



**AALBORG UNIVERSITY**  
DENMARK

**Aalborg Universitet**

## **Peace as a Global Public Good**

Møller, Bjørn

*Publication date:*  
2004

*Document Version*  
Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

[Link to publication from Aalborg University](#)

*Citation for published version (APA):*  
Møller, B. (2004). *Peace as a Global Public Good*. Institut for Historie, Internationale Studier og Samfundsforhold, Aalborg Universitet.

### **General rights**

Copyright and moral rights for the publications made accessible in the public portal are retained by the authors and/or other copyright owners and it is a condition of accessing publications that users recognise and abide by the legal requirements associated with these rights.

- Users may download and print one copy of any publication from the public portal for the purpose of private study or research.
- You may not further distribute the material or use it for any profit-making activity or commercial gain
- You may freely distribute the URL identifying the publication in the public portal -

### **Take down policy**

If you believe that this document breaches copyright please contact us at [vbn@aub.aau.dk](mailto:vbn@aub.aau.dk) providing details, and we will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.

---

# Peace as a Global Public Good

**Bjørn Møller**

DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH SERIES  
RESEARCH CENTER ON DEVELOPMENT  
AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS (DIR)

WORKING PAPER NO. 127

---

© 2004 Bjørn Møller  
Research Center on Development and International Relations (DIR)  
Aalborg University  
Denmark  
Development Research Series  
Working Paper No. 127

ISSN 0904-8154

*Published by*  
DIR & Institute for History, International and Social Studies  
Aalborg University

*Distribution*  
Institute for History, International and Social Studies  
Secretariat, room 106  
Fibigerstraede 2  
DK-9220 Aalborg East  
Phone + 45 96 35 83 91  
E-mail: [helle@ihis.aau.dk](mailto:helle@ihis.aau.dk)

*Lay-out and wordprocessing*  
DIR secretariat

*Print*  
Uniprint, 2004

*The Secretariat*  
Research Center on Development and International Relations  
Fibigerstraede 2  
Aalborg University  
DK-9220 Aalborg East  
Denmark  
Tel. + 45 96 35 98 10  
Fax. + 45 98 15 11 26

E-mail: [hoegsbro@ihis.aau.dk](mailto:hoegsbro@ihis.aau.dk)  
Homepage: [www.ihis.aau.dk/development](http://www.ihis.aau.dk/development)

# PEACE AS A GLOBAL PUBLIC GOOD<sup>1</sup>

BJØRN MØLLER\*

## Conceptual Clarification

The questions whether peace and/or stability can be labelled public goods, and what the implications may be of so doing, form the theme of the present article. I shall not elaborate on the general theory of public goods,<sup>2</sup> but merely point to a few terminological problems.

### *Public Goods and Evils*

The term “public goods” refers to goods which are characterised by being available to all, i.e. to all members of a particular system such as a national or an international society. As nobody can be deprived of the right and the opportunities to benefit from the public good, there is no direct linkage between the availability of these benefits, i.e. the production of the public good, and the consumption of it. This gives all members an incentive to “cheat” in terms of production, i.e. for “free-riding”<sup>3</sup>—a well-known phenomenon from, e.g., alliances.<sup>4</sup>

It may, however, make a difference whether the system in question is universal or merely forms part of a larger system. In the former case there is nothing beyond the system as such, which is thus closed, whereas all subsystems are open and corresponding with the rest of the system. The “public goods” enjoyed by the white minority in apartheid South Africa—including the privileges derived from skin colour enjoyed by all whites regardless of their attitude to the regime—were thus not genuine public goods, but rather “club goods” enjoyed by the “members” at the expense of the rest of society.<sup>5</sup> The same might even be said about many of the public goods of the developed world, which some argue accrue from the exploitation of the Third World.<sup>6</sup> This does not necessarily imply that it never makes sense to talk of public goods at the level of a (regional

---

\* The author holds an MA in History and a Ph.D. in International Relations, both from the University of Copenhagen. Since 1985, he has been (senior) research fellow, subsequently programme director and board member at the Copenhagen Peace Research Institute (COPRI, formerly Centre for Peace and Conflict Research), which is since January 2003 part of a new Institute of International Studies (IIS). Since September 2003 he has been on leave from the IIS to fill a temporary position at the research centre on Development and International Relations (DIR) at Aalborg University. He is further lecturer at the Institute of Political Studies, University of Copenhagen and was Secretary General of the International Peace Research Association (IPRA) in the period 1997-2000. In addition to being the author of numerous articles and editor of six anthologies, he is the author of the following books: *Resolving the Security Dilemma in Europe. The German Debate on Non-Offensive Defence* (1991); *Common Security and Nonoffensive Defense. A Neorealist Perspective* (1992); and *Dictionary of Alternative Defense* (1995).

or other) sub-system, but should merely serve as a caveat about the inherent limitations of the concept.

Confusion may also arise with regard to the second half of the concept, i.e. that of goods. First of all, there is no universal unanimity about what counts as goods, e.g. whether freedom is a good or rather a license for amorality. Secondly, there is no unanimity about the appropriate rank-ordering of good, e.g. about whether to prioritise “honour” (in itself a controversial concept) over prosperity. Thirdly, “goods” can not merely be defined in positive terms, but also negatively, i.e. as an absence of “bads” or evils—just as health may be defined as an absence of disease and peace as an absence of war (*vide infra*). Public goods may thus be tantamount to either the absence of “public evils” (e.g. war, genocide, pollution or climatic changes) or to a general absence of such “individual evils” as HIV-AIDS, to which the same rule applies, i.e. that an actor cannot escape them by his own devices.

As we shall see below, the concepts of peace, security and stability are just as ambiguous as that of public goods. Before proceeding to this, however, a brief account of the views about global public goods held by the various theories of international relations seems in order.

### ***IR Theories on Public Goods***

Within IR (international relations) theory the various schools or “paradigms” have different views on the problematique of public goods.

Liberalism (previously known as idealism) holds a generally optimistic view on the problem, thereby exposing itself to the critique (on the part of “realists”) for being utopian.<sup>7</sup> As the production of a public good (e.g. peace) will benefit all, it will also take place, either because decision-makers will be persuaded of the need to do so, or almost automatically, e.g. by means of Adam Smith’s “invisible hand”, working through the market mechanisms.<sup>8</sup>

Every individual ... generally, indeed, neither intends to promote the public interest, nor knows how much he is promoting it. By preferring the support of domestic to that of foreign industry he intends only his own security; and by directing that industry in such a manner as its produce may be of the greatest value, he intends only his own gain, and he is in this, as in many other cases, led by an invisible hand to promote an end which was no part of his intention.

As a means to ensure the good will of decision-makers, some liberalists have envisioned a global democracy of sorts, basing themselves on the belief that if only decisions are taken democratically they will automatically reflect the real interests of the majority which will invariably be to maximise the public good.<sup>9</sup>

Realism has all along been considerably more pessimistic about the possibilities of thus maximising common interests, ever since Jean-Jacques Rousseau wrote his critique of Abbé de Saint-Pierre's blueprint for an eternal peace.<sup>10</sup> If one presupposes rational and utility-maximising actors, these will all be trapped in what is often called dilemmas, but might rather be labelled paradoxes. This is the case of Rousseau's famous "stag hunt"<sup>11</sup> and of Kenneth Waltz's "tyranny of small decisions",<sup>12</sup> producing what others have called the "tragedy of the commons",<sup>13</sup> just as it is the case of the classical "security dilemma" (*vide infra*).<sup>14</sup> If everybody traces private goods the result may well be the production of public evils such as over-grazing or war, simply because the system and its rules makes this inevitable.

