among the elites and within society, although they managed to exert some small influence on foreign policy during the period of 2003-2010. At a party political level, the Anti-Western Sovereignists are represented by the Communist Party of Brazil (PC do B), Party of Socialism and Freedom (PSOL), Socialist Party of Unified Workers (PSTU), and by minority sectors of the PT party.

Brazil's progress towards a developed society depends on the growth in power and legitimacy of the Pro-Western Moderates; this group must reach a level enabling them to play a decisive role in the definition of both internal and foreign policy. Should such a situation manifest itself, Brazil would become a country that could make a very valuable contribution to global governance in all aspects. This could happen in the near future due to extremely poor governance under the Workers' Party (PT) since 2011, which has led, in 2015, to dramatically low approval ratings for the President and her party. Should such a shift occur, it would entail a significant change of the coalition in power and of foreign policy. However, a deep change in the government coalition only could happen following the next general elections of 2018 (for President and Congress). For this reason the next three years will likely be a continuity of the deep economic and political crisis started at the end of 2014.



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Our Daily Bread: Brazil and the European Union in the Struggle for Food Security

Paulo Afonso Velasco Jr.

Julia Lorêdo Pereira Leite

Brazil and Development

Development is a subject of particular interest for Brazil, and it has been incorporated as a perennial priority in its domestic and foreign policies. Brazilian diplomacy has been constantly engaged in the pursuit of national development since the country became a Republic, in 1889, prioritising, above all, bilateral agreements so as to leverage economic development, and also seeking multilateral solutions to palliate afflictions linked to underdevelopment.

It was against this backdrop that Itamaraty (the Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Affairs) included development as the principal objective in many of its international efforts. Especially since the 1930s, already in a domestic context of political and economic transformation, Brazil applied for increased international support of its development by negotiating bilateral agreements with the United States and European countries. In the following decades, the UN was used as a natural arena by Brazil – and other cooperating countries from the so-called Third World – to petition for concessions and advantages. Especially noteworthy were the actions of the Group of 77 (G77), the pressure applied within the UNCTAD (United Nations Conference on Trade and Development) and within the UN General Assembly.

Brazil's inclusion on the generalised scheme of preferences lists, and the fact that it is a beneficiary of technical and financial cooperation from developed countries, are natural outcomes of the country's approach to petitioning. However, over the years, the country has "graduated", being thus no longer eligible for its place and benefits on the lists; it was even excluded from the European Union's Generalised Scheme of Preferences list (GSP) in 2014.

Efforts towards international development cooperation, especially in health and combating hunger, have become a striking feature of Brazilian diplomacy in recent years. This is made possible due to Brazil's improved international standing and its willingness to take on increasing responsibilities for issues on the international agenda.

In Brazil's view of things, social development goes beyond economic growth and improved trade flows. It involves health, justice, food, education and housing. This conception of social development has, to a certain extent, spilled over into the international arena; as such, ex-Minister of Foreign Relations Celso Amorim's definition of the Brazilian government's policy of *non-indifference* can be employed as a counterpart to the idea of non-intervention. Non-indifference to inequalities and injustices in the modern world makes Brazil an active and cooperative country both domestically and abroad, in the case of countries that are in need of aid. According to Kofi Annan and Amartya Sen, freedom and development only exist when everyone, regardless of race, nationality or belief, is not deprived of their liberty. Embracing this idea, the Brazilian state considers that the international community has a duty to do everything in its power to promote the development of all peoples.

Development and Security: A Necessary Relationship for Brazil

Brazil further understands development as a path to the promotion and maintenance of peace and stability. In fact, the country's engagement in multilateral activities furthering security typically combines initiatives for the promotion of development as well as the alleviation of hunger and poverty. Its participation in the United Nations Stabilisation Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH) has been emblematic in this regard. Exercising military command of the mission from the outset¹, Brazil has managed to combine the actions of its troops with a range of collaborative projects towards the development of the Caribbean country, both on a bilateral basis and through triangular cooperation mechanisms.

Alongside peacebuilding activities, such as the disarmament of rival factions in the conflict-ridden areas of Port-au-Prince, incentives were provided for the development of economic activities to alleviate poverty. This work included the production of bio-fuel, as well as infrastructure projects, such as the building of boreholes and repairing of roads and bridges.

Haiti also received resources from the IBSA Fund so as to combat hunger and poverty, and was equally the focus of some of the triangular cooperation agreements spearheaded by Brazil. One example of these agreements is the joint project with Germany

¹ MINUSTAH was established by resolution 1542 of the Security Council in April 2004.

in the area of food security, dedicated to the transfer of technology, products and services in order to reduce food shortages and increase the sustainability of local chains of food production.

The European Union and the Commitment to Development Cooperation

The European Union has a long tradition of actions in favour of development. Historic initiatives include the preferential mechanisms established in favour of the African, Caribbean and Pacific Group of States (ACP)² and the Generalised Scheme of Preferences (GSP) established in the 1970s. This development cooperation was seen as a moral obligation on the part of the former colonial powers due to years of exploitation of colonial territories. Equally worthy of mention are the large sums of money mobilised for the purpose of official development assistance (ODA) and loans offered by the European Investment Bank.

In the last two decades, supranational issues – such as concerns regarding international migration, drug trafficking, epidemics such as HIV/AIDS and more recently Ebola, in addition to terrorism – have impelled developed countries to increase their interest in international development cooperation (DEGNBOL-Martinussen; Engberg-Pedersen, 2003). The security of States has come to depend on matters related to development; it has become apparent to rich countries that improving the conditions of the poorest would lead to medium and long term benefits for all. Thus, cooperation is not only undertaken for altruistic motives, but benefits both sides (Axworthy, 2001).

Europe's activities in this domain are compatible with the multilateral efforts of the United Nations towards promoting development. Some policies worth highlighting are the UN actions in favour of social development³ and the launch and promotion of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), agreed upon at the Millennium Summit in New York, in the year 2000.

In recent years, the European Union's collaboration on initiatives for promoting food security, especially in partnership with the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations (FAO) has been particularly emblematic of the EU's attempts towards international social development. Despite the progress made in recent decades, the last UN hunger report (State of Food Insecurity in the World-SOFI) estimates that there are still some 800 million people worldwide suffering from hunger. Moreover, an even greater number remain without access to healthy food. In recent years, there has even been an increasing number of food crises caused by conflict, natural disasters, increasing climate change or volatility of food prices.

According to the World Bank report (2007, p. 3), nutrition is the greatest challenge facing developing countries as regards meeting the MDGs launched in 2000.

² The ACP mechanism has been consolidated through several treaties such as Yaoundé (1963), Lomé (1975) and Cotonou (2000).

³ Of note is the UN Conference on Social Development held in Copenhagen in 1995

Human Security and Food Security

Amartya Sen (1999) describes development as a process of expanding the real freedoms enjoyed by individuals. Focussed on human freedom, he sees development as something beyond indicators such as GDP and level of industrialisation. Social opportunities, political and civil rights, transparency and security also play a part when calculating human freedom. As such, these considerations must also enter into development calculations. Development requires the removal of that which curtails freedom, which, according to Sen, is poverty and tyranny.

Sen continues by further pointing out that, at times, the lack of substantive freedoms relates directly to material poverty. He lists emblematic examples of these curtailed freedoms such as hunger, lack of health and education infrastructure. Education, health, civil liberties and political rights would, as per this theory, be constituent parts – and not just drivers – of development (Sen, 1999, p.5).

Since the end of the Cold War, concerns relating to individuals have become essential in the study of international relations, given that States, as central and unitary actors, cannot account for all the problems faced by humanity. Thus, the concept of human security was highlighted for the first time by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in 1994.

According to the UNDP, it is necessary to be concerned about the individuals who seek security in their daily lives:

“For most people, a feeling of insecurity arises more from worries about daily life than the dread of a cataclysmic world event. Will they and their families have enough to eat? Will they lose their jobs? Will their streets and neighbourhoods be safe from crime? Will they be tortured by a repressive state? Will they become a victim of violence because of their gender? Will their religion or ethnic origin target them for persecution? In the final analysis, human security is a child who did not die, a disease that does not spread, the job that was not cut, ethnic tension that did not explode into violence, a dissident who was not silenced. Human security is not a concern about weapons – it is a concern for human and dignified life.” (UNDP, 1994, p. 229)

The UNDP lists four attributes regarding the concept of human security: (1) universal concern (threats common to all); (2) interdependent components (knowing no borders); (3) preventive interventions with better results; and (4) focus on individuals.

The UNDP’s definition also represents a shift from the traditional view of security. It seeks to ensure it not through arms, but rather through sustainable human development in seven areas: economic security, food security, medical security, environmental security, personal security, community security and political security (UNDP, 1994).

In 2003, the Commission on Human Security, chaired by Sadako Ogata and Amartya Sen submitted a report to the UN calling for a new security framework focussed on

individuals. The report argues that security is an interconnected concept, comprising many factors, such as the current global flows of goods, services, finance, and people (COMMISSION ON HUMAN SECURITY, 2003).

Close to the UNDP's definition, Roland Paris (2011) makes a distinction between the different niches of human security: economic security, food security, environmental security, health security, personal security, community security and political security. These areas addressed together would guarantee a reality in which individuals have security, freedom and dignity, and equal opportunity to achieve their full human potential.

The most frequent criticism of this concept stems from its scope as it encompasses everything without prioritising one aspect or other of security, and seems difficult to put into practice (PARIS, 2011). However, as noted by Smith (2005), this is not a valid criticism and is often used by those who have an interest in keeping the concept of security restricted to issues related to military power alone.

Former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan's own personal interest, coupled with the rise of new agendas in the 1990s⁴, made the expansion of security into human security possible. However, until now, no real consensus as to what would constitute the focus of these studies has been reached, apart from the fact that the individual is its central object. There are still considerable methodological and conceptual misunderstandings about the real meaning of human security (Hampson, 2008).

The first concept of human security was based on the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. As well as based on the obligation of the international community to protect and promote those rights (Hampson, 2008). The second concept was humanitarian: concerning the efforts to combat genocide, war crimes and weapons used against civilians and non-combatants. Here, however, a broader definition of human security is used, which includes, amongst others, economic, social and environmental concerns inasmuch as they affect the well-being of individuals.

The goal of human security, according to Alkire (2002), is to safeguard human life from invasive threats without impeding long-term prosperity. Literature on human security advocates that order and security should not be based on considerations pertaining to sovereignty and states alone. On the contrary, the individual is at the centre of analysis, and the security of the individual is seen as the key to global security⁵ (Hampson, 2008, p. 234).

A threat to international security would be any event or process that leads to numerous deaths or to a reduction in life chances, and/or that undermines the State as the primary unit of the international system. Such threats include, but are not limited to, poverty, epidemics and environmental degradation (UNGA, 2004).

⁴ Such as the rights of women and children, refugees; including rights against racial discrimination, among others.

⁵ Globalisation contributes to the focus of the studies, as expanding trade and economic networks also increases inequalities between the richest and the poorest (Hampson, 2008, p. 235).

Caroline Thomas goes as far to say that “poverty and insecurity are in many ways synonymous,” as they refer to a human condition characterised by the absence of fundamental rights such as adequate food, health, housing and education, with the expectation that this situation will continue as is. The importance of the fight against poverty to human security is confirmed by the fact that the number of deaths caused by poverty is higher than the number resulting from armed conflicts (Thomas, 2008).

Putting the individual at the heart of the concept of security means States and institutions need to prioritise the protection of the individual via measures such as ensuring food security. At least as long as there is a general risk of food insecurity in the world. This necessity can be seen in the MDGs, which sets the goal of a 50% reduction in poverty and hunger by 2015 (Thomas, 2008).

Traditionally, the concept of security was considered as belonging to the realm of high politics, while issues related to development such as health, food and education, were of low politics. Social crises began to be seen as potential security issues when epidemics, hunger, migration, mass unemployment and xenophobic ideologies came to represent a threat to regional and global stability. However, traditional security methods were not enough to end world poverty, which is the cause of many of these crises (WILKIN, 2002).

The origin of the concept of food security is debated by several authors, such as Renato Maluf and Francisco Menezes (2000); an accurate conclusion as to how and when the concept arose, however, has not been reached. In 1974, the first World Food Conference on food security was organised by the FAO, in which this issue was presented via the necessity for countries to become self-reliant in food production (mainly agricultural).

In 1974, the concept of food security was used as a concern for geopolitical instability; the solution was food self-sufficiency. Already in the 1980s, Amartya Sen suggested that the problem of hunger was not related to food production in itself, but to a problem in access. However, it was not until the 1990s that “access”, “nutritious food” and “preferences” began to appear in UN language, more specifically in the FAO. The rise in commodity prices in the years 2007/2008 changed again the method in which hunger was analysed, shifting to a framework of sustainability (RICHARDSON; NUNES, 2015).

Currently, food security does not only mean the supply of food and that the food must be of quality and healthy (without chemical components harmful to human health), but also that future production capacity must be sustainable. This also includes the development of any given local population’s skills so as to guard against the risk of becoming dependent on foreign aid for food.

Paul Maluf and Menezes (2000, p. 4):

“Food and nutrition security is the guarantee of the right for all to access quality food, in sufficient quantities and on a permanent basis, based on healthy eating practices and respecting the cultural characteristics of each people, manifested in the act of eating. This condition cannot compromise access to other essential needs, even the future food system must be undertaken on a sustainable basis. It is the responsibility of nation States to ensure this right, and they should do so via mandatory collaboration with civil society, inasmuch as it is possible.”

Public food security policies should aim at integration between urban and rural areas for better utilisation of production, and access to and availability of food. Along these lines, Albuquerque explains (2013, p 172.):

“In addition to the institutional scope, in which it was until then circumscribed, the issue of food security began to reverberate with growing concern in view of the transitioning world order. Population growth; rapid urbanisation in areas such as Africa and Asia, increased life expectancy, rise of millions of people to the consumer class, environmental and agricultural crises, are, amongst others, some explanatory factors as to why the issue has ceased to be more than just the echo of isolated voices in specialised UN system agencies (such as the FAO), and has become one of the central and most discussed themes of the twenty-first century.”

Besides being represented in practices carried out in the domestic arena of States, food security has also been made into an instrumentality in the scope of inter-state cooperation, whether North-South or South-South. The spill-over of domestic policy into inter-state relations, through cooperation, occurs without constraints, when analysing this perspective (ALBUQUERQUE, 2013, emphasis added). Added to this is the fact that the FAO is today the specialised UN agency with the largest budget. This indicates that the issue of food has gained legitimacy and international scope, mobilising the principal actors of international relations (Albuquerque, 2013).

The definition of food security, according to Ben Richardson and John Nunes (2015), is not a mere technical exercise, but a political contestation, in which actors with different agendas, resources and skills struggle to shape outcomes.

The Brazilian concept of food security has been developed over time, culminating in the Organic Law of 2006, which defines food and nutritional security (FNS) as “the realisation of everyone’s right to regular and ongoing access to quality food in sufficient quantities, without compromising access to other essential needs, being based on eating practices that promote health, that respect cultural diversity and that are environmentally, culturally, economically and socially sustainable (Law no. 11 346, 15/09/2006, § 3).

Brazil and the European Union: A Strategic Partnership

Brazil and the European Union⁶ are united by their historical, cultural, political, economic and social ties, which culminated in the establishment of a strategic partnership at the 1st Bilateral Summit in Lisbon 2007. The strategic partnership concept confirms the broadly shared objectives, principles and visions of the world such as multilateralism, multipolarity, the rule of law, human rights, democracy, and the peaceful settlement of disputes, amongst others.

There is equally broad bilateral cooperation, with more than 30 sector dialogues in progress in areas such as peace and security, trade, investment, regulation, services, energy, the information society, sustainable development, climate change, education⁷ and culture.

There has also been growing engagement in the exchange of experiences on how to address common challenges and ailments facing developing countries. Brazil and the European Union have, in fact, occupied a central position in multilateral initiatives aimed at alleviating hunger and poverty in the world.

Brazil and the European Union in Favour of Food Security

The increase in the number of discussion fora on food security, and the number of countries participating in them shows the growing concern there is on this issue. The exchange of successful experiences regarding food security and nutrition, such as school meals coupled with family farming, facilitates the creation and operation of international social institutions, providing governance without the need for a supra-national authority.

Brazil has joined forces with regional neighbours who share social proposals, hoping to reform the lack of representativeness in the current international system and thereby gain greater international clout, which in turn is thought will improve in equality and the lives of their respective citizens. Increasing one's degree of influence in the international order contributes towards social gain, such as by ensuring food security and combating poverty, but also towards political gain, as has been seen with the election of Brazilian representatives in important international organisations. This allows Brazil a greater voice on the issues that are priorities on the country's agenda.

Maluf, Santarelli and Prado consider that Brazil has been recognised as a reference “on public policies to eradicate hunger and fight against poverty articulated in the international awards received by President Lula, official documents of international organisations such as the FAO and the World Bank, and also within the framework of non-governmental organisations” (MALUF; SANTARELLI; PRADO, 2014, p. 19).

⁶ Brazil was one of the first countries to establish diplomatic relations with the European Economic Community in 1960.

⁷ About half of the Science without Borders scholars chooses EU countries as a destination.

According to Fraundorfer (2013), ActionAid also claims that the Brazilian approach in the fight against hunger in the form of the Zero Hunger Programme was the most successful strategy applied in the developing world. Echoing these statements, Balaban (2012, p.4) adds:

“Brazil has a lot to offer in terms of international cooperation. Not just in financial terms but in technology, human resources, knowledge, and, above all; solidarity and experience in cooperation. The Brazilian experience in school meals with its multi-sectorial aspect means that community participation, buying locally from family farmers, and management and monitoring methods, can contribute to intensifying discussions in the country about the building of a sustainable national program with healthy eating and quality food.”

Brazil has exported its expertise in initiatives for combating hunger and promoting food security to several countries in Latin America, the Caribbean and Africa. Of particular note is the National School Nutrition Programme (PNAE). In fact, the PNAE, which has achieved worldwide renown as a success story of sustainable school meal programmes, has paved the way for Brazil to enter into international agreements with the FAO and World Food Programme (WFP) (ENDF, 2014).

The PNAE guidelines, which are since largely utilised by the FAO in similar projects implemented in other countries, are the following: (I) to employ healthy and adequate nutrition, which comprises the use of a variety of foods, insurance, respect for culture, traditions and healthy eating habits (emphasis added), contributes to the growth and development of students and improves school performance, in accordance to age, sex, physical activity and health status; (II) to include food and nutritional education in the process of teaching and learning, addressing the theme of food and nutrition and the development of healthy practices; (III) to decentralise the actions and articulate in collaboration with the different levels of government; (IV) to support sustainable development, with incentives for the acquisition of diverse foodstuffs, produced locally and preferably on family farms and with family entrepreneurs, giving priority to the traditional indigenous communities and remaining former quilombo⁸ communities (BRASIL, 2009, emphasis added).

Since 2006, the key achievement of the PNAE has been the requirement of the presence of nutritionists as technical managers and technical staff in all of its executing units. This allowed for other qualitative improvements in the programme (FNDE, 2014). The responsibilities of nutritionists within the PNAE range from the analysis of the nutritional profile of students served, to the elaboration of menus and shopping lists, to carrying out school curriculum educational activities regarding food and nutrition (PEIXINHO, 2013). In Brazil, the school meals programme started within the scope of a broader set of public policies to combat hunger and poverty. Until the arrival at the PNAE's current successful form, experiences already showed the promising ability of the programme to not only fight hunger and malnutrition of students, but also to function as a means for income redistribution, helping to support smallholder farmers.

⁸ These are isolated communities that once sheltered runaway slaves.

As observed by researcher Balaban (2012, p 3),

“The school meals program brings together three themes: education, food and nutritional security, and productive inclusion. Besides being a means of maintaining children in school, reducing short-term hunger, helping in cognitive and psychosocial development, and besides allowing for the escape from the cycle of poverty and disease, in the long term it is also a factor that will bring about a decrease in spending on public health, as participants tend to adopt healthy eating habits, which will make them less susceptible to disease from poor nutrition. “

Based on the Brazilian initiative, other programmes and regional actions related to the reduction of hunger and poverty have emerged and gained importance. Among them, the Latin America and Caribbean Without Hunger Initiative 2025 is worthy of mention (IALCSH, or ALCSH in its Spanish acronym). It was launched in 2005, under the FAO umbrella, with Brazil as a key partner.

It should be remembered that more than 49 million people in Latin America and the Caribbean suffer from hunger, of which a high proportion are children under five and women. Malnutrition is considered a serious, near-endemic public health problem in these countries, for which a solution is still lacking. Although Brazil maintains a long history of relations with Latin American and Caribbean countries, since the mid-1980s these relations started to take on closer and more dynamic forms of cooperation through integration at various levels: economic, social, political and cultural (MALUF; PRADO, 2015).

The initiative to eradicate hunger in Latin America and the Caribbean by 2025 includes focussing on capacity-building measures; improving the profile of the actors in the fight against hunger in the agendas of both governments and international organisations at the national, regional and global levels; and monitoring the food security situation in the targeted countries, aided by national governments, private sector actors and civil society (FAO 2007; Fraundorfer, 2013).

To carry out the projects proposed by the initiative, the Brazilian government and FAO launched in 2008, the Brazil-FAO Fund. The Fund is coordinated by the regional office, located in Chile, and used for implementing programmes in four areas: humanitarian assistance, school meals, strengthening civil society, and consolidation of the aquaculture network in the Americas (Fraundorfer, 2013).

As early as 2009, the FAO established the Latin America without Hunger Initiative as a strategic framework for all FAO projects in Latin America to combat hunger and poverty, linking the Brazil-FAO Fund to the Spain-FAO Fund, created in 2006, to deal with food security issues, family agriculture and rural development (Fraundorfer, 2013). The first major project carried out under the Latin America without Hunger Initiative was with Spanish cooperation in the form of the project Apoyo a la Iniciativa 2025. This is a reaffirmation of the interest Brazil and European Union countries share with regard to food security.

In July 2015, the European Union and FAO signed a new partnership agreement to promote food and nutrition security, sustainable agriculture and resilience in some 35 countries. EU Commissioner for International Cooperation and Development, Neven Mimica, said:

“This initiative will be crucial to support partner countries and regional organizations in pulling together the political, technical and financial means towards the common goal of reducing food and nutrition insecurity. It will also contribute to strengthening the partnership between the European Union and FAO.” (FAO, 2015)⁹

Regarding the new partnership with the European Union, the Director-General of the FAO said:

“This new phase in our partnership with the European Union will greatly strengthen FAO’s capacity to work with governments to help them to acquire data and information they need to develop and implement effective policies to address the root causes of hunger and create resilience to shock and crises.” (FAO, 2015)¹⁰

The EU’s contribution to these initiatives falls within the framework of the “Global Public Goods and Challenges” (GPGC) programme included in the EU budget for development aid (Development Cooperation Instrument, or the DCI). It is worth noting that the EU is a major FAO donor and joined the Organisation as a member in 1991, having signed a strategic partnership in 2004 in order to consolidate and further the working relationship.

It is thus clear that the EU’s commitment to food security and combating hunger coincides with Brazil’s commitment on this issue. This opens up space for the bilateral partnership between the EU and Brazil to advance, along with the several other topics already covered within the strategic partnership. In fact, on March 19, 2015 the 7th EU-Brazil Joint Steering Committee Meeting was held at the Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Meeting participants included representatives of the Ministries of Science, Technology and Innovation (MCTI) and Foreign Affairs (MRE). Food and nutrition security was flagged as a new field for EU-Brazil cooperation.

At the summit representatives of the European Commission expressed interest in working with Brazil on sustainable agriculture. Moreover, the director of the Regional Actions Department for Social Inclusion (DEARE) of the MCTI, Osório Coelho, proposed cooperation in food waste reduction and rural and urban agroecology.

The cooperation promoted by the European Union and Brazil through the FAO is evidence of both parties’ commitment to multilateralism and to improving food security in developing countries and least developed countries (LDC) with a view to producing a more just and inclusive international order – and, consequently, a more stable

⁹ <http://www.fao.org/mozambique/news/detail-events/pt/c/316317/> Accessed August 7th 2015.

¹⁰ <http://www.fao.org/mozambique/news/detail-events/pt/c/316317/> Accessed August 7th 2015.

and equitable one. Both actors historically recognise the profound interrelationship between security and development, as well as the importance of food security as both driver and integrant part of human security. The future of the strategic partnership between Brazil and the European Union would suggest a strengthening of the mechanisms of bilateral and triangular development cooperation, with the inclusion of food and nutrition security as key tenets of and towards human development.

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Drug-trafficking and Security in Contemporary Brazil

Thiago Rodrigues

A declared war

Brazil's concern over the issue of drugs is no novelty. In fact, one of the first laws ever passed against a psychoactive drug in the world was enforced in Rio de Janeiro, in 1830, when the municipality prohibited the consumption of marijuana. The use of the herb was, at that time, linked to certain slave and former slave gangs, all of African descent, that practised petty crimes, fought *capoeira* and smoked marijuana. Some decades later, in the aftermath of abolition and the beginning of the industrialisation process, the rural exodus took thousands of Brazilians to major cities such as Rio and São Paulo. They brought with them the habit of smoking marijuana, which further increased the stigma and prejudice that already weighed over the predominantly dark-skinned, impoverished migrant populations.

By that time, the sanitary codes published by the new Republican government, in the late nineteenth century, structured the initial attempts to control and discipline the production and consumption of drugs. Meanwhile, Brazilian diplomacy engaged upon the first international initiatives regarding drug control promoted by the United States, extant since the 1912 Convention on Opium Trade held in The Hague, Netherlands (McAllister, 2000; Rodrigues & Labate, 2015).

Following the international wave of increasing State regulation over psychoactive drugs, Brazil passed a law in 1921 that still did not effectively prohibit sale and consumption of substances such as opiates (heroin, morphine) and cocaine, but established controls based on permission for medical use only. Nevertheless, the path for prohibition had been prepared, and the 1938 Criminal Code reform included the first decisions regarding the actual criminalisation of producers, traders and users of drugs such as opiates (heroin and morphine), cocaine and marijuana (Rodrigues, 2015).

However, the Brazilian case regarding regulation and criminalisation of drugs was not an isolated one. On the contrary, it was part of a larger and worldwide construction of a global regime for drug control mainly spear-headed by US Foreign Policy, yet actively adapted to and accepted by many governments in all continents. This global regime was initially constituted under the umbrella of the League of Nations. After 1945, with the United Nations system in the saddle of such multilateral norm creation, the fight against some drugs was universalised gaining further strength in light of the organisation's Security Council prerogatives, as well as of the entire system's status of human rights gatekeeper. Since the 1970s, this scenario increasingly shifted to parallel the scope of the US' declaration on the 'war on drugs' which brought to the scene vital geopolitical and security issues. Taking this episode as a turning point in the history of drug prohibition, this article seeks to analyse the 'war on drugs' focussing on Brazil's insertion in this process with special attention to the current militarisation of the country's public policies regarding security issues in Rio de Janeiro, while justifying it through the urgency to fight narcotrafficking organisations.

The emergence of a 'problem'

As recently as a century ago, there was no drug trafficking, no transterritorial cartels, no narco-guerrillas. None of these actors and processes existed because the vast majority of drugs that nowadays feed this impressive worldwide illicit business were simply not prohibited.

Between the 1910s and the 1930s, the advent of the so-called *drug prohibition* transformed producers, traders and consumers of particular drugs into criminals. Drug prohibition tried to eliminate markets and habits related to certain substances; it was, however, unsuccessful in this, managing only to render the activity and many related social practices illicit, but having no effect upon markets or habits. As a result, producers and traders turned into illegal traffickers, while consumers became outlaws (some treated as addicts, others as criminals, usually depending on their racial and social origins). Embedded in prohibition, via what was initially seen as a moral and public health problem gradually translated into cases of public security. During that same period, the combination between social prejudices and moral principles against the use of drugs occurred within a context of governmental attempts to control the growth of industrial cities – both in Europe and in the Americas. In fact, the later decades of the nineteenth century and the first years of the twentieth century were times of tremendous transformation in Western cities. The effects of the Industrial Revolution in Europe and the consequences in the US of the major process of industrialisation after the Civil War, transformed the economic and demographic equation between rural areas and new urban zones.

According to Michel Foucault (2008), the concentration of people in the new industrialised cities, and the necessity to discipline them towards accepting the hard work while diminishing their capacity to rebel, forced the production of a new set of government strategies. The French philosopher called it a new *governmentality* understood as a set of governance practices that mobilise state policies, aiming simultaneously the *discipline* of individual bodies and the regulation of the masses taken as a 'living collective body' or a "species body" (Foucault, 2008, p. 138). With this in mind, specific policies were developed to regulate the general level of health in order to produce an improvement in quality of life so as to maintain a controlled and pacified working class.

This *governmentality* gave birth, according to Foucault, to "an era of biopower" (2008, p. 140), i.e. the formulation of government policies aimed at offering an "additional element in life" (bios) through urban, sanitary, and disciplinary interventions. Thus, the *biopolitics* could be understood in terms of producing healthy bodies, which were "useful and docile" (Foucault, 2008, p. 141), while controlling their oppositional political potential.

The biopolitical attention devoted both to collective and to individual health constitutes one of the dimensions of the exercise of political power. The other one is the traditional use of the coercive power in order to enforce the law and to maintain internal political and social *status quo*. In other words, following Foucault's analyses, political power is not just a form of physical strength held by someone or some group entrenched in the state apparatus and used solely to oppress or abuse, such as tyrants and dictators do. Quite the contrary, political power also works positively taking care of people's life and health in order to generate a useful and docile citizenry.

Therefore, the drug prohibition policy was conceived as part of a broad biopolitical strategy that combined interventions on individual and collective health with the enlargement of criminal categories represented by drug dealers and users. This enlargement allowed the state's repressive apparatus to persecute, imprison and, in the extreme, to eliminate people belonging to the social groups already traditionally targeted by security policies, namely the impoverished urban population, immigrants, and ethnic minorities. Thus, the 'drug problem' is a relatively recent chapter of the "biopower era": a chapter that articulated a new 'public and individual health problem' as and with a renewed 'public security problem'.

However, this new 'problem' was not born as an isolated 'national' question. Drug prohibition was instead established via a double-level game shaped by the production of national laws that were influenced by and at the same time influencers of international treaties. The 1920's and 1930's conferences hosted by the Opium Control Board of the League of Nations determined the internationalisation of the US criminal pattern with huge influence exerted by the American delegate Harry Anslinger (McAllister, 2000). Despite these early movements, the international regime settled itself only after the publication of the UN Convention on Narcotic Drugs, in 1961, establishing prohibitionism as a global framework for combating psychoactive drugs (Herschinger, 2011).

Thus, from the beginning, the issue of the control and criminalisation of drugs was an international one. This ‘international pattern’ was also verifiable by observing the increasing movement of international illegal drugs organisations that started to act in what was becoming an increasingly profitable market. The more complex the global regime of control, the more widespread the consumption of drugs became, especially in the central economies of Europe and North America (Bergen-Cico, 2012). During the 1960’s, the rise in interest for psychoactive drugs such as marijuana and the so-called psychedelic drugs (LSD and mescaline for example) formed part of the general rebellion against the ‘American way of life’ represented by the youth practices known as the counter-cultural movement (Escobedo, 1998). This crucial moment in US political and social life resulted in a conservative reaction symbolised by the election of the Republican Richard Nixon in 1967.

One of the main platforms of Nixon’s government was the ‘America’s moral recovering’ which included the fight against illegal drugs. According to Paley (2014, p. 40) “the war on drugs kicked off on the heels of 1968, when world-wide protest and students movements shook the world, from Mexico City to San Francisco”. It came, suggests the author, “at a critical moment of the United States war in Vietnam (by the fall of 1971, half of all the US soldiers in Vietnam had tried heroin, and two were dying of overdoses each month), and at a time when youth were experimenting with legal and illegal drugs”.

It was in this context that, in 1971, President Nixon proclaimed that “drugs” were the “number one enemy” of the US and that combating them required declaring a “total war on drugs” (Nixon, 1971). This *war* would have both domestic targets – consumers and traffickers – as well as external ones: the countries classified as the producers of illegal drugs and their organisations. This ‘enemy’ identified by the ‘war on drugs’ discourse simultaneously reinforced the traditional construction of the drug dealer and drug user as types of ‘internal enemies’ while identifying another kind of ‘danger’ (the narcotrafficking organisations) operating from abroad. This division between ‘producers’ and ‘consumers’ is, however, artificial and ignores the more complex dynamic of global drugs production and trafficking (Passetti, 1991). Nevertheless, this strategy allowed the US to point to ‘external sources’ of the problem, triggering a national security oriented approach to the issue (Rodrigues, 2015; Carpenter, 2015). Following Buzan, Wæver and De Jaap (1998, p. 24), it is possible to identify the Nixon declaration as a starting point for the securitisation of drug trafficking, because it considered the production, trade and use of illegal drugs as “an existential threat, requiring emergency measures and justifying actions outside the normal bounds of political procedure”.

Because of the declared war on drugs, the US reformed its repressive apparatus (creating the Drug Enforcement Administration, in 1973) and initiated anti-drug operations in the Caribbean and Mexico in an attempt to intercept the international flows of illegal drugs (mainly cocaine, heroin and marijuana). At the end of the 1970’s, with the growth of cocaine trafficking, the US focussed its initiatives on the Andean countries (Bolivia, Peru and Colombia), because of the concentration in that region of the main producers and international traffickers of coca leaf and cocaine. Since that time, the US has defended

the argument that successfully combating drug trafficking requires using military and highly armed and trained police forces from within the ‘producing countries’ (Santana, 2004). For this reason, the US has invested in the training and education of special military groups, first in Mexico and later in the Andean countries (Hargraves, 1992).

In the early 1980s, the emphasis on the *militarisation* of the war on drugs was underscored when the US identified the association between leftist guerrillas – the FARC in Colombia and the Shining Path in Peru – and cocaine trafficking (Labrousse, 2010). This phenomenon was called narcoguerrilla or narcoterrorism and served as additional justification for the US insistence on the need for military action to combat drug trafficking and for the Andean governments to adopt emergency laws and repressive measures, which would in fact result in the widespread increase of violence, without diminishing the supply of cocaine (Labrousse, 2010; Rodrigues, 2006). During the 1980s, the US increased its presence in Latin America to combat drug trafficking. Hundreds of ‘military advisors’ were sent to the region, some operations even involving US military participation, especially in Bolivia and Peru (Dale Scott & Marshall, 1998; Marcy, 2010). The Ronald Reagan administration strengthened the war on drugs by highlighting the drug trade as a threat not only to the US, but also to the political and social stability of Latin America. In 1986, Reagan sanctioned the National Security Decision Directive (NSDD-221) named “Drugs and National Security” in which he reinforced the Nixonian ‘war on drugs’ discourse by identifying “narcoterrorism” as a “new threat” for Latin American countries: in Reagan’s evaluation, the communist guerrillas had converted themselves into narcotrafficking groups associated to other criminal gangs.

This declaration indicated a movement from the traditional threat of the Cold War era to another ‘danger’ represented by drug trafficking. Álvarez Gómez (2011) and Marcy (2010) point out, however, that the involvement of the military in fighting drug trafficking began even earlier when, in 1982, the *Posse Comitatus Act*, the 1878 law prohibiting the employment of armed forces in law enforcement operations on US soil, was modified. Since then, the US military has received extra attributions in support of anti-drug police and the operations of agencies such as the DEA. Due to these policy shifts, drug trafficking and illegal drugs took on another dimension: that of a regional security issue. Confirming this trend, the next president, George H. W. Bush, twice met with Latin American presidents to discuss the coordinated fight against drug trafficking on the continent. The first conference took place in Cartagena, Colombia in 1990, and the second one, in San Antonio, Texas, in 1992. The original US proposal involved creating and coordinating a multinational military. However both governments and public opinion in Latin America disapproved this idea, which resulted in a change of tone by US authorities.

In San Antonio, there was no further talk of a multinational military, but rather a reaffirmation, and general acceptance, of the need to combat drug trafficking. This commitment was grounded in the idea of ‘shared responsibility’ of all countries in waging a ‘war on drugs’, an idea that was developed by the Clinton administration. This principle of shared responsibility reflected the decisions made at the United Nations Vienna Conference on Drugs, in 1988, which brought the prohibitionist regime established in

1961 up to date. The Conference addressed new issues, such as money laundering, but continued to emphasise the use of the military and police to combat drug users and drug trafficking. Furthermore, the report produced at the Conference held that drug trafficking was a threat to international stability, a finding that went one step further than the conceptualisations put forward at previous conferences. After Vienna, drug trafficking has been considered not only a threat to various national securities (taken in isolation), but a major global menace with transnational connections and multiple articulations to several other threats such as terrorism, arms contraband, civil wars and ethnic conflicts (Herschinger, 2011; Rodrigues, 2012a).

In the 1990's, the Clinton administration also renewed an additional form of diplomatic and economic pressure, the *Certification*, a report published annually by the US Congress that certifies whether a given country has been or not an ally in the 'war on drugs'. Since then, a country that fails to be certified can suffer cuts in US military and financial aid, as well as trade barriers with the US. Despite the US military and diplomatic pressure, the wide acceptance of the 'war on drugs' by Latin American and Caribbean countries was not merely the effect of coercion. Each country has its own way of incorporating the prohibitionist model while taking into account its internal dynamics, conflicts, social values and traditions regarding the use of drugs.

In the Andean countries, for instance, the connection made between drug trafficking and leftist guerrillas gave governments support and moral authority to wage domestic wars. In other words, the support for the 'war on drugs' by Latin American countries has not been merely to succumb to the US agenda for hemispheric security. It means instead that the US security agenda intersected with the domestic goals of those countries that supported the prohibitionist regime in the continent. The case of Colombia sheds light on this relationship. The internal Colombian conflict has existed since the 1960s, involving leftist guerrillas, the state and rightwing paramilitary groups. The emergence of drug trafficking groups at the end of the 1970's has further complicated the situation in Colombia (Pécault, 2010). For the Colombian and the US governments, guerrillas and paramilitaries are involved, to some extent, with international drug trafficking. In light of this, both countries engaged in security plans in the 1980's and 1990's leading to the formulation of the most ambitious of them, the Plan Colombia, in 1999 (Herz, 2006).

The Plan Colombia was put in force in 2000 aiming to combat drug trafficking in the country. However, it was from its inception unable to identify with any degree of certainty if its targets were the drug cartels or the guerrillas. After the terrorist attacks in September 2001, and the resulting declaration of the 'war on terror' by the US, this problem was overcome since both the FARC and paramilitaries were classified as terrorist groups (Labrousse, 2005; Rodrigues, 2006). Since 2001, the FARC – the enemy most targeted by the Colombian government – have suffered serious defeats and are vulnerable, in contrast with their standing a decade ago (Torres del Río, 2010). One could thus assert that Colombia's adherence to the US security agenda – regarding drugs and terrorism – linked its civil war to the global war on terror, strengthening the Colombian government's dominion over its territory while submitting Bogota to the US general security

logic. Plan Colombia also had an effect on the Colombian ‘drug cartels’ creating room for groups from other countries to flourish, such as the Mexicans.

It is possible that the rise of the Mexican drug trafficking business, during the 2000’s is somehow linked to the effects of Plan Colombia on Colombian groups (Benítez Manaut, 2010). For authors like Rodríguez Luna (2010) this frontal combat of the Colombian cartels may have led to the transfer of logistical capacities, economic and political power to the Mexican cartels. In this manner, Mexican groups would, it is suggested, have gained control over the cocaine and heroin routes from the Caribbean and Central America to the United States. The worsening situation in Mexico, however, led the government to opt for the same Colombian recipe: toughening and militarising the fight against drug trafficking (Freeman & Sierra, 2005; Gutiérrez, 2007). However, the war on drugs does not have the same characteristics all over the continent. Each country has its own dynamics and history. Analysing the Brazilian case is an interesting way to comprehend the particularities that reveal the changing dynamics of drug trafficking in the Latin American region.

