

Security by what means? Power, violence and security dilemmas

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Learning goals

- understand what are the security strategies of states and how great powers and small states differ in this regard
- understand key concepts in security policy (hard power, soft power, coercion, deterrence, security dilemma)

Outline

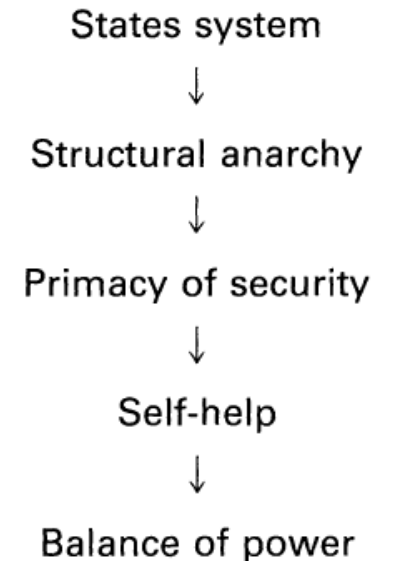
- Security as a policy problem
- Goals of security policy
- Coercion x brute force
- Deterrence and WMD
- Soft power
- Security dilemma
- Security strategies

Security as a policy problem

- threats exist → **insecurity is a problem**
- insecurity = combination of threats and vulnerabilities
- different approaches towards addressing the threats (active x passive, realist x liberal logic)

- problems with national security
 - bias towards great powers (x lesser powers, small states)
 - imply **self-help** (reducing vulnerability)
 - absolute security can never be achieved
 - risk of security dilemma

- Schroeder (1994): „Do all states actually resort to self-help in the face of threats to their security and independence?“



Goals of security policy

- realists - states seek to enhance their power
- idealists - elimination of violence, emphasis on people and world community

goals of foreign policy:

- **self-extension** - a demand for a change of status quo (more power, domination over people, territorial expansion...)
- **self-preservation** - maintenance, protection, or defence of the existing distribution of values (status quo) - extends beyond mere defence in case of attack
- **self-abnegation** - goals transcending the national interest (international solidarity, peace...)

Use of power in securing goals

- power - the ability to affect others to obtain the outcomes you want
- self-extension
 - emphasis on resort to power - to overcome the power of resistance by those who want to preserve things
- self-preservation
 - enhancement of power ↔ complete indifference to power (depends on the actions expected from others, external threats)
- self-abnegation
 - national power played down or even reduced
 - cases when national power is perceived as an instrument of salvation of the mankind

Coercion x brute force

- coercion - the ability (of military) to „hurt“ the enemy - to inflict pain or punishment (bargaining power)
 - future pain, making a threat to do something one has not done yet
 - Schelling - coercion encompasses deterrence and compellence
- deterrence - preventing someone from taking an action he otherwise might take by fear of consequences (see next slide)
- compellence - a threat intended to make an adversary do something, or stop doing something
- brute force - power is imposed directly (no need for a decision by the target state)
 - importance of armies (especially the land power)

Deterrence as a tool of coercion

- deterrence by threat of punishment

- coercing state threatens to impose pain on the target state for failure to comply with the coercer's demand

- deterrence by threat of denial

- by convincing the adversary that any military campaign he may launch will fail militarily because the coercer will deny the ability to complete the action successfully
- i.e., total defence

Weapons of mass destruction

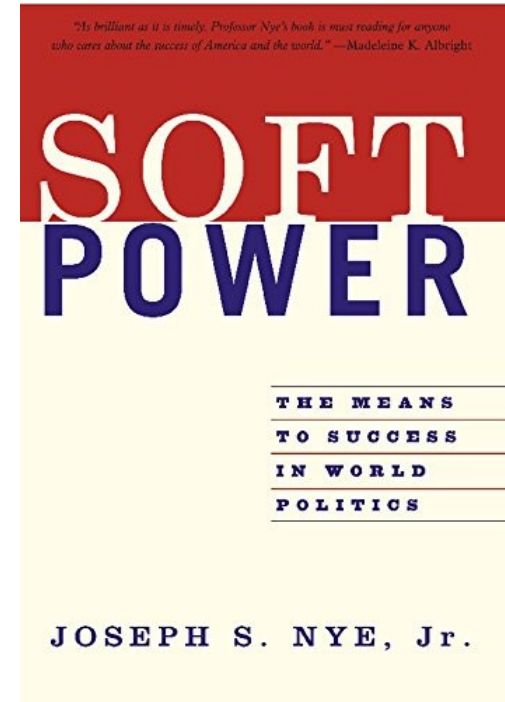
- Cold War - main nuclear doctrine - **mutually assured destruction** (MAD) - part of the strategy of deterrence
- after CW - less danger of complete annihilation -> more danger of **mass destruction** (also biological, chemical weapons)
- risk vertical and horizontal proliferation (non-state actors!)
 - horizontal - “nation-states or non-state entities that do not have, but are acquiring, nuclear weapons or developing the capability and materials for producing them“
 - vertical - “nation-states that do possess nuclear weapons and are increasing their stockpiles of these weapons, improving the technical sophistication or reliability of their weapons, or developing new weapons“
- NATO - nuclear deterrence at the core of NATO's collective defence