The fact that the liberal and realist perspectives are logical opposites does not rule out combinations or syntheses uniting elements of both, as we have seen in the so-called "neo-neo debate".<sup>15</sup> This debate within "mainstream IR" between neorealists and liberalists (now labelled "neoliberal institutionalists") has mainly revolved around the saliency of absolute and relative gains of cooperation, e.g. over the production of public goods. Neoliberals have emphasised the importance of absolute gains as a sufficient propellant for cooperation, whereas neorealists have focused on the risks entailed by ignoring relative gains. Even when cooperation is mutually advantageous it may tilt the balance of power between the parties cooperating if the relationship is more beneficial to one than the other.<sup>16</sup>

Neoliberalists have typically acknowledged that this may be the case (e.g. in relationships such as that between East and West during the Cold War) while maintaining that such relations are the exception rather than the rule.<sup>17</sup> Between by far the majority of the world's countries, war is simply inconceivable and the significance of relative gains thus negligible. This is not merely the case with so-called "security communities" (such as that of the Nordic countries or perhaps the entire European Union),<sup>18</sup> where war has become inconceivable. It also applies to countries which have so little to do with each other that it strains the imagination to envision a war between them. Denmark and Uruguay may be a case in point.

The fact that the difference between the neoliberal and neorealist positions is thus merely one of degrees and estimated probabilities rather than of absolutes, this debate may be approaching (or already have produced) a synthesis. A similar and related synthesis between neorealists and neoliberals is found in the theories of "cooperation among adversaries",<sup>19</sup> which highlight the fact that by far the majority of relations between states represent blends of shared and opposing interests. All opponents thus collaborate to a certain extent,<sup>20</sup> and opting for the right strategy may render such collaboration even more likely.

There even seems to be a direct and positive correlation between the planning perspective and the feasibility of cooperation. The longer the “shadow of the future”, the greater importance the two parties will attach to the continuous collaboration and by implication the absolute gains (including the public goods) which this may produce, in comparison to the relative gains which they might be able to “cash in” in the “last round”. If the possibility of such a last round before the final battle is not assessed as high a far-reaching cooperation may well turn out to be the rational choice.<sup>21</sup>

To the same category of theories might be counted that of “common security”,<sup>22</sup> which appeared in the 1980s. It was partly intended as an escape route from the so-called security dilemma by way of a defensive restructuring of the armed forces.<sup>23</sup> A state’s security will normally (i.e. if pursued through an arms buildup) entail a reduction in the security of its respective opponents, who are therefore likely to respond with a countervailing arms build-up, thus landing both sides in a situation of lesser security than before—a clear “public evil”. By devising strategies and force structures which maximise the defensive while minimising offensive strength, however, it might be possible to achieve security without doing so at the other side’s expense—and two opponents could thus simultaneously improve their national security.

Certain IR analysts, including realists such as Robert Gilpin,<sup>24</sup> have highlighted the fact that special rules seem to apply to the largest members of a system. For them there may actually be a direct correlation between consumption and production of public goods simply because their share of total production is so large that it has noticeable implications for what is available for consumption. Hence, the very largest members not only have the leverage to punish free-riding, but also an obvious incentive to do so and achieve a fair distribution of the production. This has made various IR scholars point to hegemony (a concept of Greek origins, but usually associated with the political thinking of Antonio Gramsci)<sup>25</sup> as the solution to the public goods problem.<sup>26</sup> The preconditions for such hegemony were to a certain extent present within the two opposing alliances during the Cold War, just as they were within the international monetary system as long as the US dollar remained the universal reserve currency.<sup>27</sup> The preconditions of hegemony may also be present on a regional or subregional level where one state often surpasses all the rest in terms of the relevant elements of power, as seems to be the case of South Africa in Southern Africa and of Nigeria in West Africa.<sup>28</sup>

Regime theories may be combined with such “hegemonic stability” theories. They emphasise how the regulation of international relations is in the self-interest of all states, inter alia ?? because they reduce transaction costs and other “negative externalities”, thereby allowing for mutually advantageous

cooperation and promoting the production of public goods.<sup>29</sup> Such regime theories are easily compatible with hegemony theories, simply because it seems a reasonable assumption that the “regime entrepreneurs” (also called “drivers”) are typically great powers acting in their own interest, but thereby also promoting the common good, by adopting and enforcing the sets of norms and rules constituting the regime.<sup>30</sup>

The so-called “English School” has all along been located somewhere between liberalism and realism, but quite close to regime theory. Its unifying theme has been the notion of “international society”, i.e. the conception of the world as a society, constituted as such by a modicum of shared values and norms—even though this society remains anarchical, i.e. without any supranational authority comparable to the state in national societies.<sup>31</sup> While the “solidarists” within this school resemble liberalist with their emphasis on international law and justice, its “pluralists” are closer to the views of realists with their emphasis on the sovereign rights of states, i.e. “order”.<sup>32</sup> The basic tenets of the English School are easily compatible with theories of public goods, if only because the “order” of the anarchical society described by Hedley Bull constitutes a public good.

### **Are Peace and Stability Public Goods?**

Before proceeding with the analysis of whether or how peace and stability may be viewed as public goods, the concepts need to be defined which is more controversial than one might assume.

The Norwegian peace researcher Johan Galtung distinguishes between “positive” and “negative peace”, of which the latter refers to a simple absence of “direct violence” (e.g. war) whereas the former is more comprehensive and diffuse. Positive peace may be defined as an absence of not merely direct violence, but also “structural violence”, in turn defined as a “relative deprivation” of values.<sup>33</sup> In the latter sense, peace is thus incompatible with, for instance, oppression, extreme inequality, etc. This does, however, make the concept almost all-encompassing, thus detracting from its analytical value. In the following I shall therefore focus on negative peace in the narrow sense of an absence of wars and other major conflicts.

From this analytical point of departure it soon becomes obvious that peace thus understood does not imply stability in a wider sense. On the contrary, the absence of open war may even presuppose a profound instability such as that represented by an almost even balance of power.<sup>34</sup> It is even possible to argue that peace is built on instability, as was indeed the official policy of the United States and NATO throughout the Cold War, where the philosophy was that it was exactly the unpredictability of the military balance which secured the peace. If the adversary, e.g. the USSR could not know for sure the exact location of



the nuclear threshold, any aggressive step would entail a risk of nuclear war, which in turn would deter aggression and thus ensure peace.<sup>35</sup> A higher nuclear threshold (e.g. as a consequence of a no-first-use strategy for the nukes) might, on the one hand, improve stability by making an inadvertent nuclear less likely, but this might, on the other hand, actually endanger the peace.<sup>36</sup>

If peace is an unconditional good, stability is thus not necessarily a good to be pursued in all cases. Nor is it self-evident—the positive connotations of the concept notwithstanding—that stability is a good at all, as the concept signifies a preservation of a status quo which is not automatically beneficial to all parties. Stability may thus (just as negative peace) be opposed to the demand for justice, e.g. in the sense of “distributive justice”,<sup>37</sup> which also entails a reduction of inequalities, at least with regard to options. As mentioned above, inequality was a central element in Galtung’s concept of structural violence, which means that its elimination or reduction is a precondition of his “positive peace”. On the other hand, its abolition may occasionally require the use of direct violence, i.e. a breach of the negative peace. The victims of structural violence may thus have the right to (or at least feel entitled to) resort to direct violence, i.e. to violate the negative peace in order to secure positive peace by removing structural violence.<sup>38</sup> We have seen this in a long chain of revolutions, beginning with the American and French revolutions in the 18<sup>th</sup> Century and continuing in modern wars of liberation—some of which have even seen a resort to means which some would label terrorism.