Brazil: Narcos, Favelas, and Pacification

Brazil was considered during the 1980s as a key “cocaine export corridor,” (Labrousse & Depirou, 1988) carrying produce to the main consumer centres in the US and Western Europe. Since the end of the 1990s, the country is, however, also classified as both a major consumer and producer of illegal drugs, besides being an important site for money laundering (Farer, 2003; Glenny, 2008). The latest United Nations World Drug Report (2014) affirms that Brazil has reached the second place in cocaine consumption in the world following the United States.

Despite the fact that drug use is spread throughout social groups, drug trafficking (and the use of specific drugs such as crack) is commonly associated with the poor and slum (favela) dwellers, and is linked to the illegal narcotrafficking organisations based in these same favelas and ghettos. Although the situation regarding production, trafficking and consumption of illegal drugs in Brazil does not fit this simple framework, the link between drug trafficking and poverty has been used as a justification for the implementation of public security programmes that focus on prohibition and repression as a means to address the drug problem. Drug trafficking became an important issue for public opinion during the 1980s when rates of income concentration were extremely high and the growth of urban poverty increased. These social and economic drivers occurred in a context framed by the demobilisation of civil society movements that had organized the political and social demands of impoverished people during the last years of the dictatorship (1964-1985). Moreover, this scenario further coincided with the rising of the international cocaine economy that established its influence and connections in Brazil, especially in the major cities such as Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo.

Some of these cocaine-related groups would come to benefit from organisational skills of former bank robbers and kidnappers previously arrested during the military rule. In maximum-security prisons, those convicted on drug charges could meet and learn from

arrested leftist militants who fought against the military dictatorship. The ‘political prisoners’ knew how to organise clandestine cells and how to plan operations such as bank assaults and kidnappings in a more sophisticated manner, and the so-called ‘regular prisoners’ profited from that knowledge. When the dictatorship relaxed its repressive policies, at the end of the 1970s, the former ‘regular prisoners’, once free, regrouped, full of fresh knowledge, to restart their drug-related activities. The first and most important of these new groups was the *Comando Vermelho* (‘Red Commando’) which took its name from the connection with the “reds” (communists) in the Ilha Grande political prison facility. Yet, it did not take long to see that the Comando Vermelho’s operations were not the spread of communism: the emergent business was drug trafficking.

During the 1980’s the Comando Vermelho established units (or “cells”) in many of Rio’s favelas from where they operated their business. The huge amount of money produced by the illegal drug business, combined with the internal rivalries of the Comando, led to partitions and new factions such as the *Terceiro Comando* (‘Third Commando’). The disputes for territories became violent. This occurred, according to Krauthausen and Sarmiento (1990), because the territorial base is crucial for an illegal group to keep up its activities. In Rio de Janeiro, many of the main favelas occupied by the Commandos surrounded middle and upper class neighbourhoods. Due to that, the wars for territory and the constant confrontations between the police and drug traffickers generated a feeling of increasing unsafeness amongst an influential part of the citizenry.

Thus, the government’s policies for public security became commensurately harder. The Military Police, under the State Governor’s authority, started receiving special training and weaponry that included techniques of urban combat, armoured vehicles, lifejackets and FAL 7.62mm rifles. During the 1990s, the Brazilian Army was required on certain occasions to occupy strategic areas of the city and to isolate some favelas. In 1992, the Army was called in to Rio during the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (ECO-92) to guarantee the security of the diplomatic delegates and groups of civil society. In 1994, the state government once again requested federal support but now to ‘fight criminality’, responding to popular calls for a massive intervention to combat drug trafficking and other crimes in Rio (Coimbra, 2001). The so-called “Operation Rio” was limited to some “violent incursions into poor territories” (Barreira and Botelho, 2013, p. 118), but established a sort of landmark for future operations in the city.

The employment of the military in domestic affairs is a controversial issue in Brazil. The new democratic constitution, promulgated in 1988, defines in its Article 144 that the Armed Forces could be requested by the legitimate powers to defend the institutions or to act within national borders in cases of extreme urgency. However, the political climate in which this article was drafted was tense. Political forces that had opposed the dictatorship, wanted to separate the state-level Military Police from the federal-level Army central command. The connection between them was a heritage of the prior authoritarian rule which had fought all political opposition to its regime. During the years of the dictatorship, the Armed Forces Commander in Brasilia held direct control over the states’ Military Police. Conservative political forces, counting among them both civilian

and military elements, wanted to keep things that way in the new constitution. The solution reached was a third way formula: the Military Police (MP) would remain 'militarised' in terms of hierarchy and doctrine, and would remain as the Army's 'back up force' in case of war or social upheaval, but the ordinary command would be left in the hands of the democratically elected State governors (Hunter, 2007).

Perhaps because this polemic, the Article 144 did not detailed how this 'power to guarantee law and order' would be enforced. There were some attempts to do it during the Cardoso administration, in the 1990s, but it was only in August 2010 that President Lula da Silva signed a law on this issue (LC 136/2010). In November 2010, based on this law, the State Governor of Rio de Janeiro requested federal intervention to support Rio's Military Police in the invasion and occupation of a favela know as Vila Cruzeiro. The Federal government agreed and offered marines' transportation tanks to take soldiers of the Military Police's special forces branch BOPE (Battalion of Special Operations) into the favela. Troops of Federal Police and the Federal Highway Patrols also helped controlling the road-based accesses to the favela. The first incursion was hailed as a huge success by the press and by expressive portions of civil society. Due to that, the state administration requested the extension of the federal support to go forward in the occupation of connected favelas.

Once again, the Federal government agreed, and the Ministry of Defence prepared the 'Pacification Force' composed by Army troops. The first battalion entered the Complexo do Alemão (a set of connected favelas) in December 2010 and established a perimeter of occupation. The plan was to combat drug gangs, taking their positions and weapons. Then, the area would be gradually occupied by Military Police. The Army's 'Operation Archangel' lasted until July 2012, when the Military Police officially took control of the Alemão and Penha 'Complexos'. It is important to note that part of the troops engaged in Operation Archangel had had previous experience serving as peacekeepers ('blue helmets') in the United Nations Mission for the Stabilisation of Haiti (MINUSTAH) (Rodrigues & Brancoli, 2012). As such, these troops had been exposed to "training modules and tactics and strategies specific to urban warfare (...) and high in-combat interaction with local population" (Kenkel, 2010, p. 133).

The relationship between the specific training for MINUSTAH and its ulterior use in Brazilian favelas is a significant question worth analysing in order to understand the degrees of intentionality and the possible transformations of the Army's domestic affairs after its experience in Haiti (see, for example, Rodrigues, 2012). For the moment, it is enough to say that the Pacification Force in the Alemão and Penha 'Complexos' was the longest urban military occupation in Brazilian history (Barreira e Botelho, 2013; Lima, 2012). Its formula was repeated in May 2014 when another similar Pacification Force occupied the Complexo da Maré, set of favelas which lie side-by-side the International Airport and the 'Linha Vermelha' ('Red Line'), one of the main motorway entrances to Rio de Janeiro. That happened one month before the beginning of the FIFA World Cup and two years before the Rio Olympic Games. Until the conclusion of this article, the second Pacification Force was still occupying the Complexo da Maré.

The Pacification Force experience is not only related to the previous period of brief Army intervention in Rio's favelas during the 1990s. More than that, it is connected to a broader public security programme created and enforced by the State Government, called the Unidade de Polícia Pacificadora (UPP), or Pacifying Police Units. The UPP Programme is an ambitious attempt to occupy favelas that have been under the control of illegal groups for decades. The project has three phases. The first is *invasion*, when the BOPE special force invades a favela, fighting the local gangs. Then, in a second moment, comes *occupation*, when the Military Police troops take charge of the situation establishing bunkers and 'strong-points' in strategic sites of the invaded favela. Thirdly, when the gangs' activities are supposed to have ceased, the favela is considered 'pacified'. That is the phase in which traditional state public services non-existent within the favela structures (such as public medical care, schools, postal services) are expected to arrive.

Between 2008 and 2015, the State Government introduced UPP's in 38 favelas of different size and population. Almost all of them are situated in a belt that surrounds the roadway entrance of Rio, the downtown area (the financial heart of the city), and the South Zone, Rio's touristic area with its landscapes and neighbourhoods of worldwide renown (Klinguelfus, 2012). Since its implementation, the UPP Programme has been accused of establishing a type of 'space of exception' where the Military Police, although allegedly trained to ensure human rights protection and human security, has instead been imposing a martial law governance style based on repression and authoritarianism (Serra and Zaccone, 2012).

These considerations aside, the UPP Programme has allowed for the emergence of a more complex set of control and governance tactics and practices that cannot be said to be focussed exclusively on repression. The so-called 'pacified favelas' have received a considerable amount of private investment (shops, hotels, restaurants, discos, banks) along with the presence of humanitarian and relief services run by business', foundations, churches, national and foreign NGOs in association with local organisations (Cabeleira, 2013). Nevertheless, despite these positive aspects, the illegal activities supposedly neutralised are reported to be still operating, but now with a low profile pattern and with a new type of illegal agreements and renewed connections with public authorities, security agents and private actors. The UPP and the Pacification Force operate beyond mere repression, putting in movement a biopolitical approach of governance.

The term 'Pacification' itself is not new to Brazilian history. The expression was used to describe the 'conquest' – which is to say the enslavement, forcible baptism or simple slaughter – of native peoples during colonial times (centuries XVI to XIX). After Brazil's independence from Portugal, in 1822, the term became attached to the Brazilian Army *ethos*. Initially, it was linked to the military victories of the Imperial central power based in Rio de Janeiro against regional rebel insurgencies. The main leader of the Brazilian Army during these military campaigns was the Duke of Caxias, nicknamed "The Pacificator". Caxias became a national hero and the patron of the Brazilian Army. Since the 1950s, as a tribute to him, one of the most distinguished medals offered by the Army was named precisely "The Pacificator Medal" (Gomes, 2014).

In the beginning of the twentieth century, the word ‘pacification’ was evoked once more to describe the process of ‘integration’ of native people from the Amazon forest by a military mission that connected isolated regions through the installation of telegraph lines and the establishment of new villages. The commander of this operation, Marshall Cândido Rondon, had a paternalistic approach to the native Brazilians believing that the State – and the Army in particular – had the duty to protect and ‘civilise’ supposedly primitive peoples (Diacon, 2006). Rondon was the creator and first director of the Service for the Protection of Indigenous Peoples (SIP), established in 1910, in the hope of creating optimal conditions for the natives’ ‘acculturation’.

Thus, it can be said that the general idea of ‘pacification’ is firmly intertwined with the Army’s own vision of itself and its actions as an institution. The use of a term so heavy with historical and military connotations is a point worth analysing when it returns nowadays with regard to the occupations of favelas and the ‘war’ against drug gangs.

The Armed Forces’ self-assumed role as ‘civilization keeper’ in Brazil is illustrated by the long and hard experience of military rule in which the Army – as occurred in many other Latin American countries – took it upon itself to arrest, torture and kill fellow citizens branded criminals and ‘internal enemies’. Because of that, the presence of the Army in long-term favela occupation missions is a delicate issue quite regardless of all the efforts by the Federal administration and the Army commanders themselves to stress the legality and the exceptionalism of these operations. The simple fact of the matter is that drug dealers are Brazilians and the activities of the Pacification Forces opened once again the possibility of seeing the Armed Forces arresting, controlling or even killing Brazilians citizens.

The high level of social sensitivity to issues of public security, conjoined with generalised public opinion of the Military Police’s corruption and ineffectiveness, could lead to further pressure over the Army to involve itself in the securitisation of and from urban areas and favelas. In turn, this perceived pressure could seduce both politicians (due to the electoral potential of this question) and part of the Military (because of the illusion of a renewed social relevance for the Army – that would include, for instance, an increased budget and equipment provisions) to yet again involve the latter in domestic issues. For this reason, the debate surrounding the use of the Military in public security operations goes straight to the heart of a far broader discussion on the role of the Military within the Brazilian democratic regime.

Final Remarks: Militarisation beyond the Military

The presence of the military in the ‘war on drugs’ in Brazil is small if compared to other Latin American countries. Brazil has not received, since the 1980s, the same US pressure to reform its military apparatus in order to fight drug ‘cartels’, as have Colombia, Mexico, Bolivia and Peru (Kirchner, 1992; Marcy, 2010). Actual military engagement has also occurred in supportive missions on national borders, such as the Ágata Operations in collaboration with the Federal Police (since 2011), or the heading of projects such as the System of Amazon Surveillance (SIVAM) – a system of integrated satellites, radars and airplanes – that include, amongst other goals, the fight against

transterritorial illicit drug flows. In 2004, President Lula da Silva signed a law authorising the destruction of suspicious aircraft, but it has to date never been used (Feitosa & Pinheiro, 2012). In fact, the most impressive military mobilisation to combat drug trafficking was the military ‘pacification’ operation described in the last section. One could, thus, conclude that there is not a process of militarisation occurring concomitant to the Brazilian ‘war on drugs’. Authors such as Zaverucha (2000) affirm that a militarisation of public security occurs in one of two cases: when it involves the use of the military in activities traditionally undertaken by regular police forces like patrolling streets, controlling urban areas, and arresting criminal suspects; or when security agencies are under the command of military officers. Others describe this process less restrictively, stating that militarisation cannot be reduced to the mere presence of military personnel in public security procedures, but is instead a general policy orientation based on specific goals, tactics, and on the use of certain types of equipment within domestic security.

Graham (2010), for instance, views militarisation as a set of tactics and technologies taken from the military environment – or originally developed for military purposes – that are subsequently adapted for the control, repression, and surveillance of civilians in no-war zones in no-war times. He uses the concept of “urban militarism” to describe the generalised use in cities all around the world of GPS devices, video cameras, body movement sensors, biometric codes, surveillance drones, electric fences, and so forth. These devices have been in use not only by police forces, but also by private security contractors that copy and reproduce military techniques, technologies and behaviours.

In this context, the equipment, protocols, procedures and tactics of police forces, private security contractors and the military have been increasingly merging. The process of ‘policialisation of the military’ moves side-by-side with the ‘militarisation of the police’, a widespread phenomenon observed all over the world. Balko (2013), for instance, studies the increasing militarisation of the police forces in the US since the 1960’s, meanwhile Amar (2013) analyses the role of the military in internal affairs in cities like Rio de Janeiro and Cairo.

Moreover and beyond these considerations, the changing character of contemporary conflicts reinforces this tendency of fusion between police and military. We live, as stated Frédéric Gros (2010), in a time when traditional inter-state warfare has been surpassed by ‘states of violence’: an irregular and mutable set of conflicts that engage non-state actors as well as state forces, the latter being readapted to fight conflicts that cross political borders, and that have no clear jurisdiction, territoriality or temporal limitation. In this sense, drug trafficking could be defined as a transterritorial war that manifests itself in transnational flows and produces different and superimposed degrees of ‘states of violence’. The global ‘war on drugs’ engages internal security forces, but also activates the military both due to US external pressure and domestic responses to respective internal security crises.

Drug trafficking is, thus, an activity that crosses borders and as such can be defined, regardless of one’s starting point, as an enterprise originating in states external to

one's own. However, drug cartels are not Armed Forces from other states. Rather, they are private groups operating a transterritorial business, without traditional political goals. Nevertheless, drug trafficking has been understood since its inception as both a national and international problem. In the beginning of the twentieth century, the production, trade and use of illegal drugs began to be considered a public security issue. Throughout the century, it was securitised as a national, regional and global problem.

By viewing drug trafficking as not only a threat to public security, but also to national security, the US and certain Latin American countries, including in Brazil, defend the use of the Armed Forces in their fight. When the 'war on drugs' and drug trafficking are viewed through the prism of global security it includes them in the field of study of "new international conflicts" or "new wars" (Kaldor, 2006; Kan, 2009), characterised by transterritorial private groups that use combat modes which blur the distinction between internal and external *environments of security*.

From a political perspective, the impact of military involvement in combating drug trafficking or "organised crime" is a substantial one. Many countries in Latin America have recently emerged from long periods of dictatorship led by military governments. In these regimes, violent repression was justified by the necessity to fight political opponents deemed to be subversive "internal enemies". Defining these opponents as "enemies" had the impact of dehumanising them, treating them as an "Other", an element that does not belong to society and that contaminates it (Herschinger, 2011). This political and moral discourse is the foundation on which societies authorise or accept persecution, arrest, torture and murder (Foucault, 2003). In the case of dictatorships and totalitarian regimes, this "Other" is not a foreigner but instead a fellow citizen. In democratic regimes, it is the criminal justice system, not the Army, that is responsible for seeking, selecting, arresting and, in some cases, executing people from some social groups and dedicated to certain types of activities that contravene the law.

In Brazil's military dictatorship, the political opposition was identified as the "internal enemy". In democratic Brazil, the 'criminals' are the 'Other' to be fought; and chief amongst them, the 'drug dealer'. The Military Police and its special battalion BOPE adopt a military form of conduct when they invade favelas with heavy weaponry and shoot those seen as potential opponents or hostiles (Alves & Evanson, 2014). It is, therefore, not necessary to have the Army in the favelas to see that public security policies in Brazil, especially in major cities like Rio, have led to a certain level of militarisation. Nevertheless, despite this ongoing militarisation, Brazil still has not reached the level of other Latin American nations. As such, the possibility of a new alignment of Brazilian security policies, both at state and federal levels, to the Latin American trend of employing the military in the 'war on drugs' should ring analytical and political alarm bells. The historical effects in terms of violence and persistence of security problems in countries such as Mexico and Colombia ought to serve as warning.

In times when Brazil simultaneously occupies a position of an illegal drugs corridor to Europe, money laundering plaza, production hub and rising consumption market for illegal substances, it is of the utmost relevance to review the effectiveness of historical

responses. Both historical and current political decisions in Brazil, along with the cases of other Latin American countries, show that this form of illegal activity has been traditionally fought with militarised strategies. From an analytical standpoint one may thus say that militarisation – comprising both militarised practices and the deployment of the Military itself – as a strategy against drug trafficking has historically failed. On the upside, such a conclusion sheds light upon and renews critical questioning of the twenty-first century everyday war waged as a consequence of ideas structured by the prohibitionist approach. Being fought both close to national borders and far from them, these overlapping, never-ending battles reveal that the expression ‘war on drugs’ is hardly figurative. Meanwhile, although civil society in Brazil – as well as in most Latin American countries – finds itself constantly frightened and desperately playing all its cards in order to achieve security, it nonetheless simultaneously provides active support – or silent consent to – the continuing of this war, especially since its victimisation is highly selective, and usually of those with little voice within said societies. In the era of the ‘war on terror’, a form of logic expanded from and yet entirely similar to that of the ‘war of drugs’, this story is perhaps rather worth telling.

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Peace Process in Colombia: Implications for internal and regional Security

Henry Cancelado Franco

“Attempting to visualize a Fifth Generation [of war] from where we are now is like trying to see the outlines of the Middle Ages from the vantage point of the late Roman Empire. There is no telescope that can reach so far. We can see the barbarians on the march. In America and in Europe, we already find them inside the limes and within the legions. But what follows the chaos they bring in their wake, only the gods on Mount Olympus can see. It may be worth remembering that the last time this happened, the gods themselves died.”

William Lind

Undoubtedly, and running the risk of falling into the clichés that permeate all the analyses on the international system and on the trends of the early twenty-first century, it is important to note that September 11 particularly marked the way we see the world of the new century. This being said, it was not an extraordinary event in world history: indeed, most countries have faced such challenges. Of course, countries try to respond to such threats, and try to adapt to the new environment they create; and, when this happens, the entire life of a country or political organisation is engulfed by national security. From domestic to foreign policy, everything is viewed through the prism of defence and security. The country’s policy ceases to be dedicated to national development and/or to the welfare of its citizens, becoming instead a neurotic policy of defence – and eventually even a policy of attack.

Concepts of stability and reliability are left behind (Torrijos 2009, 169) and the international system then faces an ongoing crisis, which determines the actions of international players seeking to ensure the survival of global institutions. Latin America stands, in this modern world, as one of the international system's major pivot points regarding political stability – based on two axes: economic development and regional security. The latter, in particular, impacts every corner of the globe in times of trans-nationalisation of threats.

Colombia and its conflict are emblematic of this. The Colombian government has embarked on a bid to achieve a peace agreement with the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC). This agreement would lead to Colombia's political stability against armed threats, however it involves a significant redesign of the country's security system, because in the background of the negotiation lies the drug problem. A problem that became evident during the paramilitary United Self-defence Forces of Columbia (AUC) peace process. The so-called paramilitary groups became criminal gangs with regional networks from Mexico to Argentina, working for drug traffickers. Some of these groups try to maintain a facade of right-winged resistance against the "communist threat"; however their criminal actions have always undermined their supposed ideological discourse.

This paper aims to approach the challenge of regional security based on the analysis of the peace process in Colombia, a process which forms part of the shifts generated in a time of global uncertainty and the transformation of irregular threats in a changed global context. Everything has been affected in the past 20 years by these evolutions and trends: states themselves, the global economy, politics, governance, – and, of course, security.

The peace process in Colombia

The peace process in Colombia involves the broader transformation of the structures of defence and security within the Colombian Government, as well as the deployment of public security forces against new enemies. This is not a new idea; having in fact always been a government guideline for once the agreement is reached.

Initially, the tactical plan included de-escalation measures such as suspending the use of the Air Force against the FARC. Such measures illustrate that the government is both committed to peace, and aware that de-escalation is a long-term process. But before that, the bilateral ceasefire was initiated with some measures to reduce the operational readiness of the Armed Forces, in this case the Air Force. This measure demonstrates the effectiveness of airpower in the required work and highlights the inability of the FARC to counteract it. This act of suspension has already been performed twice along this process, in March and July 2015. The risk of this measure is that some other criminal structures, such as the National Liberation Army (ELN) and the Criminal Bands (Bacrim), may try to blend in among FARC members in order to avoid being bombed, implying a reduction in operational effectiveness of the Armed Forces (FFMM).

The political challenge for the government lies in convincing public opinion that the guerrillas have indeed complied with the unilateral ceasefire, which is rendered complex since the media have reported attacks during the announced ceasefire period.

Likewise, the Conflict Analysis Resource Centre (Cerac), recorded at least 10 actions that violated the ceasefire, which contradicts government Intel, Intel which was presented as coming from the Ministry of Defence and the Armed Forces. President Juan Manuel Santos has faced resistance to the peace process and related activities, both from the public, and from certain institutional sectors which have been quite vocal against the peace process. The President recently specifically referred to members of the Armed Forces which position themselves against the peace talks between the government and the FARC; Santos warned that those members of the Military who too “openly” criticise that which occurs at the table at Havana should remove themselves from office. “If they openly express criticism, they will be considered as incurring serious disciplinary fault, and will have to leave: this is the government’s policy,” he said. Santos also questioned criticism of the talks in Havana, that is, he asserted, based on “lies”. “It is not fair to criticise the peace process with lies, it is not good for democracy (...) we want to call people to come forward if they have questions and we will explain. These questions and criticisms are welcome, but lies are not” (El Heraldo. 2015).

This clearly political message is aimed at empowering the government before the Armed Forces. The problem is that, quite to the contrary of the intended effect, it has further stressed a sector of the state that has been highly critical in its stance against the peace process.

This approach corresponds to what the President views as a political offensive to try to end the opposition to his actions, above all directed to the political sectors that are behind all possible stances that some members of the Military have taken towards the process. That is, this message is not directed at the Military per se; this message is meant for politicians who aim to politicise military forces that have sworn not to be neither deliberative nor political. Unfortunately this is another mistake made by the President against his security forces, creating more resistance than consensus.

The peace process with the FARC includes both instances of clarity and of shadow.

Amongst the successes, or bright spots, is the fact that the peace process manages to keep the FARC sitting at the negotiating table, even while security operations continue to be deployed against them. This shows that the FARC have a latent military weakness, but from the political point of view, it shows that the organisation’s Secretariat has set a political goal which does not necessarily include military victory. This is essentially due to two things: first of all to the fact that some of the group’s main military leaders were written off during the course of the war and, secondly, that this group has lost significant international support and is today acknowledged as a narcoterrorist organisation. In fact, countries that have fought against such guerrilla structures, such as the US and Russia, understand that a total military victory is, in such cases, impossible; they have, thus, given repeated and public support for the peace process in Colombia. Likewise, old guerrillas such as Jose Mujica, former President of Uruguay, now question the legitimacy of armed struggle. In actual fact, supporting the peace process allows for the negotiation of penalties to account for laundered money as well as for the unveiling of criminal structures; both concrete benefits for the United States.

Among the darker aspects of this process are some serious issues:

- › Demobilisation, disarmament and reintegration: this issue is central to the process because it indicates the “re-civilisation” of FARC fighters. If done poorly, it may increase social problems in the sense that the fighters, who fail to return to a productive civilian life, will articulate new criminal gangs that may exponentially increase insecurity in both cities and the countryside. Such gangs might act similarly to the present Bacrim and dispute territories and the rest of the production chain with them. Likewise, disarmament must involve the delivery of weapons to ensure that this threat is not reactivated. Disarmament without weapons delivery involves the latent risk of violence, regardless of motivation.
- › Transitional justice and punishment: the FARC will seek at all costs to engage the Military in criminal proceedings. The objective is to align their penalties and eventually reduce them by means of the argument that the war was so cruel that all sectors involved committed crimes and that, in that sense, one cannot fully judge either side. The role of the prosecutor is here essential to define the crimes for which these terrorists will be judged and to seek their acceptance of the justice system. It is equally important to ensure that the International Criminal Court (ICC) considers that the crimes were judged properly, so as to prevent the ICC’s involvement in the process. Putting governmental forces on trial, however, is a somewhat controversial issue because it was the very same government which established the doctrine by which to pursue the enemy and prevent the collapse of the country. In this sense, the ICC must be sure that all war crimes have been considered, especially because there is no record, considering recent wars, of an army that has not been judged for war crimes. Obviously in those cases the individual was judged, not the institution. The problem in Colombia is that to judge all who were engaged in combat in the past 50 years of war is impossible. So the solution will be to look for the person “chiefly responsible” so as to judge those who had the ultimate responsibility for military and political orders, both as regards the state and the guerrillas.
- › Doctrine and the system of defence and security: This point is unavoidable; clearly the central role of the military will not change, in the sense that they will continue to defend the country’s territory and protect Colombian citizens. What will be defined is the threat and structure of forces. In this sense the government isn’t lying; the problem is the expectation created within the ranks of the Military against such an enemy as the guerrillas, which, in being inducted to the official political arena, will cease to be military targets. The government will thus have to define new paths for state defence and security. The adaptation and reform of the Armed Forces will be attempted without legal or political trauma. Basically the point is to eliminate the problem of the internal enemy and to reform the Military – with or without their consent.

One can say that the peace process is now advanced and has reached the turning point whereby to abandon it would represent a very high political cost for the parties involved. In short, the guerrillas are betting on the signing of a deal, and it is clear that all that would be left of them after such a deal would be dissidents transformed into *stricto sensu* criminal groups.

However, as already noted, the war has continued. Ecopetrol, the country's main state-owned company, has, since May 2015, suffered 16 attacks on its oil infrastructure. The guerrillas have forced truck drivers to spill 200,000 gallons of oil in the department of Putumayo, causing damages that the government estimates will take it 15 years to overcome, and which may spread to Ecuador and Peru. The Vetra oil company in Putumayo had to bear the loss of many gallons when the guerrillas stopped a convoy of tankers and forced them to open their valves and spill the crude oil they carried over the jungle. This is somewhat of a paradox, considering that the company had only been using this transport system in the first place because guerrilla attacks had made the Trans-Andean pipeline able to operate for less than half a year last year (Nieto. 2015).

In addition, three policemen were killed in the department of Cauca in an assault with explosives and rifle shots, and an electrical tower in the department of Caqueta was knocked down leaving nearly 470,000 people without power. Authorities also reported a FARC attack in June of 2015 against a pipeline in the department of Nariño, which polluted rivers in the region and reached the Pacific Ocean.

In accordance with these events, the bilateral ceasefire is pressured by a show of a force that politically affects the image of the whole process. Consequently, if the fight is of a political nature, it is difficult to understand what is to be gained by such an onslaught, which tarnishes, in terms of public image, the little that could have been gained in political and social sectors by supporting the peace process. In political terms, neither the government nor the guerrillas win with these attacks. If there hasn't been more fuss about these issues, it is because regional elections are approaching and no politician wants to commit themselves by making statements about it.

If the process breaks down, the situation would return to that of a war of attrition, with a high level of terrorist attacks in which the adaptation-capacity of operational plans would be key to neutralising the threat; the formulas already in use will not work against this potential mutation of the FARC. The difference between this scenario and the previous Samper, Pastrana and Uribe eras is that the guerrilla strategy was, then, based on the idea that they could act as an army taking towns, performing open attacks against the Armed Forces and undertaking kidnappings that would give them economic and political power to pressure the government. In these 20 years, the government's military superiority was made evident – and what was learnt during both the peace process and the experience of open confrontations – is that the guerrillas will not again act in the same way. The success of guerrilla activities is now determined by the efforts undertaken by their terrorist support networks as well as by the certainty of their concrete terrorist acts.

On the other hand, if an agreement is signed, it will be so weak that confrontation will be the order of the day and it will be carried out in two scenarios:

- › Political Scenario: in which the government will have to ensure – by means of referendum or by act of law endorsed by a Congress divided between proponents and

opponents of the peace process – that the signed agreement is accepted. This will force the government to negotiate the little political capital it can afford to leave Havana. To win this fight, it will have to resort to populist measures that guarantee popular support. Its communications strategy will focus on showing that peace will prevent that the poor, the peasants and the soldiers die in a war that has been fought only by the underprivileged members of Colombian society.

- › **Military Scenario:** This post-agreement scenario would be similar to how the FARC are currently acting, with an additional component similar to that of the Bacrim at the time of the AUC negotiation. There would then be internal purges and struggles for control of illegal businesses kept by the organisation; new groups would proliferate, with some wanting to keep the name FARC alive.

Certainly the peace process has faced difficult times due to two specific political issues: the government's sign of weakness to bet on a process that the FARC does not seem to take seriously, and the ability of the FARC to appear strong before the government because of their terrorist activities, which create unrest in the country. There are also three main strategic lines which can be drawn out:

- › To show the government's warmongering and violent attitude
- › To reveal the government's illegal actions
- › To create military pressure in order to show the government's inability to protect the population, and in turn create pressure on public opinion.

The first two have generated international pressure and pressure from certain national social sectors, especially of the centre and left, which interpret the conflict as an illustration of the government's non-democratic attitude, along with some countries that only seek to maintain their investments and businesses in the country and see the FARC as the party that prevents them from doing so. The third point has generated an unfavourable view of the process. The guerrillas have launched an offensive that has taken away their legitimacy before public opinion, and which shows a certain level of "desperation" since their political strategy has neither worked at the negotiating table, nor has it been very effective at the political forces' level in the country, since nobody wants to talk during an election year.

It also shows that the terrorist group's "interest" in the country is purely rhetorical; it is essential for them to position themselves before the Government, to defeat it in Havana and make sure of being advantaged at the stage of transitional justice. It is clear that they are aware that breaking the dialogue involves shutting down this possibility for the next 50 years. Besides which resorting to military means is not internationally well regarded in this type of conflict anymore, which would deprive them of important international support and classify them with governments considered "pariahs" in the international system. That is to say: the argument that was once an advantage is now a problem.

The strategy is so fragile and awkward that its result is that society is pressuring the government to break the dialogue. Unlike his predecessors, the advantage is that President Santos has managed to negotiate support, even with political opponents,

who have indirectly given support to this government's programme and now participate as positive and proactive elements within the peace process.

The FARC also have political difficulties. Contrary to their plans, their current strategy has instead worked negatively with 93% of people viewing them with a negative image (Caracol. 2015). Boasting electoral support only in areas of low electoral influence, their political struggle is blurred and their ability to achieve power – be it through the polls or by force – is statistically impossible. A mass struggle and a prolonged popular war makes no sense when the masses do not support the insurgency. That's the point that the FARC have yet to understand, and it is why their statements gain them no ground, while their violent actions do cause a stir, although it is always in the direction of increasing their opposition. It would seem that the government is losing, but these terrorists – in their desire to sink the state – are sinking themselves.

International relations and regional security

Understanding national security is complex when it comes to countries that have focussed their concerns in their domestic setting, i.e. when they have not been consolidated, or when they simply do not have an expansionist vocation. This determines the configuration of their foreign policy, which becomes no more than a subsidiary element of their domestic policy. In other words: when international relations become accessory to the primary means of achieving support for local problems.

In this sense, national security becomes the condition for internal consolidation and anything that threatens the weak structures of power, become major threats to consider. In this view, the international system is not important; the relationship with neighbouring countries is tangential; and border control is totally improvised.

These internal struggles are globalised and give a sense of a world threatened by African guerrillas, Asian terrorists or Latin American drug traffickers, as well as by social resistance movements in Europe and the United States that suddenly appear in both spaces caused by economic and political crises in their countries, but that serve as amplifiers to a sense of generalised global crisis.

However, in the late twentieth century it was thought that the world had overcome its major stability and security problems. But the post-Cold War Era began its time of uncertainty with a mix of different elements:

- › The idea that the liberal worldview had triumphed over all others (Fukuyama 1992). Certainly the liberal values of freedom, civil rights and above all, the possibility of economic advancement, made the post-World War II world seem peaceful in global terms, be it with a need for “small” adjustments of situations and actors that did not fit quite with these ideas. These adjustments led to the wars in Korea and Vietnam, besides some minor invasions and the development of an intelligence network that would bring back the Panopticon ideal to the world. When the Soviet Union collapsed, it was thought that the world was already set.

- › The feeling that the new threats that existed in the world would be easily remedied by a global power that had emerged triumphant after a century of war; and that what threats remained were minor and did not widely endanger the international system. All that remained were split threats resulting from the dismantling of the communist world that eventually would stabilise again.

In other words, the post-Cold War era's tenets were based on false assumptions. But above and beyond the most dangerous aspect was that – now free of the supposed risk posed by the bipolar world – it was assumed that by ending this rigid structure of the international system, a world pacified by economic relations would emerge. However, this analysis failed to take into account the numerous racial, religious, nationalist, criminal, and even environmental conflicts that remained, since these were considered localised police problems and not globalised threats with the potential to destabilise the international system. This misperception obscured the international system's new weaknesses. At which point – because of the lack of understanding of what was happening – all those threats and risks were thrown together, and labelled 'terrorism'.

In addition, the international system's axes shifted and new countries and regions emerged and stood out in this post-Cold War order.

“The President reiterated that it is time for the world to see Latin America as a strategic partner. He noted that among the advantages of the region are the high rates of sustained growth of nations, the implementation of sound fiscal policies that enabled the tackling of the financial crisis, created good conditions for foreign investment, and the ability to produce what the world needs: food, water and energy, among other things” (President's Office 2011).

Thus spoke the Colombian president in London regarding the recent prominence of the Latin American region in the international system. This new role brings economic benefits to these countries and the opportunity for the region to make new and important alliances. It also shows the rise of new friendly countries from other centres of power, willing to open new dialogues with Latin America on issues ranging from economic investment to military cooperation.

National security and global terrorism

The international system of the XXI century has tried to make sense of its current evolution, but more in consequence of the blows and buffets it has suffered, rather than impelled by an intentional effort of adaptation.

Far from the liberal ideal of a pacifying global economy, the world seems fractured in local situations that leave the great politics of powerful countries' without option (Beck: 242) Consequently, local events and global events intermingle and create a new scenario for global security. Modern global security involves all the international system's actors, from countries, as actors par excellence, to intergovernmental organisations, non-governmental organisations, corporations, banks, national political

movements and parties. This creates an amalgam of processes and interactions that, on the one hand, form the foundation of globalisation within the international system, but which, on the other hand, create fertile ground for new conflicts to arise.

Global terrorism by extremist groups is a variant of these new global threats, coupled with drug trafficking or other forms of organised crime. Today, there is no single part of the world that does not host some kind of conflict that can become a military confrontation of some magnitude.

But, in the eagerness to understand the uncertainty of our times, everything is seen as terrorism, caused by terrorism or a result of terrorism. This mirrors the simplistic bipolar view of the 1990s. However, supposing the prior analysis is indeed correct, then the world is facing the worst terrorist threat in its history. The international system would need, thus, to take a stand on global security, making an attempt to redesign and implement security policies taking account of this context so as to restore a sense of peace and reduce risks in international politics.

Today, “global security is understood as the amalgam between two dimensions: one, which allows us to interact, engage with and influence the international system feeling more or less integrated upon acknowledgement of certain historical trends; and the other, which allows us to draw a contrast between new traditions, interests and expectations, and the risks, threats and dangers that we perceive as parts of the same system” (Torrijos 2009: 78). The second dimension is what is seen in the fracture of international processes when the system resets – readjustments which occur every so often in history.

These fractures, seen in great historical changes, now have a powerful catalyst with both the ideological and practical capabilities to create the perception of a different world: modern globalisation. New actors emerge thanks to the world’s new communication channels and to their speed. Therefore, and considering the second dimension mentioned by Torrijos, we are part of the same system. It is fundamental that the analysis of the world is able to shift away from Hans Morgenthau’s (1986) basic schemata. This is to say: by changing the communication channels of power, it is necessary to reinterpret the forms that power then takes within international networks – networks which become transnational and create a process of hierarchy-removal, leading the international system to be faced with a dynamic of empowerment of actors of vastly different natures. (Cancelado 2007: 14)

The second security dimension, known as selective security is defined as one that “allows us to clearly determine what we are, what we really want and how we can achieve it (...) In this sense, we exercise some control over the system’s variables and can reach an approximate conclusion about how clever, useful or able we are to make our value system survive, and to which degree our beliefs or abilities persuade or dissuade others” (Torrijos: 79). This selective security allows players to distinguish between threats in an attempt to understand them, and address those which are most urgent.

In today's world one cannot address every threat; this is what countries like Russia and China seem to understand, and what America refuses to. The US' power was built from a base of global confrontation; in order to keep its position it requires, therefore, a global enemy, such as terrorism – a concept which it has constructed by power of rhetoric. Other countries follow its discourse, but their efforts and strategies are directed at other regions, at influencing issues on a local-level and at integrating their efforts within the international system, as opposed to imposing their will upon it.

Regional security and peace process

FARC, along with the narcotraffickers present in Latin America are a factor of regional instability, easily linked to global terrorism. In the case of drug trafficking, this practice generates such a large amount of economic resources that it encourages the rise of black markets which cater to narcotraffickers' need for violence in order to keep and control their market share. With regard to FARC, its "anti-imperialist" discourse is easily assimilated to the anti-Western discourse of various terrorist groups, such as Al Qaeda or, more recently, Islamic State.

The guerrilla can undergo transformations similar to those of the paramilitary AUC. It may stay in the drug business or link up with other networks of international terrorism to survive under a new structure, as an armed actor in Colombia. The fact that part of their funding is tied to the drug trade makes this group an important player in the international narcotrafficking arena. In this manner, they abandoned kidnapping as a form of financing and turned to the support of drug networks and illegal mining. Another option is its conversion into an organisation that articulates global terrorism networks, supporting both regional and international groups. This hypothesis derives from the analysis that shows a trend towards the stability of the drug trade which, when coupled with the political and economic instability seen in Latin America, leaves a governance gap that can be exploited by these criminal structures. This governance gap is ideal for terrorist groups seeking to open cells in other regions, and thereby continue to maintain their combat level and financial inputs for the development of their activities.

In this sense, FARC, acting from Colombia – thanks both to the country's strategic position and to its internal conflict and lack of territorial consolidation – have made the Colombian scenario to become a coordinator of the activities of terrorist groups and narcotraffickers within the region. Colombia's borders, on their various fronts, present opportunities which transform the capacities of criminal groups. On the one hand, the FARC seek international support for their terrorist activities, while, on the other, providing support themselves to various terrorist groups. Recently the idea that the Colombian organisation had lent support to the Paraguayan People's Army (EPP), especially with training and in some operations, such as in the kidnapping of Cecilia Cubas, the daughter of former President Raul Cubas, in 2004 gained strength.