Weapons of mass destruction

- Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT)
- agreements reducing strategic weapons (INF, SALT I, II, START I, II, SORT, New START)
- other international conventions and regimes (CWC, BTWC, MTCR)
- efforts to fully ban nuclear weapons (2017 - Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons, TPNW)
 - „as long as nuclear weapons exist, NATO will remain a nuclear Alliance“

Soft power

- ability to affect others to obtain the outcomes one wants through attraction rather than coercion or payment (Nye, 2008)
- co-option (x coercion)
- more than influence or persuasion x ability to entice and attract (“attractive power“)
- comprised of culture, values, and policies
- information age - politics “may ultimately be about whose story wins”
- smart power = the ability to combine hard and soft power



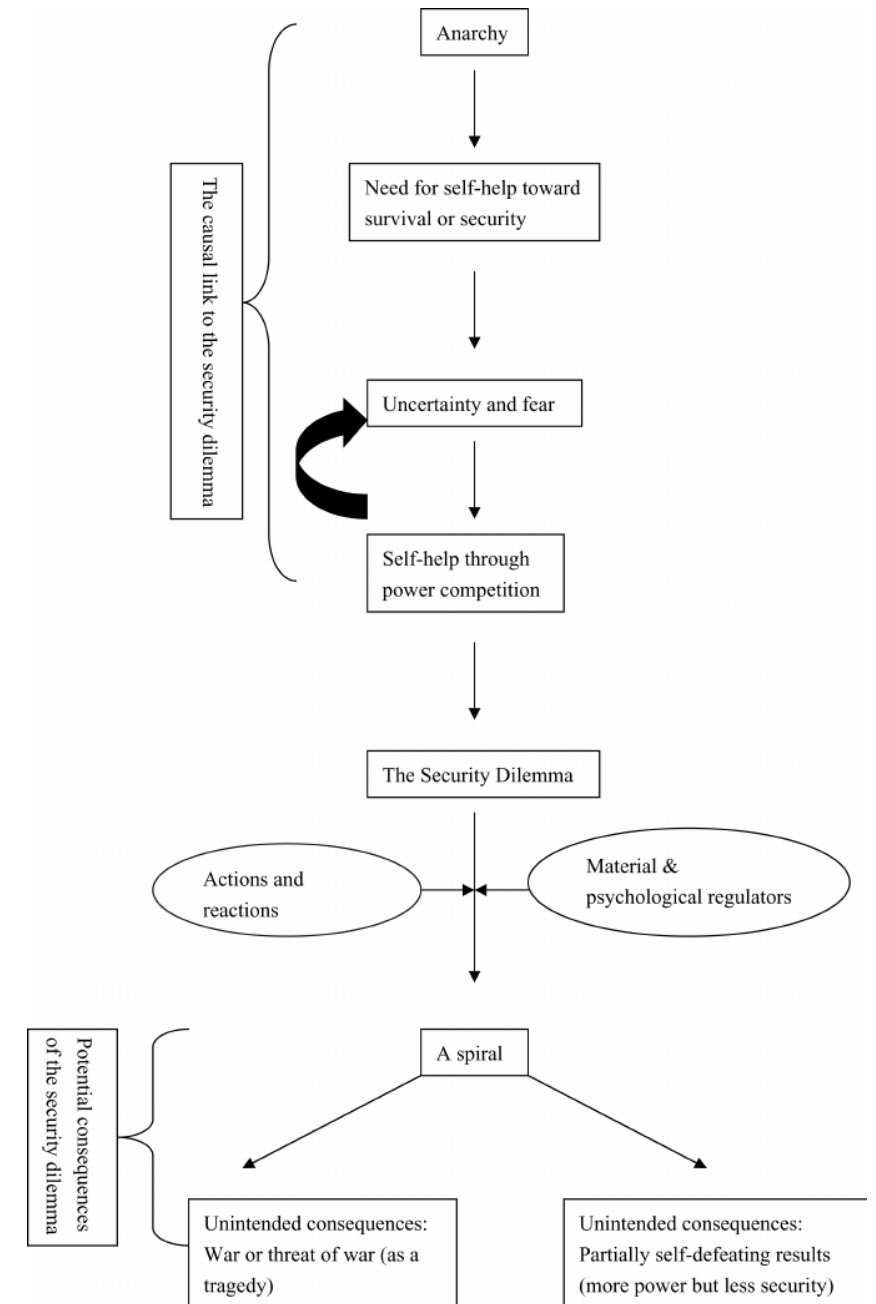
Putin's aggressive autocracy reduces Russian soft power to ashes