It is thus far from self-evident that negative peace in the narrow sense is necessarily a good, much less a public good. To thus deny that peace is an unconditional good may appear heretical as the concept has at least as positive connotations as “stability”. On the other hand, only radical principled pacifists would deny that certain wars may be just and good, hence that certain types of peace may be bad. If the UK had not declared war on Germany in 1939, the Nazis might perhaps have undertaken the Holocaust with impunity as well as have conquered most of Europe, including Denmark—which would surely have been a most unappealing negative peace. It must also be acknowledged that a war is always, in a certain sense, caused by the defender who always has the option of simply surrendering without resistance, thus avoiding a war—as Denmark did on the 9<sup>th</sup> of April 1940. Most would agree that wars thus “started” by the defender are not automatically “evil”.

Peace is, furthermore, eminently dividable, and not even the so-called world wars have included the entire world. In all known wars, there have been neutral parties, either as a consequence of a deliberate policy of neutralism,<sup>39</sup> or simply because the states in question happened to be outside the area of war and did not make the deliberate decision to nevertheless become involved.

Finally, there may be a rather direct link between production and consumption of security and peace. Indeed, this is the reason why most states field a defence force and/or join alliances, i.e. in order to deter attacks from other states. Alliance membership automatically entails a certain contribution to the production of the common good, as the very membership is tantamount to choosing sides, thereby running the risk of becoming involved in a war of which a state might otherwise stay aloof.<sup>40</sup> On top of that normally comes, for obvious reasons, some pressure from the other alliance members to make a military contribution to the joint defence or deterrence.

### **War as a public evil**

All the above qualifications notwithstanding, there can be no disputing that wars are generally phenomena deserving the label “public evils” in the sense of evils afflicting everyone, either directly or indirectly—in the latter case either because of the side-effects of an actual war or of the preparations for a possible war.<sup>41</sup> However, wars do differ also in this respect.

### ***Types of War***

In the following we shall proceed from a (perhaps excessively) simple categorisation of wars into pre-modern, modern, nuclear and “wars of the third kind”—a classification which builds on history, but nevertheless is not strictly historical as pre-modern wars may also occur in this day and age.

### ***Pre-modern Wars***

Medieval and even earlier wars were typically waged by a wide range of actors, including the monarchy, the church, feudal lords, etc.—in most cases mainly by means of professionals, i.e. mercenaries.<sup>42</sup>

For this reasons as well as because of the scarcity of means to rent and/or arm and equip armies inter alia because of inadequate capacity to tax the population) wars were usually rather limited, the opposing armies manoeuvring rather than fighting and often doing so in order to avoid encountering the adversary than to force him into battle. When actual fighting nevertheless took place, it was almost exclusively directed against the soldiers of the respective opponent. Of course there were civilian victims and suffering in such wars, e.g. in the form of looting and sporadic violence, including rape, by the soldiers, but these effects were rather limited and far from indivisible as they could be escaped from. However, in parallel with the growth of populations it became more difficult to flee (at least permanently) which invested the effects of war with a public evil character. As argued by Jeffrey Herbst, however, this trend was largely confined to Europe, whereas escape remained an option in most of Africa because of its low population density.<sup>43</sup>

On top of these direct consequences came side-effects such as an easier spread of infectious diseases by marauding armies, and often a reduction in the harvest yields and a heavier taxation for the financing of the war—but even these consequences tended to be rather moderate.

### ***Modern Wars***

Certain changes took place in this system during the Renaissance as a result of the “military revolution” of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, inter alia ?? related to a strengthening of the state. This entailed an improved taxation capacity which allowed for larger and standing armies, a growing arms production, etc.<sup>44</sup> Even though this made wars more of a burden on the civilian population (creating a larger public evil), the real transition to modern wars only occurred with the combination of the French and the industrial revolutions by the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> Century.

The industrial revolution made it possible to equip mass armies, and the French Revolution allowed for mobilising such armies through universal conscription (“*levée en masse*”). Conscription might be seen as representing the norm (which gradually spread to the rest of Europe) that the state should represent the people (the principle of people’s sovereignty), whose duty is therefore was to contribute to the defence of the state.<sup>45</sup> National defence was thus defined as a public good, as were to a certain extent even wars of aggression which were also supposed to serve the interests of the state and, *ipso facto*, also of the people. When war, as formulated by Clausewitz, was conceived of as a “continuation of politics by other means”,<sup>46</sup> and when politics was to be determined by (or at least on behalf of) the people, then the spoils of war were to be seen as public goods for the society in question—which did not, of course, rule out abuse on the part of incumbent governments who merely had to claim that their political goals served the common good.

The costs of war, on the other hand, became a public evil, both because of the civic duty to serve in the military and the more effective taxation, not least intended to finance wars. Another public evil appeared as a consequence of the emergence of mass armies, which not only made wars more destructive but also made it harder to escape from them. The culmination of modern wars was the two world wars of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, both of which represented unprecedented public evils. Whereas the casualties in the first were mainly military (but usually conscripted citizens), in the second they were mostly civilian—partly as a result of the massive aerial bombardment of major cities, intended to defeat the respective opponent by indirect means, i.e. by inflicting harm on his civilian society.<sup>47</sup>

### *Nuclear War and Deterrence*

The culmination of these aerial bombardments of civilian targets were, of course, the two nuclear bombs used by the USA against the Japanese cities Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945,<sup>48</sup> which heralded a new era. As most were soon to realise, nuclear weapons and war could henceforth (as formulated by Bernard Brodie)<sup>49</sup> only serve to prevent war, since the gap between means and ends had become too unbridgeable for war to remain rational in the sense of something that could be waged with gain.

Nuclear war thus came to be seen as an obvious public evil, and the more so the more became known about the indirect and long-term side-effects of nuclear weapons such as long-term radioactive contamination.<sup>50</sup> In the 1980s research findings were published according to which even a medium-sized nuclear war (i.e. one in which neither side used its entire arsenal) might effect climatic changes (the so-called “nuclear winter”)<sup>51</sup> which would make the Earth largely uninhabitable by humans and other vertebrate species. To this unquestionable public “super-evil” were added other side-effects such as radio-active contamination as a result of atmospheric nuclear tests (until the entry into force of the Limited Test Ban Treaty of 1963) as well as, of course, the economic costs of the nuclear arms race.<sup>52</sup>

It may nevertheless be disputed that nuclear deterrence as such was a public evil. No nuclear weapons were ever used, and the upkeep of the nuclear arsenals may still have been cheaper than it would have been to deter the respective opponent by means of conventional forces. An argument can also be made to the effect that nuclear deterrence was the main reason for “the long peace” experienced by Europe,<sup>53</sup> which was undoubtedly a collective good of sorts as it did not merely include the members of the two alliances, but also neutral states. It would, however, be a logical fallacy to deduce from the fact that deterrence did not fail to its having been required in the first place. As pointed out by John Mueller and others, many alternative explanations of the long peace recommend themselves.<sup>54</sup>

On the other hand, it is impossible to disprove that nuclear weapons were a major cause of the long peace. It seems plausible (albeit impossible to prove) that nuclear weapons have had a general deterrent effect, i.e. that one side’s nuclear weapons have not merely deterred the respective other from a nuclear attack, but that the “existential deterrence” (a term coined by McGeorge Bundy) worked at all levels.<sup>55</sup> Precisely because the arsenals and their deployment were designed to safeguard the ability to retaliate under all circumstances, they entailed a certain risk of being triggered by mistake—e.g. as a result of a misinterpretation of warning indicators, because of a technical error, or via a “Dr. Strangelove scenario”, starting with a human error and then producing a

crisis spinning out of control.<sup>56</sup> However, exactly these risks and their potentially apocalyptic consequences gave both sides to the confrontation a very strong incentive to step very gently in their interaction with the other.<sup>57</sup>

It is thus worth noting that (as far as is known) not a single shot was ever fired between the two superpowers during the entire Cold War, and very few between their respective allies. Wars were, however, fought by the two blocs “by proxy” in the 3<sup>rd</sup> World. Here each side typically supported its side in wars, be they between states or between rebel movements and states aligned with the respective opponent.<sup>58</sup> These proxy wars were undoubtedly public evils for the civilian population in the countries where they were fought, but they still do not quite satisfy the criteria of global public evils, as they were presumably beneficial for the “backers”, who were also able to escape the consequences.