The Paraguayan anti-kidnapping prosecutor, Sandra Quiñónez, has raised the possibility that the EPP was strengthened with the inclusion of FARC members who are potential dissidents against the current peace process. In other words, the issue of

the approximation of the FARC with the EPP and the possibility of a real presence of Hezbollah in the triple border of the Southern Cone (Brazil-Argentina-Paraguay) creates a network of instability setting off the alert regarding a possible terrorist presence able to coordinate and act jointly (Infobae. 2015).

In addition to the FARC's direct support for these groups, they find – via the Colombian guerrilla – means of doing business and obtaining funds. With Hezbollah, the trade of weapons for money gives the Islamic extremist group a way to continue funding its actions in the Middle East while helping to maintain the weapons stockpile of Colombian terrorism. Additionally Hezbollah may provide training in return for an operating base in the region, as has already occurred between this group and the Mexican cartels (Infobae. 2015).

The FARC-Mexican Cartels alliance became known with the arrest of the official doctor of FARC's Secretariat, Carlos Ariel Charry Guzman, on December 6, 2011 in Bogota. (El Tiempo. 2011) According to Colombia's Attorney General, he owned the drug routes from the FARC to the Tijuana cartel, access to which was paid for with weapons. Caqueta, Putumayo, Vichada, Amazonas, Norte de Santander and Meta, are the areas most affected by the guerrilla's drug trade. All except Caqueta are border areas. The lack of government presence is offset by the strengthening and deployment of military units such as the Omega Task Force, in Caqueta, which puts pressure on South and Southwest blocks.

In Amazonas and Vichada, there are corridors which help the creation of drug routes through which inputs and finished product travel. In Vichada, the Meta River along with others that run through to Venezuela, facilitate the exchange of drugs for weapons (UNODC. 2006).

Using the Guainia and Casiquiare rivers, that run from the Colombian plains to Venezuela, bands of smugglers have connected Latin American cartels and the FARC with the Fernandinho Clan in Brazil (McDermott, 2014) and the Desi Bouterse Clan in Suriname (Stone, 2011). In a post-conflict scenario, with criminal gangs brim-full with FARC members who refuse to deliver their weapons, mafias will come for these resources and black markets worldwide will make use of them. This will lead in turn to more, and richer, and more powerful criminal gangs, as well as neighbouring countries with nuclear capability. The time it could take for such a process to occur is estimated to be a mere 5 years from the signing of an agreement with the FARC. Five years of mutation, fighting between gangs or cooperation, strengthening of international routes and links with global terrorism.

Conclusions

Challenges of national security are structured and defined within the context of the regional relationship, as detailed above. But the first necessity is to adjust the characteristics of national security forces to their traditional roles, roles which were transformed by the demands of internal conflicts.

The implementation of the peace process is important for the consolidation of the Colombian State, in the sense that the process is directly linked to the options of reintegration and demobilisation of all combatants involved in the conflict. It is not a case of FARC alone, because a poorly handled demobilisation or reintegration might lead to the increase in internal violence due to the transformation of the factions that refuse to play by rules of the negotiation process. It should be made clear, from the moment an agreement is signed, that any subsequent violence would no longer be linked to an ideology and that any attempt on the part of criminal group to take over the power of the state would be, without exception, a matter of sheer economic survival. In this sense, it is incorrect to speak, concretely, of a post-conflict period; there will be instead, a process of transformation and a criminalisation of the war in Colombia. The post-agreement period cannot fit into the current political discourse of confrontation in the country: it will be a mere matter of mafias attempting to fight the state and also battling between themselves.

In concrete terms, the security issues will encompass the protection of cities, the fight against drugs and all that that implies. The increase in illegal crops in the country illustrates this reality. The problem of crime that derives from narcotics is intensified if the country is no longer immersed in the political struggle for control of its territory. In addition, the absence of organised groups who cannot control parts of the country, such as the paramilitary and guerrillas did in the 90s, leads to small local leaders trying to articulate large drug trafficking networks with cartels that allow them to stay in business at regional and global levels. Colombia no longer deals with distribution routes and is only responsible for the production of narcotics and illegal crops. Over time, criminal networks in Latin America will be fostered; not necessarily the FARC in and of itself, but a transformed version of the group – be it after the success or failure of the peace process, facilitating the emergence of further arenas for terrorism and conflict.

Moreover, terrorism is a variable of the contemporary world that illustrates how insecure the international system really is, calling into question the actions of states, creating uncertainty in the XXI century, and needing new ways of both thinking about and confronting threats. It may be necessary to refer to broader concepts of security in order to properly comprehend the concrete transformation of ‘threats’ – creating new ways of dealing with them which challenge the structures of defence and security established during the 50 years of the Cold War. A new phase of evolution is upon us, with new actors, new powers and new structures within the international system. New forms of conflict arise, and with them, new generations of war.

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Nuclear Disarmament and Proliferation: Can we get the genie back into the bottle?

Antonio Ruy de Almeida Silva

Mariana Oliveira do Nascimento Plum

“The genie is out of the bottle in terms of some very bad stuff — chemical, biological, but also nuclear. People are going to have very powerful weapons. And they don’t care about safety, they don’t care about accuracy, they don’t care about reliability, they don’t care about making big volumes of these things. If they get them, they have power and they can alter behavior.” (US Defence Secretary Donald H. Rumsfeld)¹

The recent deal reached over Iran’s nuclear programme once again highlights the problem of nuclear weapons and issues related to nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation, which gained new impetus following the election of President Barack Obama.²

In April 2009, in Prague, President Obama declared the United States’ commitment to seek “the peace and international security of a world without nuclear arms.” During the speech, President Obama voiced his determination to implement effective measures that would enable nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation, including the reduction of the role of nuclear weapons in national security strategy, the negotiation of a new agreement with Russia to reduce the nuclear

¹ James Dao. “Rumsfeld Calls on Europe to Rethink Arms Control”. New York Times, 11, 2001. Available at: <http://www.nytimes.com/2001/06/11/world/11RUMS.html> Accessed on; August 10, 2015.

² Nuclear weapons meaning nuclear explosives and the means to launch them (Tulliu and Schmalberger, 2001, Rio de Janeiro, n.413, p.48-49, April 17 2006, n.413, p.48-49, April 17 2006

weapons of the two countries, the ratification of the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT), and the elaboration of an agreement on the Iranian nuclear programme.

These statements – celebrated worldwide as a new American doctrine on nuclear weapons – earned Obama the Nobel Peace Prize in 2009. The Nobel Committee of Norway said the prize was awarded to Obama “for his extraordinary efforts to strengthen international diplomacy and cooperation between peoples”, noting that great importance was given to “Obama’s vision and efforts towards a world without nuclear weapons.”³

Following these declarations, some measures were adopted in 2010 by the US government. Nevertheless, these actions have not progressed toward disarmament. The US President’s speech in Prague and the subsequent Nuclear Posture Review document emphasise that nuclear disarmament will not be achieved soon, maybe not even in Obama’s lifetime.

On the one hand, action for compliance with Article VI of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT), which lays down the commitment of states to pursue nuclear disarmament, is going nowhere. Nuclear powers continue to work on honing their arsenals. On the other hand, pressure and mechanisms to prevent proliferation are greater than ever.

This paper attempts to analyse the role of nuclear weapons and the issue of nuclear disarmament and proliferation from the perspective of certain international relations theories, and, based on these findings, seeks to establish and analyse succinctly a few possibilities on future nuclear proliferation.

The role of Nuclear Arms

After World War II, in a then bipolar world, the US’s nuclear monopoly was replaced with a scenario of nuclear proliferation. Nuclear weapons began to play an important role in the dispute between the US and the Soviet Union. However, the fear of a nuclear holocaust produced a great change in the nature of war and international security, leading Bernard Brodie to coin the concept of nuclear deterrence.

This concept suggests that a war between two states possessing nuclear weapons would be impossible, insofar as one of them, even after suffering a first strike, would be able to retaliate in such a way that would inflict more devastation and costs for the adversary than any benefit gained by the state initiating the attack. As such, since the advent of nuclear weapons, the purpose of military power was no longer to win wars, but avert them (Brodie, 1973).

Although proliferation hasn’t been rapid since the dropping of nuclear bombs on Japan, it has continued to evolve and countries such as Pakistan and India joined the club in 1998, followed by North Korea, which conducted its first nuclear test in 2006.

³ Statement by the Chairman of the Nobel Committee for Peace in announcing the choice of Barack Obama for the Nobel Peace Prize 2009. Available at: <http://www.nobelprize.org/mediaplayer/index.php?id=1173>

There are many prevailing theories that attempt to explain the causes of proliferation. These lines of thinking include those that consider external and internal factors as what influences a state's decision to acquire nuclear weapons, and the theory that regards technological development as the key factor leading a state to pursue the development of nuclear weapons (Olgivie-White, 1996).

Various arguments exist for proliferation: matters relating to security, power, and the prestige of nations, as well as domestic factors related to politics, economics and bureaucracy. The latter would include, for instance, technological development and pressure from the military-industrial complex.⁴ Other factors may also be at play in the decision to acquire nuclear weapons: the nuclearisation of other countries, the possibility of conflicts, the weakening of alliances that enable the protection against nuclear nations and the weakening of international pressure against proliferation (Duhn and Overholt, 1976).

Whatever the existing reasons, at least three conditions are necessary for the development of nuclear weapons: financial capacity, technological capability, and political will.

Nuclear Arms: Power and Security

For advocates of the realist perspective in international relations, nuclear armament is understood as much by a state's need to seek power, as by its need to provide its own security in an anarchic international environment.

In the view of Kenneth Waltz, bipolarity and nuclear armament were the main factors that contributed to the lack of major conflicts following the Second World War. Bipolarity, because it has made the world more predictable and responsibilities clearer, made for a safer world than multipolarity. Similarly, nuclear armament helped avoid conflicts between the two superpowers due to the concept of nuclear deterrence. Waltz argues that force can be used to attack, coerce, defend or deter. He goes on to say that if nuclear weapons are used to attack and coerce, the possibility of war breaking out will increase. However, if they are used towards defence and deterrence, thereby increasing the security of states, this possibility decreases (Waltz, 1981).

In pursuit of security, countries decide what paths to follow; the acquisition of nuclear weapons is an option that might be considered in countries' attempts to feel more secure. According to Waltz, states may pursue nuclear armament for several reasons. First, a country might fear not being able to rely on a nuclear ally in the case of requiring defence against an attack from another nuclear power. In the case of France, for instance, this uncertainty, coupled with the fact that the French national culture would not accept a secondary role in the global power hierarchy, seems to have contributed to the country's seeking its own arsenal. Second, a country might fear the strength of adversaries' conventional weapons. This could, for instance, be the case of Israel. Third, nuclear weapons might be seen as an alternative to a possible and very costly

⁴ Lewis A. Dunn and William H. Overholt article "The Next Phase in Nuclear Proliferation Research" presents an exhaustive list of pressures or reasons for a state to acquire nuclear weapons.

conventional arms race, if nuclear weapons are considered as more affordable. Fourth, a country might seek these weapons for offensive purposes. Fifth, a country might be aiming to boost its status and prestige (Waltz, 1981).

One must also consider that countries have historically demonstrated a tendency towards symmetry in arms acquisitions, especially in the field of conventional weapons (O'Connell, 1989), which can be extended to the nuclear field as well. Of course, this trend is more restrained in the case of nuclear weapons, for numerous reasons, among which one of the most important would be the international restrictions that hinder the acquisition and development of such weapons.

Waltz proposes the US adopt a selective policy for nuclear proliferation, based on the need for regional stability, US interests and an increment of security for each state. This pragmatism can be seen in the case of US support for France and England's nuclear arsenal development, silence regarding Israel's nuclear weapons and acceptance of India's nuclear programme. Contradicting those who consider that new nuclear states would be less responsible and less capable of self-control, Waltz argues that with more nuclear states the world would have a more promising future, as this would bring enhanced deterrence and reduce the chances of conflict between countries, as happened between the US and the Soviet Union, and between the Soviet Union and China (Sagan and Waltz, 1995).

Following such an approach, the possession of nuclear weapons would be a symptom of the realist conception of international relations. The pursuit of power and security in an anarchic system would generate the need for nuclear arsenal. The gradual proliferation which then ensued would therefore be beneficial in that countries would all hold nuclear deterrent capacity, thereby preventing warfare and guaranteeing the survival of states.

Hedley Bull considers that the issue of arms control is directly related to global political structures and the distribution of power within this framework.⁵ Thus, he argues that cooperation in arms control between the United States and the former Soviet Union – while serving universal purposes such as avoiding a nuclear war with the potential to affect the whole world – serves primarily their own individual or bilateral objectives. These objectives reflect their desire to maintain and uphold the privileged positions they enjoy in the world order. Accordingly, there is a tendency to confuse the national security of the US and former Soviet Union with international security itself. It ought instead to be noted that bilateral cooperation in arms control between two global players promotes their own national security to the detriment of that of other states, by developing, for instance, their own spheres of influence, or by preventing other states from acquiring weapons that could contribute to their own security (Bull, 1976).

As such, according to Bull, arms control between these two powers allows them to maintain a level of nuclear weapons based on and serving the principle of nuclear deterrence. This comes at the expense of nuclear disarmament as called for under

⁵ Arms control is defined by Bull, in conceptually broad terms, as those acts of military policy in which antagonistic states cooperate in the pursuit of common purposes even while competing in the pursuit of conflicting objectives (Bull 1976: 3)

Article VI of the NPT. The issue of nuclear parity formalises the special position these countries hold in the hierarchy of world military power. This is the policy that Russia and the US continue to exercise even in the post-cold war world. Talks between the two countries aim to reduce the number of nuclear weapons and establish verification mechanisms. They fail to produce concrete results for nuclear disarmament, serving their own purposes, and simultaneously impede the development of nuclear programmes in other countries, imposing tighter rules on nuclear energy development – even for peaceful purposes. Arms control, abstracting arguments in defence of this concept, by determining that proliferation is “bad”, serves to maintain the world’s existing distribution of power. Instead of calling for disarmament, it bans possession for those who do not yet have access to these weapons, without prohibiting those who already produce them from continuing to do so (Bull, 1976).

Bull further argues that backlash from the other countries inevitably occurs, since they deem the situation to be the reflection of a hegemonic system in which certain parties wish to maintain the status quo, therefore ignoring all calls for a more just and egalitarian international order. He reasons that to maintain a functioning international society of states, a consensus on the minimum level of order that such a system should possess must be achieved. He advocates, thus, for a distribution of power that includes the least developed countries, which constitute the majority of states and of the world’s population. Developing countries’ alienation to the world order is rooted in colonialism and racism, in the uneven distribution of wealth, in the technological divide, and also in the lack of power sharing, including militarily. As these countries evolve politically and economically they yearn, not only for order, but also for change. The countries which currently hold the reins of world power will thus inevitably be confronted with challenges from the developing world.⁶ Arms control regimes, inasmuch as they favour the most powerful states, are an obstacle to some of these changes (Bull, 1973).

Similarly, it is necessary to take into account that while arms control is basically related to military strength, changes in this strength affect other variables which form the patchwork of relations between states. In short, arms control is related to the distribution of power in the international arena. Horizontal control cannot be separated from vertical control and disarmament. When nuclear weapons states establish that these weapons are instruments for effective policy and prestige, important parts of their national security strategies, and continually seek to enhance them, they produce a very contradictory reality to the nuclear non-proliferation discourse that they so vigorously defend. The military power hierarchy is maintained through these rules which reflect a desire to maintain the status quo. Moreover, having more nuclear countries merely means changing the number without solving the problem. A fairer international society implies nuclear disarmament. Nevertheless, Bull, considering the difficulties of this position, proposes to seek at least a reduction in the nuclear arsenals of the major powers, coupled with the adoption of a principle of not being the first to resort to using nuclear weapons, and the implementation of a treaty banning nuclear testing (Bull, 1973).

⁶ The Iranian nuclear program is an example of this type of challenge.

Krause believes that the arms control policy agenda, and more specifically, nuclear non-proliferation, have been influenced by the liberal school of thought – and that its followers constitute an epistemic community that has been contaminated by ideological ills.⁷ According to him, this community has created myths. First, that the NPT would be a disarmament treaty, when in fact it was formed to be a treaty of non-proliferation. Second, that the nuclear powers would have changed their strategies to prevent the use of nuclear weapons in order to garner support for the NPT, when in fact, it is the national defence strategies of these countries that establish how to use nuclear weapons in the event of conflict. In his view, the US was acting prudently and sensibly in maintaining a nuclear arms race in order to contain the former Soviet Union, but this is not accepted by liberals because it goes against the whole idea they defend that arms races are always dangerous and lead to war (Krause, 2007).

Another myth would be that the US anti-proliferation policy had changed substantially during the Bush administration. Krause contends that the Republican president maintained, and, to a certain extent, expanded upon the policies of President Clinton, his Democratic predecessor. Clinton's policies sought to prevent a loss of control of the former Soviet Union's nuclear arsenal; contain the possibility of further countries becoming nuclear; and devise a nuclear weapons defence system and strategy (defence against ballistic missiles, protection from nuclear, biological and chemical threats, and a strategy for striking targets of mass destruction). Krause concludes by stating that nuclear weapons in the hands of countries with long established democratic governments and traditions of moderation and responsibility towards the international order are not a problem. He contends that the possession of such weapons by this small number of countries is even a prerequisite for the maintenance of global order. The problem therefore is how to prevent "problem players" taking control of these weapons (Krause, 2007). In short, Krause defends nuclear non-proliferation, dismisses nuclear disarmament as one of the foundations of the NPT and argues that nuclear weapons from countries with "long established democratic governments" contribute to maintaining world order. The author does not analyse, however, how powers such as China and Russia, which would not meet the democratic requirement, would enter this scenario.

Sidhu agrees with Bull and Krause that there is a relationship between world order and nuclear weapons and advocates that possession and protection of these weapons remains an essential element of post-cold war world order. He believes that, ironically, the NPT serves to prevent proliferation and induce disarmament of precisely the weapons upon which the world order and international security are based (Sidhu, 2008).

Singer also considers that nuclear weapons play an important role in global strategic considerations; he highlights, however, the existence of a racist attitude towards the Global South. Concerning nuclear weapons, he points to a sense of superiority amongst the Western elite with regard to the developing world, and to a certain resistance on the part of existing nuclear powers to allow developing countries to possess nuclear arms.

⁷ Krause uses Ruggie's definition, which considers epistemic community as "a predominant way of seeing social reality, a set of shared symbols and references, mutual expectations and predictability of intent" (Krause, 2007: 485)

Singer highlights a geo-cultural division in decisions related to such weapons, making it possible and logical, for instance, to simultaneously accept Israel as a nuclear-weapons state whilst condemning Iran for its nuclear programme (Singer, 2007).

Whilst there are other factors which contribute to the development of nuclear programmes by the countries of the Global South, Singer believes that there are two primary motivations still relevant today. First, the will to exercise their right to develop nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, as set out in the NPT, repudiating that this should be a privilege reserved for a minority of countries. Second, countries see the development of nuclear power as a chance to use this energy source to foster economic development. The author suggests an unconventional approach to deal with nuclear proliferation: an environmental approach that attempts to show the economic and environmental disadvantages of the development of nuclear energy and create incentives for the development of alternative energy sources.

Finally, Singer believes that given declining US dominance in the Global North and the increasing independence of Europe and countries such as India and China, there should be more emphasis on multilateral negotiations and more importance placed on the role of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and the NPT. For instance, acceptance of nuclear energy development for peaceful purposes as set out in the NPT should be accompanied by: measures that strengthen the controlling capacity of the IAEA; campaigns that show the economic and environmental disadvantages of nuclear energy; and measures that stop the development and proliferation of Russian and US nuclear arsenals. However, he notes that it might be too late for this “happy ending” as there is a growing sentiment against the hegemony of more advanced Western nations. This sentiment, nonetheless, is not unanimous, and nations such as China and India accept this hegemony, which shows that any analytical approach based on a division closely related to racial or geographical aspects is an oversimplification of the matter (Singer, 2007).

Post-colonial theorists consider the distinction between countries that possess nuclear weapons and are allowed to do so, and countries that do not and suffer from existing bans and limitations as a type of “nuclear apartheid”.⁸ Biswas believes that the discriminatory nature of the NPT coupled with the fact that the five permanent members of the UN Security Council are precisely the five nuclear states *de jure*, indicates that the nuclear non-proliferation regime perpetuates the logic of colonial violence, oppression and inequality. This logic, he contends, is clearly depicted in the institutionalisation and legitimisation granted through arms control treaties, which create a nuclear club made up of countries that have the right to bear nuclear weapons, excluding the vast majority of countries that do not have – and are denied the right to develop – such weaponry. Treaties such as the NPT and the CTBT (Treaty of Complete Prohibition of Nuclear Tests) serve, therefore, not to preserve peace, but rather to maintain the monopoly of nuclear violence (Biswas, 2001).

⁸ The term was used by India in 1998 to explain the discrimination that affects countries that don't possess nuclear weapons and to justify the development of its own nuclear programme. For more information on the article published by the advisor to the Indian Prime Minister, Jaswant Singh, see <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/asia/1998-09-01/against-nuclear-apartheid>

Biswas argues, however, that the use of the term “apartheid” in this case is analytically problematic in view of the fact that the conceptually implicit need for a democratic posture runs counter to the essentially undemocratic character of nuclear weapons. The use of this argument by India in 1998 to justify its nuclear programme, for instance, does not make sense, since the proposal for equal ownership for all states is used only to secure their own national interests. The current Indian attempt to join the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) is a demonstration that the regime of inequality argument is only made whilst the country is not accepted into the very nuclear club that it criticises. Hence, while recognising the related security problems, particularly with Pakistan, Biswas believes India’s decision to declare itself a nuclear weapons power must have been based on domestic factors (Biswas, 2001).

Domestic Factors

The argument that the existence of more nuclear powers might somehow be good is contested by those who view this proliferation negatively, arguing it brings more instability to the world, considering that some of the new nuclear actors may not have the framework to ensure the rational control of this type of weaponry. According to Sagan, the concept used by realists that countries act and decide rationally, based on costs versus benefits, can be contested (Sagan and Waltz, 1995).

The main point made by this group, based on organisational theory, is that military organisations behave in ways that could lead to a failure of the deterrence mechanism and a consequent outbreak of war, either by accident or on purpose. Unless there is strong civilian control, military organisations cannot fulfil the operating conditions needed to ensure stable nuclear deterrence. The second argument is that future nuclear weapons states would not have appropriate mechanisms for such civilian control, either because they have military governments or weak civilian governments with strong military influence (Sagan and Waltz, 1995).

The view that civilian control over the military makes the world safer is disputed by Waltz, for whom there are historical examples indicating that, sometimes, civilian leaders are less concerned about the consequences of a war than military ones. Some examples he cites are the Dardanelles Campaign, which was practically imposed by Winston Churchill, and the Crimean War, considered by the military as an “impossible war.” Waltz also refutes the theory that in a crisis the military favour the use of force. To illustrate, he uses as examples the crises of Morocco, the deployment of troops to Lebanon, the invasion of Grenada, and the Pentagon’s opposition to the invasion Haiti in 1994, when the US military were against the use of force (Sagan and Waltz, 1995).

The issue of nuclear proliferation is therefore deeply complex. Nationalist sectors within countries favour restrictions on globalisation and tend to defend a more aggressive nuclear policy. Concerning security, their arguments are more in line with those advocated by the realist school of thought. Conversely, some analysts who prioritise domestic political factors in decision-making regarding nuclear development call into question the link between nuclear weapons and security, arguing that nuclear weapons possession does not necessarily guarantee the security of the state and may even threaten it (Solingen, 1994).

Proponents of the importance of domestic factors in a state's given nuclear posture believe that states do not act as one unified actor. They have diverse interests and different domestic actors may have different perceptions of the problem of security. Hence, they argue, history has shown that some states have kept ambiguous nuclear policies, while others prefer not to seek to develop nuclear weapons, giving preference to economic and political aspects of globalisation. In this way, domestic factors influence decisions on the appropriateness in adopting or not the nuclear option (Solingen, 1994).

Likewise, they argue that the spread of democracy and economic liberalisation are contributing factors to nuclear non-proliferation. The expansion of democracy due to media influence and political parties, as well as groups opposed to nuclear weapons all contribute to this. Economic liberalisation also leads to this end, since national economic groups which view themselves as stakeholders in the globalised world are normally against nationalist projects and heavy military spending; indeed, any increased public spending is generally not encouraged and such actors prefer not to risk incurring economic sanctions from multilateral institutions or powers opposed to nuclear proliferation. Argentina, Brazil, South Africa, South Korea and Taiwan are, according to Solingen, examples of countries that have adopted nuclear policies along this line of thought. This position is reinforced by policies of encouraging cuts in military spending as a condition for the approval of economic aid, as adopted by some international institutions such as the IMF and the World Bank.⁹ Some analysts argue that these multilateral institutions, and also non-governmental organisations, influence domestic decisions regarding nuclear power. In extreme cases, in which persuasion and economic or peer pressure are unlikely to deter a country from the pursuit of nuclear weapons, and if it is judged that there is potential danger of their employment, these analysts defend the use of force to contain proliferation (Solingen, 1994).

Democracy and economic globalisation, however, do not always result in a domestic stance against nuclear proliferation. India, the world's largest democracy in voter turnout, which has been characterised by its pursuit of international economic insertion, tenaciously pursued the goal of becoming a nuclear power, despite international pressure. Likewise Pakistan, which in the early nineties put forth to India the prospect of creating a nuclear-weapon-free-zone and raised the possibility of signing the NPT in return for US economic advantages and a better economic insertion in the globalised world, ultimately maintained its nuclear programme and is today a nuclear weapons state.

Conversely, the policy of giving up nuclear programmes in exchange for economic advantages seems to prevent new countries from developing nuclear weapons. Although not successful in the case of North Korea, it did manage to halt Libya's nuclear development programme. And apparently the recent agreement signed between the five nuclear powers plus Germany (P5+1) and Iran, will limit Iran's nuclear programme solely to activities of a civil nature.¹⁰ It is difficult, however, to predict whether this

⁹ World Bank, *IMF to Press Defense Cuts*. Washington Post, Washington, D.C., B1, 18 Oct, 1991

¹⁰ The P5 + 1 and Iran agreement was signed on 14 July, 2015. The agreement allows Iran to pursue a civilian nuclear programme since it reduces its nuclear material enrichment capacity. In exchange for the suspension of sanctions imposed by the United States, European Union and the UN, Iran has agreed not to advance its nuclear activities at its Natanz and

policy will succeed in future cases. There is even the possibility that it could provoke the opposite effect: bringing about a decision by some states to implement nuclear programmes precisely to use as a form of bargaining chip on the international stage.

The Strategic-Political Role of Nuclear Arms

Some analysts advocate the validity of the possession of nuclear weapons, be they based on either external or internal factors, while others believe there are no such advantages to having them. The question seems inconclusive.

Contradicting the liberal view that war is a pathological deviation from the norm, realists say that “war has been throughout history the normal way of settling disputes between political groups ...” (Howard, 1987). States need to maintain internal social control and at the same time act upon an international stage of sovereign nations, with each defending its own interests, some of which are conflicting. States, thus, act internally in order to implement law and order and avoid conflict between social groups, since peace and internal security are fundamental to their existence. However, in the interaction with other nations, realists believe that “force or its threat has a very important role in determining the structure of the world we live in” (Howard, 1987). In this way, states seek to survive, influence others and achieve their objectives sometimes via the use of force, or the threat of its use.

According to Schelling, the destructive potential of weapons (conventional and nuclear) is exploited as a form of bargaining power by states that possess them. This forms part of diplomacy and can even be useful in influencing the behaviour and decisions of another state. Nuclear weapons play a prominent role in this “diplomacy of violence” because of their power to inflict great destruction much more swiftly and devastatingly than conventional weapons. Due to this particularly extreme character, meaning that military victory with decisive damage inflicted upon one’s adversary becomes less necessary, their advent has generated major changes in warfare. However, in this “diplomacy of violence” the importance of nuclear weapons is directly related to their non-usage: it is only effective when the political objective is achieved without the use of force (Schelling, 1966).

Sample holds that nuclear weapons have played a significant role in preventing war between the major powers in the last fifty years, at odds with the authors who consider the possession or not of such weapons as irrelevant to this period of peace. He agrees, however, that nuclear deterrence is not the only reason for this outcome, since it was not enough to prevent the Korean War, nor other conflicts between non-nuclear countries and nuclear countries. Accordingly, “nuclear weapons could have a deterrent

Fordow facilities and Arak reactor. Tehran also agreed to pass on to the IAEA information regarding its nuclear program and assured that the Agency’s inspectors shall have unrestricted access to nuclear facilities and military installations in the country. The agreement also determines the reduction of two thirds of the number of centrifuges, restricts which centrifuges and which facilities will enrich uranium to a level that does not exceed 5% for 15 years and prevents Iran from building new centrifuges for a period of 15 years. It also determines that Tehran reduces its stockpile of 10,000kg of uranium to 300 kg. The agreement also sets out to prevent the production of plutonium and transform the reactor under construction at the Arak plant into a model incapable of producing plutonium. The International Atomic Energy Agency will make inspections and have unlimited access to all nuclear and non-nuclear military installations.

effect, but nuclear deterrence would be a myth” (Sample, 2000: 187). In his view, war was averted during this period by the deterrent effect of these weapons, coupled with the development of standards and rules of behaviour between the opposing nuclear powers. This set of standards and rules was established via a communication and negotiation system that enabled cooperation on the international stage. However, Sample questions whether or not new nuclear powers would be capable of developing such a set of standards and rules so as to achieve the same peaceable outcome obtained during the Cold War (Sample, 2000).

Gray and Davis too claim that nuclear weapons contributed to the prevention of turning the Cold War into a violent conflict and argue that these weapons continue to play an important role in the current global strategic debate. In the post-Cold War world, we would be living a “second nuclear age” characterised by a scenario in which changes in the strategic field cause problems in the nuclear field where the threats are more diffuse. In addition, nuclear parity between Russia and the US would no longer make sense, given the reduction in conflicts and the political-strategic gap existing between the two countries, added to the fact that the international nuclear scenario now has new state and non-state actors (Gray and Davis, 2006).

Other analysts believe that the use of nuclear weapons as a means to achieve political goals is of questionable validity. Following this view, the possession of nuclear weapons does not seem to have secured any major diplomatic advantage for the countries that possess them. According to Bundy, for instance, atomic weapons have only one “valid and necessary role, namely deterrence against nuclear attacks by other countries” (Bundy, 2006). Examples used to support this argument would include the failures of Russia in Afghanistan, the US in Vietnam and Israel in Lebanon. Along these lines of reasoning, there would be a reluctance of non-nuclear countries to manufacture such weapons, since the political benefits would be small in relation to the political and economic costs involved in their development (Creveld, 1991). As such, nuclear weapons have served to contain armed conflict between the two superpowers, and their possession by other countries would only help to freeze conflicts between them, as in the case of border disputes between China and the ex-USSR.

Yet, even those who defend the reduction or non-development of nuclear weapons to achieve political objectives acknowledge that part of the status that nuclear powers enjoy in the international arena stems from nuclear weapons possession (Creveld, 1991). Coincidentally or not, all permanent members of the UN Security Council are nuclear powers, and all other nuclear weapons possessing countries form a group that is, in a sense, treated in a special way in the international arena. The possession of nuclear weapons is always an element that distinguishes this group from the rest. No one is saying that the simple fact of possessing such weapons will translate into direct benefits, but rather that this possession is certainly noted by other countries.

Given that nuclear weapons have not been used since 1945, even against countries with no nuclear weapons, some authors argue that there is a “taboo” that restricts their use, whether due to a rational or normative motive. A normative element would

be the generation or development of a nuclear “taboo” that has come to exist regarding the use of such weapons, which have become stigmatised in such a way that even when militarily advantageous, their use as weapons of war is not considered legitimate. This normative view maintains that the “taboo” has contributed to the non-use of these weapons, contesting the realist view of the non-use of nuclear weapons based primarily on material factors (Tannenwald, 2007).

Paul, on the other hand, prefers to analyse the subject as a tradition. The lack of political will to use nuclear weapons can be partly attributed to a normative tradition of “non-use” that developed over time, based on two factors: (1) the impact any destruction would cause; and (2) the adverse effects on a country’s image its use would cause. Although the logic of consequences is the primordial factor for “non-use”, the normative prohibition – reinforced by certain vocal parts of global public opinion – interplay in such a way as to strengthen the tradition of “non-use”. Although this tradition appears to have emerged from an acknowledgment of the different nature of nuclear weapons, i.e. their capacity to bring about swift destruction when compared to conventional weaponry, it was also partly “invented” to serve US and Soviet interests in order to prevent nuclear proliferation, helping them secure legitimacy for the monopoly of these arms (Paul, 2009).

Nevertheless, regardless of the theory – be it the realist analysis related to nuclear deterrence, or the normative one, considering the existence of a “taboo” or a tradition” – each and every one has difficulty in explaining the issue of non-use of nuclear weapons. Those supporting the normative analysis have difficulty, for example, explaining what the weight of the “taboo” is when compared to other factors: the guidelines for potential use of nuclear weapons as set out in the strategies and nuclear war planning of nuclear weapons states; the limited reactions from the international community in relation to North Korea; the nuclear agreement between India and the US; and nuclear exceptions granted to India by the nuclear Suppliers Group in 2008 (Potter, 2010).

Nuclear Arms and Armed Conflict

Nuclear weapons have contributed to avoid armed conflict between states holding such weapons. Among these countries, the possibility of a conventional war is reduced by the fear that any escalation of conventional fighting could lead to nuclear conflict. As noted by Waltz, any such state is deterred by others who have the ability to respond to the initiative of a nuclear aggression. However, things are so simple when states possessing nuclear weapons are involved in a conflict with others that do not.

The possession of nuclear weapons by a state does not always guarantee the deterrence against attack from a country that holds only conventional weapons. For instance, the possession of such weapons by Israel, which according to some sources had been

¹¹ The taboo theory defended by Tannenwald is related to the anthropological definition of the term, which would have an explicit normative aspect and a stronger sense of obligation than exists in a tradition. On the other hand, Paul defends the theory of tradition, considering that there is no ban on the use of nuclear weapons and that plans for the use of such weapons exist, drawn up by the countries that possess them.

developed with French aid in the sixties, did not deter the attack led by Egypt and Syria in the Arab-Israeli war of 1973 (Crevelde, 1991). On the other hand, the possession of nuclear weapons does serve to limit conflicts, as happened in this same confrontation when Egypt and Syria made no attempt to move beyond the previously established border lines of the Sinai and the Golan Heights, possibly for fear of the use of nuclear weapons by Israel (Crevelde, 1991). Similarly, during the first Gulf War, both the US and Israel used the threat of use of nuclear weapons against Iraq as a way of deterring Saddam Hussein not to resort to using chemical and biological weapons which, according to them, Iraq was in possession of (Payne, 1995).

Considering the premise that nuclear weapons limit a conflict, their proliferation could also inhibit action from current nuclear powers against countries that today have only conventional weapons. The policy of pre-emptive strikes, for example, would tend to be limited by the spread of such weapons among other countries. The case of Iran serves to illustrate this situation. The pursuit of nuclear weapons by the Iranian government, in addition to meeting its strategic objectives of regional leadership, would also be a way to hinder a possible intervention against the country: Iran finds itself concerned with the military cooperation occurring between Gulf States and the US and sees itself surrounded by the presence of US troops in the region as well as under strong political pressure from the US government.¹²

Equally, the case of Iraq cannot be forgotten, which had its nuclear programme stopped by an Israeli pre-emptive attack in 1981, which somewhat eased the US-led military invasions against that country. If Iraq had nuclear weapons, intervention in the Gulf would probably have been more difficult for the coalition members (Posen, 1997).¹³ Some analysts even believe that the possession of such weapons by Iraq, with their ability to reach any member country of the coalition, would certainly have avoided the recent war (Crevelde 2004). Similarly, other analysts say if Ukraine had not surrendered the nuclear weapons it had inherited from the Soviet Union, Russia would not have ventured to annex Crimea.¹⁴ Also contributing in favour of this argument is the fact that nuclear weapons are cheaper, easier to produce and more powerful compared to more sophisticated conventional weapons. Countries like Pakistan and North Korea, who have no great technological development or financial resources, were able to develop nuclear weapons.

There is, however, the risk that nuclear weapons possession could lead regional nuclear powers to feel free to intervene regionally against countries that do not possess such

¹² Document of the US Department of Defense, November 1997 already listed some of these reasons for Iran's interest in maintaining its nuclear program, which began in 1970, at the time that the Shah was in power ..

¹³ Barry R. Posen, in his article *US Security in the Nuclear-Armed World*. *Security Studies*, v.6, n.3, p.5, Spring 1997, develops a case study considering the hypothesis of Iraq having nuclear weapons when it came to the invasion, in order to analyse what would be the best strategy for the United States to deal with this threat.

¹⁴ Argument presented in the following articles: Crowley, Michael. Do not worry, Ukraine won't go nuclear. *Time*. www.time.com/21934/ukraine-crimea-russia-nuclear-weapons. Accessed on 05/08/2015 ; Zurcher, Anthony. Ukraine's nuclear regret. *BBC*. www.bbc.com/news/blog-echochambers-26676051. Accessed on 05/05/2015; John Mearsheimer argued in 1993 that Ukraine should not give up its nuclear weapons in order to maintain peaceful relations with Russia, in order to prevent the Russians trying to regain the country. The author said: "Ukrainian nuclear weapons are the only reliable deterrent to Russia aggression. If the US aim is to enhance the stability in Europe, the case against a nuclear-armed Ukraine is unpersuasive." Mearsheimer, John. *Ukrainian Nuclear Deterrence*. *Foreign Affairs*, Summer 1993.

weapons, with the purpose of promoting their own national interests (Posen, 1997). The recent annexation of Crimea by Russia is a good example of the influence that nuclear weapons play in world politics. Russia's possession of such weapons can certainly be seen as a major factor when considering that the United States' and other NATO members' condemnation of Russia's actions did not escalate into a military conflict. Recently, President Vladimir Putin has contributed to heighten tensions over Crimea by asserting repeatedly that Russia may install nuclear weapons in this region, sparking threats from NATO countries of a possible intervention.

In summary, from the analysis of several authors, one may conclude that nuclear weapons do play an important role in the international arena and are related to the distribution of power and the maintenance of world order. Besides their potential for being used as an element of internal cohesion and national pride, they can help to prevent aggressions to one's territory and limit conventional conflicts. The possession of such weapons increases a country's importance in the international arena and expands its ability to influence decisions to further its own interests. On the other hand, other authors assert that the possession of these weapons is not so important since the supposed nuclear deterrent was not a relevant contribution to the peace that prevailed during the Cold War era, and that the capacity of these weapons to ensure limited political objectives has not been proven. They consider that a "taboo" or a tradition of non-use of nuclear weapons prevails.

In addition to states, there is the widely reported concern that nuclear weapons could be used by terrorists. For these groups, the issue of "taboo" of non-use would not apply. Bull, in his 1977 article already warned of the possibility of the use of nuclear weapons by non-state actors. The issue gained momentum when the breakup of the Soviet Union increased the probability of weakening the control over these weapons. The issue gained greater prominence with the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, with the focus on Al Qaeda, and with the discovery in 2003 that the Pakistani scientist A.Q. Khan had run an illicit nuclear network for more than 15 years and had sold nuclear technology to North Korea, Iran and Libya. According to some authors, the question was no longer related to whether or not nuclear weapons would be used, but rather, when this would occur (Allison, 2004). Others, however, such as Robin M. Frost, believe this threat is not as great as has been proclaimed (Sidhu, 2008: 370).