The assault on Ukraine is causing a sharp cultural break with the west that may last far into the future

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q75uTqz5XS4>

Security dilemma

- armed forces as the primary instrument of order = also the primary threat to security
- arises inevitably out of the structure of the international system
- a situation in which actions taken by a state to increase its own security cause reactions from other states
 - lead to a decrease rather than an increase in the original state's security



Security dilemma

1. the ultimate source is the anarchic nature of int. politics
2. under anarchy, states cannot be certain about each other's intentions -> fear each other
3. the security dilemma is unintentional in origin
4. because of the uncertainty and fear, states resort to the accumulation of power or capabilities as a means of defense
5. dynamics of the security dilemma is self-reinforcing / leads to spiral-like situations
6. tends to make some measures for increasing security self-defeating
7. can lead to tragic results, such as unnecessary or avoidable wars

Prisoner's dilemma

- a paradigm of many social situations
- rewards for cooperation and penalties for mutual noncooperation
- the reward for unilateral noncooperation exceeds both the benefit from mutual cooperation and the cost of mutual conflict
- applies to arms competition and disarmament

		B	
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A	1	0, 0	-10, 10
	2	10, -10	-20, -20

The game of chicken

- one or both players threaten to play strategy 2 hoping to persuade the other to play strategy 1 to avoid high mutual losses
- credibility is about creating fear
- natural outcome of chicken games - compromise
- usually applies to crisis confrontations or nuclear deterrence

		B	
		1	2
A	1	0, 0	-10, 10
	2	10, -10	-20, -20

Balance of power

- international relations as a constant struggle for power = power politics
- central role - **balance of power**
 - equilibrium - power of state(s) balanced by an equivalent power of state(s)
 - disequilibrium - distribution of the power is not balanced
- a policy of equilibrium is essential to preserve the sovereignty of nations

- 4 basic ways
 - dividing a hostile state (or keeping divided)
 - territorial compensation
 - arms races / disarmament
 - alliances

Security strategies (self-help and beyond)

- Schroeder (1994): „Do all states, or virtually all, or all that really count, actually resort to self-help? → in the majority of instances, they have NOT!
- four possible strategies
 1. **balancing** - as a form of self-help
 2. **bandwagoning** - joining the stronger side for the sake of protection and payoffs,
 3. **transcending** - to solve the problem, end the threat, and prevent its recurrence through some institutional arrangement
 4. **hiding from threats** - ignoring the threat / declaring neutrality / withdraw into isolation / assuming a purely defensive position...
- the prevalence of balancing in international politics not backed up by evidence

“Small nations have always owed their independence either to the balance of power ... or to the preponderance of one protecting power... or to their lack of attractiveness for imperialistic aspirations. This would seem to indicate that the preservation of weak states depends upon an equilibrium, the absence of an equilibrium, or sheer luck (Morgenthau, 67-8).“ |

Security strategy of small states

- definition of a small state
 - “a state that is neither on a global nor regional scale able to impose its political will or protect its national interests by exerting power politics” (Jaquet, 1971)
- small states strive for security and influence
- four basic strategies
 - 1. Alliances**
 - 2. Strategic hedging**
 - 3. Neutrality**
 - 4. Alliance shelter strategy**