### ***“Wars of the 3rd Kind”***

After the end of the Cold War (1989/91) other forms of war have attracted attention which have been labelled “new wars” (Mary Kaldor), “uncivil wars” (Donald Snow) or “wars of the third kind” (Kalevi Holsti).<sup>59</sup>

They are wars like those we have witnessed in the Balkans (e.g. in Bosnia and Kosovo)<sup>60</sup> as well as in Africa (e.g. in Liberia, Sierra Leone and the so-called Democratic Republic of Congo, DRC),<sup>61</sup> but which resemble previous wars such as those in Lebanon or Afghanistan following the Soviet withdrawal.<sup>62</sup> These wars have typically involved actors other than those appearing in the modern wars mentioned above—both a larger number so that they could not be understood as bipolar, and other actors than states. Many have even been fought in the absence of organised non-state actors such as guerrilla movements and have presented a complex picture of government forces and militias (including child soldiers), warlords, bandits, etc.

These actors have, moreover, rarely have clearly defined political goals, so that the wars cannot be understood as any “continuation of politics by other means”. Either war has been fought over control of resources such as minerals or timber—or war itself has become a form of life, a trade and a business for those involved, who have therefore not really fought for anything, but rather continued the war for its own sake and for the sake of the ideal conditions which the state of war had created for all sorts of murky, but profitable, business ventures.<sup>63</sup>

Such wars almost exclusively harm the civilian population who are, moreover, not “merely” collateral casualties, but often the direct target of warfare. Sometimes the purpose is simply to expel the civilian population in order to gain unhindered control over a piece of territory. In certain ethnically and/or religiously motivated wars, it is even waged against the civilian population as

the embodiment of values which are deemed by the combatants as incompatible with their own, or against the antithetical ethnic identity itself. War may thus assume the form of veritable genocides as in Rwanda<sup>64</sup> and/or it may feature forms of “combat” such as organised rape, intended to “contaminate” the nation being fought, as it happened extensively in Bosnia.<sup>65</sup>

All too often, alas, all of the above motives are combined. Such “wars of the third kind” are indisputable evils, often of massive proportions, such as the war in the DRC with an estimated casualty toll of more than three million, almost exclusively civilians.<sup>66</sup> They also meet the criteria of public evils, as they inflict harm indiscriminately and because the victims cannot escape the consequences. Their prevention will therefore represent a public good.

Even though these wars of the third kind are (“by nature”) intrastate wars, many become internationalised, i.e. transformed into what might be called “transnational wars” which typically involve neighbouring states as secondary actors.<sup>67</sup> On the other hand the frequency of “real” international wars has been decreasing (or at least remained at a very low level), as is apparent from Table 1. Some of the wars which are here counted as international (e.g. in the Balkans) are even wars of secession which have merely been labelled international as a consequence of a (more or less unanimous, but almost always arbitrary) international recognition of the secessionist parts, whereas other wars of secession have been categorised as intra-state, either because the secessionist movements have not achieved international recognition or because they have lost (or perhaps not yet won) the war in question, as is, for instance, the case of the war in southern Sudan.<sup>68</sup>

**Table 1: Armed Conflicts 1989-2002<sup>69</sup>**

Category	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002
<b>Intra-state</b>	43	45	52	51	42	42	33	33	30	31	29	28	29	26
<b>Transnat.</b>	2	2	1	2	5	1	1	1	3	5	6	4	5	4
<b>Internat.</b>	3	3	1	1	0	0	1	2	1	2	2	2	1	1

A few of the international wars belong to the classical type, which was (to some extent, at least) the case of the war between Ethiopia and Eritrea from 1998 to 2000,<sup>70</sup> whereas others are more appropriately called “interventions”. Most of these have even—at least by those undertaking them—been referred to as “humanitarian”, i.e. as motivated by humanitarian concerns.<sup>71</sup>

We shall revisit these humanitarian interventions below. Suffice it therefore at this stage to indicate that to the extent that these interventions are really humanitarian (or at least predominantly humanitarian, as most wars can have a host of different motives) they may be said to be military actions for the creation of public goods. Whether they deserve this label also depends on whether they



succeed in actually mitigating the humanitarian problems in question, and whether the costs of doing so (e.g. measured in terms of human lives) compare favourably with the gains. There is no automatic correspondence between humanitarian motives and consequences, and it is perfectly conceivable that interventions spurred by humanitarian concerns may exacerbate the humanitarian problems—or indeed that interventions undertaken for other reasons may lead to a clear improvement of the humanitarian situation. Whereas the US (but UN-authorized) intervention in Somalia probably belongs to the former category, Vietnam’s intervention in Cambodia may belong to the latter, as it removed from power one of the most genocidal regimes the world has ever known.<sup>72</sup>

**Indirect evils**

Many of the above-mentioned wars have wide-ranging side-effects, almost all of which deserve the label of public evils. One of the most prominent side-effects of wars is flows of refugees, often massive and usually going to immediate neighbours, as illustrated by the statistics for the Horn of Africa in Table 2.

**Table 2: Refugee Flows in the Horn of Africa<sup>73</sup>**  
 (thousands, only included if the number exceeded 5,000 in at least one year)

Origin	Residence	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001
Djibouti	Ethiopia	-	0.0	18.0	18.0	18.0	8.0	3.0	1.5	1.6	0.1
Eritrea	Sudan	502.6	424.5	419.3	282.8	328.3	315.0	342.3	342.1	367.7	324.5
Ethiopia	Sudan	200.9	173.2	160.6	48.1	51.5	44.3	35.6	35.4	34.1	16.1
Somalia	Djibouti	20.0	17.7	20.6	21.3	23.0	21.5	21.6	21.6	21.7	21.7
Somalia	Ethiopia	406.1	228.1	269.7	305.4	287.8	249.2	195.3	180.9	121.1	67.1
Sudan	Ethiopia	25.6	44.4	51.8	61.1	75.7	56.9	58.6	70.3	71.7	80.9

This table does not, however, distinguish between war refugees and people fleeing for other reasons, e.g. because of natural disasters or famine. Even the latter may, however, well be indirect war refugees, as wars often have detrimental environmental consequences and hamper agricultural production, thus jeopardising food security.<sup>74</sup>

On top of these indirect effects come the expenses incurred by upholding a certain level of armaments, and the negative effects of this on the national economy, not least for developing countries. Even though some have claimed that an arms build-up in “backward” countries may contribute to modernisation,<sup>75</sup> most analysts today agree that the opposite is normally the case, i.e. that an arms build-up comes at the expense of economical and social development.<sup>76</sup> As these negative side-effects typically affect the entire economy, they represent clear public evils.

For industrialised countries the same applies, even though there is often a certain “spin-off” from investments in military high technology, especially as far as

research and development (R&D) are concerned—to which effect the internet and the GPS (global positioning system) may testify. However, this gross effect of large R&D investments should rightly be compared with the hypothetical effects of a comparable investment in civilian R&D, which most analysts agree would be larger, *inter alia* because concerns for national security often require that military research remains classified, which hampers spin-off.<sup>77</sup> In this sense, military expenditures represent unproductive “waste”, and even more so for the large majority of countries that rely on imports for almost all their military equipment, thus not benefiting from spin-off effects at all. Concerns for national security may, however, make such “waste” indispensable.