Although this possibility does indeed exist – increasingly so as vertical and horizontal proliferation heighten – it seems remote, at least in the near future. The more likely scenario is the commercial use of radioactive materials for the making of a "dirty bomb" whose effects are extremely limited when compared with the potential destruction wreaked by a nuclear device. To date, the most widely known non-state attack using so-called "weapons of mass destruction" was carried out by the religious group Aum Shinrikyo in the Tokyo underground. However, even with the aid of scientists, special facilities and financial resources, the group was never able to produce large amounts of sarin gas, nor carry out an attack with a vast number of casualties (Sidhu, 2008).

In a way, associating nuclear weapons to terrorism serves the interests of nuclear states, who wish to maintain the oligopoly of such weaponry. This position is reinforced by Sagan's argument that developing countries would be unable to maintain safe control of nuclear weapons. The possibility and risk of nuclear terrorism is thus increasingly exploited as a way to prevent horizontal proliferation without tackling nuclear disarmament.

Disarmament and Non-Proliferation: Rhetoric and Practice

The question as to the effectiveness of the NPT provokes controversy. Some analysts think that the Treaty has achieved positive results, as only four countries have developed nuclear weapons since 1968 – Israel, Pakistan, India and North Korea, and the first three are not signatories to the treaty, while North Korea withdrew in 2003. Moreover, there was a reduction in the number of warheads, nuclear programmes and number of countries with nuclear weapons (South Africa, Belarus, Kazakhstan and Ukraine). On the other hand, some analysts view the Treaty as ineffective because it did not forbid other countries from becoming nuclear powers, nor was it successful in ensuring nuclear disarmament (Sidhu, 2008: 362).

Nevertheless, when considering the set of instruments relating to nuclear proliferation, there are good and bad indicators. On the one hand, there are negotiations, such as the Humanitarian Impacts of Nuclear Weapons Initiative, the new arms reduction agreement reached between the US and Russia and, more recently, the signing of the agreement between the P5+1(Germany) and Iran, which restricted the Iranian nuclear programme to prevent the use of nuclear technology for military purposes. On the other hand, there are a number of factors and events running counter to this trend: namely, increasing reliance on nuclear weapons in the defence strategies of some nuclear countries in order to reduce vulnerabilities; increased refinement and acquisition of new nuclear weapons; the US's legitimising of India's nuclear programme; the lack of progress in compliance with the Action Plan established at the 2010 NPT Review Conference; and the failure of the last conference in 2015, which ended without a final document for lack of consensus. In addition, the increase in tension between Russia and the United States since the annexation of Crimea has been paralysing the actions of the new Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START) and generating accusations and threats from both sides, which has led some analysts to state that we are now entering a new Cold War.

Failure by nuclear weapons states to implement Article VI of the NPT, which establishes the commitment to nuclear disarmament, is a problem that contributes to proliferation. Following the negotiations for the NPT, there was a lack of interest from the US and former Soviet Union in nuclear disarmament, and the article turned out to be very ambiguous regarding both timing and form of its implementation. There was, to a degree, interest in preventing proliferation, and the NPT can be considered as a treaty that envisages such a goal within its scope. But it is not a disarmament treaty – rather one of non-proliferation, and for some this is how it should be maintained (Krause, 2007). The indefinite extension of the treaty, as agreed at the 1995 Review Conference, without fixing a date for definitive disarmament, corroborates the view that the NPT is not focussed on disarmament.

It could be argued that if nuclear powers do not implement Article VI, it is because there are political and strategic advantages in not doing so. Furthermore, when states like India, Pakistan and Israel, which did not sign the treaty, developed nuclear arsenals they did not face any major problems or international sanctions. On the contrary, sanctions which had been imposed on Pakistan and India in 1998 in response to the nuclear explosions they conducted – were lifted. In the case of Israel, which until now has not faced any condemnation or sanctions, the world powers practice a policy of silence. Pakistan was made a partner of the US in the “war on terror” and even the finding that revealed Pakistani scientist A.Q. Khan had sold nuclear secrets to Iran, Libya and North Korea caused no major problems for Pakistan. Pakistan and India have commercial agreements in the nuclear field with China and the US, respectively. These include technology transfers, something that – theoretically – should not have been permitted as Pakistan and India have not joined the NPT. Moreover, since the signing of the agreement with India in 2005, the United States campaigned for the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) to permit exportation of nuclear technology to India and is currently leading efforts for the NSG to accept the country as a full member. All these measures demonstrate an acknowledgment of the nuclear status of these countries, which weakens the provision set out in the NPT (Plum Nascimento, 2015).

President Obama’s speech in Prague was not confined solely to the topic of non-proliferation, but also broached disarmament and suggested the possibility of a world without nuclear weapons. This raised hopes that measures would be taken for the implementation of Article VI. The speech gave new impetus to the nuclear non-proliferation regime, with a change in strategy from the previous government. This change provided momentum going into the 2010 NPT Review Conference, hoping to break the deadlock that was experienced at the 2005 conference when the meeting ended with no final document due to lack of consensus. It was hoped also that the declarations could advance the implementation of the 13 steps for disarmament, established at the 2000 Conference, but that has not advanced significantly.

Following the guidelines set out in Prague, the United States undertook a number of initiatives in 2010 to put the speech into practice. In April, the US published a document containing a revision of its nuclear posture. That same month, a Nuclear Security Summit was held in order to draw attention to the risk of nuclear terrorism and advance a common approach to nuclear safety. Finally, in December, Russia and the United States signed the New START, which will last 10 years, and amongst other things, provides for a 74% reduction in existing nuclear warheads¹⁵.

In the same year, during the Revision Conference for the Treaty on Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, the signatory states agreed on a plan of action which provided 64

¹⁵ The main points of the new START are: 1. Reduction of nuclear warheads that both countries have the 1,550 respectively; 2. Limiting to 800 the number of intercontinental missiles on board submarines and warplanes, or otherwise mobilised, for each of the two countries; 3. Limiting to 700 the number of intercontinental missiles aboard submarines and bombers positioned; 4. verifications of nuclear facilities, data exchange, as well as reciprocal notification of offensive weapons and nuclear sites; 5. Duration of 10 years and may be renewed for a maximum duration of five years. A clause provides that either party may withdraw from the treaty. The treaty does not impose on the US any limitation on testing, development or installation of missile defence systems planned or currently underway. For more details see: <http://www.state.gov/t/avc/newstart/index.htm>, accessed on 05.08.2015.

steps to be adopted in the areas of non-proliferation, disarmament and peaceful use of nuclear energy, and 22 actions that were aimed at nuclear disarmament.¹⁶

Progress in relation to nuclear disarmament however, stopped there. In fact, nuclear-weapons states have been seeking to improve their nuclear capabilities. In the case of the US, Obama's speech in Prague and the subsequent revision of the US' nuclear posture consolidating some of the president's ideas, shows – when examined more carefully – that the mention of disarmament is in fact used as an implement to strengthen the priorities of the US government: non-proliferation and prevention of nuclear terrorism. The document states that “as long as nuclear weapons exist, the United States will maintain a safe, secure and effective arsenal, both to deter potential adversaries and to assure US allies and other security partners that they can count on the security commitments undertaken by the United States” (USA, 2010). Ensuring the general maintenance of nuclear weapons, to which the President and the official document make reference, has already resulted in a large scale programme to develop and modernise nuclear arsenal at an estimated investment of US \$348 billion for the coming decade according to a report by the US Congressional Budget Office.¹⁷ Among the planned purchases are 12 nuclear submarines, 100 nuclear capable bombers, 1,100 cruise missiles and 400 nuclear intercontinental ballistic missiles.¹⁸

The United States is not alone in this movement. In June 2015, Russian President Vladimir Putin announced that Russia would add 40 new intercontinental ballistic missiles to its arsenal this year. China has invested heavily to boost its response capacity to a nuclear attack, having recently decided to adopt multiple independently targetable re-entry vehicle ballistic missiles (MIRVs), which allow for multiple nuclear warheads to be placed on a single missile, and can thereby reach different targets. The other nuclear powers also follow this doctrine of nuclear reequipping. The UK's decision to upgrade its Trident system means that their nuclear capability will be maintained until at least 2050 (Sidhu, 2008). France is in the final stage of its nuclear arsenal upgrade programme that involves the modernisation of submarines and aircraft loaded with nuclear warheads, as well as the production of new nuclear missiles. Like China, India too is developing MIRVs, in addition to new missiles and nuclear submarines. Pakistan is developing ballistic missiles, cruise missiles and systems to launch its warheads.

If in the physical realm President Obama's speech was not followed up by action, this has equally not occurred in the political realm. The Disarmament Conference remains paralysed. This political inaction is seen in the prolonged deadlock on developing a treaty to reduce fissile materials; the prevention of the arms race in outer space; and the negative security assurances (NSAs) going nowhere. Pakistan maintains there will be no progress in the negotiations until there is progress in the area of disarmament, an issue which has

¹⁶ Action Plan adopted at the NPT Review Conference in 2010. Available at: [http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=NPT/CONF.2010/50%20\(VOL.I\)](http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=NPT/CONF.2010/50%20(VOL.I)). Accessed on 05/08/2015.

¹⁷ Projected Costs of US Nuclear Forces, 2015 to 2024. Available at: www.cbo.gov/publication/49870

¹⁸ National Defense Authorisation act for fiscal year 2016. Available at: <https://www.congress.gov/114/crpt/srpt49/CRPT-114srpt49.pdf>

been obstructing progress at the meetings. The CTBT's entry into force is another issue addressed in the Prague agenda, but that too has not evolved. After almost 20 years since the signing of the treaty, the United States and China have not ratified it, while India, Pakistan and North Korea have not yet even become signatories.

All this evidence shows not only that the objective to reduce the role of nuclear weapons was not achieved, but how these weapons still hold a prominent role in the security strategies of nuclear powers. The distinguished Obama speech, however well-intentioned, did not translate into practical action. The document on nuclear posture, following the statement, uses the term disarmament in an instrumental manner to advance US interests. The lack of consensus at the last NPT review conference, held in May 2015, demonstrates that the exaltation surrounding the US President's address took on exaggerated dimensions and should have been analysed with more moderation, realism and pragmatism.

The existence of nuclear weapons states outside the NPT is another compromising factor for disarmament and for the legitimacy of treaty itself. The situation of North Korea, India, Israel and Pakistan, accepted in the nuclear club without having been required or strongly compelled to sign the NPT strongly undermines the document. The NPT-recognised nuclear weapons states may use the existence of these countries to justify non-implementation of the disarmament provision set out in Article VI. At the same time, the existence of these four nuclear weapons states outside the NPT is detrimental to non-proliferation.

Recently, the member countries of the Humanitarian Initiative group have promoted the idea of a convention to ban nuclear weapons. As this proposal has not been supported by the nuclear weapons states, the possibility is being debated of signing the convention, even without the participation of the latter. This alternative would be a way of compelling the nuclear powers and strengthening the norm against the use of atomic weapons.¹⁹

As can be seen from the considerations above, although the possibility of disarmament may have been exalted after Obama's emblematic speech in Prague, it is nonetheless a remote goal. The problem is that nuclear weapons exist and even if they were extinct, nuclear know-how attained cannot be reversed. Even the use of such weapons – which for many seems unlikely (whether due to the nuclear “taboo” or to the tradition of “non-use”) – is a possibility, some analysts note, that cannot be ruled out. Countries seek to achieve political objectives; avoiding a nuclear war is just one of them: and

¹⁹ During the 2010 NPT Review Conference, some countries of the international community expressed concern at the humanitarian dimension and impact of the use of nuclear weapons. During the meetings of the Preparatory Committee for the 2015 Review Conference, held in 2012, 16 countries, including South Africa, Austria, Chile, Costa Rica, Denmark, Egypt, the Philippines, Indonesia, Ireland, Malaysia, Mexico, New Zealand, Nigeria, Norway, Switzerland and the Vatican, submitted a joint statement expressing the urgency of eliminating nuclear weapons completely and irreversibly. In the same year, Algeria, Argentina, Bangladesh, Belarus, Brazil, Kazakhstan, Colombia, Ecuador, Marshall Islands, Iceland, Liechtenstein, Malta, Norway, Peru, Samoa, Sierra Leone, Swaziland, Thailand, Uruguay and Zambia joined others 16, and issued a similar statement at the UN General Assembly. In 2013, during the preparatory meetings for the NPT Review Conference, the group had a membership of 80 states and later that year, already totaled 125. There were three conferences held on the humanitarian impact of nuclear weapons, one in 2013 in Norway, and two in 2014, one in Mexico (February) and one in Austria (December). For more information, see: http://www.armscontrol.org/ACT/2015_0708/Features/The-2015-NPT-Review-Conference-and-the-Future-of-The-Nonproliferation-Regime

there is no infallible way to prevent this. Furthermore, the development of the precision mechanisms of missiles could contribute to the limited use of nuclear weapons against specific targets (Martin, 1982. PP: 3-7).

The commitment to non-proliferation therefore loses credibility due to the inconsistency between the possessor states' discourse and measures implemented on a real-world level. However, if disarmament seems a distant dream, we are nonetheless at a defining moment in world history regarding non-proliferation. To thrive requires that other countries believe that not possessing nuclear weapons is in their interests.

The Future of Nuclear Arms

What will be the future of proliferation? Considering the above analysis of several authors' points of view on the matter, one is able to gain a notion of the context and the pros and cons regarding the pursuit of nuclear weapons. At least four possibilities present themselves.

The first would be that of total nuclear disarmament. Nuclear weapons states convinced of the need to abolish these weapons, would establish mechanisms for disarmament, as called for in Article VI of the NPT, as would the nuclear weapons states that remain outside the treaty. This possibility is highly unlikely, since – as discussed earlier – there is no political will in such countries to give up a powerful tool that affords them such a privileged political-strategic position, contributing to their security and status in the international arena and which is, moreover – according to some authors – fundamental to maintaining world order.

In truth, nuclear weapons states have reaffirmed the importance of this weaponry for their national security policies and sought to modernise their arsenals. President Obama's address and the reference, in 2010, to the possibility of a US nuclear policy review could be seen to favour disarmament. However, there are many obstacles to overcome: the internal difficulty to unilaterally advance this position; the political and strategic commitments to countries protected under the US nuclear umbrella; the difficulty to convince other nuclear powers to disarm; and the complexity of the mechanisms required for verification of compliance. These are all obstacles that will be difficult to overcome as there will always be uncertainty as to the degree of commitment of the participants.

The second possibility is one of widespread proliferation, in which a large number of countries seek to develop nuclear weapons. However, as most countries lack the political will and the economic and technological capacity to develop such weapons, this scenario is also unlikely. As previously mentioned, political will, which is the most important factor, is subject to the influence of both domestic and international pressures. Historically, the number of countries that have become nuclear weapons states has been small, whether due to external pressures or domestic issues. With frequent internal resistance, financial globalisation, external pressure and the strategy of offering economic and political advantages in return for renouncing or relinquishing nuclear weapons, it is likely that this tendency will continue and that most countries will not be tempted to pursue the nuclear option.

The third possibility would be the maintenance of the status quo, in which only the current nuclear powers may hold such a status, freezing the current global stage. This scenario, although more probable than the first and second, is by no means easy to achieve. Historically, proliferation does occur and the number of countries with nuclear weapons increases, albeit slowly, over time. There are however certain identifiable factors that may contribute to the likelihood of this third scenario: domestic factors related to the phenomenon of the spread of democracy; increased participation of groups opposed to such weapons; more acute pressures to counter international proliferation, including via the use of sanctions as seen in case of Iran; the continued strategy of providing economic advantages and military cooperation as compensation for abandonment of nuclear programmes; and, lastly, the international conjuncture, wherein the US has a superior military and nuclear status, allowing them to negotiate on the issue of nuclear weapons from a privileged position. As such, the US government can afford to make “concessions” reducing its nuclear arsenal, using the lure of disarmament in the “long term” in order to ensure horizontal or vertical non-proliferation. Tags such as “nuclear terrorism” and “untrustworthy country” are used to strengthen arguments against horizontal proliferation.

Despite these factors, there are several others which contribute, conversely, to proliferation – such as the ever increasing technological ease with which nuclear weapons are developed. First, a sense of insecurity some non-nuclear countries feel, created by the banality of the threat of the use of force, following the end of the Cold War. Second, recognition of the political-strategic importance of this weaponry, acknowledged even by the countries that have them and that continue to develop new options for their use. Third, an observation of the international acceptance of countries that have gone on to develop nuclear weapons, such as India, Pakistan and Israel, which in addition to not suffering retaliation, have improved their security and status once becoming possessors of such weapons. Moreover, other than Israel, which is traditionally an ally of the US government, India and Pakistan were also elevated to the status of US strategic partners. Accordingly, although the scenario of maintaining the status quo is the most likely in the short term, if disarmament does not occur, a fourth possibility presents itself.

The fourth possibility is one of selective proliferation. In this scenario, countries with the political will and economic and technological capabilities would act against international pressure and adverse domestic factors in order to join the existing nuclear powers. Such an enterprise would be undertaken in the pursuit of improved status and security. These countries might also simply attain the know-how required to be able to produce nuclear weapons at short notice, so as to be prepared should the international situation so demand it. Contributing to the likelihood of this scenario is the fact that some countries are unlikely to be willing to forego the development of nuclear programmes for peaceful purposes, as permitted by the NPT, particularly while the possibility of the depletion of oil reserves spurs the pursuit of alternative energy sources, of which nuclear energy is one. With more and more countries interested in mastering the nuclear fuel cycle, the possibility for further nuclear military developments also increases.

The US has historically led anti-proliferation efforts, so it can be assumed that great pressure will be put on countries wishful of attaining nuclear status. Nevertheless, the US

anti-proliferation policy comes at a cost, and this cost is proportional to the political will of the state which aspires to become a nuclear power. Thus, it cannot be ruled out that the US government may consider that a selective nuclear proliferation policy meets its interests in certain cases. In fact, despite the efforts against nuclear weapons, it was extremely difficult in the second half of the twentieth century to prevent other states from developing such weaponry when they had the determination and political will to do so. The case of Pakistan and India are examples of this difficulty. India spent more than 30 years under US sanctions, but never gave up its nuclear programme. Furthermore, since 2005, it has been granted the status of strategic partner by the US, which has even pointed out that “as a responsible state with advanced nuclear technology, India should acquire the same benefits and advantages of other such states” (USA, 2005).

Conclusion

The political-strategic role of nuclear arms consists of two main components. The first, related to the power and status of the countries that possess them. The possession of such weaponry is a factor that distinguishes nuclear weapons states from the others. This factor can be used as bargaining power to influence behaviour and decisions in the international arena, and domestically to instil national pride. The second relates to a state’s security. The nuclear deterrent capability discourages aggressions between nuclear powers and can contribute to limiting conventional conflict between these powers and those that possess only conventional weapons. This being said, the possession of nuclear weapons has not always guaranteed success when the powers that possess them fight for goals that are not vital to these same powers. Moreover, there is a stigma regarding these weapons and opposition to their development from domestic sectors and international public opinion.

The end of the Cold War brought with it new variables. Instead of policies that aim at disarmament, as called for by the NPT, nuclear powers have reaffirmed the importance of such weapons for their own national security policies. Article VI of the NPT states that “each of the Parties to the Treaty undertakes to pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament, and on a Treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control.”²⁰ 45 years after the NPT entered into force, there is still no “near date” for the end of modernisation and development of new nuclear arms, and negotiations between the nuclear disarmament treaty states are non-existent.

The possibility of the emergence of new nuclear powers following the expiration of the agreement led to the decision to indefinitely extend the NPT, made at 1995 Review Conference; however this possibility inevitably ended the incentives nuclear states had to disarm. Aware of the absence of a framework for disarmament, states party to the treaty decided at the 2000 Review Conference to include a reference in the final document to the obligation for “a diminishing role for nuclear weapons in security policies

²⁰ Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. Article VI. Available at http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/decreto/d2864.htm. Accessed on 05/08/2015.

to minimise the risk that these weapons will ever be used and to facilitate the process of their total elimination.”²¹ This commitment was again reaffirmed at the 2010 Review Conference, but, as discussed throughout this article, little has been done to reduce the role of nuclear weapons in the security policies of nuclear weapons states. The 2015 Review Conference could have been a valuable opportunity to renew commitments with the new START, to give new impetus to the implementation of the Action Plan established in the 2010 conference and to advance the 13 steps for nuclear disarmament agreed upon in 2000. However, there was the same lack of consensus seen at the 2005 conference.

Even if disarmament does not move forward in practice, Obama’s speech and the revision of the US’ nuclear posture have made a contribution, inasmuch as the mentioning of a world without nuclear weapons is being used instrumentally to advance the goals of non-proliferation. If on the one hand, countries that do not have such weapons observe increasing international pressure to restrict the option to develop nuclear programmes for peaceful purposes ensured under the NPT, on the other, they note that countries that have recently developed nuclear weapons are accepted without any major problems by the other members of the club, further affecting the credibility of non-proliferation policies.

It is therefore likely that the discourse of “future disarmament”, allied with the propaganda about the risk of nuclear proliferation by supposedly “untrustworthy states” and/or terrorist groups will be used to boost measures taken against horizontal proliferation, and offered in exchange for some limitations on vertical proliferation that won’t compromise the effectiveness of nuclear weapons. In this case, there may be a strengthening of the NPT and other international mechanisms and institutions linked to the control of proliferation, without any consideration of disarmament.

The recent agreement signed with Iran confirms this analysis. The agreement is another legal mechanism that strengthens nuclear non-proliferation, establishing limitations on the Iranian nuclear programme and setting dates by which demands are to be met. In exchange, Tehran receives an end to sanctions against the country. The word ‘disarmament’ is only mentioned once in the text, and even then, it is merely to say that the parties signing the document recognise the NPT as the foundation of the non-proliferation regime and the essential foundation for the pursuit of disarmament and peaceful uses of nuclear energy.²²

The strengthening of measures to prevent new countries from developing nuclear weapons and the success concerning the Iranian programme could indicate that proliferation will be contained and the status quo kept. Yet, as discussed above, the future of proliferation is complex. While it is difficult to predict what the dynamics will be,

²¹ Final Document of the NPT Review Conference 2000. Available at http://www.nti.org/media/pdfs/npt2kfd.pdf?_=1316544426. Accessed on 08/13/2015.

²² Agreement signed between Iran and Germany, China, United States, Russia and the United Kingdom on 14 July, 2015. Available at <http://apps.washingtonpost.com/g/documents/world/full-text-of-the-iran-nuclear-deal/1651/>. Accessed on August 13, 2015.

the trend is for some countries in the long term to seek to develop nuclear weapons, or at least, to acquire the know-how required to produce them at short notice when and if the international situation demands it. Should this process of selective nuclear proliferation occur, then disarmament will not. The speed of this process would be conditional on three factors: the effectiveness of the pressure applied by domestic sectors; international pressure; and the technological and financial capacity of nuclear power aspiring countries. In this context, the Iranian deal could be viewed as just a circumstantial matter that does not change the structural aspects related to the possibility of proliferation.

Nuclear weapons are a reality in the international arena and their existence influences the political-strategic environment and the dynamics of international relations. The destructive potential of this weaponry has led some analysts to believe that war can no longer be “the continuation of politics by other means”, as defined by Clausewitz. The disproportion between the destructive power of nuclear weapons and the value of the majority of political ends would inhibit war. The truth is that nuclear weapons have not been used since 1945. And the world has not lived through any “major war” since then, despite the many conflicts that continue to plague our planet. Whether they contribute or not to peace, or should be extinct or not, nuclear weapons continue to be important issues to be debated. The new US position on disarmament appeared to provide a glimmer of hope towards a world devoid of nuclear weapons. However, this hope is fading, and while it does not materialise, and the genie does not return to the bottle, we are destined to coexist, for the foreseeable future, under the shadow of nuclear weapons.

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Future Prospects for EU–Brazil Defence Cooperation

Juliano da Silva Cortinhas

The present paper analyses the main possibilities for, and obstacles to, increased EU–Brazil defence cooperation – from the present day to 2030. The analysis considers three of the most recent documents on future outlooks published by the European Strategy and Policy Analysis System (ESPAS), and the key trends outlined therein.

These documents are:

1. “Global Trends to 2030: Can the EU Meet the Challenges Ahead?” (ESPAS, 2015);
2. “Empowering Europe’s Future: Governance, Power and Options for the EU in a Changing World” (GREVI et al, 2013);
3. “Global Trends 2030: Citizens in an Interconnected and Polycentric World” (ESPAS; ISS, 2012).

Whilst the first and second documents focus on a broader perspective regarding how Europe should adapt to meet the challenges presented by a new global environment, the third analyses how the emergence of individuals as important actors in the international system will influence global order.

The ESPAS tries, herein, to gauge how the world will look in the future, and to define how Europe can maximise its gains in each possible scenario. Six fundamental trends are outlined, forming a clear tendency:

namely, that cooperation will be an essential tool for countries and regions wishful of prospering in the 2030 world. The good news is that both Europe and Brazil have a very high potential of performing well in the future environment. The bad news is that they haven't yet been able to translate their respective capacities into increased cooperation so as to maximise their strengths in the near future. This paper will try to highlight some of the reasons for these missed opportunities, specifically in the defence sector, in an attempt to determine which are the optimal conditions to maximise bilateral cooperation.

Throughout this analysis, the hypothesis that engaging in international coalitions or ad hoc initiatives are, and will continue to be, important tools to maximise Brazil and Europe's gains in the future, is taken as given. The most important question, thus, is not if Europe and Brazil should increase their cooperation ties, but how they may maximise their potential gains from these efforts, in general, and in the defence sector, in particular.

The World in 2030

Since the 1990s, the international order has been going through a long process of transformation. At first, it seemed that democracy and liberal values would overthrow all other economic and political perspectives (FUKUYAMA, 1992) and that the world was inevitably moving to a more stable order. Today, however, there are several signs that these optimistic liberal views didn't adequately take into account the complex variables that influence the level of stability of the international system.

The future outlook documents analysed in this article predict that the world in 2030 will be differ vastly from all we have known until today. At least for the last 500 years, one or more states balanced each other's power and stabilised the international system, creating stability through recurrent and thus predictable patterns of behaviour (MODELSKI, 1978). This pattern seems to become less easily predictable; the current world is much more complex, indicating a potential paradigm shift. In the future, "powerful individual states and multilateral institutions will remain pivotal players, but there will be a shift away from state-based governance initiatives and mechanisms" (ESPAS; ISS, 2012, p. 139). While trying to pursue their national interests, states will have to negotiate with other kinds of agent, which form part of a complex web of influence spread over the configuration of the international order.

This new reality will be characterised by a more diffuse balance of power. This inevitably reduces the sense of stability that has prevailed in the last centuries, when ruptures from one reality to another were easily identifiable. The current rupture is not related to a clash of powers that try to downplay each other's dominance, but to a long process of rebalancing among state and non-state actors that operate on many different levels, forming a "polycentric world". This new international arena is characterised by "growing governance gaps as the mechanisms for interstate relations fail to respond adequately to global public demands" (ESPAS; ISS, 2012, p. 11-12).

Several trends are detected by the three ESPAS documents here analysed. The present paper shall focus on six of them. These six trends are interrelated and of varying levels

of importance; in order to facilitate the analysis, this paper will divide them in two different groups: agential trends and structural trends.

Two trends are related to the interplay of actors within the international system:

1. The emergence of individuals as important actors in the global arena. Although the human race is growing older and richer with a growing middle class, widening inequalities still prevail;
2. The shift of power away from traditional centres such as the U.S. and Europe. Developing countries, especially in Asia, are becoming more important and able to influence the global balance of power.

Four trends are related to the structure of the international global order:

1. Climate change and resource scarcity. Especially in central areas of the globe, this will deeply affect the international behaviour of both state and non state actors;
2. The increasing importance of new technologies and innovation;
3. The growing polycentric character of the world. Sustained development of the world economy is becoming more vulnerable to the challenges and weaknesses of the globalisation process;
4. The growing governance gap in the international system.

In the following six subsections, this paper will briefly discuss these trends in an attempt to draw a general picture of how the world will look in 2030 and, consequently, of which cooperation framework Europe and Brazil should plan and prepare for in future.

The emergence of individuals and the new configurations of populations

Overall, there are three dimensions to “people power”:

- › the development of the potential of the individual;
- › the power that this potential confers;
- › and the impact on public and private systems. (ESPAS, 2015, p. 13).

In both the developing and developed worlds, trends indicate that governments will have more difficulties in fulfilling their populations’ needs. This will likely lead to increased internal conflicts (mostly in developing countries), or increased political pressure potentially minimising governments’ capacity to deliver long-term policies (mostly in developed ones).

In 2030, world population will reach 8.3 billion people (ESPAS; ISS, 2012, p. 27) and this growth will be concentrated in emerging countries¹. Although this increase in the population of developing economies may become an engine of growth, most trends indicate that there is a tendency that it will generate negative results, such as political pressures for better services and resource scarcity in more populated areas.

In parallel with these tendencies, half of the world population in 2030 will be considered as part of a growing middle class and this increase will also be concentrated in the developing world. These individuals will be more empowered and better connected; their jobs will be more dynamic, but less stable. In most countries, this middle class will prefer democratic regimes over dictatorships and will pressure for accountability and transparency at all levels of governance (ESPAS, 2015, p. 11). They will value individual liberties and gender equality (ESPAS; ISS, 2012, p. 39), requiring more complex answers (that combine social, economic, and political efficiency) from local governments. Population trends can also lead to increased difficulties in the developed world: “populations in advanced economies are ageing, labour forces are shrinking, and there is a strong relative decline in population compared to the emerging economies” (ESPAS; ISS, 2012, p. 64). In this scenario, economic pressures tend to arise and governments will need to develop new ways to fulfil their workforce gap.

Power shift to Asia and the emergence of new actors

Although power shifts within a system can be considered as a structural variable, the idea of a power shift to Asia also occurs on the agential level because different countries will have the capacity to influence the global balance of power, bringing with them new ideas, cultures and values. In 2030, the United States will probably remain the most important military power in the international system, but this will only give it very limited room for manoeuvre. Military power per se will only be able to ensure its domestic territorial integrity, but will not be sufficient to back up its foreign policy intentions. In that sense, without forming coalitions, the U.S. will not be able to achieve its desired foreign policy plans; this fact may significantly change international reality.

Inter-state wars will be unlikely, since new diplomatic skills will be developed and global communications will probably lead to the spread of common values such as human rights. In this scenario, security will be promoted by the general public and by ad hoc coalitions, with less room for international organisations which are unable to adapt themselves to new, complex and easily shifting realities.

Different values will emerge in these institutions and they will need to adapt to more complex decision-making processes. “In 2030, most of these organisations will still exist, but they will have to redefine their stakeholders, their purposes, and their capacities and efficiency” (ESPAS, 2015, p. 44). The institutions that are unable to do so will not have the tools to contribute to the stabilisation of the global order.

¹ Grevi et al (2013, p. 18) estimate that 97% of the world’s population growth will take place outside of the rich world.

Finally, it is important to mention that the consolidation of these trends will only happen if emerging powers such as China and India, and countries that will still be strategically important, like Russia, do not try to disrupt the system. Until today, the consequences of China's emergence remain unclear, but most trends indicate that "it is possible that China could remain mostly a regional military power, rather than becoming a global force on the scale of the US (Watts 2011, Swaine et al. 2013)" (GREVI et al, 2013, p. 21). Since it is hard to imagine that these countries will try to take the role of system stabiliser away from the U.S., current trends indicate that these new powers will likely contribute to the formulation of new patterns in the international system, without upsetting its current balance.

The emergence of new non-state actors in the international system does not mean that states are not going to remain the most important actors, but there is a tendency that they will need to negotiate in more complex environments to achieve their ends. At the same time, the emergence of new state actors China, India and Brazil, amongst others, will bring different perspectives to the negotiations. In this scenario, international organisations will need to adapt; their current decision-making processes must be updated so as to ensure legitimacy. The era of long-term alliances is being replaced by an era of ad hoc alignments.

Cooperation and mutual understanding will be necessary tools in the decades ahead since no country will be able to achieve the results it seeks without engaging a large group of state and non-state actors alongside with it.

Climate change and resource scarcity

Climate change will probably be the most serious global challenge in 2030. It is a phenomenon with the ability to change people's lives in several ways via, notably, the exacerbation of water and food scarcity. This new reality will potentially lead state and non-state actors into conflicts that can translate into wars, since the problem of scarcity is not easily resolved, especially in areas where conflicts are already in place.

The three ESPAS documents emphasise the importance of this problem, highlighting the fragility of our planet and the excessive exploitation of its natural resources. "The risks are considered high to very high in the event of a mean temperature rise of more than 4°C. Even an increase of about 2°C could result in global income losses of around 2%, reduce the productivity of the oceans and jeopardise food security" (ESPAS, 2015, p. 37).

By 2025, the World Bank estimates that climate change will cause 1.4 billion people in 36 countries to be affected by food or water scarcity (GREVI et al, 2013, p. 11), a reality that may have extreme consequences. The affected countries will be mainly those of the developing world, since their rise remains dependent on increased energy consumption. Therefore, climate change may compromise their capacity to use their natural resources, especially if they are not able to acquire new technologies that minimise the environmental effects of their production systems².

² "By 2030, 93% of the rise in energy consumption will be in non-OECD countries" (ESPAS, 2015, p. 37).

Besides these differences between effects and challenges in the developed and developing worlds, coupled with the possible aggravation of the problem, there is a chance that negotiations on this issue may produce better results in future. There is a great amount of pressure on developing countries regarding the necessity to respect the environment by lowering their carbon emissions, regardless of a temporary increase in production costs. This pressure often leads these countries to feel they are being discriminated against, since developed countries acquired their greater wealth and socioeconomic development by exploiting the environment at a time when climate change was not considered a serious problem. These rivalries remain important, but they could be minimised if developed countries were to share their technologies with poorer ones. There is a growing consensus that developed and developing countries should jointly fight to combat climate change, since it is a challenge that can only be overcome by way of a coordinated efforts.

The truth is that “without corrective policies in the next 20 years, drastic and irreversible changes are expected in global eco-systems affecting the climate, biosphere, continents and oceans” (ESPAS, 2015, p. 37). Minimising climate change without ambitious and coordinate policies is not an option. How to achieve the requisite level of coordination to reach this goal without a leading institution at the helm – and in an area where no single effort is enough – is probably the greatest challenge that the human race will face in the near future.

New technologies and innovation

One of the most undeniable trends noted by the ESPAS documents is that the future will be dominated by high-technology products that will radically and increasingly change both people’s day-to-day lives as well as the relations between states. Nanotechnology, advanced materials, biotechnology, supercomputing, robotics, synthetic biology, chemistry, and information systems, are – among others – areas in which technological development can reshape markets, sectors and society. States that heavily promote investments in these sectors today are likely to be the global leaders of 2030. On the other hand, states that do not invest in them, individually or by participating in cooperative efforts, will probably form part of a second tier group.

Better results in this area tend to be achieved by the creation of coalitions and public-private partnerships (GREVI et al, 2013, p. 84). These efforts will be particularly important for developing countries because their financial resources are more constrained than those of developed countries, and they are usually behind on the development of technological systems. In 2030, the U.S., Europe and Japan will not be as dominant as they have so far been in the Research and Development (R&D) sector, although they will still probably be responsible for over half of global R&D spending. However, although these three actors will very likely remain the innovation leaders of the next decades – especially because the quality of their patents still tends to be higher than those developed by China and India, for example – BRICS countries will also become important players in the field of R&D (GREVI et al, 2013, p. 20 – 31).

Technological advances will also modify military operations and doctrines, since the use of cyber tools and space technologies will directly affect the operational

environment of future wars. “Potential scenarios include the destruction of satellites that support intelligence-gathering global positioning communications and data transmission, or which act as force multipliers for ground troops” (ESPAS; ISS, 2012, p. 99). Countries that don’t invest in these technologies will not be able to defend their territories and their information assets, becoming extremely vulnerable in every international engagement (even within the scope of peaceful negotiations).

A polycentric world

Power will be a very disperse asset in 2030. Not only because it will be shared by a multitude of state and non-state actors, but also because the tools that countries have traditionally used to acquire power will fundamentally change into a far more complex and multivariate array. Moreover, even when possessing a powerful and updated combination of these tools, a country’s capacity to achieve the results it desires by itself will be limited.

Military power is still going to be an important variable within the scope of the international engagement of states, however it will need to be constantly complemented with other tools. In parallel with this process, the emergence of other actors such as companies, non-governmental organisations, terrorist groups, insurgent groups, and ethnic groups – amongst others – will bring more complexity to the negotiation tables (ESPAS, 2015, p. 43).

Although military power’s effectiveness will, on its own, be limited, soft power will not, in and of itself, be able to produce desired political results either: “by itself soft power does not translate into political power (its absence is not politically crippling); it must be backed by powerful diplomacy” (ESPAS; ISS, 2012, p. 111). Strategically, an intrinsic combination of both will be necessary – but sometimes even this will not be enough.

Economically speaking, power will be decentralised. “Economic growth in the next 20 years is expected to average 2.2% in the OECD, compared with almost 6% in the non-OECD world” (GREVI et al, 2013, p. 19). As a result, solutions to economic crises will have to be widely negotiated and more countries will have to be brought to the table. The effects of the 2008 crisis were only able to be minimised through a combination of G20 summits. Following this pattern, future crises – which will tend to produce even more global effects – shall very probably only be solved by joint efforts taken by several different actors, positioned in a great number of different locations.

In sum, military, soft, and economic power will be more diffuse in 2030. Several graphs and charts (GREVI et al, 2013, p. 19; ESPAS; ISS, 2012, p. 110) illustrate how difficult it will be to define who in fact wields power in the near future. One of the passages that best describes the situation can be read in Grevi et al (2013, p. 61):

In the emerging international system, powers with vastly different concepts of world order not only co-exist; they intensely interact (Grevi 2009; Weber and Jentleson 2010, Kupchan 2012). Looking to 2030, it is unclear whether the traditional liberal democratic and market-oriented consensus at the basis of the international order will continue to be the predominant model of reference.

Governance Gap

A commonality among the last five trends is the idea that in 2030 the world will be more complex and a plethora of different actors will co-exist. One of the consequences of such a scenario is that legitimate global leadership (be it from international organisations or from any other specific state or non-state actors) will be unlikely to occur. This reduces the chances for the creation of public goods, or, otherwise put, for the production and management of “the commons” (GREVI et al 2013, p. 63-64). Producing public goods in the international system of the future will be a difficult task, especially because of free-rider and coordination problems (OLSON, 1971).

According to the ESPAS, the most important problem in this new configuration is that the redistribution of power is not being matched by a redistribution of responsibilities to the emerging actors. “There is a risk that the power of denial, or veto, will grow stronger than the power to achieve results. This will require all actors, including the largest ones, to increasingly operate via networks and coalitions” (GREVI et al, 2013, p. 12).

Since global governance will not be easily achieved, coalitions and alignments over specific issues will tend to become more important than multilateral long-term organisations and alliances. The ESPAS and the Institute for Strategic Studies (ISS) (ESPAS; ISS, 2012, p. 151) identify that the future world will not be characterised by a governance of clubs – a predominant feature of the Cold War system as well as of the 1990s and 2000s, when the G7 made key international decisions and set the global agenda. In the future, this will shift to a model of hub governance. Stability will arise from a pluralist system of different combinations of actors, interconnected by mutable and shifting specific and/or general interests.

The problem is that this model of ‘governance by hubs’ will only succeed in providing results when dealing with specific issues set within specific circumstances. The challenge of achieving global governance in a context of extreme complexity will certainly require significant reform of current institutions as well as a behavioural change of traditional and new powers. Unfortunately, current trends don’t seem to be leading to this positive scenario: “the gap between the expectations of citizens and the responses offered by the global political system will reinforce social dissatisfaction and create frustration worldwide” (ESPAS, 2015, p. 13).

As it can be noted by this brief analysis of the six most important trends mentioned by the ESPAS documents, the world in 2030 will be much more complex and the construction of global governance will be commensurately harder to achieve. If there is hope that governments will be able to deliver the policies their populations both need and desire, this hope will only be fulfilled if they enhance their capacities to engage in cooperation efforts that surpass the current and future gaps between demands and answers.

The next part of this paper will address how the ESPAS documents see the future of both Brazil and Europe. Finally, the main opportunities and obstacles towards cooperation between both actors shall be examined.

Brazil and Europe in 2030

Both the European Union and Brazil are seen by the ESPAS as actors that tend to base their international insertion on the premise of valuing international norms and institutions. Although possessing different capacities and strategic needs, they have similar inclinations in certain arenas, and seem willing to cooperate with each other to maximise their overall prosperity, both in domestic terms and as regards their international reach. The points upon which they diverge are not cast in iron, being instead negotiable. As such, there is a tendency towards enhanced cooperation between them in future.

The future of Brazil

Brazil is going through a period of many political and economic uncertainties, but most political analysts tend to be optimistic with regard to its long-term perspectives. “Brazil, China and India combined are projected to account for 40% of global output by 2050” (GREVI et al (2013, p. 24). Moreover, there are only eight players that “dominate global production in resources: China, the US, Australia, the EU, Brazil, Russia, India and Indonesia” (GREVI et al, 2013, p. 28). Some go even further to affirm that “Brazil may become a successful example of sustainable development during the next two decades” (ESPAS; ISS, 2012, p. 18).

These expectations are based on the resources and potentialities possessed by Brazil coupled with a recent economic growth pattern that has been combined with an important reduction in social inequality. The ESPAS and the ISS (2012, p. 112) defend that a comprehensive index of power that includes soft power, political unity and multiple effects of regional cooperation indicates that there are going to be only five powers in 2030: the U.S., China, the EU, India and Brazil. If this perspective is correct, these countries will probably be essential to the negotiations that will define the global market.

These positive perspectives are important, but there are clear limits to the trends they point to. Brazil still needs to consolidate its democracy and to rebalance the relations between the Executive, Legislative and Judiciary branches. Relations between federal government and federative states are also problematic and substantial political reform is needed to ensure the long-term stability of Brazil’s development efforts. Added to this, the country’s infrastructure is still based on investments made from the 1950s to the 1970s, although improvements have been made in the last decades. Social issues, such as high crime rates³, public health problems, and a poor educational system still limit Brazil’s capacity to translate its abundant natural resources into wealth, security and social welfare for the population. Despite these difficulties, Brazil has gone through many improvements since the beginning of the 2000s. Firstly, the country

³ Brazil has one of the highest homicide rates in the world. By UNODC (2014) measures, there are more than 50 thousand homicides per year in the country, representing the highest number of homicides in the world. When considered in relation to the size of the country’s population, Brazil remains in a bad position. There are 25,2 homicides per 100.000 people per year in the country, which is an absurd number.

invested a lot in poverty reduction strategies and in the redistribution of wealth, policies that increased the size of its market, generated higher growth rates and created a much stronger middle class. Secondly, infrastructure investments were again prioritised by the PAC (growth acceleration programme), although many of its initial projects are still waiting to be concluded. Thirdly, since the beginning of the “Lava Jato” (Car wash) scandal, which led to a vast investigation into money-laundering and corruption, Brazilian institutions seem to have been working well and several high-ranking political and business figures have been arrested, an unprecedented accomplishment in a country previously known for impunity⁴.

In sum, the near future may well hold unwelcome surprises for Brazil, but it seems that the current political crisis will lead to the strengthening of domestic political institutions: a considerable political qualitative leap for Brazil. As the ESPAS and ISS (2012, p. 117) well state, “Brazil’s potential is enormous”. If the country is able to navigate the current political and economic crises without suffering definite losses or structural weakening, then Brazil will be well-placed to finally take advantage of its potential. During this process and in a moment of limited resources and lack of stability in the international arena, cooperating with stronger partners can be an important tool for the country’s success.

The Future of Europe

By 2030, the EU will lose its relative weight, especially if compared to Asian emerging countries such as China and India. However, it will still remain one of the most important powers in the world, being matched only by the United States and China.

In order to maintain this status, Europe will have to face two main challenges. The first is to conserve its ability to act autonomously while keeping the door open for profitable partnerships. The second is to maintain its internal cohesion, especially in moments of crisis such as the one it has been experiencing during the last few years.

Although also related to internal problems, the maintenance of Europe’s cohesion is also dependent on the international environment. Migration challenges, for instance, can be directly connected to climate change or to economic crises. The rise of international terrorism, the recent surge in populism, and the effects of global poverty are other examples of problems that can reduce Europe’s internal stability. In this sense, the maintenance of Europe’s cohesion will only be assured if the continent addresses international issues alongside domestic ones.

Again, cooperation can be an important tool in this process. Bilateral or multilateral agreements can, in certain circumstances, minimise difficulties, especially those related to global issues. Grevi et al (2013, p. 13) emphasise how this can be achieved:

⁴ It is important to mention that although the current political and economic crises have been putting strong pressure on President Rousseff’s government, a positive consequence may emerge from them. Corruption scandals have always occurred in Brazil, but this one seems to be different. If the processes reach their end, a much stronger Brazil may emerge: a country where institutions are finally more important than the clout of members of the traditional political elite.

The EU could become more a “super-partner” than a superpower. The EU’s experience of managing rules-based integration uniquely positions it within a more interconnected and competitive global operating system. Managing a more congested and rapidly changing world implies developing new methods of political engagement. The EU may not evolve into a superpower in this emerging world, but by building on its strengths and experiences it could become a “super-partner” for other countries and regions, as well as with its own member-states (GREVI et al, 2013, p. 13).

Because of its positive international identity and recent history, a good strategy for the European Union would be to foster and develop alliances, especially with emerging powers which are keen to enlarge their role within the international system. Creating strategic partnerships with the U.S. and with other western countries such as Brazil could be a strategy worth pursuing to maintain and further the region’s international insertion (ESPAS, 2015, p. 79).

When analysing the potential and current situations of both Europe and Brazil, the ESPAS documents note that both can have a very bright future ahead. But in order for these positive predictions to be carried out in the near future, they will need to deepen their partnerships and cooperation efforts, regionally and internationally. Because of their high adherence to international norms, along with shared traditional cultural ties, the European Union and Brazil have very favourable conditions from which to construct strategic partnerships.

The following sections will further analyse the conditions that may maximise the possibilities of profitable partnership between them.

The discussion will focus upon the analysis of cooperation opportunities within the field of defence, including the aspects of trade and joint equipment development.

Defence Cooperation between Brazil and Europe: Opportunities and Obstacles

Although defence cooperation between Brazil and Europe can be considered an important tool towards their mutual future international insertion, it is important to recall that there is a clear limitation to the development of this relation since Brazil remains a peripheral country in the military/strategic field. Its military investments are very low and its contribution to the formulation of global strategic thinking is thin. This reality can be explained by two main sets of reasons. Since the beginning of the 20th century, particularly since World War I, the United States increased its presence in South America and its influence over the formulation of Brazilian strategic thinking. For many years, Brazil’s decision-makers believed that the region was safe insofar as isolated from European conflicts and, if necessary, protected against any regional powers by the U.S. In certain periods, specific Brazilian governments have tried to increase the country’s autonomy, but never has Brazil seen its defence establishment as a priority. Beyond these considerations of international context, the main reasons for Brazil’s lack of military might are connected to its

domestic environment. Traditionally, the country's diplomats and foreign officials have tended to trust international and regional institutions, and to see them as a source of legitimation to the country's international behaviour⁵.

Another domestic reason for Brazil's lack of military investment is related to the institutional ruptures in the country during the 20th century. Many years of continued investments are necessary to consolidate a well-structured defence establishment, but stability hasn't been a characteristic of Brazilian political history. Besides curtailing the country's capacity to establish long-term policies, political ruptures have led to inconsistencies in the country's international behaviour, affecting not only its capacity to become a trustworthy destination for foreign investment, but also its ability to regionally coordinate positions.

Finally, the third domestic reason for Brazil's lack of military capacity is connected to the country's social difficulties. According to the UNDP (2014), Brazil ranks 79th in the Human Development Index, holding a score of 0,744. Brazil's GINI index is 51,9, the 16th worst in the world (CIA, 2015). With many social problems to address, improving the country's defence establishment is not a governmental priority. From 1995 to 2013, public spending in Brazil grew from 14,59% to 18,97% of its GDP, while the portion allocated to defence grew from 1,79% to 1,40% of GDP.

This context has to be considered when European countries decide to negotiate defence partnerships with Brazil. There are many limits to the country's capacity to fully develop its potential. On the other hand, these limitations mean that Brazil cannot develop its defence establishment by itself. International alliances are fundamental to the country. This being the case, the following question is then raised: : if partnerships are both essential to Brazil and attractive to Europe, in what conditions can they prosper? The subsection below attempts to answer this query.

Setting the Scene: positive and negative Conditionalties

In general, Brazilian views about Europe are positive and European immigration played a very important role in the formation of the country's society; culturally speaking, Europe still exerts a strong influence over Brazil.

These pro-European views became politically important especially after the end of the colonisation period in Africa. During the Cold War, Europe presented itself to Brazil as an alternative to the bipolar logic. This said, the afore-mentioned influence of the U.S. in the country inhibited Brazil from extending cooperation ties to Europe during that same period since a balancing policy between the U.S. and Europe was neither attractive to Brazil nor to Europe itself. Finally, after the Cold War, many reasons contributed to the improvement of Europe's image in Brazil.

⁵ Although deeply entrenched in Brazilian diplomatic traditions, it is also important to mention that this posture can limit the country's capacity to ascend to a more relevant international position. Soft power and institutions can only produce limited results and, as the ESPAS documents describe, this reality will not change in the near future.

Firstly, Brazil viewed the Maastricht Treaty of 1992 as a very important initiative due to the value it places on the international legal system. Several analysts, even though aware of both historical and current problems suffered by the European Union, see it as an example that should be followed in South America. According to Carvalho, for instance, the European Union is “one of the most notable expressions of human thinking in the last years” (CARVALHO, 2002, p. 90). Other authors, such as Bosco and França (2011), make an analytical comparison of the main advantages and flaws of Mercosur and the European Union, but still defend the latter as an important model for the former.

Secondly, the increase in European investments in Latin America, and especially in Brazil, has contributed to the EU’s positive image in the region in the last decade. Europe is by far the region that invests most in Latin America, being responsible for 40% of its total received Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in 2011 (ECLAC, 2012: 62)⁶. And considering that Latin America is the developing region that receives least European FDI (it is behind non-EU countries and developing countries in Asia and Africa) (ECLAC, 2013, p. 60), there are still a lot of possibilities to increase these numbers.

Thirdly, between 2009 and 2013, Latin American exports to Europe grew sharply (REBOSSIO, 2014). Meanwhile, trade with Brazil accounts for 34,4% of the EU’s total trade with the region (EC, 2015). These trade increases are important, however it is also relevant to note that although agricultural products account for 40,4% and mining products for 28,8% of Brazilian exports to the EU, strategic products are becoming an important part of this relationship. Throughout the last decade, commercial and strategic ties were increased by the acquisition of airplanes, helicopters, and submarines, amongst other products.

On the other hand, some factors tend to harm EU-Brazil defence cooperation.

Firstly, although the European Union has free trade agreements with 11 of the 20 Latin American countries and an agreement with Ecuador which will be active by the end of this year (REBOSSIO, 2014), the EU still hasn’t been able to close a trade deal with Mercosur. The negotiation has been attempted for more than 15 years without any signs that it will be closed soon, especially because of the subsidies and trade barriers used to protect European farmers from international competition. The lack of a free trade agreement is harmful for both parties, since Mercosur represents 58,6% of Latin America’s economy.

Secondly, Europe is still far from considering Brazil and the entire South American region as a strategic priority. NATO and the proximity between Europe and the United States are often criticised in Brazil. There is a feeling, for example, that heavier criticism should have been voiced regarding the intervention in Iraq.

Concerning strategic issues, a third important difference relates to the Non Proliferation Treaty (NPT), considered discriminatory by Brazil. Nuclear countries, including the

⁶ The data used in this article is from the ECLAC report published in 2012, which has an entire chapter on European direct investments in Latin America. The ECLAC reports edited after this version (published in 2013 and 2014) did not analyse this specific issue.

United Kingdom and France, are not held to full disarmament, completely disregarding the treaty's article VI (NPT, 1970). More than 45 years after the treaty entered into force, neither European countries nor the United States have shown any indication of their commitment to full disarmament. Therefore, although Brazil and Europe "have the same objectives in regards to their vision for the international order" (LAZAROU; FONSECA, 2013: 109), important differences on how this order can be achieved remain relevant.

Setting the Scene: Advances and Difficulties over the last Years

Although Europe's presence in Brazil has grown over the last few decades, following the 2008 crisis it shrank once more, a process that has been matched by the corresponding increase of Chinese investments in South America, especially in Brazil and Chile (IPEA/SELA, 2013: 43).

An important issue related to the cooperation between Brazil and Europe is the aforementioned lack of a free trade agreement between the EU and Mercosur. In August 2014, José Manuel Durão Barroso, the then President of the European Commission visited Brazil and argued that both regions have been negotiating for 15 years and that it was now the right moment to formalise this relationship (REBOSSIO, 2014). He further went on to mention that the EU has advanced a lot in its negotiation with Mercosur and that "independent studies show that an agreement with the EU would represent an increase of 40% in Mercosur countries' exports to Europe" (REBOSSIO, 2014).

In an effort to pressure Mercosur countries to finalise the negotiations, Barroso invited Brazil to negotiate directly with the European Union, leaving Mercosur aside. This political act was heavily criticised in Argentina, where it was seen as a threat to regional cooperation. Officers from the Argentinean government declared that the then EC President only made the invitation because he did not have a clear plan that would fit his "slavery interests" (REBOSSIO, 2014). Although this criticism is worth taking into account, it seems that the pressure exerted by the EU may have had positive results on Brazilian officials (MELLO, 2015).

One of the most important steps in the near future for both Brazil and Europe would be to identify the agreement's most important points of blockage and to start negotiating their resolution. Even if the Brazilian position in relation to Mercosur changes, it will be difficult to close a deal with Europe if the EU maintains its trade barriers to the imports of agricultural products.

Although these differences remain important, in the military and strategic sectors, Brazil's partnerships with European countries have achieved considerable results over the last years. France's strategic partnership for the development of submarines is the most notable case of success, but the Swedish-Brazilian cooperation regarding Gripen jets is also worth mention. Helicopters, satellites, and tanks, among other equipment, are products that have been successfully negotiated between Brazil and Europe, proving that this partnership can achieve very positive results. Although Brazilian

investment in defence equipment remains low, the country is today better prepared to absorb high-technology assets and to jointly develop new products in this sector – a fact which has facilitated negotiations.

If Europe and Brazil want to deepen their ties, both sides need to fully comprehend each other preferences and limitations when negotiating strategic deals. Hoping to contribute to this effort, the present paper will now briefly attempt to clarify how Brazil defines its international insertion and how these parameters can influence its cooperation with European countries in security and strategic issues.

Brazil's Principled Action Diplomacy and the Paradigms that condition the Country's international Insertion

In general, Brazil's approach towards the international system is based on the belief that international principles and institutions are important and effective tools in the regulation of interactions between states. Although conscious of the limitations of these institutions and principles, Brazil nonetheless chooses to highlight their importance. This approach is called "principled action" by Ramalho (2015); he affirms that Brazil binds its foreign policy decisions by and within International Law and treaties. The author notes that principles have also a direct influence on Brazil's perceptions regarding possible partners and the actions it is willing to undertake in the international system.

International norms are considered a very clear limit to and guiding line for Brazil's actions. The concept of respecting and promoting an international order based on rules and institutions rather than force has been one of the most traditional features of Brazilian diplomacy. This universalist characteristic of Brazilian foreign policy can be identified in several instances, such in Brazil's dealings with the UN Security Council, the World Trade Organisation, and the Food and Agriculture Organisation, amongst others (RAMALHO, 2015, p. 78).

Over the years this posture has contributed to the stabilisation of South America, since Brazil insists upon the necessity to solve conflicts through bilateral or multilateral negotiations, preferably undertaken under the auspices of regional or multilateral institutions. However, respecting international law does not mean that the country considers every such law just and legitimate. At first glance, this may seem to be a contradictory posture, but it is not. Brazil sees the imperfections of international institutions, but it considers that those very institutions which were built by the international community comprise that which "comes closest to what a global government would look like, and... [are] obviously more legitimate than newly concocted bilateral or multilateral arrangements" (RAMALHO, 2015, p. 75).

Since the 1960s, when Araújo Castro, the then Brazilian Ambassador to the UN, pointed out that the UN Charter did not focus upon the needs of developing countries, Brazil has been pressuring the international community to reform global institutions. Today, Brazil still believes that these frameworks are not capable of delivering the

level of governance requisite to ensure peace and to allow for a more equal distribution of wealth between countries. Nevertheless, despite these reservations, the country still emphasises that these international norms should be respected because they were agreed upon within multilateral institutions.

Besides the general “principled action” approach, Brazilian partnerships are conditioned by specific frameworks through which the government views the country’s international options and then formulates its preferences. One of the most interesting analyses regarding these frameworks was produced by Cervo (2008), who argues that four different paradigms (liberal, developmental, neoliberal, and logistical) have influenced Brazilian foreign relations since the country’s independence.

The “liberal” paradigm, which kept Brazil as a commodity producer and exporter, was applied from the country’s independence to 1930. The “developmental” paradigm, meanwhile, was implemented as of 1930, when President Getúlio Vargas (1930-45; 51-54) entered into power, to the end of the military regime, in 1985. This paradigm spurred the beginning of Brazil’s industrialisation, basing this process on the ‘import substitution’ theory of industrialisation. The third paradigm was implemented during the 1990s, promising a “modernisation shock” to the country. This paradigm was called “neoliberal” and it was based on the so-called Washington Consensus and on the concept that it was necessary to eliminate trade import barriers so as to modernise the country’s national industry. According to many Brazilian thinkers (CERVO, 2008; BATISTA, 1993), the lack of planning when this paradigm was established was extremely prejudicial to the country.

President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva (2003-2011) was responsible for implementing the fourth “logistical” paradigm. This paradigm combines features of the last two, promoting economic stabilisation and accepting some of the Washington Consensus premises, but at the same time privileging an independent foreign policy, and a diversification of partners based on pragmatic choices.

The implementation of each of these paradigms has influenced several foreign policy decisions in Brazil. Firstly, their implementation defines the relationship between Brazil and the United States. Over the years, this relationship has been considered as paramount by most Brazilian foreign policy analysts. Liberalism and neoliberalism are paradigms that privilege the strengthening of ties with the United States⁷, while the developmental and logistical paradigms tend to promote closer ties with other developing countries as well as with alternate western powers so as to offset American influence in Brazil. Secondly, these paradigms influence the level of nationalism in the country’s foreign policy decision-making. Liberalism and neoliberalism tend to promote free trade and a greater internationalisation of the country’s economy. On the other hand, the developmental and logistical paradigms focus on advancing the country’s industrialisation, arguing that free trade has to be limited in order to prevent Brazil from

⁷ Although other countries can still be considered important even under liberalism and neoliberalism, their relations with Brazil are going to be directly influenced by American interests.

becoming a mere producer of commodities catering to the rest of the world. In sum, Brazil bases its international actions on a dual approach, or what Lessa (1998) termed “selective universality”. The country combines a deep commitment to international institutions and norms with the selection of strategic partners based on the paradigm that dominates its strategic thinking.

The necessity of this dual approach has become clear during the last decades, when Brazil decided to take larger steps to demonstrate its capacity to contribute towards the establishment of a more stable international system. This shift in behaviour comes with a price, a reasoning that the country quickly understood when, for instance, it tried to seal a nuclear deal alongside Iran and Turkey, or when it presented the concept of Responsibility While Protecting at the United Nations (STUENKEL, 2015). On both occasions, Brazil felt that it couldn’t fully count with the support of western powers and both events have shown that the country still has a long way to go when it comes to increasing its international relevance. In other words, there are still a fair number of differences between Brazil and developed countries – differences which still affect their relationships – especially when Brazil tries to promote new ideas within the UN arena.

Brazilian strategic Partnerships and the Case of France

Brazil and Europe have several potential commonalities that may lead to a strong partnership. Although some differences have also been mentioned in this paper, it is clear that shared values and perspectives are prominent in this relationship. This subsection will attempt to deepen the discussion on how a Brazil-EU partnership can prevail. The combination of the dominant paradigm that defines Brazilian foreign policy with the country’s historical principled action diplomacy influence the country’s strategic partnerships choices.

Although the present paper focusses on the cooperation with Europe in defence issues, this subsection will be showcase Brazil’s relationship with France throughout the last decade. The partnership between the two countries in the defence sector is today considered paramount by many authorities.

In order to properly consider a specific partnership, it is important to mention that besides being influenced by paradigms and by the concept of principled action, Brazilian strategic partnerships⁸ are historically conditioned by variables connected to three levels of analysis (LESSA; OLIVEIRA, 2013).

Firstly, systemic variables. In general, these are deeply connected to the analysis of the trends examined in the first part of this paper: as such, there is a clear tendency that

⁸ Although the concept of strategic partnership has been excessively used in Brazil during the last decade, especially since its diplomats have been mentioning it in almost every external visit, in this article we presuppose that a strategic partnership demands that both partners trust their counterparts and are willing to cooperate and collaborate with each other because they perceive opportunities and possible gains from this relationship. Even when differences emerge, they are solved beneath an institutional umbrella, not leading to conflict. They mutually accept each other’s importance. Farias (2013) produces a better and more complete analysis of the concept.

cooperation will soon become even more important than it has been until today. These variables are essential in the understanding of the scenario in which partnerships can be developed, but systemic variables per se cannot fully explain how a country defines its partnerships.

Secondly, thus, are domestic variables. Several authors note that these have a greater impact on how a given country defines its partnerships (MORROW, 1991; SIVERSON; STARR, 1994). These are, amongst others: Ideology, the configuration of the country's political regime, its degree of internationalisation, and its macroeconomic conditions. Although Brazil tends to be open to dealing with partners with distinct ideological inclinations (especially when more pragmatic paradigms prevail), there is nonetheless a long-term preference for building more stable relations with democracies that respect international norms – states that Viola and Leis (2007) call “market democracies”. Besides this general trend, Brazil tends to create partnerships with countries that are willing to share strategic technologies, or countries that have enough resources to jointly invest in the development of new ones.

Thirdly and finally, there is also a regional element to Brazil's partnerships. If a similar relationship, with similar gains, can be constructed with two different countries and one of them belongs to South America, Brazil will tend to privilege it regional partner. On the other hand, when Brazil is looking for a partnership for the development of a sensitive high technology asset, it is difficult to focus on the regional market alone, where technological and financial limitations are a burden.

The analysis of Brazil's partnership with France in the defence sector needs to be considered within a context influenced by all of these variables. France is a market democracy that tends to respect international norms, and which – during the apex of Brazil's logistical paradigm⁹ – presented itself as a pragmatic partner that could offer several opportunities for technology transfer.

Based on these positive conditions, France's strategic partnership with Brazil in the defence sector gained in importance during these last fifteen years, especially after the countries signed several defence agreements during the 2000s¹⁰. Throughout these years, variables related to the three levels of analysis presented above contributed to the partnership.

Systemically, three factors were important. Firstly, the end of the Cold War meant that Brazil didn't need to choose between being with or against the United States any longer. When Brazil decided to increase its international engagement, several different partners presented themselves as viable choices, and France was considered a very attractive one. Besides that, the U.S., especially in the beginning of the 2000s, started to redirect their international efforts towards the Middle East, leaving plenty of space for developing

⁹ The first Lula Administration, which lasted from 2003 to 2011.

¹⁰ Muller (2009: 23) presents a list of the most important agreements signed by both countries during the 2000s. These agreements and their intentions are also analysed by Aguilar (2009), who explains their *raison d'être* and the mutual gains of both parties.

countries to act freely. Thirdly, the positive global economic results observed after the end of the Cold War, when liberalism seemed to be delivering prosperity in many regions of the world, facilitated the increase of French investments in Brazil.

Domestically, Brazil stabilised its economy in the mid-1990s and in the 2000s it was looking for partners that could enhance foreign direct investments in the country. France, meanwhile, saw the opportunity to fulfil some of Brazil's expectations and several of its largest corporations started to invest in the country¹¹.

Contributing to the favourable outcome of the partnership, both countries were willing and able to exchange sensitive defence-sector technologies, personnel, doctrines, and so forth. This highlights a particularly crucial aspect for the success of bilateral cooperation: a strategic partnership cannot be established if one of the countries is not ready to receive the technologies and investments presented by the other. Difficulties in training human resources and building facilities to receive negotiated gains and knowledge from developed partners can limit developing countries' capacity to engage in strategic cooperation initiatives.

Since its inception, the most important year of the strategic partnership between Brazil and France in the defence sector was 2008, when Brazil approved its first "National Defence Strategy", regulating the field and establishing new parameters for its defence establishment. With the advent of the new legislation, national corporations, the Military and the Ministry of Defence (MoD) were able to start planning long-term policies for the sector. Other important events that year included the signature of an agreement ensuring the free transit of military personnel so as to facilitate joint exercises and the announcement of a bilateral strategic partnership on December 23rd 2008.

The partnership involved the acquisition of 50 EC 725 (Super Cougar) helicopters, produced by Eurocopter and Helibrás, and the joint construction of 4 Scorpène submarines and 1 nuclear propelled submarine. The total amount of the agreement was of R\$ 22,5 billion and it was widely lauded by Brazil's academia, media and Military (NADER; BRITO, 2009; NETTO, 2008; GIELOW, 2009; JESUS, 2012; AGUILAR, 2009; FERNANDES, 2008).

The agreement that consolidated the partnership was signed on September 7th 2009, when Presidents Sarkozy and Lula released a joint declaration in which both praised the agreement and looked forward to the deepening of strategic and technological cooperation for many years to come (DECLARATION CONJOINTE, 2009). Since its consolidation, the agreement has been seen by both countries as an example of success and an experience that should be repeated. According to Minister Jean-Yves Le Drian, "this is an exemplary partnership with an unprecedented technology transfer" (MOREIRA, 2012). The Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Affairs agreed with the French Minister, stating that "the initiatives that were implemented in the defence sector, by

¹¹ The first important companies that arrived were Rhône-Poulenc, Saint-Globain, Carrefour, Michelin, Accor, Danone, Alcatel Alstom, Thomson, Aérospatiale and Air Liquide (LESSA, 2000, p. 52). After this initial period, several other corporations started to invest in Brazil. By 2010, more than 400 French companies were installed in the country (BUSTANI, 2010, p. 170).

two great submarine and helicopter programs, and the development of cooperation in the space and superconductors' sectors, are emblematic examples of this high level of understanding" (MRE, 2015).

Although extremely significant, this partnership does not always run smoothly. When the deal was initially signed, expectations were so high that President Lula announced that Brazil would add another R\$ 10 billion to the agreement by acquiring 36 Rafale jets from France (MONTEIRO; MARIN, 2009; SANDER, GIELOW, 2009). This early announcement is seen today as one of the important foreign policy mistakes of that Administration, since it was released without the support of the Brazilian Air Force. The announcement was later cancelled and a decision regarding the FX-2 programme was only concluded in December 2012, when the Brazilian government announced that the Swedish Gripen had, after all, won the bid. Following the final decision, several French officials expressed their frustration at the outcome (UOL ECONOMIA, 2013).

Besides this initial frustration, three other difficulties have also hindered the development of the partnership. Firstly, the biggest challenge over the last years has been the lack of resources available due to the Brazilian economic crisis. Since the deal was signed, Brazil hasn't been able to uphold all its financial obligations under the contract, which has led to several delays in the development of the nuclear propelled submarine (LIMA; AMORA, 2011). As serious as this may be, there are still no signs that the delays may affect the political will of both countries to keep the deal in place. During his last trip to France, Brazilian Minister Jaques Wagner visited several sites where the components for the submarine have been produced and managed to negotiate new payment deadlines with his French counterpart. This was a necessary measure, considering that the Brazilian MoD suffered a 24,8% budget cut in 2015, one of the highest cuts in the last decade (BONFANTI; JUNGBLUT; PEREIRA, 2015).

Another cause for delays is the resignation of some of the nuclear engineers that returned to Brazil after having spent time in France. This occurred because the Brazilian Navy is unable to compete with the salaries paid by private companies that are eager to obtain well-trained and qualified nuclear engineers. Even after the creation of AMAZUL¹², this remains an unresolved problem. This reality illustrates once more how difficult it is for a developing country to acquire technology from a more powerful one.

Thirdly, there are regional concerns that Brazil's development of a nuclear submarine could diminish the security of other South American countries. Several Argentinean newspapers, for example, argued that Brazil and France were leading the continent to an arms race. Some analysts, however, declared that the agreement was just a natural modernisation of the Brazilian Armed Forces and shouldn't concern South American neighbours. If the idea that this partnership can harm regional security in South America

¹² AMAZUL, or Blue Amazon Defence Technologies, is a company created in 2013 by the Brazilian government to "promote, develop, transfer, and maintain sensitive technologies to the Navy's Nuclear Program (PNM), to the Submarine Development Program (PROSUB) and to the Brazilian Nuclear Program" (AMAZUL, 2015). With AMAZUL, the government was willing to maintain the nuclear engineers trained by the Navy by offering them better wages than the ones paid to regular Navy officers.

takes hold, it could undermine Brazil's political will to sustain the strategic relationship. On the other hand, this risk could be minimised by both Brazil and France by including Argentina, Colombia and other countries in the development of other defence systems. This has already been achieved regarding products such as the KC-390, for example.

Although significant, these difficulties are not enough to undermine this partnership's importance both to Brazil and France. It seems that the countries have understood the value of privileging a long-term relationship that has been commercially and politically positive for both parties.

In an era in which no country or continent can develop its defence establishment by itself, and in which technology assets have gained increasing importance, it is worthwhile for Brazil and Europe to deepen these cooperative frameworks. The above section presented general concepts on possible opportunities for Brazil and Europe to engage in strategic partnerships in the defence sector. Some of the arguments presented were illustrated by the example of the Brazilian strategic partnership with France. It is worth noting that establishing similar relations with other countries will probably be necessary for Brazil to prosper in the future environment. The conclusion of this paper will address the main opportunities and obstacles for the construction of these new ties, considering the future environment in which countries will operate and the concepts developed throughout this paper.

Final Remarks: Opportunities and Obstacles for Increased EU–Brazil Cooperation

The central goal of this paper was to analyse the conditions that favour increased defence cooperation between the European Union and Brazil in the future. This was based on three main lines: how the ESPAS predicts that the future will look; on an analysis of the perspectives for Brazil and Europe in the next decades; and, finally, on a brief discussion about the patterns that have traditionally guided Brazilian foreign policy.

As the three ESPAS documents analysed clearly state, the strategic environment in 2030 will be different to that of the current day. In isolation, countries are not going to be able to fulfil their societies needs: future problems will be collective. Governments will need to find ways to better distribute their resources among their populations while ensuring their security and the country's defence against foreign threats, mainly by privileging dual use technologies.

When analysing the characteristics of future cooperation initiatives, there is a clear tendency towards the formation of ad hoc alignments, which is related to the fact that global institutions' capacities will be limited since states' preferences have been constantly changing and long-term alliances are rare. Military engagements in the future will require the development of technology-intensive products, operated by well-trained soldiers. Defence establishments will need fewer soldiers to perform similar tasks and Armed Forces will achieve better results if they operate jointly.

In this context, certain developing countries which are well-positioned to enjoy greater international clout, such as Brazil, have to look for partners who are willing and able to share key technologies and to jointly research for new ones. In general, few countries have these capabilities and even fewer have these capabilities all the while being stable democracies. The few that combine these conditions are potential partners for the development of the Brazilian defence establishment and most of them are located in Europe. This provides a good starting point for European countries if they intend to increase their cooperation ties with Brazil. Negotiations on several weapon systems, such as the EC-725 helicopters, the Gripen jets, and the nuclear submarine programme have been increasing these ties and positive mutual perceptions. There is, therefore, an open door for increasing these negotiations.

After examining the context in which cooperation on strategic issues can occur, the present paper emphasised in which conditions it tends to prosper. In general, Brazil is looking for partners who are willing to engage in long-term relations and, when trading technology-intensive products, are opened to the transfer of an important amount of their knowledge. Negotiations which include other negotiated gains such as the construction of local plants or the undertaking of training programmes, for example, are very attractive initiatives for extra-regional partners.

Besides these general ideas on cooperation possibilities between Brazil and Europe, there are some more specific opportunities and obstacles that should be mentioned.

Opportunities to increased European-Brazilian cooperation in the defence sector

Since Brazil does not have enough national resources and local technologies to fulfil its development and strategic needs, especially after the emergence of a new middle class with more complex demands, the country needs to open itself to more international investments. Although China is occupying an important part of this market and the U.S. has already a strong presence within it, European investors have also been increasing their presence in Brazil, a tendency that can be maximised in the near future.

If Europe continues to be willing to adopt long-term strategies and if it shows the capacity to share technology, its offers will continue to be successful in Brazil and in other developing countries. In the military field, many opportunities are being opened in the periphery of the international system, where countries are buying new weapons systems and guns. According to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), Africa, South America, and Central America have had bigger increases than Europe and North America in their weapons purchases over the last 15 years:

Military Spending Growth Rate (200–2014)

Region	2000	2014	Growth percentage
North America	410	596	45,37%
South America	42,9	72	67,8%
Central America	5,3	9,8	84,9%
European Union	337	391	16%
Africa	19,5	46,5	138,5%

Source: (SIPRI, 2015). Figures are in billion dollars.

These considerations, combined with the fact that these countries are dependent on foreign cooperation to acquire or develop new technologies, can be seen as a very important opening for future investments in these regions.

Brazil, during the same time period analysed above, increased its defence spending from R\$ 20,75 billion to R\$ 74,217 billion, an addition of 72,04%. The difference between Brazilian efforts and the weapons modernisation programmes of most other developing countries is that when Brazil acquires new weapons systems, it usually demands negotiated compensations that lead to technology transfers or to the joint development of new technologies. Since the same technological and financial deficits that typically apply to other developing countries are also common in Brazil, from time to time difficulties may emerge during the development of the most expensive programmes. On the other hand, the country tends to increase its cooperation demands while seeking to deepen the modernisation of its defence establishment.

But again, these potential opportunities will only be fulfilled if European companies understand that they must be ready to invest in building long-term relationships; cooperation proposals will only be fully acceptable to both parties when profit is associated with local development and jobs. Brazilian defence documents, especially the National Defence Strategy, closely associate defence and development, a clear indication that investments in this area will only occur if they can bring results to other sectors. Therefore, an emphasis on dual use technologies will certainly bring positive results for European companies.

Obstacles to increased European-Brazilian cooperation in the defence sector

Although circumstances are primed for several opportunities to emerge in the near future, there are important obstacles to increased bilateral cooperation between Brazil and Europe in the defence sector. The first is connected to Europe itself, since its strategic priority focusses on enhancing cooperation with other NATO members. In the current economic and strategic scenarios, it is difficult for a country (or a region) to establish strong cooperation ties with several different partners at once, which may reduce opportunities for ties with Brazil.

Another obstacle is Brazil's limited capacity to absorb technologies. Although the country is industrialised and has been experiencing considerable growth in the last fifteen years, it still suffers from a lack of qualified engineers¹³, its educational system has many flaws, and it has difficulties in increasing investment in research. It is interesting that along with the several strong potentialities, Brazil maintains a plethora of very basic problems that lower its capacity to emerge as a more significant player in the international system. The Brazilian government, for example, is still trying to find ways to minimise the financial burdens imposed on local defence companies that sometimes spend many years trying to develop new technologies that may result in nothing but failed experiences.

A third possible obstacle to the increase of European investments in the Brazilian defence sector is the existence of other countries that are also willing to establish long-term relationships with Brazil. The United States, for instance, has over the years used its geographical proximity to try to maintain an open dialogue with Brazil, a fact which has the potential to reduce Europe's leverage. These American efforts haven't resulted in the consolidation of a strategic partnership between Brazil and the U.S., but the American presence and the recent contacts between both countries may well lead to that. Moreover, the possible obstacles that the United States has the ability to impose on technological exports from Europe to Brazil are an aspect worth considering.

Finally, another limitation for Brazil in the defence area is the current condition of its defence establishment. The memory of the military regime is still fresh and this reality keeps influencing civil-military relations in the country, hindering the establishment of an adequate defence structure. Many improvements have occurred since the approval of the National Defence Strategy in 2008, but there are several steps remaining.

All of these limitations are of consequence, however they can be translated into opportunities if some measures are adopted by both the European Union and by Brazil. Firstly, European negotiators could include training and capacitation initiatives in their contract offers.

Secondly, an area of cooperation that hasn't yet been explored is the exchange of experiences in the establishment of balanced civil-military relations, which is a precondition for a mature defence system. Lessons from different European countries, such as France, the United Kingdom, and others, can bring many valuable examples to Brazil.

A more cautious analysis of these opportunities and obstacles might lead decision-makers to believe that investing in new strategic partnerships with Brazil is a risky venture. This is not entirely untrue, but Brazil is the only Latin American country that can manage the maintenance of a complex Industrial Defence Base, although many reforms are needed to achieve that end. If Europe is willing to take a few risks, it may lead to very attractive political (and economic) rewards.

¹³ According to the Federal Council of Engineering, Architecture, and Agronomy (CONFEA), there is a deficit of 20,000 engineers per year in Brazil. Information available at: <<http://opinio.estado.com.br/noticias/geral,a-falta-de-engenheiros-imp-,840931>>.

When the European Union decides to increase its presence in South America, Brazil, as the most significant regional player, would be the obvious choice for Europeans. But in order to achieve positive and long-term results while cooperating with Brazil, Europe should allow for the sharing of skills and know-how it has been developing for many years. Opening partnerships in a region where military investments have been increased and countries lack the capacity to develop their defence sectors by themselves can bring several interesting results in the long-run. As such, all aspects and risk duly considered, Brazil seems to be a very attractive option for Europe – and vice versa.

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Elements of a democratically-based anti-authoritarian Foreign Policy

Lars Brozus

The year 2015 is being marked by serious international turbulence. War and instability abound, including – but not limited to – events in the Ukraine, Yemen and the expansion of the Islamic State in Syria and Iraq. These are but a few of the more recent additions to a long list of still bubbling crises. As a result, conflicts which were at the centre of international politics for decades – such as the Israel-Palestine conflict, the wars and instabilities in Afghanistan and the turbulence in various regions of Sub-Saharan Africa – have somewhat receded into the background, at least until they flare-up again. To this rather bleak scenario must, in turn, be added: the uncertainty regarding the Iranian and North-Korean nuclear programmes; the as-of-yet unclear – but in all likelihood overwhelmingly negative – consequences of climate change; the serious risks to global political and economic stability ensuing from the continued debt crises and growing inequality; as well as the destabilising effects of epidemics, such as Ebola.

The sheer number of wars, crises and conflicts that need to be addressed threaten to overwhelm long-standing institutions, such as the UN (United Nations). This presents so-called governance clubs with the opportunity to acquire and/or improve their international political profile. Dissatisfaction with the universalistic organisations that were established after World War II (i.e. the UN, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund) has led to a diversification of particularistic institutions.

The weakness of the UN is the strength of the Governance-Clubs

The UN remains entrusted with the objective of upholding peace and security at the international level. Nevertheless, the UN's capacity is, to a large extent, dependent on the political will and capabilities of its member states. It is only when these provide adequate resources and sufficient political support that the organisation is able carry out its tasks in an effective manner. Yet, the UN, which in the current year of 2015 shall celebrate its 70th anniversary, is often prevented from properly regulating international affairs. This difficulty was made clearly evident during the recent disagreements within the organisation's Security Council regarding a potential intervention in Syria. As a result of this deadlock, the G7 – as well as the G20 – have become alternatives, including in the defence and security realm. Heads of state and government have come to appreciate these clubs, given that – as compared to the UN – they function in a far more informal and flexible manner.