Other indirect costs derive from the losses incurred by the collaboration with neighbouring countries (or others) that does *not* take place because of wars or the preparations for war. These so-called “opportunity costs”, likewise, have indiscriminate effects, thus representing public evils.<sup>78</sup> Even though it is complicated (and inevitably counterfactual) to calculate the hypothetical gains from a trade with others that does *not* take place because of the presumed risk of war, they may well be considerable, at least when affecting (as in the East-West conflict) developed countries with a large foreign trade, at least with the potential for this.<sup>79</sup>

### *Trade, Democracy and Peace*

We may even be dealing with a vicious circle here, as foreign trade and the resultant interdependency between states have been credited by many<sup>80</sup> (especially liberalists) with having a war prevention effect. If the fear of war curtails trade it will thus eliminate some of the inhibitions against war, thus making it more likely.<sup>81</sup>

Almost all wars also have detrimental effects politically, e.g. with regard to human rights. At the very least, the freedom of expression is usually limited in warring countries or countries experiencing acute fears of war, to which are often added internments of (allegedly) potential traitors and “fifth columnists”—*inter alia* because many issues, about which debate and expressions of dissent would otherwise be entirely legitimate become “securitised” (i.e. transformed into issues of national security) which may be (ab)used to justify “extraordinary measures” such as limitations on civil rights.<sup>82</sup>

In this field as well we may be encountering a vicious circle, because wars and preparations for them thus tends to weaken or even destroy democracy, thereby removing what the same liberalists regard as an important obstacle to war. This theory of the “democratic peace”<sup>83</sup> (dating back to Immanuel Kant)<sup>84</sup> comes in three varieties,<sup>85</sup> which may be labelled monadic, dyadic and systemic, the latter appearing in both a weak and a strong version.



- The monadic version has it that democratic states are simply more peaceful than non-democracies, inter alia because decisions about going to war will be taken by the entire population, i.e. by those who would be most affected by the consequences of war. However plausible this thesis may appear, there is no statistical evidence to support it, at least as far as international wars are concerned, which are just as often started by democracies as by non-democracies. On the other hand, there is strong empirical support for the thesis that democracy may prevent intra-state conflicts, or rather make the resort to violent means in such conflicts less likely.<sup>86</sup>
- According to the (much more prominent) dyadic version, democratic states are very reluctant to go to war against each other, inter alia because they understand each other better due to the more transparent mode of decision-making. Even though it is often claimed that there is strong empirical evidence to support this thesis, the evidence is actually much more ambiguous in fact the theory may be either trivial or dubious. Either it rests on a solid empirical foundation, the relevance of which is questionable (as with the numerous analyses based on the behaviour of the Greek city states during the Peloponnesian War in the 5<sup>th</sup> Century BC),<sup>87</sup> or it rests on a rather narrow empirical basis of obvious relevance, i.e. stable modern democracies, of which there have been quite few. If the empirical basis is extended to include partial democracies such as the German Empire prior to the First World War in 1914, or Serbia prior to the Kosovo War of 1999, too many exceptions to the general rule appear (in the sense of democracies actually going to war against each other) for the theory to remain unfalsified. If the criteria are tightened for what to count as democracies, the result not only becomes a too narrow empirical basis on which to base a theory. This small population of stable democracies also consists of states which have numerous other reasons not to go to war with each other, making it impossible to determine what role democracy may play.
- According to what we may call the “weak systemic version”, it is simply possible to generalise or extrapolate from the dyadic to the global level, i.e. that of the system. Considering that the world may be viewed as consisting of dyads of states (Denmark-Norway, France-Uzbekistan, Uruguay-Malawi, etc), the total likelihood of war may presumably be reduced by making as many states (and by implication dyads) as possible democratic. This variant may, however, be criticised for being reductionist, as quite different dynamics and rules may apply at the systemic and the dyadic level—just as a book is not necessarily well-written, just because all words are spelled correctly and the grammar of each sentence is correct.
- The strong version of the systemic variant of the democratic peace theory claims that war may be prevented by means of democracy at the systemic level, i.e. some form of global or cosmopolitan democracy,<sup>88</sup> terms which are

hard to define and undoubtedly even harder to realise. Does global democracy mean that all states should have the same influence, or that all citizens should? The logical implications of the former would be that China with its 1.3 billion inhabitants should only have the same influence as, say, Denmark with around five million, whereas the latter would mean that China should have four times as much power as the United States and 250 times as much as Denmark. A combination of the two may also be possible, e.g. in a bicameral system in which one chamber represents the states and the other the peoples. But is it likely that the West would relinquish power to the extent implied by such a system? And does global democracy not presuppose that all the component parts, i.e. the states, are democratic, as it surely cannot be taken for granted that government of non-democracies always speak and vote on behalf of their citizens.

### **Peace as a Public Good: The “Peace Dividend”**

If peace is a public evil it almost logically follows that peace must be a public good, either for the individual state or for world society as a whole. In this sense, the public goods aspects of peace are sometimes referred to as the “peace dividend”.<sup>89</sup> Even though this dividend may assume many different forms,<sup>90</sup> most attention has been given to its economic aspects.

War and the preparations for war simply cost money which may be saved in the case of peace and, even more so, as a consequence of expectations of a lasting peace, making preparations for war superfluous or, at least, less urgent. How this peace dividend may be “cashed in” via arms reduction or disarmament, however, is more complicated, just as measuring the peace dividend is difficult. Apart from what is measurable, of course, non-economic benefits of expending societal resources on something useful also need to be considered.

It is certainly possible to approach these matters from a macro-economic perspective, taking national account figures of defence expenditures as the point of departure and combining this with the multiplier to assess the indirect consequences.<sup>91</sup> As far as the salary part of defence expenditures is concerned, it will have to take into account the rate of employment, determining whether former military staff can be employed in the civilian sectors of the economy or whether they will end up on the dole or in early retirement; the difference between former salaries and future pensions or unemployment benefits (as well as potential “golden handshakes”); the share of income and consumer taxes of this difference; the savings and import rates of disposable income; and the demand implications of the anticipated decline in income for the affected personnel.

As far as the remaining costs are concerned, the import rate is an important factor, especially for countries such as Denmark which have only a very limited indigenous production, but where co-production agreements may, on the other hand, have to be factored into the calculation, likewise taking account the multiplier effects.<sup>92</sup> Even though no calculus shall be attempted here, a reasonable assumption is that the net effect of gross savings on the defence budget will be much smaller net gains, at least in the short term. It also matters whether the dividend is simply saved, e.g. by reducing the public debt or lowering taxes,<sup>93</sup> or whether it is recycled and if so to what.<sup>94</sup>

All this is further complicated if an attempt is made (as has been done)<sup>95</sup> to calculate the macro-economic effects of global reductions of military expenditures, as this will depend on which countries stand for how large shares of total reductions, how the reductions are subdivided into salaries, weapons purchases and other expenses; what the import rates are for the respective countries, both for arms purchases and for consumer goods; what the tax rates are; how the saved funds are spent, etc. Unfortunately, however, global military expenditures do not seem to decline. Rather, after an initial decline following the end of the Cold War they seem to be rising again as shown in Table 3, which does not even take the most recent (and very substantial) rise in the US defence budget into account.