Since 2008, the G20 has grown significantly in importance as the prime venue for combatting the various global financial and economic crises. Its meetings have acquired the status of summits between heads of state and government, giving rise to an increased level of both expectations and fears regarding what may result from this club of key global players.¹ Meanwhile, the G20 has come to consider itself as a critically important player within the context of global governance i.e. the production and management of global public goods.

For institutionalised forms of multilateralism, such as the UN, the G20 represents a major political challenge. Both organisations promise an effective response to global problems within the framework of global governance. Because they are similarly engaged in the production and management of global public goods, they run the risk of competing with each other. The UN relies on its legitimacy as the “umbrella institution” of the international community to decide on how to confront global challenges in a formalised manner. The G20, on the other hand, relies on informal understandings between member country heads of state and government.

Intrinsically, the G20 has no decision-making power. However, it sets forth positions, which are subsequently formalised by the relevant international institutions. In this manner, at the G20 summit in Seoul, in 2010, the member nations' heads of state and government reached an agreement on the amendment to voting rights within international financial institutions (IFIs), such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), thereby fulfilling a long-standing demand of emerging economic powers, such as China, India and Brazil. However, with the apparent waning of the major global financial and economic crisis, the conflicts between the critics of the old multilateral order that benefited the major powers of 1945 resurfaced. Given that these fundamental contradictions cannot be harmonised within a collective

¹ The G20 include Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Canada, China, France, Germany, India, Indonesia, Italy, Japan, Mexico, Russia, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, South Korea, Turkey, the UK, the USA, as well as the EU.

institution, such as the G20, the group lost a certain degree of coherence. This in turn opens up room for manoeuvre that can be utilised by other governance clubs, such as the G7 and the BRICS.

The case for closer cooperation beyond the G7

The G7 was established in 1975 in order, primarily, to coordinate the financial and economic policies of the world's seven most industrialised countries.² Initially, other issues, such as defence and security were not focussed upon. The BRICS comprise Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa.³ However, the political, economic and socio-cultural discrepancies between the member states are particularly striking. Considering the political dimension, whereas China and Russia are authoritarian regimes, Brazil, India and South Africa are proudly democratic. Regarding the economic angle, meanwhile, the significant gap between China's high economic performance and that of the other members of the club is likely to continue increasing as opposed to decreasing. Finally, from a socio-cultural point of view, whereas the democratic members of the bloc pride themselves on being free societies with a tradition of open political criticism, China and Russia's societies are surveillance-controlled.⁴ Therefore, it must be pointed out that the BRICS are not a very coherent ensemble. It remains to be seen whether any meaningful cooperation beyond simple converging interests will be possible. In other words, given their significant differences, it seems more likely that the BRICS shall only be successful in specific cooperation initiatives that satisfy the interests of all parties, as opposed to the developing and sustaining of wide-ranging policies (Stuenkel 2015-b).

Europe and North America are steadily losing relative importance in the globalised, networked and interdependent world of today. The Ukraine crisis highlighted this fact: except for the more or less directly affected western countries this conflict has, to a large extent, virtually been ignored. Apart from the G7 and the EU, only a handful of countries have imposed sanctions on Russia (the most important exceptions are Australia, New Zealand, Norway and Switzerland). Even close allies, such as Israel, South Korea and Turkey are holding back. Apparently, the majority of the G20 member states do not share the west's concerns about Russian policy. It is thus unsurprising that Russia should feel correspondingly low pressure, and little fear of international isolation, which might lead it to change its political direction.

The perception of "being the only ones who care about the rules" (to paraphrase the unforgettable Walter Sobchak in "The Big Lebowski") provides a strong incentive

² Member-states are Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, the UK, and the US. The EU is represented within all meetings.

³ In addition, India, Brazil and South Africa comprise the IBSA-Club (Stuenkel 2015-a). They see themselves as the representatives of their respective regions: Brazil for Latin America, India for Southeast Asia, and South Africa for Sub-Saharan Africa. Furthermore, regarded jointly, they deem themselves as representatives of emerging countries in relation to industrialised countries, particularly the G7. Both components – the regional leadership claim, with simultaneous representation of emerging markets – are also important reasons why Russia and particularly China have established the club of the BRICS with these partners. The self-perception of the IBSA-States is, of course, contested by competitive neighbours or regional rivals (Mexico and Argentina in the case of Brazil, Pakistan in the case of India, and Nigeria and Ethiopia in the case of South Africa).

⁴ "Reporters without Borders" Press Freedom Index 2015 ranks the BRICS accordingly (180 countries): Brazil 31.93 (Rank 99), Russia 44.97 (Rank 152), India 40.49 (Rank 136), China 73.55 (Rank 176), South Africa 22.06 (Rank 39), access: <https://index.rsf.org/#/index-details>.

for the G7 member states to coordinate their politics even more closely. However, to achieve closer cooperation, the differences between the G7 members need to be smoothed out. Such differences include, amongst others, concerns regarding the TTIP negotiations (The Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership), or policies regarding cyber issues and data security. In view of the asymmetries of power within the G7, the most likely outcome of such divergences is that the US, as the strongest member, shall assert itself upon the others. Therefore, it lies in the interest of the minor G7 members to intensify their relationships with emerging democracies of the Global South, such as Brazil, India and South Africa.

A balanced network of democracies might become a significant global driving force for sustainable peace, development and security. This is all the more important given that the level of disagreement between democracies and authoritarian regimes, regarding the general configuration of international politics, is becoming increasingly apparent.

Democratically legitimised governance on the defensive

From a universalistic point of view, democracy has become the globally recognised standard of governance. Practically all global and regional organisations – from the UN to the African Union (AU) to the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) – promote democratic structures and processes for the organisation of state and society.

Democracy is considered to be a superior form of governance, in both normative and functional terms, since it meets and caters to the expectations and needs of its citizens. This is based on a simple mechanism: within a democracy, the head of state and/or government benefits from governing in accordance with the interests of the population. And, given that the latter has the power to decide on the former's re-election, policies must primarily further the common public good rather than private interests. Authoritarian rulers, on the other hand, are less dependent on public approval and, therefore, find themselves in a better position to pursue individual advantage.⁵

However, this democratic mechanism can only function properly when several prerequisites are met. Most important are competitive (i.e. free, fair and regularly-held) elections, capable of mobilising citizens politically. The existence of clear political alternatives coupled with a high voter turnout is, therefore, a sign of a stable democratic rule. Responsiveness to public interest and the constant pursuit of the common good are factors that help make democracy a form of government that stands out for its problem-solving capacities and level of social inclusion. Together with the empirically supported claim that democracies do not wage war against one another, this provides a strong argument for disseminating this form of government on a global scale, given that those promoting democracy are not only concerned with high quality – but also with peaceful – governance.

⁵ At the same time, authoritarian regimes are in a position to compensate, at least in part, for their lack of public approval through the use of repression, see Collier 2009.

Both factors, domestic good governance and international peaceful governance, form the basis for the acceptance of democracy as the global standard for governance.⁶ That democracy is worthy of recognition as the standard of good governance, however, is not accompanied by a corresponding de-facto recognition throughout the world. Quite to the contrary, the attractiveness of democratically legitimised governance seems to be on a downwards trend, given that as of the mid-2000s the global spread of democracy has stagnated. Various relevant indices have noted this fact, such as, for instance, the Polity IV-Dataset, the Bertelsmann Transformation Index (BTI), and the Worldwide Governance Indicators (WGI). Freedom House refers to a “freedom recession” (Puddington 2010), whilst, already in 2008, the Economist’s Intelligence Unit stated: “The spread of democracy has come to a halt” (Economist Intelligence Unit 2008). Renowned experts on democratisation, such as Larry Diamond and Peter Burnell, also made this point, noting the existence of a “democratic rollback” or “pushback” (Diamond 2008; Burnell 2010).

The reasons for this are manifold. They encompass disappointment regarding the course of democratisation processes in many countries around the world, the erosion of trust in democratic institutions, and the increasingly successful competition of authoritarian regimes.

Firstly, regarding difficulties in the democratisation process: In the 1990s, numerous democratisation processes took place in countries with authoritarian regimes. These processes were undertaken, namely, in the former spheres of influence of the Soviet Union, in both Europe and Asia. These processes of governance transformation related not only to the political, but also to the social and economic spheres. Not all of these transformation processes were successful. Central and Eastern European countries, such as Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary, succeeded as regards their institutional conversion, proof of which was their entry, as of the 2000s, into the EU, a genuinely democratic club. Nevertheless it remains unclear to what extent this institutional conversion really functions, considering the emergence of new authoritarian trends, for instance, in Hungary and elsewhere. Furthermore, many of the ex-Soviet Union countries display, at best, a superficial level of democratisation. Although regular elections take place they cannot be deemed fair and free. The quasi “office-rotation” that took place between the Russian President and Prime Minister in 2012 is a good example of this. In such cases, there is a conceptual notion of a “managed” or “sovereign” democracy (Brozus/Schröder 2011). Rhetorically, democracy might still be subscribed to as the standard of good governance, but there is no corresponding democratic practice.

Secondly, as regards the erosion of trust in democratic governance: Within more or less all consolidated democracies – such as the US, the UK and France – there are increasing doubts with respect to the actual ability of democratic systems and governments

⁶ This assumption explains why prosperous democracies, such as the US and the EU, annually invest several billion euros towards the dissemination of this form of governance.

to respond to public desires, pursue the common good and solve problems.⁷ The concentration of political, economic and media influence decreases the dependency of the ruling elites from the general population, and declining voter turnouts reduce the risk of being penalised for a selective interpretation of the common good. This can be the result of deliberately employing a political strategy of “asymmetric demobilisation”. The aim of this strategy is to conduct the least controversial electoral campaign as possible, in order not to mobilise the supporters of one’s political opponents to actually vote.⁸ Moreover, after the global financial and economic crises, confidence in the superiority of democracies’ problem-solving capabilities has suffered a severe setback. Many citizens feel that democracy’s inherent promise of social inclusion has been broken. Within practically all consolidated democracies, populist propaganda, based on exclusion and segregation, is gaining ground.

Finally, with regard to successful governance by authoritarian regimes: The healthy economic performance seen in certain authoritarian regimes has cast doubt on the previous perception of a strong correlation if not causation between economic development and democratisation. China particularly, but also a number of other Asian countries, such as Malaysia, Singapore and Vietnam reap – quite regardless of their authoritarian governance systems – significant economic benefits from the globalisation process. In view of this, some apparently tried and tested assumptions about democratic and development policy have been questioned. Reasonably secure property rights, educational development, urbanisation and the rise of a prosperous middle class no longer seem to be sufficient factors for the shift towards democratically legitimised governance (Kurlantzick 2013).

Apparently, authoritarian governance is becoming a competitive option as regards the dimension of political order (Willke 2014). How can democracies deal with this challenge from a foreign policy standpoint? During the Ukraine crisis, the leading western democracies already addressed it by suspending Russia from the G8. This consistent, but at the same time somewhat helpless return to the old format of the G7 should be accompanied by:

- › The reorientation of democratisation promotion
- › The expansion of relationships with democratically-structured powers,
- › The modernisation of the United Nations.

Reorientation of democracy promotion

That authoritarian regimes have benefitted so much from the political push for economic globalisation in the 1980s is one of the biggest ironies of the 20th century. Originally designed and implemented by the conservative governments of Thatcher in the UK and Reagan in the US, the liberalisation and deregulation of economic activities turned out to be a form of sorcerer’s apprentice. Instead of triggering political liberalisation, in some

⁷ The phenomenon is being discussed under the catchword “Post-democracy”, see Crouch 2004.

⁸ This strategy has been pursued quite successfully by the Christian Democratic Party (CDU) in Germany under Chancellor Merkel, see Schmidt 2014.

cases globalisation processes even strengthened authoritarian regimes by allowing for improved economic growth. The tragedy of globalisation, therefore, can be described as a factual contradiction to the promotion of democracy (Rodrik 2011). As a result of this unexpected development, non-democratic justifications for political order gain importance at the international level. These are based primarily on economic performance; in a secondary manner, they rely on traditional communal structures often characterised by the assumption of consensus and on the existence of only very weak identity structures beyond that of the family and peer groups.

It is more than unlikely that in order to take account of these unforeseen consequences there will be an attempt to cut back on globalisation processes. Another hypothetical option to solve the apparent contradiction between globalisation and the promotion of democracy might be to consider reducing the funds made available for the latter. This is, however, equally unlikely, notably since democratisation is a market of its own, closely tied to the industry of development (Carothers 2010).

Instead, it might be worth considering a reorientation of democracy-promotion, particularly in view of non-European experiences (Piccone/Alinikoff 2012). The aim would be to make the transition to a model of political competition – decided through competitive elections – socio-politically tolerable. So far, democracy-promotion has relied almost only on instruments such as the establishment of political parties, the holding of elections and the drafting of a constitution. Political negotiation-processes, such as round-tables and other collaborative consultation and participation models, used for instance during the transformation of Central and Eastern European as well as South American countries, have been neglected. This situation is unsatisfactory, because if the chances for successful democratic transformations are ultimately limited under conditions of expanding globalisation, the likelihood of conflicts between authoritarian regimes and democracies will inevitably rise.

A network of democratic powers

Sharing a system of governance does not automatically imply a commonality of interests regarding international affairs. Despite being united via cooperation structures such as the “GIBSA-Quadrilogue”, which encompasses IBSA countries (India, Brazil and South Africa) along with Germany, it was only the latter that chose to take a proactive position regarding the Ukraine Crisis; the IBSA countries chose, instead, to remain neutral (Hett/Wien 2015). However, this contradictory behaviour should not be overestimated. It should, rather, function as an incentive to sound out where intersections of interests and preferences lie given common ideas and assumptions about the structuring and re-structuring of international order. This should not implicitly mean that relationships between countries with differing governance systems ought to be automatically downscaled. Indeed, countries under authoritarian regimes remain important partners for the political effectiveness of many aspects of global governance (e.g. Energy, Climate). The cooperation with the IBSA countries should, however, be intensified as should relations with other emerging G20 democracies, such as Argentina, Indonesia, Mexico and South Korea.

The Brazilian initiative “Responsibility while Protecting” (RwP) could be a starting point (Kenkel 2015). It propagates the further development of the international norm “Responsibility to Protect” (R2P). R2P strengthens the commitment of all nations to protect their population against mass atrocity crimes. In the event that a country does not comply with this commitment, the international community has the authority to intervene. In Libya, in 2011, former dictator Gaddafi threatened to massacre his political opponents. As a result, the UN Security Council agreed to an international intervention which included the use of military force. As a result the population under threat was duly protected, but the intervention also contributed to the downfall of Gaddafi. This gave rise to heated controversies in the UN regarding whether or not Gaddafi’s removal had represented an over-stretching of the organisation’s original mandate. In response to this debate, Brazil proposed to clearly identify the rules of intervention wherein the issue is to avert the most serious human rights violations.

One need not agree with the analysis and conclusions of this initiative – as well as with other interventions by democracy-promoting powers. However, what such initiatives do indeed illustrate is the willingness of emerging democracies to co-structure the international order. This could lead to a network of democratic powers (under the acronym “G-Dem”, in a similar manner to the G7/8 or G20 governance clubs). The goal of such a network would be to draw up the elements of an attractive model for spreading democratic governance. All G20 democracies might be considered as members of such a group. Certainly, there is significant distrust amongst some of them, in part even open rivalry. Germany’s comparatively good international reputation could be useful to downscale these reservations (Kappel/Reisen 2015).

The modernisation of the UN could be another area of cooperation between democratic powers with a view to strengthening global governance and the production of global public goods.

The modernisation of the United Nations

Arguments against the informal club-governance practiced by the G-Formats, such as the G20, are understandably raised by countries not represented therein. Any anti-authoritarian international strategy led by club-governance risks, therefore, meeting with resistance, or – at the very least – with only limited cooperation on the part of those countries not represented. This could be prevented if the democracy-promoting powers would, collectively, call for the modernisation of the UN. This would imply, e.g., the reform, and restructuring of working methods of both the Security Council and General Assembly. Of course it would also imply ensuring improved funding for the organisation. The UN is – regardless of all the well-known pathologies and dys-functionalities inherent to international organisations – the only universal framework which allows all countries to take part in global governance. Adopting a truly democratic, participative style of governance could be a form of displaying the organisation’s strengths. Thus, modernising the UN could become a project for democracy-promoting powers.

Due to the growth in relevance of informal methods for multilateral cooperation, such as the G20, viewpoints on institutionalised multilateralism have undergone changes. Countries which perceive themselves as rising powers press for the reform of traditional multilateral institutions in order to make them reflect the new global balance of power. This is illustrated, for instance, by the repeated claims on the part of Brazil, India and South Africa that the composition of the UN Security Council (UNSC) no longer corresponds to the political reality of the 21st century. Therefore, the UNSC should be expanded and reorganised to include new global players (Stuenkel 2015a).

On the other side of things are the states which tend to consider themselves as the losers of globalisation. They are highly interested in maintaining their institutionalised standing set forth in the UN charter, so as to remain able to exert influence on the future shape of global politics. These countries realise, however, that the growing relevance of informal institutions such as the G20, is putting pressure on the UN to adapt. Yet even those countries which fear status relegation within the UN context are much less capable of exerting influence within informal institutions – far less so than they would be within a reformed UN. It is therefore in their interest to upgrade the organisation to an entity more capable of action and suffering less risk of deadlock. A reformed UN – in which current global powers would need to share their influence – would still be a better forum for them to continue shaping the politics of global governance than the systems available today.

Therefore, even countries such as France are keen to shift the pressure from the calls of non-G20 members for increased accountability and representativeness to the context of a UN reform. Rendering the UN more representative would, inevitably, lead to a relative loss in power for countries that were globally relevant in the post-World War II world. Nevertheless, even they would benefit from a more effective UN-system. As a result, this could give rise to a broad coalition of countries, which for very different reasons, is keenly interested in strengthening the UN.

It might also be worthwhile taking another look at the G4-Initiative of 2005. On that occasion the G4 countries (Brazil, Germany, India, and Japan) submitted a wide-ranging UN reform proposal. It ended up coming to nothing, for three main reasons:

1. Fierce opposition from regional rivals, such as Mexico, Colombia, Italy, Pakistan and South Korea, all of which joined forces in the so called “Uniting for Consensus” group.
2. Insufficient engagement of the US, which only wanted Japan in the UNSC.
3. Lack of unity within the African Union (AU), which failed to agree upon two candidates for the Security Council, and insisted on full veto rights.

However, things have somewhat changed by now. Therefore, a new reform initiative might have some chances for success. Three driving forces are decisive for this shift:

1. Since 2005, global challenges have clearly become increasingly daunting. Globally interconnected risks, such as climate-change, poverty-centred population-growth and the financial and economic crises call, more than ever, for collective responses on the part of the international community. Given that the UN is currently not providing such collective responses, governance clubs, such as the G20, are seeking to fill regulatory and implementation gaps. This has given rise to an “informalisation of multilateralism”, given that these governance clubs are less institutionalised than the UN system and not interested in universal participation.
2. The “Uniting for Consensus” group has lost its coherence. Some of its members, such as Mexico, Italy and South Korea, are also members of the G20. They use that platform to both voice and legitimise their global political claims. Accordingly, they might no longer be fundamentally opposed to a reform of the UN, which is deemed less important. Other members, such as Colombia and Pakistan, have not been granted admittance to exclusive governance clubs, such as the G20. This could lead to a renewed desire for a substantial UN reform in the hope of increasing their own relative power by turning that organisation into a weightier global actor. After all, these countries could still exert more influence on international policy through the UN than via the informal club governance format, to which they are not granted admittance.
3. The US has become friendlier to the UN. This is due to two structural factors: On the one hand, the overburdening of Washington as a “global problem solver” has become increasingly clear. Several wars (e.g. Afghanistan, Iraq) and an insufficiently regulated financial sector have triggered serious economic, financial and debt crises – to such an extent that Washington has had to rely on international burden-sharing. Furthermore, the US needs the support of like-minded partners in its management of global problems. Washington is therefore showing renewed interest in institutionalised forms of multilateralism. This is because the US’s position of global predominance can be secured far better in the long term within the auspices of the UN than by relying on informal governance formats such as the G20, which swiftly reorganise themselves to reflect the ebbs and flows of global power (Thimm 2010).

In order to ensure the success of a new initiative for UN reform, the AU’s position must be cemented. In the event that a networked governance club of democracies were to be successful in achieving agreement on the support for an all-encompassing UN reform, such a project should be immediately submitted to the AU. Informally, preparation and talks could take place within the IBSA framework. The inclusion of wide-ranging access rights to the Security Council, a differentiated suspension of veto rights for new as well as old members (e.g. in the case of mass atrocity crimes, along the lines of a French proposal), as well as generous monetary transfers for the support and sustainable restructuring of African economies, could be components of an offer which would encourage the AU to settle upon two candidates, thus solving all three issues which led to the failure of the G4-Initiative of 2005, and thus paving the way for effective UN reform.

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The orthographic standard of this publication is that of British English, except for the following article.

The Capa Method for Conflict Assessment and Policy Analysis for the Security and Defense Sectors

Salvador Raza

Problematization: Originating Necessity

The concept and possibility of violent conflicts between politically organised groups within the international environment has remained constant since time immemorial, be it for ethnic, economic, energy-related, or religious reasons. Implicitly viewed as a necessary cost of development, violence is invisibly nurtured within the fabric of society itself. In recent years we have witnessed atrocities tearing the social fabric apart on an extraordinary scale, placing the issue of violence against individuals at the very top of the international security agenda. Particular attention has been given to the multiple manifestations of terrorism, as well as violence against civilians during armed conflicts and gang wars.

These conflicts, generically gathered beneath the umbrella of infra-wars or hybrid wars, have a common internal structure that defines them and classifies them in the Complex Adaptive Conflicts (CAC) category. The specific nature of each particular conflict depends on the structure of perceptions that shapes the context in which it manifests itself. Its nature equally depends on the political calculations which will be made by the institutions required to put together and sustain possible responses to this conflict. This mutual causation (of conflict and conflict-response) highlights the central nature of politics in conflict resolution, forcing those in charge of security and defense to take this causal relationship into account when determining which doctrines and technological solutions are best adapted to each case.

Isolated phenomena, such as CAC, therefore exist in a relationship of mutual conditionality between environment perception structures and institutional capability to enforce acceptable countermeasures. This is why these conflicts are classified as “adaptive” since they react and shift with each attempt to confront them.

This article presents the Conflict Assessment and Policy Analysis Method (CAPA) as a useful tool for “deciphering the code” of CAC, enabling the development of integrated force designs and associated policies. These processes are found in the Critical Redesign Methodology in the field of Security and Defense Institution Building (SDIB).

The CAPA method’s innovative conception owes an academic debt to two methodological and conceptual works: ‘Theories of Perception and the Concept of Structure’, by Floyd H. Allport, and ‘Dilemmas in a General Theory of Planning’, by Horst W.J. Rittel and Melvin M. Webber. These two references support the theoretical and methodological modelling here outlined. Other references omitted are specific to ancillary components of the CAPA Method and the Critical Redesign Methodology to which it belongs.

Ontology of Complex Adaptive Conflicts (CAC)

A phenomenological object can only be conceptualised when it can be operationally defined in a distinct manner from the environment in which it takes shape. Once conceptualised, this object is incorporated into a system of meanings generally accepted as valid, thus becoming a vehicle for inferences. For example, the manner in which a given country conceptualises the potential conflicts in which it is immersed determines its strategic options. This analysis subsequently allows for a decision regarding, for instance, the transfer of military bases to the conflict-affected region. As such, the operational definition of a given event or object takes “command” of the meanings it creates. It manages and circumscribes which strategies are valid – and which are not – when it comes to dealing with the problem defined. Each operational definition of a CAC creates the references whereby institutions will determine possible responses. These responses will then form the context within – and due to – which the conflict will take on new meaning and evolve.

Identifying and enumerating CACs, in their multiple forms, is a means of recognising that these are currently the main security concern of the international community. They represent the greatest threat to peace and security, today. Simultaneously, this conceptual activity recognises that the assumptions and premises which drive the CACs condition the options available for an appropriate response.

The CAC concept illustrates the fact that any proposed universal definition of ‘conflict’ – as of which one constructs mechanisms and policies for security and defense – is a semantic exercise devoid of analytical significance. The ontology of conflicts relates to the methodological treatment of ‘conflict’ – as regards: existence, nature, manifestation, and categories. Such a derived typology inevitably leads to definitions which are at variance with those related to security and defense. This causal connection is seen as regards security and defense’s meaning, extent and functionality. It is

especially clear when the mutual relationship of conditionality between conflict and conflict response is considered, as well as the political significance of their respective practical manifestations.

Political significance is key when constructing criteria for the definition (and policies related to) conflicts, security and defense, and their mutual relations of conditionality. This construction implies that the typology of conflict is drawn up by specifying its perceived qualities, and by interpreting the manifestations of recurrent, significant phenomenological variables.

Thus, we arrive at the following classification: limited wars, cyber warfare, insurgency, war on terror, asymmetric war, conventional war and gang wars. The list is endless. Each event holds a different meaning for each country at each historical moment. Each nation tries, at a given point in time, to understand the degree of maturity of its institutions as well as the conditions for the manifestation of conflicts, which are neither constant nor linear.

The undeniable conclusion is that there is neither a “solution” for conflicts that create insecurity and require the use of defense mechanisms, nor an “optimal” design of force. Each alternative of force, used in each of the types of conflict listed above, depends on the structure of perceptions that dictates policy options, instructional procedures, standards and benchmarks by which these alternatives are judged and implemented in the face of weighted costs and risks.

Conflict assessment depends on the context in which the perceived phenomenon takes on meaning. The structure of perceptions regarding the differentiation between conflict and non-conflict (within the same decision environment) is fundamental. As such, conflict assessment is conditioned by the institutions of security and defense that offer alternatives for preventing, neutralising or confronting causes of conflict. These options are drawn up by weighing costs and risks, which evolve differently in each type of conflict, driven by distinct and competing dynamics.

The multiple definitions of terrorism, for example, although it is impossible to identify which definition predominates, does not imply that some are right and the others are wrong. The specific nature of each one mirrors the variety of conditions and contexts – a variety which in turn conditions the selection of tactics, techniques, and technologies. El Salvador has just recognised the Maras as terrorist organisations. Once they were seen as gangs, now, as terrorists. Clearly the phenomenon has not changed overnight, rather the semantic rules for interpreting it have been modified. In other words, what changed was the context of the political significance of the phenomenon, not the phenomenon itself.

In the same vein, it is silly to think that the convergence of terrorism with organised crime, referred to as CTOC, is something unique unto itself. The phenomenon passes through a filter of perceptions, indicating the union of complex causes; a transmutation of ideas driven by micro-cultures and technologies. However, the idea that “something new has been discovered” is an analytically incorrect simplification which only

serves to placate academic vanities disconnected from reality, lacking historical perspective, and that serve no practical purpose.

The ebb and flow of new contexts is constantly driven by: dynamic events; political agendas; diplomacy; economic and financial vectors; and the networks of social relationships which lead to a culture of specific organisational and decision flows. These factors transcend the conventional understanding of differences between both internal and external security and defense – and between regular and irregular military action. Equally, and, more importantly, taking these factors into account overthrows the idea of linear spectrums of discrete types of conflict and non-conflict segments.

As previously noted, different contexts lend different meanings to the same perceived conflict phenomenon. Therefore, any change in context alters this meaning, shifting and adapting the relationship between conflict-creating and conflict-solving institutions. Thus, the context provides the political meaning of the problematized phenomenon. Simultaneously, the institutions guide the construction of policies by which this meaning is defined, as well creating expectations of the results that those same policies will achieve.

The dynamic of context-creation leads to the configuration of conflict networks with variable architectures. These architectures are correlated with networks of capability systems that also have variable architectures. Both architectures (of conflict networks and capability systems) are modelled on different incentives. The actors of each architecture achieve their purposes, justified in contexts that are also different. On the one hand, we currently have a growing network of players that advertise their intentions in complex micro-cultures founded on ethnic, religious, linguistic, ideological, and tribal identities. On the other, we have players that shape and advertise their intentions in complex mission areas determined by the security and defense forces.

Although different in form, these systems of players share two key similarities. The first being that it is increasingly difficult to identify different practices in how their players interact: terrorism and urban guerrilla warfare; paramilitaries, urban gangs and insurgents; police and military. In other words, the typology of conflict in which players interact is increasingly overlapping and unclear. The second similarity lies in the growing dependence on civilian information network structures, applied technologies and commercial logistical supply systems.

These two similarities form trends of the modern-day security and defense scenario. They imply that both security and defense forces, and opposition forces, are becoming increasingly adaptable. This is due to the fact that contexts and configurations are rapidly modified, meaning that conflicts (defined contextually) are also extremely dynamic. The modelling flux operates on multiple axes: from ‘conflicts’ in and of themselves to the ‘forces’ engaged therein – and back; including relationships among the ‘forces’. This challenges the current logic for effectiveness of Capability-Based Planning. Capabilities emerge in the structures of the relationships between: the means of force available; organisations; command and control systems; doctrines;

and the concept of employment. However, technological convergence means it is now possible to take down an entire capability system simply by taking down a few links among these elements.

The literature dedicated to analysis techniques and methodologies will classify CACs in the category of unstructured, evolving problems (wicked), or problems with strange loops. The conclusions are absolutely convergent on two points: *The problem of complex adaptive conflicts (CACs) does not have a single solution or linear progression – the response is always stochastic, meaning that the classification of the problem depends on how its recurrent standards are recognised in the context where they appear, and on the alternative competing responses built to enable them to be interpreted.*

That is why, when analysing CACs, the focus is on identifying how the perceived standards of the conflicts are defined within the context in which they are set. In Central America, the most violent players are the Maras; in Colombia, the FARC; in Paraguay, the EPP; and in the Middle East and Africa, the multiple factions and affiliations of radical fundamentalist Islamic groups. Each of these has its particular micro-culture and is defined and particularised with regard to each specific context in which they gain significance, *pari passu*, with the confrontation options derived from specific and varied strategies.

Situational awareness will thus increasingly dominate the context of decisions and judgements relating to security and defense. The concept of deterrence will also become increasingly complex and less effective, challenging the established force structures and doctrines, while conflicts will advance into every structure of national power.

The US' new Military Strategy classifies CACs as "Hybrid Conflicts". The term has good marketing appeal, but it must be taken with a pinch of salt so as not to reach simplistic (and erroneous) conclusions. CACs are hybrid in the sense of being complex and adaptive, with each manifestation being unique to – and dependent on – its context. They are not hybrid in the sense of being the outcome of a combination of others, a "mutant" conflict. This would be the case of a conflict "by proxy", i.e. a conflict which will reappear elsewhere as a replica of itself with the same characteristics. Coincidentally perhaps, this is precisely what US military doctrine would need to justify itself. The problem occurs when doctrine overrides analysis. In such cases, distorted interpretations, which serve corporate interests, will unfortunately prevail, meaning that the design of security and defense forces will distance itself from what countries actually need.

SDIB: Constructing Institutions

Security and Defense Institution Building defines and sustains the architecture of policies, strategies, capabilities, processes, procedures, rules and decision-protocols. These are carried out simultaneously within and between functionally-linked organisations. One could say that these institutions manufacture articulate decision nexus by means of which their responsibilities and authority are functionally defined, and by which

organizations produce the results for which they were intended. The ultimate purpose of such institutions is to produce results which are in accordance to the purpose that gave rise to them. To make a parallel: marriage and baptism are institutions in which the sacraments of the Church are transformed into institutional practices of the religion that creates and regulates them.

Unlike other domains of executive decisions, those involving the building of institutions for the resolution of CACs cannot be undertaken by successive hits and misses. The adaptive nature of the CAC provides no stable reference for measuring the returns on the cumulative investments in security and defense. And if, hypothetically, there were a formally established general reference or doctrine: the uncertainties relating to its interpretation – and the inability to judge the correlation between the minimum degree of security prior to the conflict and the maximum degree of security effective after it – would render any conclusion regarding the necessary use of force to prevent further conflict uncertain, at best.

This implies that the nature of security and defense decisions refuses to admit a direct problematization of the relations between perceived causalities. It also refuses to accept that the possible responses should be built cumulatively and gradually. Equally, it implies that those decisions can only be measured a priori as to their expected and potential internal and external effects. A posteriori effects cannot fit into the analysis. This, in turn, implies that in order to enhance, accelerate and improve security and defense decisions, one must get to know the scope and structure of the decisions that build these institutions. This, consequently, requires correlating the logic of Force Design with the political purposes and expectations which structure the alternatives and possibilities on offer for tactical success.

Following these considerations, Security and Defense Institutions (SDI) are functionally defined as articulated decision systems encapsulated in the manner described above. Their policies, instructional procedures, standards and benchmarks exist for the purpose of guiding and providing internal consistency to the processes which design, validate and sustain security and defense alternatives.

Security and Defense Institution Building (SDIB) involves formulating those instruments which, taken in their collective and mutually offsetting relationship, define the extent and validity of actions as well as the expected legitimate political results. There are three strands of strategic actions flowing from Security and Defense Institution Building designed to deter and combat or impede the flaring-up of conflict:

- › The prevention of potential conflicts that imply higher-than-acceptable risks can be enforced when building capabilities that shape the perception of the players involved. If the political costs envisaged are not worth the gains projected in any given dispute, then said dispute will be prevented.
- › Building the intention to combat conflict and its manifestations of violence implies an acceptance that necessary resources employed in the use of force will lead to the expected benefits, or at least contains the conditions necessary for success.

- › The plausibility of modelling strategic and cognitive environments can be adapted to identify and remove the structural causes of the flaring-up of conflict before it begins.

The historiography of conflicts, as a field that studies, analyses and records the phenomena of conflict, shows that the classification of these phenomena over time is always benchmarked against these three strands of strategic actions. These actions are, of course, subject to a given structure of perceptions that explains the context and significance of each conflict. In this manner, actors engaged in a violent dispute, fighting for their interests, parties to the same conflict, can have different interpretations of their significance.

This is illustrated, for instance, by the case of the US and the former USSR, who found themselves in a situation of asymmetrical deterrence. The ‘saddle point’ of the conflict between them can be identified following the Nash equilibrium – a situation in which players, seeking to maximise their interests, calculate that withdrawing from said situation may lead to greater risks than remaining in it. As such, while one power viewed the act of building up its arsenal as a means of preventing war, the other viewed its own parallel and reciprocal act as necessary preparation for war.

The same asymmetry may manifest itself among allies. Different structures of perceptions create different estimates of conflict-related risks and rewards. High transaction costs in shared decisions may thus lead to strategic paralyses and internal tensions in an alliance, since both (or more) parties try to influence their degree of decision-making power and cost sharing.

Institution Building is today the key axis of the US’ Department of Defense and Department of State. It is working where most other strategies have failed as regards dealing with complex adaptive problems, combatting violence manifest in the form of terror, violence associated with illegal trafficking, gangs, corruption, and all other aspects that reflect failed governance.

The rationality that sustains SDIB is clear and simple: only those institutions able to identify and dynamically handle complex adaptive phenomena have shown themselves to be capable of coming up with valid solutions. Or in more explicit terms: Security and Defense Institution Building is a successful formula for dealing with CACs, far more so effective (with sustainable results) than, for instance, the use of unilateral destructive force with unacceptable collateral damage. Or in more explicit terms: SDIB works!

To create and establish effective institutions, the SDIB process uses an analytical framework capable of drawing up responses to the continuous mutations and complex adaptation of CACs. This framework is known as the CAPA – Conflict Assessment and Policy Analysis method, and is an essential part of the process for building effective institutions. Its function is to identify the ‘Institutional Gap’ that guides the modelling (analysis and formulation) of the strategic and political actions regarding each particular conflict. This method thereby overcomes the limitations of doctrine-based responses which are only able to apply the lessons of the past to conflicts that are being built in the future.

The CAPA Method provides guidance on structuring the perception filters that define the CAC within its environment and sphere of significance. Within this method, each conflict, once taken in isolation, operationally defines effective reality. The variables that define its status are stabilised, so as to enable the necessary analytical treatment, while at the same time building sufficient response alternatives. That is to say, the method problematizes the perceived forms of the manifest conflict phenomenon. It simultaneously identifies the institutional gaps. Once these gaps are filled, capabilities and competencies required to combat conflict can be built, while weighing up the costs and risks.

The CAPA Method assesses conflicts using processes of critical context analysis, while at the same time analysing the institutions that create their political significance and effects. Context Assessment is a tool for assessing the significance and the risks arising from the conflicts in the light of the policies instituted within the SDIB methodology.

The CAPA method forms the basis of the Critical Redesign Methodology as a founding element of the Security and Defense Institution Building initiatives as an area of specific knowledge equipped with conceptual systems and specific practices. The method was successfully employed in the reform of the Security and defense Sectors of Guatemala, and is currently being implemented in El Salvador under the Defense Institution Reform Initiative (DIRI) together with the Center for Hemispheric Defense Studies (CHDS). It was also used to formulate the Security and Defense Policy of Peru, and partially used in the building of institutions in 12 other countries, including Brazil and Colombia.

Institutional Gaps identified by applying the CAPA Method

The Northern Triangle of Central America (Guatemala, El Salvador, and Honduras) is one of the world's most violent regions, with indices of death, robbery, extortion and other indicators reaching epidemic standards. This situation is compounded by devastating corruption run by drug traffickers operating in an environment of extreme poverty, with porous and imprecise borders, environmental degradation, and energy shortages. An unimaginable litany of sorrows is distributed mainly in areas of ethnic minorities and micro-cultures, where the scourge of the gangs (Maras) goes hand-in-hand with that of the drug lords. This leads, amongst other things, to the displacement of entire populations – in desperate migrations – to urban centers, or to the US.

This is not to say that there are not many honest politicians, businessmen, honest military – filling the clichéd notion of “good people” in these countries. However, they have been gradually removed from decision-making structures, paying a high price for being ethical in an environment of distorted morals. And although they form the great majority, it a silent one, removed from power and isolated from policy-making and implementation.

Gang wars are not the privilege of Central America, and one must recognise that the Irish gangs in New York in the 1820s-1830s, and their successors, were as violent as the Maras today; they had, moreover, very similar organisational standards, although were

totally different in scale and technology. They even had a price list for the services they sold: \$100 for a kill; \$30 for a broken leg. For more than a century, nothing worked to stem the conflicts; even after the 1920 Sullivan Act on gun control and countless reforms of the police, demographic changes and more forceful police action. The gangs of New York metamorphosed, merged, and fragmented; they became politicised and organised themselves into powerful mafias, always exploiting political and police corruption; they moved into the drugs business and finally exported their model elsewhere.

The Maras are the “offspring” of the American gangs, only poorer and with no prospects. They are the outcome of the convergence between organised crime and illegal migration. The so-called pachucos of the 1920s, the second generation of illegal Mexican immigrants, who engaged in urban warfare with the military; and the *Zoot Suit Riots* in Los Angeles in the 1940s are more historical examples. The pachucos, however, went to jail, although the Military (mainly members of the Navy) had assaulted anyone ethnically resembling Mexicans over a period of two days. The same violence erupted in other American cities, even after the presidential order for the Military to control its soldiers.

In Central America’s Northern Triangle, the suffering population, of approximately 20 million, cannot measure or recognise their condition as that of conflict. They only see it as “*desdichas*”, sorrows – sorrows for losses that slowly diffuse into grudges. In the meantime, the governments of these fragile democracies, recently emerged from decades of violent civil wars, see all this as a matter of national security. They acknowledge that their states are on the verge of political collapse and economic bankruptcy. Adding to this rather bleak backdrop, corrupt and cynical populists, which openly associate with drug traffickers, take advantage of the loopholes extant due to fragmented institutions, and transform the people’s grudges and sorrows into political currency in order to further undermine the structures of governance.