**Table 3: Global Military Expenditures (bill. US\$, constant 2000-prices and exchange rates)<sup>96</sup>**

Region	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002
Africa	7	8	7	7	7	8	8	9	9	10
N-America	365	344	324	306	304	298	299	310	313	344
C-America	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	4	3
S-America	18	17	20	18	21	20	20	20	22	21
Asia	120	121	123	128	128	127	129	134	140	147
Europe	196	192	178	177	177	175	177	180	181	181
Middle East	54	54	50	52	57	61	60	67	74	n.a.
World	762	740	707	691	696	690	696	723	741	784
Change	n.a.	-2,9%	-4,4%	-2,3%	0,7%	-0,9%	0,9%	3,9%	2,5%	5,8%

If we apply a combined micro-economic and sociological perspective to the elusive peace dividend, further complications arise, as there is far from perfect substitution, neither with regard to productive capacity nor to personnel. Hence, plants which see their orders for military equipment decline cannot necessarily convert into civilian production, the numerous studies of such plant-level conversion notwithstanding.<sup>97</sup> Nor are all military personnel directly employable in the civilian sector. In countries with general conscription a large part of this problem is, of course, statistical, as they have the option of shrinking their armed forces simply by refraining from conscripting part of an age cohort or by shortening the term of service. This simply entails that there will be more young people to share the available jobs. In other countries, the problems are more

concrete, as it is here a matter of dismissing employees who may or may not be retrained for other jobs which may or may not be available.<sup>98</sup>

In the aforementioned “wars of the third kind” this is often a very acute problem. If a peace is signed after a protracted civil war a large part of both government forces and former insurgents need to be disarmed and demobilised. If the former soldiers and/or guerrillas are not provided with alternative employment and integrated into civilian society, experience shows that they will often resort to arms again, either through a renewed rebellion or in criminal activities, thereby benefiting from their skills in the use of weapons. Considering that societies such as these are often in a desperate economic situation caused by a protracted armed conflict, there is usually a need for foreign aid for such “DDR&R”-programmes (for disarmament, demobilisation, repatriation and reintegration).<sup>99</sup> A successfully implemented DDR&R-programme would warrant the label of a public good as it may be a precondition for preventing a conflict from flaring up again which may easily affect an entire region.

### **The Provision of Peace as a Public Good**

In principle there are many ways to create the public good, not least by limiting the public evil represented by wars and preparations for them. It stands to reason that different types of measures will be called for to prevent different kinds of wars, to bring different forms of raging armed conflicts to a halt and thus to make the preparations for them superfluous. There are no instruments or strategies of universal applicability but rather a need for a well-stuffed “tool box” and a broad panoply of strategies and skills. Likewise, the involvement of a wide variety of categories of actors may prove relevant.

The scope of the present article does not allow for anything like an exhaustive account of these issues, and will thus confine itself to a categorisation of actors, strategies and instruments. Needless to say, these are closely linked, as instruments must be selected according to what is attempted, i.e. the strategy, which in turn is determined by the actors on the basis of their identities, interests and goals.

#### *Actors: Identities, Interests and Goals*

The most obvious actors involved in the provision of global public goods are, of course, international organisations which are almost “born” in order to produce public goods or reduce public evils. Relevant distinctions here are geographical ones between global, regional, subregional and other organisations; and functional ones between, on the one hand, organisations created in order to manage problems of peace and security and, on the other hand, organisation which may either make indirect contributions towards these ends or which

become involved almost by accident. Table 4 enumerates some of the most important international organisations that have already played such roles.

<b>Table 4: International Organisations Involved in Peacemaking (examples)</b>			
	<b>Global</b>	<b>Regional/subregional</b>	<b>Others</b>
<b>Created for peace</b>	UN (Security Council and Secretariat)	OSCE	NATO
<b>Created for other ends</b>	UN organisations (UNHCR etc.) World Bank, WTO	ASEAN, ECOWAS, IGAD	Commonwealth, G-8
<b>Both peace and other ends</b>		EU, OAS, OAU/AU, ARF, SADC, CIS	
<b>Legend:</b> UN: United Nations; OSCE: Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe; NATO: North Atlantic Treaty Organisation; UNHCR: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees; WTO: World Trade Organisation; ASEAN: Association of South-East Asian Nations; ECOWAS: Economic Community of West African States; IGAD: Intergovernmental Authority on Development; EU: European Union; OAS: Organisation of American States; OAU: Organisation for African Unity; AU: African Union; ARF: ASEAN Regional Forum; SADC: Southern African Development Community; CIS: Commonwealth of Independent States			

A standing debate within IR theory is whether international organisations are independent or, at least, autonomous actors with their own identities and interests or mere instruments for the interests of the states comprising their membership. This controversy is closely related to the aforementioned one between neorealists and neoliberal institutionalists (sætningsopbygning??), where the former represent the first point of view and the latter the second. The answer to these question may well be either/or, as some organisations, even though they may have been created by great powers as their instruments, may gradually develop their own identities and play partly independent roles, at least in areas which none of the stronger member states regard as “vital issues”. They may thus gradually build capacities (provided by member states) for independent action.

Another category of potential actors are the states which are, however, also parts of the problem. A useful distinction may be between states which are directly involved and others. Most of the following considerations, however, also apply to the parties to the above-mentioned wars of the third kind, i.e. to both states and rebel movements if only the latter are relatively organised.

Even though the states involved have, on the one hand (usually, albeit not always) an interest in avoiding war, they have an equally obvious interest in not losing it, should it nevertheless occur, and these two sets of considerations may well point in opposite directions. The latter interest may call for an arms build-up before the war as well as for an escalation after it has begun, which may well make the very outbreak of war more likely and increase the destructiveness of the ensuing war. It is thus highly significant how the two sets of interests are prioritised.

Some analysts have, for instance, claimed to have identified a radical change of priorities in the USSR around 1983/84, based on a reassessment of the chances of avoiding war as better than previously assumed. This made it less urgent to guard against losing and generated an interest in disarmament and international cooperation, i.e. in the provision of public goods. In conformity with this amended set of priorities, the Soviet leadership around Gorbachev thus suddenly took the debate on “global problems” (e.g. related to the environment) seriously and accepted a share of responsibility for their solution, which it had previously refused.<sup>100</sup>

The reverse may, of course, also be true, i.e. that a party to a conflict comes to realise that it cannot win, which gives it an obvious incentive to bring the conflict to a halt on the best obtainable terms, often couched in terms of a truce and a subsequent peace treaty. It is even possible that both sides may reach such a conclusion simultaneously, but unfortunately this does not automatically lead to peace. Sometimes a continuation of the war may still appear to decision-makers as the lesser evil, as they would otherwise have to justify the “sunk costs” which the war has already brought about, both economically and in terms of human lives. Moreover, the very state of war can have its attractions, and decision-makers may further be concerned about their international reputation, which may be decisive for their position of power in the longer run. A state which has to surrender almost invites attacks in the future or to have its vital interests infringed upon by others at a later stage,<sup>101</sup> at least unless it allows itself to be protected by others, as was the case of post-war Germany and Japan.

Sooner or later, however, what William Zartmann has aptly called a “hurting stalemate” usually develops, i.e. a situation where both sides realise that neither one can prevail, but where this stalemate also hurts, which gives both sides an incentives ?? to sue for peace.<sup>102</sup> The same may be the case in a cold war such as the East-West conflict where the arms race imposed burdens on both sides, but especially on the USSR as the weaker side, which it was unable to shoulder in the long run.

External powers may also play a role in such conflicts, either between states or between states and rebel movements.<sup>103</sup> In some cases they may be affected by the conflict (e.g. as host countries for war refugees), providing them with a clear self-interest in bringing the conflict to a halt. In other situations, their international role may almost demand involvement. A global or regional hegemony that does not interfere in a serious conflict within its sphere of influence risks losing part of its acceptance as hegemony. Finally, there are certainly states (to which Denmark has traditionally belonged) which simply take their international (legal or moral) obligations seriously.



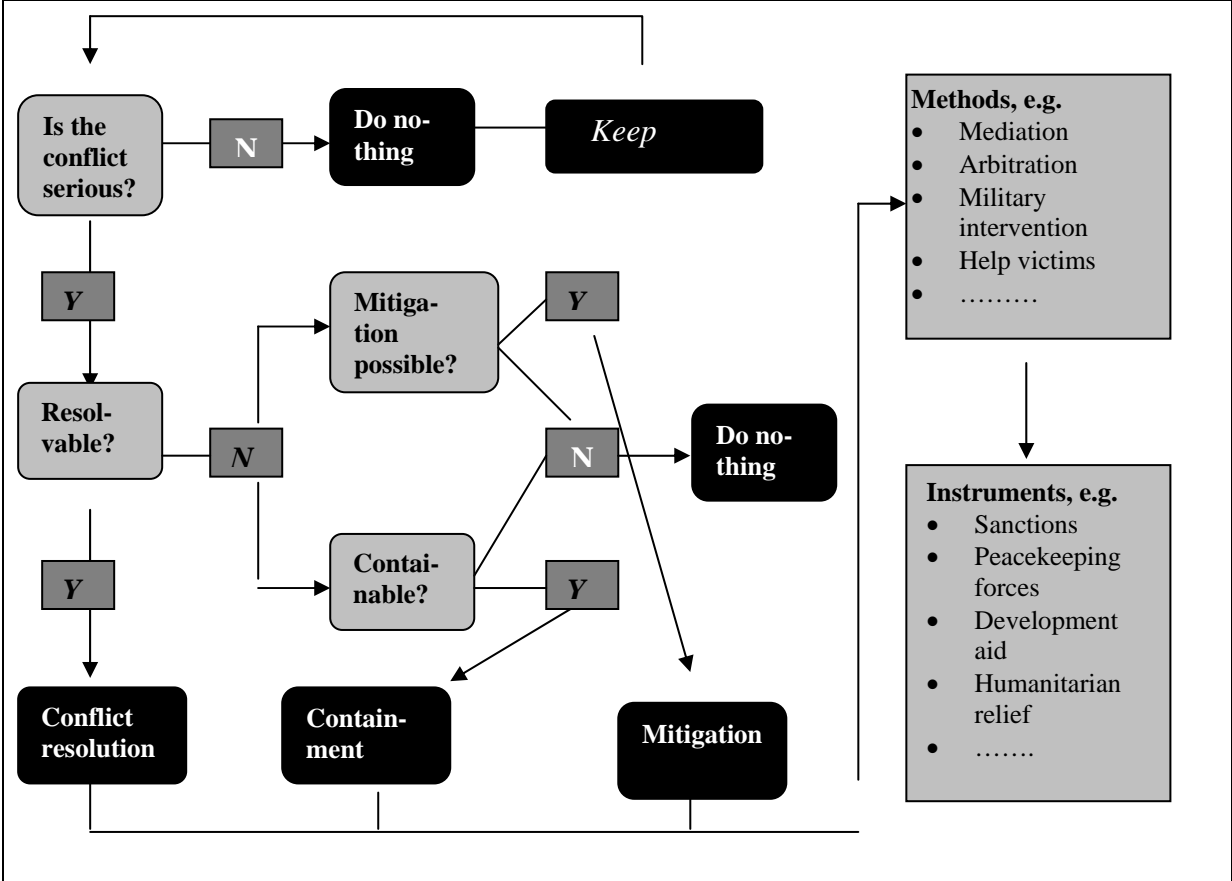
Besides states and international organisations (consisting of states), non-state actors can occasionally play a role. These may be subdivided into various categories, depending on their character, identity and ambitions, i.e. their self-defined roles. In Table 5 such a categorisation of some important actors has been attempted, but it should be noted some actors combine different roles.

**Table 5: Non-State Actors (examples)**

Character Role	NGOs	Firms	Others
Policy-making, information	Peace movements, ICG, AI		
Humanitarian	MSF, ICRC,		
Mediation	SCG		Churches
Other		PMCs	

**Legend:** NGO: Non-Governmental Organisation; ICG: International Crisis Group, MSF: Médecins sans Frontiers, ICRC: International Committee of the Red Cross, SCG: Search for Common Ground; PMCs: Private Military Companies

**FIG. 1: CONFLICT MANAGEMENT STRATEGY**



The figure describes the ideal picture of rational decision-making, whereas reality is often much more diffuse. Rather than optimising the effort, decision-makers frequently need to “satisfy” (as administration theory has it, as an alternative to optimising),<sup>104</sup> i.e. to opt for the first reasonably satisfactory solution—also because decisions have to be made urgently and often not in the “right” order. If a country has become engaged in one conflict in one country

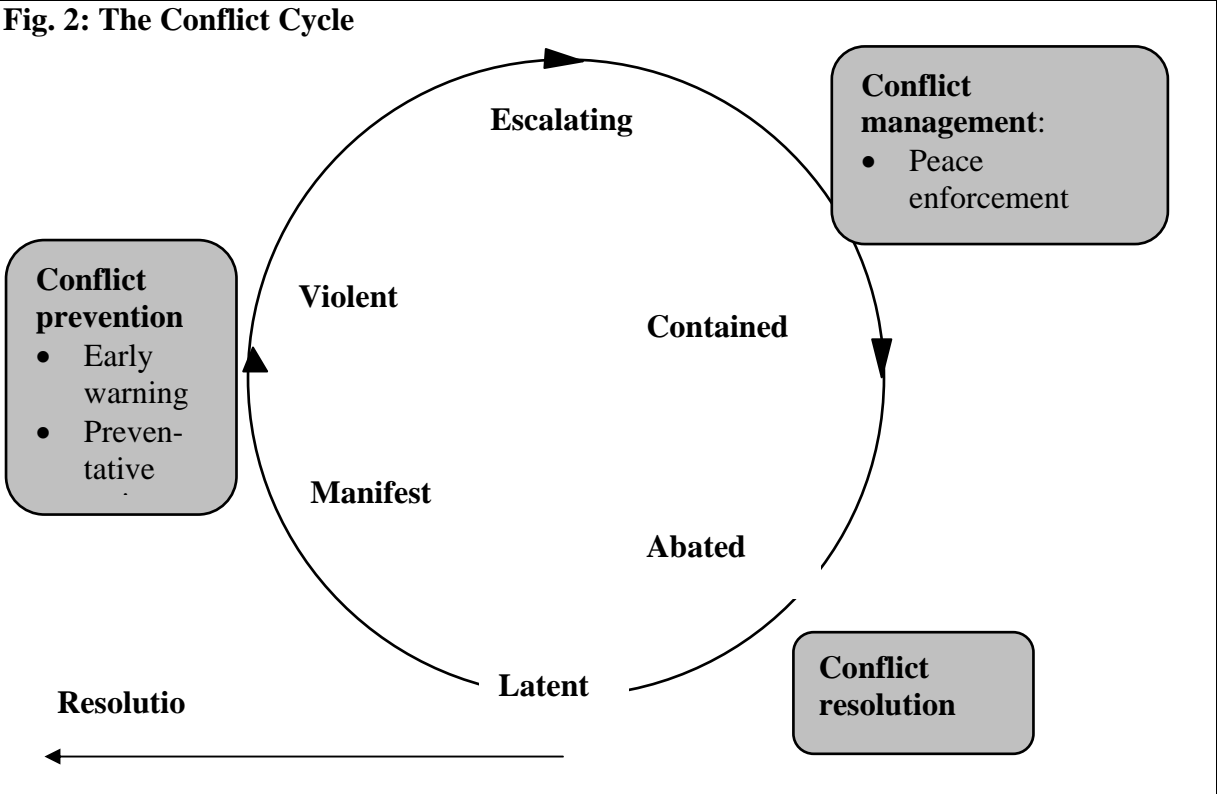
this may often exclude its becoming involved in a conflict elsewhere, even if the latter is more serious and important.