With the complicity of equally corrupt associations and businessmen, the hyper-concentrated wealth of these nations operates under completely inefficient fiscal and monetary mechanisms. El Salvador, for instance, has no monetary policy – the US dollar is legal tender. These systemic flaws are taken advantage of so as to hide resources from the tax authorities, using a deficient banking system that facilitates unethical and/or unlawful transactions. The laws on tenders are strictly complied with using sophisticated control mechanisms, but they only catch the “*rateros*” (petty fraudsters), whilst the “*tiburones*” (fat cats) defraud without conviction, since they are in league with the government, private sector agents, as well as members of the judiciary. The evidence of corruption is abundant. Several investigations recently resulted in the conviction and jailing of the former Vice President of Guatemala on August 21, 2015; the President resigned in the aftermath and is under pre-trial detention.

All of this occurs within the context of an archaic, slow, defective and corrupt legal system, operating with an unimaginable array of unhelpful and obsolete procedural laws. Such conditions are hardly ideal to put the brakes on extremely “court-centered distortions”: almost everything becomes a law in order to function. This situation has

become increasingly severe; by now, legislation is freezing changes. Meanwhile, those actors who profit from this distortion are engaged in bolstering these defective mechanisms, all the while pretending to defend the rule of law.

With the figure of 100 deaths per 100,000 inhabitants as the primary indicator of this complex situation, the Ministry of Government of Guatemala (Ministerios de Gobernación – which are roughly equivalent to, but more powerful than, the Ministry of the Interior) throws good money after bad on corrupt police, prison, immigration and customs organisations. The Ministry develops no public safety policies, concentrating instead on the action of the police, and complicating the state’s ability to raise taxes. It has been many times demonstrated that providing security is not, a priori, a question of money, but rather of competence in establishing robust institutions, effective policies, functional governance, fiscal structures and proper systems of accountability.

With the collusion of agencies, state-owned companies and non-governmental organisations (NGOs), the situation is going from bad to worse; public coffers run dry as corrupt actors continue to remove funds the state doesn’t have. When investigated, moreover, they hide beneath the mantle of protecting human rights, pressuring the press and threatening to re-open cases that were given amnesty, which would destabilise countries that not so long ago were at civil war. They develop, thus, the idea that it is better to accept the “indirect costs” of democratic peace, which is to say, an “acceptable” level of structural corruption, than to face up to a new military dictatorship. This idea is a fourfold fallacy: firstly, there are no “acceptable” or “tolerable” levels of corruption; secondly, dictatorships are not exempt from corruption; thirdly, military dictatorships and the preservation of the privileges of interest groups do not have a causal relationship; and, fourthly, the civilian-military scenario does not share the same level of tension and fragmentation of interests.

The Military – suffering from insufficient budgets, obsolete capabilities, archaic management systems, and subject to a set of laws that recently accommodated the conditions of guerrillas so as to end the internal war – are ordered to modify their priority of action from their constitutional missions to secondary missions of supporting the police. In this manner, operating at will and without resources, with poorly paid individuals lacking social security support, they distort political institutions of strategic logistics, control and oversight in the search for additional funding – on an individual and institutional basis. Corruption is becoming “chemistry”; while theft and larceny are becoming “loans”. These soft terms are used to justify crimes under a permissive corporate culture, which also finds justification in the slogan: “survival as power built from within, or slow death imposed from without”.

The institutional gap can be summarised in the following terms: the violence born of the interconnections between the Maras and Organised Crime, in the form of a self-sustaining private micro-culture, gains significance as a CAC within a context of endemic corruption pervading all sectors of the State. The lack of transparency regarding the management of public funds also stretches to the Security and defense sectors.

These, in the absence of consistent security and defense policies, find themselves directionless, lacking effective governance. Without a credible agenda and budgetary mechanisms to support effective responses, the conflict spreads both on the borders and in the major urban centers. The few responses offered are no more than spontaneous unthinking reactions, without reference to a national strategy for concerted action and devoid of any metrics or assessment mechanisms. This has led to a reduction in the prestige and residual capabilities of the Security and Defense Sectors. In the absence of effective containment measures, violence increases, heightening the perception of insecurity, fostering the marginalisation of the Police and the Armed Forces, thereby providing political arguments for their budgets not to be adjusted.

Building the Institutional Response

Guatemala in particular is a success story of Security and Institution Building (SDIB). In the period from 2012 to 2015, under an interagency effort of led by the Center for Hemispheric Defense Studies (CHDS) and the Defense Institution Reform Initiative (DIRI), sponsored by the Office of the Secretary of Defense (OSD), the following occurred and was achieved:

- › National, functional and sectorial policies and guidelines were drawn up to provide guidance on Force Design and the sustained and efficient use of security means.
- › Managerial efficiency was fomented by creating organisational resilience, preventing and countering corruption by inserting mechanisms that enable transparency and accountability to prosper.
- › Performance indicators and metrics were established so as to enable dynamic oversight and timely control of the performances of the institutions.
- › An integrated decisions platform (Integrated Governance System – IGS or SIGAN using the Spanish acronym) was created, providing for effective governance based on a consistent scheduled architecture for required capacity building.

The SDIB process followed the Critical Methodology designed precisely in response to those purposes. There were five necessary subsystems for the achievement of security and defense aims by means of policies, policies with scheduled budgeted results, budgets with metrics, and analyses from metrics back to the original objectives:

- › The first subsystem defined the axiological framework of security and defense by setting out the following: the breadth of the operational definitions, the composition, attributions and responsibilities of the security and defense sectors and systems; and, primarily, the functionality of those sectors and systems when integrated into the national decision-making system. These elements were consolidated in the coordinated review of the National Defense White Paper and in the formulation of the first National Security White Paper, ensuring high level of consistency across the Security and defense Sectors.

- › The second and third subsystems dealt with the integration and validation of the seven vectors for propagating security within internally consistent policies: (1) energy security; (2) environmental security; (3) technological security; (4) social and human security; (5) political and economic security; (6) geostrategic security; and (7) Knowledge and data security. These elements were consolidated when formulating the above-mentioned White Papers, both of which are fully mutually coherent and consistent. These elements were equally considered when determining the actions required to build the essential political support that the entire process would need, primarily when executing the fourth subsystem where the mechanisms of accountability, transparency, compliance and governance were to be installed.
- › The fourth subsystem involved the formulation of an effective Integrated Governance System (IGS), responsible for the formulation and management of the sectorial policies aligned with the Force Design process. This integrated view of capabilities and competencies required: revising the Defense Strategy, translating all these policies into a single budget based on solid public accounting rules and practices, starting from a single programmatic architecture; integrating all the budgetary requirements under the aegis of a Technology Policy for Defense; the whole being formulated in consonance with mechanisms of control and oversight.
- › The fifth subsystem dealt with the drafting of operational action and strategic logistics plans. A robust Metric Plan was developed, and a Personnel Policy was developed and integrated into a reform of the Professional Defense Education System, so as to ensure sustained results over time.

The Critical Redesign Methodology took four years of intense work, benchmarking against the assessment of the institutional demands resulting from the CAPA Method, so as to provide a response to the CAC perceived at that time. The success indicators are registered in the official project documentation showing: the elimination of plans that did not meet requirements; the lack of interruption caused by the transition of government; the rupture of corrupt interest networks; the creation and effective implementation of a new governance structure for preparing and aligning budgets with functional and sectorial policies; savings of 7% in the defense budget (double the amount available at the time for investment); the creation of an Integrated Logistical Support System; and the reduction in criminality in key areas where the Defense Department was consistently present.

From the Specific to the General

The first and principal purpose of the CAPA Method is to identify institutional gaps with a view to finding means of containing – primarily, but not only – CACs. This involves acknowledgement and analytical treatment of the CAC as the phenomenon most present on the security agenda of the entire world. The goal of the global security agenda's being, thus, to prevent, in a permanent and sustained manner, the rupture of the social fabric on a global scale, to prevent situations from evolving into a similar structure as that lived in the Northern Triangle of Central America. In other words, to prevent the merging of organised crime with illegal trafficking of drugs, weapons,

people and commodities; a situation in which para-guerrilla-type groups ensconced in ethnically and socially isolated micro-cultures are the main players; and in which scenarios, politically limited objectives are achieved by using tactics of infra-terror with moderate technological sophistication. Equally important is to prevent the radicalisms manifested by terror from re-settling in the region by mingling in longer chains of complex conflicts and structures.

The second purpose is to prove that each perceived manifestation of the CACs is *sui generis*, and depends on each country's structure of perceptions.

The third purpose is to show that each of these models is allocated a terminology according to how it is classified within a typology created by the structure of security and defense institutions.

The fourth purpose is to determine that the construction of these security and defense institutions responds to a particular structure of perceptions that defines and establishes the specific nature of each conflict manifestation, as well as defining the category to which the phenomenon pertains.

The fifth and last link in this chain of purposes connects to the first – being to discourage institutional reforms to confront conflicts based on “labelled” frames or generalisations. These acritical views of “new” categories of conflicts ought to be reconsidered since they are warped by individual preferences, or lodged in the interest of the survival of corporate cultures, or constructed as justification for the existence (and budgets) of ministries, agencies and non-governmental organisations, even when strictly speaking, financed by the government.

To be able to deal with these purposes, the Critical Redesign Methodology was created in which the CAPA Method engages to build effective institutions aiming at the reform of the security and defense sectors, establishing multiple relationships of dependence with each one from the results of their constituent processes:

- › The PS module – Parameters Setting, which establishes Design Parameters and Management of the Process for Institutional Reform of the Security and defense Sectors. This incorporates: (1) the CAPA Method in the differentiated diagnosis of the institutional gaps; (2) the determining of results in advance (what means success, or the desired end state: political utility metrics); and (3) the requisites for managing the Security and Defense Sector Reform process.
- › The MSD module – Managing Security and Defense Module, which includes the processes for: (1) Formulation of the Portfolio of Policies and Architecture of Normative Documents; (2) Capability-centric Force Design and Base Realignment (BRAC); (3) Strategic Formulation (Strategizing); (4) Performance-based Program Portfolio Value Management; (5) Results-based budgeting; (6) Metrics-based Policy Alignment; (7) Design of Decision Platforms and Organisational Alignment (IGS formulation); (8) Compliance-driven Budget Implementation; and (9) Adaptive Change Management.

- › The SL module – Strategic Logistics module, which includes: (1) analysis and integration of Capability Life Cycles in capability-based resource allocation; (2) Management of Contracts and Strategic Acquisitions; (3) Standards and Strategic Stockpiles; and (4) Modelling and Management of resource flows in Logistics Networks.
- › The MRM module – Metrics and Risk Management module, which encompasses the processes for: (1) Risk Analysis; (2) Risk Assessment; (3) Performance Modelling and Operational Analysis; (4) Tests and Evaluations; (5) Execution and Management of the Metrics Plan; (6) Strategic Audit and Compliance; and (7) Analysis, Integration and Data Communication, Standards and Performances.
- › The CB module – Competence-Based module, which consists of: (1) Professional Defense Education Curriculum Development; (2) enhanced Instructional Methodologies; (3) Development of Doctrines and Operation Performance Requirements; (4) Competence Modelling; and (5) Knowledge Sustainment.

Security and Defense Sector Reforms, as a result of integrated Security and Defense Institution Building requires integrated results generated throughout all these processes. Each one producing a particular solution for each specific country. They are necessary steps of the Critical Redesign Methodology required to ensure internal and external consistency, sustainability, affordability and effective results by way of institution building.

The particularity of the Critical Redesign Methodology is the construction of solutions within each country's institutional culture, respecting their priorities and preferences, so as to identify process chains, no matter how they are referred to, correlating them with the functionality of the Processes Modules. These chains are then connected by other processes to ensure that once integrated, they are capable of carrying out: capability-centric capacity building; performance-based programming; results-oriented budgeting; and metrics-based assessments. The longest chain of engaged processes becomes operational on a single decision platform (IGS) resulting in a single budget that reflects sectorial, functional and instrumental policies required for achieving the political objectives of security and defense while weighing up costs and risks.

In Guatemala, this platform was referred to as SIPLAGDE (Integrated Defense Planning and Management System) to which the Guatemalans hold intellectual property rights, taking pride in making it operational, since it was designed by Guatemalans for Guatemala. The same model is being implemented in El Salvador (under the SIPDEN acronym – Integrated Defense Planning System); its bases are equally enshrined in the Security and Defense Policy of Peru. This system is also making inroads in other countries, and at different stages, all benchmarked against the conflict classification designed by the *CAPA Method for Assessment of Complex Adaptive Conflicts and Policy Analysis for the Security and Defense Sectors*. *The CAPA method is the entry point for SDIB: the proven effective, low-cost tool to combat CACs from a holistic point of view.*

From Theory back to Practice

The ultimate purpose of the Critical Redesign Methodology, through its adaptive, modernising and transformational stages of Security and Defense Sector reforms is to combat conflict and thereby save human life. The CAPA method, the capacity building effort, and the IGS decision and management platforms are all means to that end. They form enforceable mechanisms towards transparency, accountability, and compliance without which all effort becomes a bureaucratic, self-serving litany of resource-allocation optimisation methods.

Concepts matter in SDIB. A limited operational definition of institutions and institution-building, coupled with a narrow understanding of the complexity behind generating effective Security and Defense sector reforms may serve partisan (parochial) agency interests, but they will not produce concrete results. Moreover, when concrete reality is plagued by CACs – unless one does not recognise the adaptive systems of conflicts as a reality, or change the focus to Institution Building – then the best case scenario becomes that which existing agencies can, or are funded, to do. This is a terrible mistake, generating no tangible reforms other than reshuffling data, which tends to perpetuate the need for the “services” these agencies provide.

While CACs have shown themselves to be dominant in today’s world, showing up as a priority in the CAPA agenda, this predominance does not render other dimensions of conflict irrelevant. These include: conflicts involving mass destruction via nuclear, biological, chemical and genetic manifestations of war (NBCG); technological conflicts via electronic, cyber and robotic manifestations of warfare; and conflicts to control spaces, areas, routes and flows via manifestations of kinetic wars in the aerospace, terrestrial, maritime and inland water way domains.

Although the CAPA Method is optimised for dealing with CACs, it is also able to identify institutional gaps relevant to other conflict dimensions. This is because the CAPA is, as regards other conflict assessment methodologies, the “*primus inter pares*”. The MSD Module is used during Force Design, in defining the preparatory requisites in the Metrics Module, as well as within the Educational Module. The method allows for a case-by-case analysis of each particular country and decision-making context, in which all alternatives are defined within those three logical stands of strategic actions. These strategic actions, moreover, are all tied to the central role of institutions in building responses to contemporary conflict phenomena.

Bearing this in mind, we can put forward two recommendations as a conclusion. The first is the imperative need to incorporate SDIB as an analytical tool for security and defense planning and management worldwide. Without this conceptual structure, it is impossible to deal with the scourge of CACs. The second, as a corollary of the first, is to fix Critical Redesign as the benchmark for in-depth Security and Defense institutional reform. Without this reorientation of management structures, the response to CACs will be “more of the same”, leading countries into a destructive spiral of insecurity and violence.

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The findings used in this paper are part of original research on “Non-state conflict management. Possibilities and limitations of NGOs in dealing with non-state arms carriers”, performed at the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP) and the University of Osnabrück (Project leader: Prof. Dr. Ulrich Schneckener), funded by the German Foundation for Peace Research (DSF). The activities carried out during the project included interviews under the principle of confidentiality, so that detailed information on direct contacts and negotiations can herein be reproduced only in abstract form. An earlier version of this paper has been presented at the conference on “Normative Orders,” organised by the Cluster of Excellence at the Goethe University Frankfurt/Main, Germany, in October 2009.

NGOs as norm dealers: Norm-Diffusion in Conflict-Management using the example of the ICRC

Claudia Hofmann

Currently, non-state armed groups, such as rebels, militias, warlords and crime networks, dominate the environment of both conflict and fragile countries in many different ways. They are in breach of international humanitarian law (IHL), commit violence against civilians, and establish criminal and informal economies, typical of postwar societies. On the other hand, they often give voice to social problems, see themselves as representatives of specific interests and sometimes enjoy broad popular support. In this manner, non-state armed groups frequently have the potential to undermine peace and state-building processes or even bring to a complete halt, causing violence to resurge (Bruderlein 2000, Capie 2004, Petrasek 2000).

Whereas state actors have a hard time in dealing with such non-state arms carriers, transnational NGOs have developed strategies specifically designed to diffuse humanitarian norms, and ensure their overall observance among non-state actors. Their purpose is to persuade rebels, paramilitaries and other arms carriers to accept international humanitarian legislation and norms, and to adapt their conduct accordingly. This process of persuasion may take place by way of workshops or other manners of dialogue, wherein NGOs provide clarifications of existing international legislation. In addition, several transnational NGOs carry out capacity building and training exercises, provide mediation services, and facilitate agreements with the arms carriers that render formal commitments to specific norms feasible. For instance, the Swiss NGO Geneva Call provides arms carriers with the possibility

of committing, by means of an agreement, to the provisions set forth in the Ottawa Convention of 1997 on the ban of anti-personnel mines.¹ Among the few transnational NGOs active in this field, the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) is a particularly interesting example as it works based on an official mandate from the international community to protect the victims of human rights violations in armed conflicts. Based on this authority, it provides, *inter alia*, training for arms carriers on IHL and human rights (HR) and carries out awareness campaigns highlighting the obligations inherent to the protection of civilian populations. Its aim is to make IHL an integral part of the arms carriers' doctrines, including qualifying, training and equipment related to the provisions, as well as their internal sanctions mechanisms.

However, what are the methods and under which conditions do NGOs succeed to persuade such non-state arms carriers to comply with international norms?

The purpose of this paper is to shed light on the dynamics and the results of the norm diffusion practices occurring between the ICRC and non-state arms carriers in environments of conflict and fragile statehood. The paper aims to conceptually describe the methods used by the ICRC and to provide an answer regarding the difficulties and chances of success arising out of these interactions. The paper addresses the ICRC's approach for integration and infers its factors for success. These factors are based on well-known socialisation research hypotheses, which are then put to the test in the field. The conclusions point to the ICRC's image as a norms diffuser and highlight the potentials of its activities. Successful norm diffusion can, on the one hand, contribute to increasing the security of civilian populations in conflict areas by persuading non-state arms carriers to abstain from specific violent practices, such as for instance the use of land-mines and child-soldiers. On the other hand, successful norm diffusion may also provide the opportunity for compliance with other aspects of HR and open the door to a broader transformation of non-state arms carriers.

NGOs and the interaction with non-state arms carriers

The interaction between NGOs and non-state arms carriers has not yet received much systematic attention in research. However, NGOs have developed original approaches that offer new insights when dealing with arms carriers (Debiel/Sticht 2005, Gordenker/Weiss 1996, Keck/Sikkink 1998). By taking a closer look at international NGOs' diverse areas of activity, either via a survey of available literature or inductively through practice, one is able to pinpoint four key types of NGOs whose activities vary in duration, circumstance, and in the manner of their contact with non-state arms carriers (Schneckenner/Hofmann 2007):

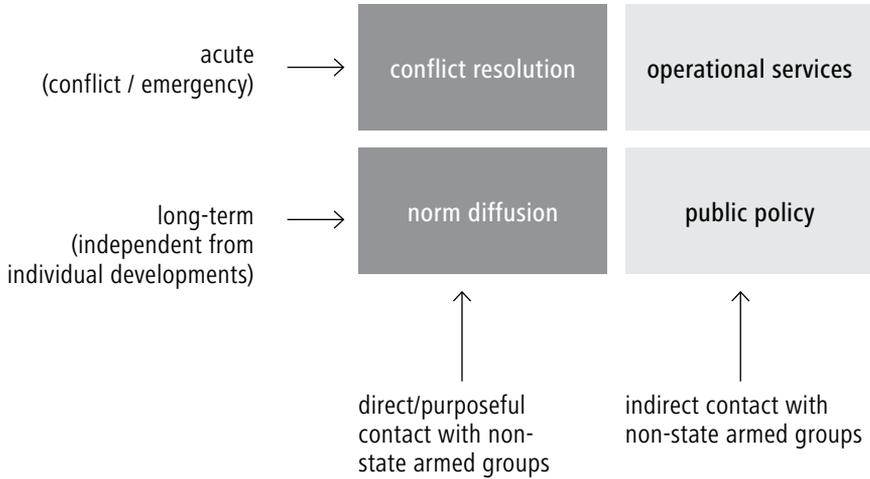
- › Operational Services NGOs are organisations whose primary task is to provide aid to a suffering population during, or subsequent to, a conflict. They must, therefore, frequently negotiate access, for example, with non-state arms carriers so as to carry out

¹ Formally, such a humanitarian law agreement can only be entered into by states. However, an agreement between Geneva Call and an arms carrier, wherein the latter pledges to observe the provisions of the Ottawa Treaty, may be legally, though unilaterally, binding and subject to monitoring.

their mission in conflict/emergency-torn regions. The contact is objective-oriented, given that the main purpose of the operational services NGOs is the provision of aid to a suffering population; non-state arms carriers are not in themselves NGOs' primary targets. This category is comprised primarily of humanitarian aid-oriented NGOs, such as Médecins Sans Frontières or Welthungerhilfe.

- › Public Policy NGOs are focussed on lobbying, monitoring, awareness-building, advocacy and the clarification of norms. They denounce abuse and misconduct (“naming and shaming”) and openly appeal to the conflict parties with a view to influencing them to act or refrain from acting; they do not, however, interact with non-state arms carriers directly. Instead, the main points of reference for public policy NGOs are governments and international organisations, which are called upon to take action against the abuse and misconduct of the conflict parties. Contact with the non-state arms carriers is, therefore, indirect, given that they form the subject of reports, rather than of direct action. An example is the International Crisis Group, which seeks to exercise influence on decision-making processes by means of political analysis and recommendations, as well as by increasing the international community's awareness of the problem.
- › Conflict Resolution NGOs are organisations that are actively involved in the conflict, providing good offices or acting as mediators, either officially or unofficially. They keep direct contact with non-state arms carriers to promote negotiation processes. The duration of contact is dependent on favourable conditions for negotiations, but hardly ever goes beyond this stage. Well-known examples are the Carter Center, International Alert and the Finnish Crisis Management Initiative (CMI).
- › Norm diffusion NGOs are organisations whose primary target groups are non-state arms carriers and whose goal is to ensure their compliance with certain provisions of international law. These NGOs, therefore, establish contact with certain arms carriers; their contact with these groups takes place directly and is frequently long-lasting, particularly when agreements regarding the observance of international law are entered into and subject to a monitoring process. Examples are the anti-landmine NGO Geneva Call, as well as the International Committee of the Red Cross.

These four NGO types give rise to the following matrix:



This diagram is merely intended to provide a rough classification of NGOs and their spheres of activities and tasks, particularly as there are a number of NGOs that are (to varying degrees) active in more than one field simultaneously.² However, the specific tasks in the diagram must be clearly delineated from each other in view of the varying degrees of interaction with arms carriers they involve. The activities of NGOs in the field of norm diffusion so far have not been discussed much critically in the literature, although the question whether and to which extent, socialisation approaches might be employed in dealing with non-state arms carriers seems particularly relevant in today's world.

“Integrating the Law”: norm diffusion through the ICRC

The diffusion or spreading of norms enshrined in international law constitutes one of the primary tasks of the ICRC, both as regards their observance by states and non-state actors. Its mandate, which describes this task in detail, is set out in the Geneva Convention of 1949 and its additional protocols of 1977. Further to these protocols, the ICRC has been tasked with the protection of human rights in conflict-torn areas, with visiting prisoners, facilitating the reunion of families torn apart in conflicts, and similar humanitarian tasks in the midst of armed confrontations. In addition, the ICRC – by virtue of the Statutes of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement – has been called upon to perform similar tasks in violent situations in which the Geneva Conventions are not applicable (e.g. internal conflicts and violence).

² In this manner, for example, **Conciliation Resources** and the **Quaker Peace & Social Witness Program** unite elements of conflict resolution and norm diffusion in their efforts. Their long-lasting commitment vis-à-vis non-state arms carriers for compliance with the provisions set forth in IHL, repeatedly, leads them to a position of volunteering their “good offices” and truce brokering services ad hoc in acute conflict situations.

The ICRC holds, as such, a mixed status: a private association under Swiss civil law on the one hand, and a non-state body, subject to international law, on the other. The statutes of the organisation are reconfirmed every four years at a conference attended by member states of the Geneva Conventions. In this manner, the ICRC holds a quasi-legal or “soft law” status; its existence is not itself mandated by the state, but rather its functions and tasks.

The overarching concept and aim of the ICRC is the diffusion and implementation of humanitarian norms of international law set forth in Common Article 3 of the Geneva Conventions’ regarding the protection of civilians, of the wounded and sick, protection against torture and preservation of personal dignity (ICRC 2007, see Zegveld 2002).³ The ICRC acts under the premise that the aforementioned law is an integral part of human behaviour and should, therefore, also be observed in war-torn situations. This process usually begins by explaining and clarifying existing humanitarian provisions; one cannot presume that armed groups are fully familiarised with humanitarian legislation, or indeed have an idea of how it translates to the operational level (Interview, 23rd July 2009). Information and familiarisation are, therefore, a fundamental first step. Only from such a point is it possible to elucidate the consequences, which in concrete situations may pave the way to proper conduct.

The Statutes of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movements set forth this process as follows: Article 5.2 (g) describes the obligation of the ICRC “to work for the understanding and dissemination of knowledge of IHL applicable in armed conflicts and to prepare any development thereof”; Article 5.3 explains, that the ICRC “may take any humanitarian initiative which comes within its role as a specifically neutral and independent institution and intermediary, and may consider any question requiring examination by such an institution”. Resolution 21 of the 1949 Diplomatic Conference reinforces this.

As per this logic, the ICRC derives its legitimacy for exercising influence on the parties to any given conflict, regardless whether they deal with state or non-state actors. The ICRC considers the conflict as a holistic phenomenon and therefore does not recognise any normative difference between parties to inter-state or internal conflicts. Consequently, combatants of both sides are provided with similar support. Pursuant

³ In 1986, the International Criminal Court in the Hague confirmed Common Article 3 as Customary Law (Military and Paramilitary Activities In and Against Nicaragua, IGH Report, S. 114, §218 and 219). Since then, said article is deemed as the minimum Standard, from which no Party to a Violent Conflict (non-state) is allowed to deviate. The text of Common Article 3, which displays identical wording in all four Geneva Conventions, is the following: “In the case of armed conflict not of an international character occurring in the territory of one of the High Contracting Parties, each Party to the conflict shall be bound to apply, as a minimum, the following provisions: 1. Persons taking no active part in the hostilities, including members of armed forces who have laid down their arms and those placed hors de combat by sickness, wounds, detention, or any other cause, shall in all circumstances be treated humanely, without any adverse distinction a) violence to life and person, in particular murder of all kinds, mutilation, cruel treatment and torture; b) taking of hostages; c) outrages upon personal dignity, in particular, humiliating and degrading treatment; d) the passing of sentences and the carrying out of executions without previous judgment pronounced by a regularly constituted court affording all the judicial guarantees which are recognized as indispensable by civilized peoples. 2. The wounded and sick shall be collected and cared for. An impartial humanitarian body, such as the International Committee of the Red Cross, may offer its services to the Parties to the conflict. The Parties to the conflict should further endeavor to bring into force, by means of special agreements, all or part of the other provisions of the present Convention. The application of the preceding provisions shall not affect the legal status of the Parties to the conflict.”

to the principle of neutrality, talks addressing the responsibilities and obligations of actors in conflict take place at the highest level with both parties to any given conflict (Interview, July 23rd 2009). However, when dealing with armed groups, the actual feasibility of this principle is dictated by the security situation, rather than by political circumstances. In general, neither party is deemed the aggressor.

Within its activities, the ICRC deals with more than 100 non-state arms carriers in some 30 countries. The size of the ICRC delegation varies from venue to venue and depends on several factors, such as, for instance, the onsite acceptance of the ICRC, the scope of the mission, its estimated duration, the country's size, the lines of contact already established vis-à-vis the parties in conflict, and the current stage of the conflict itself (Interview, July 23rd 2009). At the very least, a delegation of 15 so-called expats, i.e. international officials of the ICRC, will for a given time be appointed to the mission, in addition to approximately 120 local officials. To date, the ICRC's largest mission has been to the Sudan, comprised of 150 expats and 1000 local officials.

The integration concept

Four aspects are particularly important with regard to the ICRC's integration concept, namely, doctrine, qualification, training and equipment of the actor to be socialised – irrespective of whether state or non-state – as well as, the internal sanction mechanisms of the actor (ICRC 2007). These four influencing factors form a mutually reinforcing cycle, wherein changes in one area have impact on the other areas (progress as well as setbacks). These factors are not independent of each other and require separate analyses, although the identification of cross-linkages and dependencies in different areas may give rise to a process that supports a sustainable integration of IHL law in the conduct of arms carriers.

Generally, the simple addition of international humanitarian norms via rules and principles to manuals and procedures is not enough to ensure their integration in non-state arms carriers' doctrine. To prompt action, these norms need to become an integral part of the carriers' doctrine. To this end, arms carriers need to become familiarised with all the constituent parts of the doctrine – directives, procedures, rules of conduct and manuals – which mould the training, the vocabulary and the decision-making processes of the combatants, both in the tactical sphere and in combat operations. Furthermore, based on this information, combatants need to have a clear idea of how to decipher the scope of their duties and how to forward the information to all pertinent command levels. For this purpose, manuals directed at experts in different spheres of activity are issued for all command level combatants, which enables them to supervise the conduct of combat units, for instance within inhabited areas. To achieve a balance between the desired military successes and the protection of civilians, a doctrine needs to have, readily available, the following guidelines for combatants at all command levels (ICRC 2007):

- › the definition of military success and the protection of civilians;
- › the means to infer the consequences of different combat strategies with regard to military success and the protection of civilians;
- › the mechanism to convey to the commanding officer the recommendations in this regard;
- › the monitoring of specific commitments by intelligence and operative personnel and the monitoring and evaluation of the balance between the decision and the combat strategy.

A similar procedure is applicable to the use of force in law enforcement. In order to regulate its use, the doctrine must have the following guidelines at the ready:

- › the definition of the necessity principle and guidelines regarding the circumstances wherein the use of force is authorised by international law;
- › means to achieve a balance between necessity and proportionality in the decision-making process;
- › specific requirements within differing command levels, in order to evaluate and register the balance between the decision regarding the situation, the manner of action employed, and extent of the use of force.

The principles set forth in the doctrine must, in turn, be transmitted to the command levels and combatants through qualification and training. For this purpose, the internal training structure of the arms carrier may be used. Even though there may be no systematic curriculum verification, there is always a training system within non-state armed groups, providing at least familiarisation with weaponry (possibly through peer-to-peer teaching) and activities that might be used for humanitarian purposes (Interview, October 22nd 2008).

On the one hand, during their qualifying and training, both commanders and combatants of the arms carrier need to be clearly briefed on the theoretical principles of the relevant IHL provisions. On the other hand, when it comes to the lower ranks of the arms carrier, these principles must be imparted in a practical and understandable manner.⁴ The combatants must, for example, become fully aware about the meaning of civil society, civilians and civilian property. Furthermore, each command level must be aware of the commitments they enter into regarding the protection of civilians, the management options at their disposal with a view to not endangering civilians, and how these options are carried out. This may include the choice of weapons as well as the evacuation of civilians from a conflict zone. Furthermore, the respect of relevant principles of international law must become an integral part of daily training. In this manner, practical drills have shown themselves as the most effective training method.

⁴ At higher levels, a rather more academic approach may also be pursued.

The repeated drilling in IHL principles by way of controlled practical experiences, in which obligations and management options are directly lived through dramatically strengthens the knowledge of the applicability of IHL principles. By staging these realistic situations, combatants learn how they should conduct themselves in actual combat situations. Lower-ranking combatants receive precise instructions on how to treat conflict prisoners; officers, meanwhile, are briefed on peaceful methods of conflict resolution, such as negotiation and mediation – with the aim of defusing critical situations – as well as on the principle of proportionality in the use of force. To support this process, the ICRC provides training for teachers, trainers and legal advisers (i.e. train the trainers). In rare cases, the ICRC employs external trainers, e.g. former police officers for the schooling of police forces, or former military officers for the briefing of military units on the protection of civilians (Interview, July 23rd 2009).

Continuous evaluation and, where necessary, adaptation of the process is important to ensure effective qualification and training. In order to efficiently and repeatedly monitor the entire process, the ICRC has developed a score card, which on the one hand shows which stage the group has reached in the integration process, and on the other it shows the violations of IHL and of HR committed by or within the group (Interview, July 23rd, 2009).

Equally, it is viewed as the duty of the highest command level to provide its combatants with equipment that does not violate IHL or HR. Realistic training situations can be used to verify whether the equipment of an armed group or the manner in which it is deployed comply with the provisions of IHL. These experiences also ensure that combatants are aware of the impact that their weapons will have on potential victims. What type of equipment is placed in the hands of combatants must in turn become part of the doctrine of the arms carrier. Especially in recent years, cooperation between the ICRC and its delegates has increased both with trainers on the ground and in command posts to ensure that IHL is enforced at the operational level.

A final point refers to what occurs in case of a transgression of the doctrine or specific instructions. In such a scenario the transgressor must be disciplined within the group through effective sanction mechanisms. These mechanisms must also fall within the scope of IHL and HR and need to be strengthened within the entire chain of command. On the one hand, the (disciplinary) sanctions make the combatants aware of the consequences inherent to a transgression of the rules (ICRC 2007). On the other hand, a conscientious implementation of sanctions also emphasises the seriousness of command (Interview, October 22nd 2008).

Success factors for the ICRC's integration processes

Drawing from the experience of the ICRC in dealing with non-state arms carriers, with the purpose of incorporating IHL and HR in their doctrines and operations, a number of factors responsible for the (relative) success or failure of NGOs stand out: Four overarching groups of factors seem to be particularly relevant: general environmental factors, the attributes of the NGO, the attributes of the non-state arms carrier and the quality of the interaction (Schneckener / Hofmann 2007).

General environmental factors

An integration process is carried out with greater success when a peace process or peace talks are underway, or when the conflict involving non-state arms carriers has not yet reached a high-intensity level (Interview, July 23rd 2009). However, if an armed group is in the midst of large-scale military operations, other priorities will inevitably prevail over long-term compliance with IHL. The ICRC seeks engagement with non-state arms carriers as early as possible in the conflict process. Firstly, a point rather more pragmatic in nature: it is precisely at the beginning of a conflict that contact with these groups is more convenient, i.e. prior to the possibility of the state imposing strict safeguards or setting out political restrictions regarding contact with the arms carrier (such as the inclusion of the arms carriers in an official list of terrorist organisations). Secondly, it makes sense to take the grievances of the arms carrier seriously at an early stage of the conflict and to seek an early dialogue in order to avoid further escalation of the conflict (Interview, July 23rd 2009; see Berdal/ Malone 2000). The actors involved – state and non-state – are usually less set in their positions at the onset of a conflict; an agreement is thus more likely to be achieved with early dialogue, at least on certain issues. Moreover, it also makes sense to alert arms carriers about their responsibilities vis-à-vis IHL and HR, so as to promote the protection of civilians at an early stage.

The balance of power between parties may be irrelevant for the success of an attempted dialogue. In every conflict stage and in every constellation of forces there are humanitarian violations which impel a need for dialogue with non-state arms carriers, as well as political motives which represent the starting point for such dialogue; for example, the recognition of perceived emergencies or legitimacy within and by the group itself (Interview, July 23rd 2009). The respective balances of power only bear consequences to the activities of the ICRC in regard to the possibilities they provide to the parties: if the state party is the stronger one it will, in certain circumstances, not tolerate external interference, which hinders both humanitarian aid and training by the ICRC. In the event that the state party is the weaker one, however, it might be the one to call for the support of the ICRC. These considerations are mirrored on the non-state arms carrier side (Interview, July 23rd 2009).

Attributes of the NGO

The ICRC has two fundamental attributes, which are particularly suited for interaction with arms carriers and that yield positive effects for cooperation. On the one hand, the ICRC is widely recognised as neutral and independent. Nevertheless, this perception is not absolute and the ICRC has repeatedly been reproached for being a “Western organisation” (Probert 2002). However, its neutrality is set forth in the Geneva Conventions and their Additional Protocols, which refer to the ICRC as an “impartial humanitarian organisation”; the statutes of the international Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement equally refer to its “neutral and independent” role. The ICRC’s non-state position as an organisation, added to the rights and obligations that have been entrusted to it by states, reinforce the principles of neutrality and independence. These attributes allow the ICRC to bypass the political constraints imposed on

state actors when dealing with non-state arms carriers, and to include this task within its mission (Hofmann 2006). While doing so, the ICRC remains impartial and can in some instances act as the intermediary between states and arms carriers (e.g. through the negotiation of prisoner exchanges).

Meanwhile, by means of its encompassing humanitarian aid work, the ICRC has gained a positive reputation which often leads to its being granted access and trust faster than other organisations. As a result, the first contact with non-state arms carriers often takes place with local Red Cross groups on the operational – rather than political – level.⁵ Thus, the organisation is able to refer to past success and experiences of its nearly 150 years of history.

Attributes of non-state arms carriers

The attributes of non-state arms carriers are of great importance for the success of the ICRC's integration approach insofar as the ICRC is dependent on the engagement with the arms carrier. Should the arms carrier refuse to alter its conduct – be it for reasons of principle or strategy – the ICRC will be significantly hampered in its ability to act. For this reason, one of the most influential factors for the success of integrating IHL into non-state arms carriers' *modus vivendi* has proved to be political ideology, i.e. the basic political principles of the group (Interview, July 23rd 2009). If the arms carrier's ideology should give rise to the need of working together with the population, i.e. to protect it, as in “a peoples war” (frequently characterised by means of guerrilla strategies; e.g., Shining Path, New People's Army, Irish Republican Army), the receptivity to an integration of IHL will be more pronounced. Equally important is the arms carrier's ability to enforce any necessary changes in conduct pursuant to the provisions of IHL.

Accordingly, and due to the long-term nature of the integration approach, ensuring the commitment of the top-command echelon of the arms carrier is indispensable. In fact, all relevant command levels (from the strategic to the tactical) must not only permit the permanent dissemination and indoctrination of IHL, but also send a strong signal to subordinate levels so as to ensure that the observance of IHL becomes a clear “top-down” priority. This priority must also remain clear in case of personnel changes, so as to ensure the uninterrupted existence of the process. For this purpose, the commanders must, always and specifically, emphasise the observance of humanitarian norms in the planning, organisation and execution of all combat situations and enforcement measures based on the doctrine in force. With the purpose of supporting the commander-in-chief and various command-levels in carrying out this task, the ICRC provides special seminars and workshops, which are useful for the drafting and revision of doctrine, training programs and deployment directives. If called for, the ICRC also provides assistance in the production of hi-tech products, such as videos, interactive CD-ROMs and DVDs, which aid in the dissemination of IHL (ICRC 2007).

In addition, doctrine-based guidelines need to be turned into concrete programmes, projects and action plans; targets and duties must be determined, and deadlines for

⁵ In other cases, the ICRC approaches the arms carriers in a proactive manner (Interview, 23rd July 2009).

each step of the process must be stipulated. At the same time, the identification of individual vocations is a necessary step for the successful conversion of doctrine into programmes and projects. These identified persons must rely on their skills and on available tools to effectively manage both programmes and projects, for instance, the writing of new tactical manuals, new training plans, the updating of the current doctrine or even the procurement of new equipment.⁶ However, the experience of the ICRC has shown that the establishment of a proprietary department for IHL within a non-state arms carrier is more of a hindrance, given that such a department would separate itself from the rest of the command chain and degenerate into a sheer end in itself. Therefore, the responsibility for the implementation of programmes and projects should rather be delegated to the operational arm of the arms carrier, which is usually also responsible for combatant training (ICRC 2007).

A solidly-established structure within the arms carrier proper is also a decisive factor. Given that the development of the process depends on the existing structure of the arms carrier (effective leadership and command chain, stable qualification and training system), a weak structure within the group leads to a slower process of integration and may even bring it to a complete standstill. However, if the integration process can rely on a solid structure, its costs can be kept at a minimum and, in this manner, the resources of the arms carrier are not a necessary factor for success (Interview, July 23rd, 2009; see Weinstein 2006). Nor, in the case of groups with solidly established structures, is there need to qualify additional trainers if such personnel already exist.

Quality of the interaction

Much of the interaction between the ICRC and the arms carriers takes place on an interpersonal level and is subject to the personality of the ICRC delegates' and of the arms carriers' representatives. Both parties need to win each other's trust to speak openly about difficult issues. Usually, this takes place through a process of getting to know each other, including small talk and socialising – depending on the culture – and careful listening, in order to become familiarised with the norms, values and prospects of the other side and to properly understand them (ICRC 2007, Interview, July 23rd 2009; see. Bercovitch 2002, Dunn/Kriesberg 2002, Touval/Zartman 1985, Young 1967, Zartman/Rasmussen 1997). How well this is achieved is a matter of personality. Also the manner in which the dialogue is carried out depends on the characters leading the negotiations.

For the purpose of conversation dynamics, initiating talks with a practical problem with a relatively simple solution seems to be an approach that usually promises success (Interview, July 23rd 2009). When this occurs, a positive impression arises on both sides and participants of both sides are able to sense the attitude of the other with regard to the process. Issues relating to the condition of prisoners or the access to a given region/checkpoint are particularly worth mentioning as good approaches for cooperation with arms carriers. Subsequent to an agreement, it becomes possible to build trust upon a basis of prior success.

⁶ The ICRC takes no part in the actual drafting process of regulations and programs, although it will provide its expertise upon request.

Norm-diffusion and the socialisation of non-state arms carriers

Mechanisms and conditions of socialisation are analysed in the relevant literature, which includes successful examples of norm transference from one actor to another (amongst others, Chayes/Chayes 1995, Checkel 2005, 2001, Finnemore 1996, Gheciu 2005, Johnston 2001, Risse/Jetschke/Schmitz 2002, Zürn/Checkel 2005).⁷ The possible mechanisms of socialisation are numerous and the conditions are set forth on various levels – covering structural conditions, as well as actor dispositions and process characteristics (Schimmelfennig 2003). In the case of the ICRC and norm diffusion to non-state arms carriers, the investigation is less problematic, inasmuch as the mechanism is clearly identifiable. Pointing to its international role and attributions, the ICRC does not rely on capabilities that would allow it to exert social pressure or to negotiate norm compliance. Neither has it the possibility to recommend social incentives (such as recognition, increased status or image awards), nor can it make political concessions (such as participation and decision-making) nor can it set financial incentives (such as financial support, economic gains or military protection). The imitation mechanism mentioned in the literature is equally not very relevant, given that the organisation and the non-state arms carriers occupy very different terrains: as an international humanitarian organisation, the ICRC can hardly represent a role model for arms carriers. By means of discourses with arms carriers (such as negotiations, workshops, meetings with experts, and via campaigns) the ICRC tries, via use of rhetoric, to justify and disseminate the norms of IHL and HR. In the event that the ICRC has the “better arguments,” the arms carriers allow themselves (in theory) to be persuaded by the correctness of these norms and alter their conduct accordingly. Typically, the change in conduct begins with the acceptance of the correctness of these norms by individuals. Should the norms be incorporated in individuals’ schemata and in the doctrine of the arms carriers, the arms carriers begin to lead the action themselves and the socialisation process is deemed complete.

Regarding the mechanism of persuasion, various authors have widely convergent views on the necessary conditions (see Checkel 2001, 1999, Cortell/Davis 2000, Johnston 2001, Risse 2000). It is considered that norm-diffusion by way of persuasion is more likely to succeed in situations where arms carriers are relatively new to the scene, and in which the conflict is still poorly spread. When the positions of the parties in conflict are not yet fully unyielding, opponents are more prone to agree to dialogue as opposed to engaging in protracted conflict. In other words, norm diffusion is more likely to be effective, when

- › the actor to be persuaded is new or unsure of himself; for instance if the actor is new to the terrain, and is therefore more readily open to the absorption of new information (H1);

⁷ “Mechanism” refers to an intermediary process, whereby one actor tries to convince the other in agreeing to accept certain norms, rules and conduct (Zürn and Checkel 2005).

- › the actor to be persuaded has little knowledge of conduct that infringes the new rules and norms (H2);
- › the persuading actor is a member of a renowned in-group of which the actor to be persuaded wishes to form part (H3);
- › the persuading actor does not set forth conditions, but acts based on principles and engages in a serious, advisory (rhetorical) dialogue (H4);
- › the interaction takes place in a less politicised environment (H5);
- › the actor to be persuaded has, over a long time span, been provided with information on new regulations and norms (H6) (Checkel 2001, Johnston 2001).

These conditions allow for simulations regarding when and how a process of persuasion between the ICRC and the arms carriers is more likely to occur and be successful. Analysis of these factors of interaction between the ICRC and arms carriers shows that they coincide with the success factors drawn up by the ICRC itself (herein divided into four factor-bundles, i.e. general environmental factors, ICRC attributes, attributes of the non-state arms carrier, quality of the integration). The first two conditions refer to the attributes of the non-state arms carrier, as well as the latter's general environment, the third and fourth conditions refer to the ICRC, and the last two conditions refer to the quality of the interaction between the two parties. Up to this point in time, these conditions or hypotheses have not been applied to either NGOs or to arms carriers. Instead, socialisation investigations generally addressed the relationship between institutions and state actors within the European space (see: International Organization 59, Fall 2005). Nevertheless, the questions if and to what extent these socialisation approaches may be transferred to the dealing with non-state actors seems particularly relevant.

H1: Insecurity and new environment

As previously mentioned, the ICRC seeks the earliest possible engagement with non-state arms carriers. This is due to several pragmatic reasons: access to the arms carrier is not yet encumbered with state security measures and restrictions; the arms carrier is frequently lacking in knowledge about obligations set forth in IHL and HR; the arms carrier is receptive to information; the position between the parties in conflict is not yet as unyielding and establishing a line of dialogue is still possible. Both the newness of a non-state arms carrier and its insecurity within a new environment are advantageous to the ICRC's integration process.

Internal conflict situations and parties to a given conflict are, however, so diverse, that it is often impossible, even for the ICRC, to contact the arms carrier with a structured approach or plan (ICRC 2008). The motives of an arms carrier for taking part in an IHL clarification process might be of a purely strategic nature (in order to promote international recognition or political legitimacy). In such cases, an integration process is confronted with a decreased receptivity vis-à-vis new information. In addition, the level

of the arms carrier's organisational structure is relevant. As already described, a group relying on high centralisation, strong hierarchy, an effective chain of command and on robust communication is far more capable of implanting changes in doctrine, qualification, training, modifying equipment and implementing sanctions than a group with a lower level of centralisation, i.e. devoid of full autonomy and relying on several splinter groups under a poorly defined command structure. At the beginning of a conflict, if the arms carrier operates within a new environment, one should not automatically assume that its structures are already solidly in place and functioning properly. The lack of territorial control over a given area by the group can give rise to difficult meetings with the ICRC, given that at times such meetings need to take place within insecure terrain (Interview, July 23rd 2009). Furthermore, particularly vis-à-vis new groups, disagreements may occur on how important IHL and HR are for the carrier. This might be the case if diverse factions within an arms carrier are present – often deriving from a split between the latter's military and political wings (ICRC 2007).

H2: Current views

The experience the ICRC has acquired from its interaction with non-state arms carriers has confirmed political ideology as a key success factor, i.e. the political basic principle of the arms carrier forms one of the most influential factors for the success of integration processes (Interview, July 23rd 2009). Particularly in “people's war” models, such as in conflicts for the self-determination of a population group, popular support of the arms carrier plays a significant role. Pursuant to its political program, the arms carrier must cooperate with the population and protect it – or at least not curtail its right for self-determination. For the ICRC, such an ideology represents the point of entry for integration of IHL and HR within the arms carrier (by means of doctrine, qualification, training, equipment and sanctions mechanisms). Otherwise put, when the welfare of the population is already part of the arms carrier's attributes and value perceptions, the integration process has increased chances of success because IHL norms are supported by arms carriers' existing views and needs. Usually, the presence of humanitarian provisions or the lack of provisions contrary to HR and IHL encourages a secure dialogue with arms carriers. However, the integration of IHL is not ensured by this factor alone.

Even if protecting the population is part of the arms carriers' current rules and norms, such groups often harbour doubts regarding the applicability of IHL and HR to their specific contexts. This is frequently set out by the argument that both IHL and HR represent laws and provisions set forth and agreed upon by states, and thus applicable only to states. Non-state arms carriers also attempt to justify their noncompliance with IHL through the fact that in a conflict against a government they do not feel bound by obligations ratified by precisely the government against which they are fighting. (ICRC 2008). In such cases it is rare that IHL will be integrated into a framework for arms carriers, particularly when these have a strong ideology.

H3: Image of the persuading actor

The unique position of the ICRC within the international community and its soft law status pave the way for the institution's unparalleled standing. Firstly, due to its position in the Geneva Convention and additional protocols, the organisation has become a highly respected part of the global community. Secondly, it occupies a specialised position, inasmuch as it is capable of dealing both neutrally and impartially with parties in conflict – in both national and international conflicts. This fact grants it decisive advantages in its interactions with arms carriers for it represents the international community – to which numerous arms carriers aspire to be members and from which they hope to gain legitimacy, recognition or support. Arms carriers which consider the global community as a relevant actor within their conflicts view the ICRC as a representative of the in-group. Simultaneously, the ICRC is not subject to political and diplomatic restrictions to which full members of the international community (namely states) are held accountable. Furthermore, by virtue of its engagement as a provider of humanitarian services in emergency situations and conflicts, the ICRC has built its own reputation, granting it an implicitly trusted head start in conflict regions.

Nevertheless, even the ICRC's status and reputation are at times not enough when dealing with a number of non-state arms carriers. The ICRC is at times accused of being the representative of state interests alone, and is not always greeted as an implicitly trusted actor.

H4: Talks based on principles

The integration process detailed herein, which the ICRC seeks to enter into with arms carriers, is based upon a range of measures beyond mere information and familiarisation regarding IHL and HR. Instead, the relevant norms are strategically addressed, in a way and manner relevant to the non-state arms carrier and adapted to the context in which they operate (ICRC 2008). The non-state arms carrier should, in this manner, gain a positive attitude vis-à-vis the law, before coming to abide by it. Existing international law should always be presented accurately, without compromising current rules. In this manner, talks take place based on rules and norms rooted in international law, without alteration, adaptation or deferral for and to the non-state arms carriers. Pragmatic concerns and political sensitivity do not pre-empt the principles of IHL.

At the same time, the ICRC cannot be excessively theoretical or academic in its dealings with the arms carrier. Instead, the law in force is presented in a practical manner. The previous knowledge of IHL, the educational level, the motivations and preconceptions of the partner must, at such a point, be taken into account. When particular attributes and the specific situation of the arms carrier are taken into account respectfully, the integration process with the arms carrier is all the more successful (ICRC 2008). With this in mind, the interests and motivations of the arms carrier are worth analysing so as to elucidate why it would be of interest for the latter to comply with IHL and HR. Benefits often include, among other issues:

- › the military benefit of IHL provisions, as opponent-combatants surrender more readily upon knowing that if they are prisoners, they will be treated well; equally, opponents will be more likely to treat the arms carriers' prisoners well, also;
- › the improvement of the arms carrier's image and reputation in public – both with its voters, its allies, and internationally;
- › public support and improved morale since local culture and traditions are often similar to the norms set forth in international law;

In the long-term, repeated infringements of IHL may imply devastating consequences for the arms carrier (ICRC 2008);

- › they put its reputation, its support and social inclusion at risk – a point particularly relevant for arms carriers aspiring to achieve state recognition, or to form the government themselves;
- › they risk prosecution through an international ad hoc court (as for example, the International Criminal Tribunals for former Yugoslavia, ICTY, and Ruanda, ICTR) or through the International Criminal Court (ICC);
- › they lay waste to useful economic resources in cases of senseless destruction of infrastructure or private property.

H5: Environment of the interaction

The ICRC benefits from its neutral and independent position. By focussing on the principles of IHL and HR, without taking sides or furthering a political agenda, the interaction of the ICRC with non-state arms carriers appears as of a rather simple nature. Politicised argumentation, i.e. the linking of political issues with the norms set forth in IHL, do not form part of the ICRC's integration concept.

H6: Duration of the integration process

The ICRC's integration process is a long-term endeavour and subject to numerous hurdles. Firstly, access to the arms carrier represents an initial impediment at the start as well as throughout the process. Not only must the contact between the ICRC and the arms carrier be developed on a basis of trust, but also the security situation has to be stable enough to send ICRC representatives into the arms carrier's terrain without risk to their lives or person. The time it takes for a trusting relationship to be successfully established between the ICRC and the non-state arms carrier is, moreover, dependent on formal aspects, such as the timespan between meetings, or the time required by the arms carrier to inform and consult various relevant hierarchical levels (Interview, July 23rd 2009).

Furthermore, once a dialogue is established with the arms carrier and the integration process underway, the networks and dependencies of the four factors worked on by the

ICRC (doctrine, qualification and training, equipment and sanctions) give more often than not rise to delays or setbacks within the process.

Moreover, the integration process is followed by, amongst other things, follow-ups; for instance, the arms carrier may be encouraged to formalise a compliance statement, pledging to comply with IHL and HR. Such compliance statements may encompass special agreements, unilateral statements, inclusion of international law provisions within the arms carrier's code of conduct, as well as compliance with IHL within the framework of ceasefires and peace-agreements. The ICRC provides support to the arms carrier during such follow-up processes, aiding them with the conversion of obligations into practice by means of continuous and confidential bilateral dialogue and additional training regarding their obligations and capacity-building measures (ICRC 2007).

Bottom line: norm diffusion in conflict management

The International Committee of the Red Cross presents itself as a norm diffusion agent of high potential. The analysis confirmed that the conditions stipulated in the relevant literature regarding norm diffusion and socialisation (H1-6) correspond with the conditions of success drawn up by the ICRC itself – herein set forth in four success-factor-bundles (general environmental factors, attributes of the NGO, attributes of the non-state arms carrier, quality of the interaction). This confirms not only the conditions stipulated in the socialisation theory, but also their practical relevance.

The analysis equally confirmed that the integration concept of the ICRC proves to be successful in fulfilling these conditions. Thus, the integration concept presents itself as well-suited for a norm diffusion NGO. The primary target of the concept is persuading non-state actors – such as rebel groups, paramilitaries or warlords – to comply with a number of international law norms. By virtue of its mandate, whilst dealing with non-state arms carriers, the ICRC bases itself, primarily, on Common Article 3 of the Geneva Conventions. The ICRC establishes direct contact with the arms carriers, with the purpose of persuading the latter of the benefits of compliance with IHL and HR. While doing so, the ICRC relies on its own non-state status so as to deal with diplomatic conventions and their retroactive effects, which render state relations with non-state arms carriers more difficult (e.g. the risk of granting recognition and legitimacy through the very acceptance of interaction). Within its persuasion process, the ICRC refers to the provisions of the Geneva Conventions, but not to the political status of the arms carrier or the political interests of a party to the conflict. The pressure on the arms carrier is, by virtue of this soft approach, lower insofar as the compliance with humanitarian norms set forth in international law does not take place hand in hand with political concessions (as would necessarily occur in a negotiation process with a government).

The effects of this engagement are measurable. Some examples:

- › The San José Agreement on human rights between the government of El Salvador and the Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional (FMLN) of 1990 included compliance statements to ensure the observation of the provisions set forth in Common

Article 3, as well as in the 2nd complementary protocol of the Geneva Conventions.

- › In 1956, the Front de Libération Nationale (FLN) of Algeria unilaterally declared to comply with the Common Article 3.
- › In September 1987 the Coordinadora Guerrillera Simon Bolivar (CGSB) – an umbrella organisation of various non-state arms carriers in Colombia – declared its intent to comply with norms of IHL.
- › The Free Aceh Movement (GAM) agreed, within the framework of a ceasefire agreement with the Indonesian government in 2002, to renounce the use of force.
- › The People’s Liberation Movement/Army (SPLA/M) agreed, within the framework of a ceasefire with the Sudanese government in 2002, to renounce the use of force.

Nevertheless, regardless of these successes, the integration concept of the ICRC also has limitations, particularly when the arms carrier has overriding leadership ideologies or views. The integration concept of the ICRC relies heavily on the cooperation of the arms carriers’ leadership for the task of disseminating IHL provisions. It is the aim of the integration process to convince leadership levels that not only would it not be disadvantageous for them to comply with IHL, but indeed that it could even be advantageous. This form of strategic argumentation represents the attempt on the part of the ICRC to pre-empt the current interests and preferences of the arms carrier. In the event that this does not succeed, the integration process fails right at the start. For instance, should the arms carrier consider ethnic cleansing as one of its key goals, it would be next to impossible for the ICRC to persuade the carrier to desist from it by means of an integration of the principles of international law (Interview, July 23rd 2009). Similarly, should the arms carrier deem that the employment of land-mines is fundamental for its success, the ICRC will then find itself unable to act against this conviction. In conclusion, the weaknesses of the ICRC’s approach are twofold: Firstly, and in principle, the concept is dependent on the support of the non-state arms carrier. Secondly, the ICRC has no means of pressure or leverage other than persuasion in such cases.

Furthermore, the ICRC also suffers from the general difficulties experienced by NGOs: it risks being instrumentalised by other actors, suffers from the difficulties inherent to the monitoring of non-state arms carriers, and must overcome the hurdles of ensuring satisfactory security conditions for its emissaries. However, the ICRC faces fewer problems than most NGOs regarding resources (both human and financial), mission legitimacy, and access to political decision-makers (Bennett 1996). Its internationally mandated status regulates its funding as well as its legitimacy and promotes its access to decision-makers in a significant manner.

This paper illustrates that there are many issues worth future research, particularly with regard to the success factors of the integration process and both short- and long-term effects. Even though sporadic successes have been achieved, the success ratio regarding the missions of the ICRC remains unclear. This paper did not show how

much interaction and persuasion is required to motivate non-state arms carriers to alter their code of conduct. This is particularly worth mentioning in cases wherein the group's political ideology proved to be incompatible with the provisions of IHL and HR. It is uncertain in such cases whether increased interaction and persuasion could have led to increased success. Similarly unclear is how long-lasting the successes of the ICRC indeed are, and under which external circumstances they collapse. The true degree of stability and endurance of the successes of the ICRC remain, thus, to be seen. Additionally, clarification is needed regarding which external aspects may influence the success/non-success of the integration process – and what role they play in supporting, rendering feasible, hindering, or rendering unfeasible the efforts of the ICRC.

Interviews

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The International System, Sovereignty, Territory and the Nation State: a Brazilian Perspective

Sérgio Eduardo Moreira Lima

The 21st century presents new challenges and opportunities for the international community. The world is changing and every nation must be the guardian of the path taken towards the shared goal of a world of peace, justice and prosperity, based on a commonality of fundamental principles and values. They include those enshrined in the United Nations Charter, which should be observed and implemented by means of a higher degree of international understanding and cooperation.

International order should evolve to include the voices of a larger number of nation states and international organisations. Mutual understandings, collective judgement, negotiations, and agreements ought to form the structural lines of this order, rather than sanctions, ultimata and military solutions led by one or by a small number of nations. Hard power prevailed in the 20th century and seemed to have already exhausted its capabilities in the first decade of the 21st. There is currently a deficit of diplomacy and a need to enhance legitimacy within the machinery of the international system so as to deal with threats to peace and international security. Democratic values should also be reflected in this process so as to improve representativeness and prevent abuses of power – in the absence of transparency, judicial review and a system of checks and balances within international organisations.

The Cold War was a reminder that relative peace, on a global scale, resulted not from the rule of law but from a balance of military means of destruction, morally condemned, which did not take into consideration

the principles of universal respect for human rights, human dignity and individual freedoms. In this second decade of the 21st century, diplomacy and the rule of law should inspire the international community to act; these values should take a front seat in addressing global challenges since the option of military might and the use of force seem, instead, to be generating a vicious circle of violence and instability.

Our generation is perhaps the first to have a clearer idea of the limits of human activity on Earth. It bears the responsibility of upholding and achieving the commitment to sustainable development, taking the principle of common but differentiated responsibilities into account, at a time of ever greater climate and environmental uncertainties. We have a moral obligation to future generations to ensure that the international order – instead of dividing countries into different categories because of their social, economic, cultural or religious condition – encourages common action to overcome divisions, promoting a true sense of global community, and enhancing the principle of sovereign equality of states.

Mutual understanding among nation states and peoples will be encouraged if the system of representation and decision-making within international organisations is perceived as more inclusive and fair. Only then will such organisations have the full moral authority to succeed in achieving their goals, especially the promotion of the universality of human rights. Indeed, those rights will only prevail globally when racial, religious and cultural divisions lose their current primacy; and when absolute moral values and freedoms stand well above other considerations. These values have to do with the concept of human dignity and the respect for human beings

The world's current generations have inherited a particularly violent legacy, considering the last few hundred years of human history. Yet the atrocities of slavery, colonialism, ethnic cleansing, imperialism, two world wars and the advent of weapons of mass destruction were followed by a significant evolution in the doctrine of human rights. Nowadays, states are more accountable for the treatment of their nationals. International law and human rights legislation advanced significantly as a response to unimaginable cruelty and human suffering. The UN Charter was a turning point in this process.

Despite the more encouraging side of our legacy, it is widely recognised that we have witnessed, in the first years of this millennium, a circumstantial reversal of this trend towards the strengthening of human rights and international law. The so-called “war against terror” has triggered a period of encouragement of the use of force, religious fundamentalism and rationalisation of the idea that military means are workable alternatives to diplomacy and international cooperation. The notion that “might makes right” prevailed in a scale only possible because of the circumstantial unipolarity of the post-Cold War order with the fall of the Berlin Wall, the demise of the Soviet Union and the US reaction to the September 11, 2001 attacks.

The Iraq War, the Guantanamo base, the Abu Ghraib prison, the conflict in Gaza, as well as the rise of Al Qaeda and other violent fundamentalist movements have become symbols of this lost decade for the human rights and civil liberties agenda, frustrating the promise of the rule of law in international relations and giving rise to questions

about whether or not nation states remain as the sole subject and builders of the world order. Since the 1648 Treaty of Westphalia, state leaders have long recognised the state sovereignty as one of the most important principles of the international arena. In the 20th century, however, sovereignty had to be adjusted to make room for the principle of respect for human rights. Akin to banning the threat – or use – of force, the obligation to respect human rights represents a new stage in the international community's development following the Second World War. The ultimate objective of attaining the universality of respect for human rights is not incompatible with the preservation of sovereignty. Both concepts are part of the set of fundamental principles that today structure international relations.

Instead of accomplishing a true reform as expected, after half a century of Cold War, the UN promise of strengthening international law was weakened. Arrogance and unilateralism have replaced the observance of regulations and norms within a framework of transparency and accountability. International responsibility and multilateralism fell victim to a blind urge towards retribution by violent means, contrary to international law. This behaviour, were it framed in a domestic setting, would correspond to a retaliation without due process of law.

Hopefully the lessons learnt during this lost decade will help to generate greater understanding of the real challenges which lie ahead, including the need to return to a broad human rights and social agenda, and to re-establish the authority of international law and international institutions.

The election in 2008 of US President Barack Hussein Obama was in itself an important development and created expectations that his mandate would serve the above-mentioned goals. The emergence of a multipolar world was also a reason for hope as regards restoring and enhancing the rule of law, revitalising multilateralism, and respecting the principles established in the UN Charter.

During his first inaugural address¹, President Obama mentioned the transformation ongoing in the world and the importance of universal values. He recalled that “earlier generations faced down fascism and communism not just with missiles and tanks, but with the sturdy alliances and enduring convictions (...) they understood that our power alone cannot protect us, nor does it entitle us to do as we please. Instead they knew that our power grows through its prudent use; our security emanates from the justness of our cause, the force of our example, the tempering qualities of humility and restraint.”

In Obama's words: “we are the keepers of this legacy. Guided by these principles once more we can meet those new threats that demand even greater effort, even greater cooperation and understanding between nations. We will begin to responsibly leave Iraq to its people and forge a hard-earned peace in Afghanistan. With old friends and former foes, we'll work tirelessly to lessen the nuclear threat, and roll back the specter of a warming planet.”

¹ OBAMA, Barack. President Barack Obama's Inaugural Address, White House, Washington, DC, 2009

In his book *Diplomacy*, published in 1994, Henry Kissinger addresses the question of shaping the New World Order by the notion that “in every century there seems to emerge a country with the power, the will, and the intellectual and moral impetus to shape the entire international system in accordance with its own values”.

In his view, France played such a role in the 17th century, Great Britain in the 18th, Austria and Germany in the 19th. In the 20th, “no country has influenced international relations as decisively and at the same time as ambivalently as the United States”. According to Kissinger, “the singularities that America has ascribed to itself throughout its history have produced two contradictory attitudes toward foreign policy. The first is that America serves its values best by perfecting democracy at home, thereby acting as a beacon for the rest of mankind; the second, that America’s values impose on it an obligation to crusade for them around the world”².

He foresaw then a process of change in the post-Cold War world. The relative military power of the United States would gradually decline. The international system of the 21st century would be marked by a seeming contradiction: “on the one hand, fragmentation; on the other, growing globalization”. He predicted that the “system would contain at least six major powers (...) as well as a multiplicity of medium-sized and smaller countries. For America, reconciling differing values and very different historical experiences among countries of comparable significance will be a novel experience and a major departure from either the isolation of the last century or the de facto hegemony of the Cold War”.

In fact, it is increasingly clear that international order in the 21st century will not be shaped by a single country alone. It will need a true cooperative effort to address hearts and minds of people throughout the planet: global public opinion. It is fully acknowledged nowadays that no country has the power, the economic strength, or the moral authority to do it by itself. International order will be the work of nation states and individuals all over the world. They both need to be inspired and bolstered in their beliefs and deeds. Common values and international leadership will be necessary to carry out this endeavour. When Obama received the Nobel Peace Prize, he said that “peace is not merely the absence of visible conflict. Only a just peace based on the inherent rights and dignity of every individual can truly be lasting”³.

He further stressed the role of diplomacy as he recalled that “in light of the Cultural Revolution’s horrors, Nixon’s meeting with Mao appeared inexcusable – and yet it surely helped set China on a path where millions of its citizens have been lifted from poverty and connected to open societies. Pope John Paul’s engagement with Poland created space not just for the Catholic Church, but for labor leaders like Lech Walesa. Ronald Reagan’s efforts on arms control and embrace of perestroika not only improved relations with the Soviet Union, but empowered dissidents throughout Eastern Europe. There’s no simple formula here. But we must try as best we can to balance isolation and engagement, pressure and incentives, so that human rights and dignity are advanced over time”.

² Kissinger, H. *Diplomacy*, New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994, p. 17-18.

³ OBAMA, Barack. White House, Remarks by the President at the Acceptance of the Nobel Peace Prize, Oslo, Norway, 2009

In Obama's words, "a just peace includes not only civil and political rights – it must encompass economic security and opportunity. For true peace is not just freedom from fear, but freedom from want." He went on to say:

It is undoubtedly true that development rarely takes root without security; it is also true that security does not exist where human beings do not have access to enough food, or clean water, or the medicine and shelter they need to survive. It does not exist where children can't aspire to a decent education or a job that supports a family. The absence of hope can rot a society from within. [...]

Agreements among nations. Strong institutions. Support for human rights. Investments in development. All these are vital ingredients in bringing about the evolution that President Kennedy spoke about. And yet, I do not believe that we will have the will, the determination, the staying power, to complete this work without something more -- and that's the continued expansion of our moral imagination; an insistence that there's something irreducible that we all share. (OBAMA, 2009)

Indeed, the same applies to mankind, to individuals and to the community of nations. Perhaps nothing translates better this insistence that there is something irreducible that we all share than the hope of respecting human rights and human dignity and the commitment to the well-being and survival of humankind.

Obama's nuclear deal with Iran and the reestablishment of relations with Cuba represent a rare and inspiring victory for diplomacy. They ably translate into reality some of the President's ideas, as expressed in the speeches here reproduced. Equally inspiring and revelatory of a morally constructive leadership is Pope Francis' diplomatic engagement, strong instincts and convictions, as well as wisdom expressed through humility. . On the above-mentioned occasions of President Obama's diplomatic prowess, Cuba and Iran, Brazilian diplomacy had already exerted a degree of persuasion, demonstrating courageous new leadership.

Brazil has a long and respected diplomatic tradition. Brazilian diplomatic thought has been influenced from the outset by eminent figures such as Alexandre de Gusmão, José Bonifácio, José Maria da Silva Paranhos Junior (Baron of Rio Branco), Rui Barbosa, to mention but a few of those whose significant contributions to the promotion of principles and values have resulted in foreign policy achievements. These figures also inspired the evolution and consolidation of international public law as they advanced the establishment of paradigms which have raised Brazil's international profile and distinguished its diplomacy.

Brazil has influenced some of the fundamental principles governing international relations, such as non-intervention, peaceful settlement of disputes, sovereign equality of states, and good neighbourliness. Brazil has been an important defender of multilateralism, since the beginning of the 20th century. Founding member of the United Nations, its role is recognised in negotiating important international agreements in key areas (Law of the Sea, the WTO, environment, climate change, sustainable development, poverty elimination, food security, right to and regulation of internet access, etc.).

In an increasingly multipolar world, Brazil reaffirms its diplomatic credentials as peacemaker and peace builder. In addition, it is a force which argues for and defends multilateralism, international law, sustainable development and the reform of multilateral institutions. Such reforms are aimed at enhancing the role of developing countries, promoting greater accountability and reducing emphasis placed on the use of coercive instruments.

Brazil's long-standing tradition of diplomacy has enabled it to achieve, via direct negotiation and arbitration, the peaceful settlement of its borders – a contributing factor towards peace and stability in South America. The ensemble of treaties with its ten neighbouring countries not only helped to cement peaceful relations both in the region and in the Western Hemisphere, but also contributed to the consolidation of international legal norms and practices.

For a century and a half, Brazil has not engaged in military conflict with any neighbouring country, or indeed any nation worldwide. The last time Brazil participated in a war was during the Second World War, when it joined the Allies in defending basic principles which are now enshrined in the UN Charter and in Brazil's Constitution.

Brazil's current Foreign Minister Mauro Vieira has been campaigning in favour of the elimination of the diplomatic deficit in international relations and emphasising the need to uphold diplomacy and better assess and understand its basic principles.

Ambassador Vieira stressed that Brazil's call for an inclusive international order based on peace and shared prosperity means the country must itself be able to articulate and propose as comprehensive a vision as possible. According to Minister Vieira the international order should be based both on peace and development, with full respect for human rights. The binomial is apt because both concepts – peace and development – are interdependent and mutually reinforcing. There is no true peace in the midst of exclusion and deprivation and a peaceful environment is key to overcoming exclusion and promoting development.⁴

The Brazilian Foreign Minister recalled the long tradition of peaceful coexistence in South America, which “was not inherited, but won over many years of diplomatic action”. He highlighted Brazil's goal “of strengthening further the mechanisms for building political consensus and peaceful settlement of disputes”. This has been widely demonstrated by UNASUL, which is an important instrument for the peaceful resolution of political disputes in the continent.⁵

In Ambassador Mauro Vieira's words the international community “must contribute to overcoming the challenge – which is imposed on all of us – to promote prosperity

⁴ VIEIRA, Mauro Iecker, Speech during the graduation ceremony of the 2015 class of the Rio Branco Institute, the Brazilian Diplomatic Academic, Brasilia, August 2015. Available at: <http://www.itamaraty.gov.br/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=9186:palestra-do-ministro-mauro-vieira-na-abertura-do-xx-encontro-nacional-de-estudantes-de-relacoes-internacionais-brasilia-22-de-abril-de-2015&catid=194&lang=pt-BR&Itemid=454>.

⁵ VIEIRA, Mauro. *idem*

with economic growth, social inclusion and respect for the environment. It is essential to do so fairly, recognizing the unequal levels of development among countries”.⁶

The advent of a multipolar world order, marked by the coexistence of traditional and emerging powers, brings new opportunities and new challenges to nations in the area of defence. Although dialogue, cooperation, emphasis on multilateralism and respect for international law remain important and desirable qualities for the international environment, the rearrangement of the system on a multipolar basis is not, by itself, sufficient to guarantee that peaceful relations between states will prevail during the current transition.

The time has passed for wars of subjugation and conquest, extrajudicial killings, indiscriminate bombings which pose serious risks for civilian populations. Peace terms cannot be imposed, only negotiated. Before examining if it is still possible to completely restructure society in a state defeated by military power, one has to properly gauge the consequences of the use of force in destabilising and destroying whole societies and generating waves of migrants, as we have witnessed in Iraq, Libya and more recently in the dramatic spread of Syrian immigrants all over the world.

We must promote dialogue and persuasion instead of national and international security strategies which view belligerence as the key to peace. Defeating the enemy militarily, without resolving the issues that led to conflict in the first place, should not be regarded as the desired objective. We can do better, fomenting an appreciation for the rule of law and the workings of diplomacy by way of example. The use of force should be always the last resort and strictly in accordance with the United Nations rules and with all due protections for the civilian population.

In view of the so-called “Responsibility to Protect” (R2P), Brazil presented a concept note proposing a new principle “Responsibility while Protecting” (RwP) to the UN Security Council in November 2011, a few days after the end of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation’s (NATO) operation in Libya. Brazil argued that the Libya mission demonstrated a need for clarity over R2P and that the operation had gone far beyond its Security Council mandate, a view also voiced by several other emerging powers. Brazil’s proposal reflected the concerns of international public opinion with regard to safeguarding civilian lives and an attitude of greater sensibility when it comes to putting them in the middle of a battlefield, as well as calling for more transparency and accountability in the planning and execution of military operations.⁷

Beyond these considerations regarding use of military force, it is also necessary to fulfil the Non-Proliferation Treaty’s disarmament obligations. The world is still hostage

⁶ VIEIRA, Mauro. *ibidem*

⁷ BRAZIL. Permanent Representative of Brazil to the United Nations. “**Responsibility while protecting: elements for the development and promotion of a concept**”. Annex to the letter dated 9 November 2011 from the Permanent Representative of Brazil to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General, A/66/551–S/2011/701. General Assembly Security Council. Available at: <<http://cpdoc.fgv.br/sites/default/files/2011%2011%2011%20UN%20conceptual%20paper%20on%20RwP.pdf>>.

to nuclear arsenals which were part of the Cold War process and are still frozen. Preserving the status quo is not an incentive to pursue non-proliferation.

It is worth recalling that Brazil established, together with Argentina, a paradigm of nuclear cooperation in South America which plays an important role for non-proliferation purposes. The two democratic countries undertook a bilateral venture operating under the efficient control of international organisations such as the ABACC (Brazilian-Argentine Agency of Nuclear Materials Accounting and Control) and the IAEA (International Atomic Energy Agency). It represents a blueprint for regional cooperation based on transparency and mutual trust.

Democracy bestows an aura of legitimacy on modern political life; laws, rules and policies appear justified when they are democratic (HELD, 1995)⁸; meanwhile, international relations should reflect more and more democratic values, as advocated by Secretary Generals of the United Nations Boutros Boutros-Ghali⁹ and Kofi Annan.

In this context, Brazil sees its foreign policy and its encouragement and promotion of negotiation and dialogue as essential components for its affirmative and cooperative insertion within the international arena.

In the face of uncertain future scenarios, the cost of inaction by Brazil in the construction of a new international order can be much larger than the immediate burden, i.e. investment in training, preparation and development of resources that are necessary for the full exercise of sovereignty. The consolidation of the new world order's representative multilateral governance structures is of interest to the country. So as to properly participate in bringing these structures about, there must be a strict coordination between foreign and defence policies. The latter must provide the former with safeguards, support and logistics, which are essential for the fulfilment of Brazil's role in the international arena.¹⁰ Defence policy determines the state's capacity to offer protection to its population and to ensure the sovereignty and inviolability of its territory and its territorial waters airspace, seabed and subsoil. State sovereignty, economic competitiveness and the achievement of full development all demand a defence capacity that is compatible with the country's potential and with its aspirations.

In spite of swift-moving changes in recent decades, the international order remains predominantly determined by relationships between nation states. For this reason, Brazil's defence against potential external threats remains the Armed Forces' essential mission.

⁸ HELD, David. *Democracy and the Global Order: From the modern state to the cosmopolitan governance*, 1995, p. 3.

⁹ Democratization internationally is necessary on three interrelated fronts. The established system of the United Nations itself has far to go before fulfilling to the extent possible the democratic potential of its present design, and in transforming those structures which are insufficiently democratic. The participation of new actors on the international scene is an acknowledged fact; providing them with agreed means of participation in the formal system, heretofore primarily the province of States, is a new task of our time. A third challenge will be to achieve a culture of democracy internationally. BOUTROS-GHALI, Boutros. *An Agenda for Democratization*, United Nations, New York, 1996, p. 25.

¹⁰ BRAZIL. MINISTRY OF DEFENSE. *Defense White Paper*. Chapter 1, Brasília, 2012. Portuguese original version accessible at: <<http://www.defesa.gov.br/arquivos/2012/mes07/lbdn.pdf>>.

Given these considerations, Brazilian diplomacy and defence strategy highlight the importance of South American interstate cooperation, both bilaterally and within the framework of the UNASUL Defence Council. The latter has been working on the convergence of military doctrines and on the building of a concept of regional deterrence.

This being said, transnational threats to national security – which will be referred to below – are also a key concern of the Brazilian Armed Forces and of those of its neighbours.

New themes – or new approaches to traditional themes – grew in relevance in the international environment in this century. The protection of sovereignty (an issue connected with the global challenge of drugs and related crimes); the protection of biodiversity, biopiracy, cyber defence; tensions derived from increasing resource scarcity; natural disasters; international crime; terrorism; and actions by unlawful armed groups all exemplify the growing complexity and new interdisciplinary nature of security and defence issues. Considering this, Brazil acknowledges – in accordance with provisions in its Federal Constitution – the need for coordinated policies between different government agencies.¹¹

Further challenges to the country include its ability to face so-called “future conflicts”, namely information warfare as well as small-scale conflicts with uncertain origins and decentralised command-and-control structures that operate through social networks on the Internet.

It is important to strengthen the country’s international relations. Sincere and open dialogue will contribute to foreign policy and to its coherent interaction with defence policy, fostering collective debate and building consensus. Brazilian society’s increased interest in defence issues, in the last few years, is a positive trend. The participation of several sectors of society in the national debate on defence better enables the assessment of such issues.

An international scene marked by uncertainties has as much a direct influence on Brazil’s foreign policy as on its defence policy. The phenomenon of globalisation brought about the escalation of threats of different natures, like drug and weapons trafficking and maritime piracy, all of which test the state’s ability to adapt and react to new perils. The deepening of the global financial crisis also reveals possible damage to social, energy and environmental conditions, with clear effects on world peace and security.

Brazil actively works for the construction of a participative and inclusive world community. The country commits itself to the promotion of “cooperative multipolarity”, a term which summarises the multipolar power structure currently being consolidated worldwide, within a framework of diplomacy and cooperation. In this strategic environment, the international community must do its utmost to ensure global governance mechanisms that better represent this new international reality. Such mechanisms must ensure

¹¹ BRAZIL. MINISTRY OF DEFENSE. 2012, *idem*.

world peace and security for the good of all humankind. The new power structures of the 21st century should not favour or uphold conflictual – or exclusionary positions, inherited from the international orders that prevailed during the 20th century.

Policies that are perceived as fair and legally correct can inspire leadership and raise the moral authority of the collective system of maintenance of peace and security. Yet, if they are perceived as lacking representation, transparency and consistency, a question of legitimacy tends to weaken eventual international consensus. In a more interdependent world, the support of national and international public opinion is important to ensure the effectiveness of concerted actions by the international community. Securing the legitimacy of the multilateral system and of its actions will remove the room for manoeuvre of those individuals or non-state groups engaged in violent activities which represent a threat to international peace and security.

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