*Strategies, Methods and Instruments*

The above (categories of) actors have widely diverging identities, interests and objectives, which is, inter alia, manifested in different strategies, which all amount to specifying goals in terms of subordinate objectives and allocating means to these goals and objectives.

As illustrated in Figure 1 actors are faced with a number of questions in these respects, not least because they usually have to prioritise their activities, inter alia in order to maximise public goods. This obviously means that it would be irrational to expend resources on tasks which are insoluble if this comes at the expense of some that would be soluble.

We may also categorise the relevant measures by their timing, e.g. in relation to a conflict cycle as illustrated in Figure 2.<sup>105</sup>



Ideally, of course, a conflict should be prevented—even though this a rather misleading term, as conflict (in the sense of competition and clarification of divergent interests) is not something to avoid. What should be avoided, however, is the resort to violent and destructive forms of conflict behaviour. A useful distinction is between “structural” and “operational” prevention,<sup>106</sup> the latter referring to the resolution of latent conflicts such as dramatic inequalities,



rank imbalances, etc.,<sup>107</sup> i.e. the removal of the basic causes of conflict. As far as developing countries are concerned, development aid may be used as a means to this end, as many donors have indeed come to realise.<sup>108</sup> The codification of rules may also contribute to structural prevention, both as far as general rules (e.g. in international law) and more concrete ones (such as arms control agreements) are concerned.<sup>109</sup>

Operational conflict prevention is about preventing an immediately impending conflict outbreak, and here most attention has been devoted to the need for early warning as a background for preventative action. Unfortunately, both are hampered by serious complications.

As far as early warning is concerned, the requisite data are often missing. Even if data are available, even the best ones lend themselves to divergent interpretations.<sup>110</sup> Moreover, even if the relevant decision-makers reach the conclusion that a conflict is impending, they will have to make sure that they will be able to subsequently substantiate this assessment. This will, ironically, become the more difficult the most successful potential preventative initiatives will be. If they succeed 100 percent, the result will be that nothing happens, and it will be very difficult to prove what would have occurred in the absence of the preventative measure.

This may not be an insurmountable problem as long as merely “soft” instruments are employed such as support for civil society organisations, mediation efforts and the like, but it will be a serious obstacle to more “muscular” measures such as economic sanctions<sup>111</sup> or (even more so) military intervention. Considering that “old-fashioned” economic sanctions typically hurt the innocent the most, recent years have seen a growing interest in the development of “smart” sanctions which specifically affect the guilty ones, typically state leaders.<sup>112</sup> If panoply of such smart sanctions is available, preventative actions will be far less problematic to undertake.

When a conflict has erupted in violent struggle (be that in the form of an international or a civil war) soft instruments will often be ineffective. There may, however, still remain some scope for mediation initiatives, just as sanctions may be imposed on one or both parties to an armed conflict, usually in the form of an arms embargo. Even though it will now be easier to justify some form of engagement (as the problem is now obvious) the costs of interference by military means have also risen. In a civil war situation it will often require the deployment of armed forces mandated to enforce a truce, which may often entail actual combat operations and may cost lives. In the case of non-vital interests such as civil wars in foreign countries, most countries (and not least democracies) have a very low tolerance for casualties.

The situation is somewhat different once a conflict has peaked, either because of war fatigue or simply because the stocks of ammunition have been depleted. Now a truce can often be negotiated (perhaps with the involvement of “third parties” in the role as mediators) and peacekeeping forces may be deployed to monitor its observance.<sup>113</sup> While this is fairly unproblematic in international wars and “traditional” civil wars between two well-organised parties it is far more complicated in the wars of the third kind described above. Usually, not all parties sign the agreed truce, and there is rarely a generally accepted line of demarcation between the parties, which might be monitored and patrolled by peacekeeping forces.<sup>114</sup>

If the peace or truce is successfully kept this breathing space may be exploited for actual conflict resolution initiatives (sometimes referred to as “post-conflict peace-building”) in order to prevent the conflict from flaring up again upon the departure of the peacekeepers. A central element in such conflict resolution will be dealing with the underlying causes of the conflict, making conflict resolution almost identical with the aforementioned structural conflict prevention, yet with the significant difference that it takes place after a violent conflict and therefore does not suffer from the same justification problems as prevention. Many different measures may recommend themselves for conflict resolution, including political reforms ensuring some power-sharing,<sup>115</sup> economic measures to reduce inequalities such as land reforms, etc.

## **Conclusion**

There are thus numerous ways of preventing, managing and resolving violent conflicts, all with a view to reducing the public evil represented by war and thereby promoting peace as a public good.

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> This is an English version of Bjørn Møller's contribution to an article authored jointly with Erik André Andersen on "Fred og stabilitet som globale offentlige goder", forthcoming in a book published by the Danish Institute for Human Rights.
- <sup>2</sup> See, for instance, Kaul, Inge, Isabelle Grunberg & Marc A. Stein: "Defining Global Public Goods", in idem, idem & idem (eds.): *Global Public Goods. International Cooperation in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 2-19; Desai, Maghnad: "Public Goods: A Historical Perspective", in Inge Kaul, Pedro Conceicao, Katell le Goulven & Ronald U. Mendoza (eds.): *Providing Public Goods. Managing Globalization* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 63-77.
- <sup>3</sup> Olson, Mancur: *The Logic of Collective Action* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1965); Riker, William H.: *The Theory of Political Coalitions* (New Haven, NJ: Yale University Press, 1962).
- <sup>4</sup> Murdoch, James C.: "Military Alliances: Theory and Empirics", in Keith Hartley & Todd Sandler (eds.): *Handbook of Defence Economics*, vol. 1 (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 1995), pp. 89-108; Sandler, Todd & Keith Hartley: *The Economics of Defense* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 19-51; Olson, Mancur & Richard Zenkhauser: "An Economic Theory of Alliances", *Review of Economics and Statistics*, vol. 48, no. 3 (1966), pp. 266-279; Liska, George: *Nations in Alliance. The Limits of Interdependence* (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins Press, 1962), p. 27; Aron, Raymond: *Paix et guerre entre les nations*, 8<sup>th</sup> ed. (Paris: Calmann-Levy, 1984), p. 56; Waltz, Kenneth N.: *Theory of International Politics* (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1979), pp. 197-199, 203; Snyder, Glenn: *Alliance Politics* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997), pp. 50-52.
- <sup>5</sup> On club goods see Cornes, Richard & Todd Sandler: *The Theory of Externalities, Public Goods, and Club Goods*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).
- <sup>6</sup> An example is the theory of "unequal exchange". See, e.g., Emmanuel, Arghiri: *L'Échange Inégal* (Paris: Maspero, 1969); Cypher, James M. & James L. Dietz: *The Process of Economic Development*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (London: Routledge, 2004), pp. 162-171; Ray, Debraj: *Development Economics* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998), pp. 38-42, 621-626. See also Frank, Andre Gunter: *Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1967); idem: *Dependent Accumulation and Under-Development* (London: Macmillan, 1978); idem & Barry K. Gills (eds.): *The World System. Five Hundred Years or Five Thousand?* (London: Routledge, 1996); Amin, Samir: *Le développement inégal* (Paris: Éditions du Minuit, 1973); idem: *L'accumulation a l'échelle mondiale*, vols. 1-2 (Paris: Éditions Anthropos, 1976); Wallerstein, Immanuel: *The Modern World-System*, vols. 1-3 (New York: Academic Books, 1974, 1980 and 1988), idem: *The Politics of the World Economy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).
- <sup>7</sup> A good overview of liberalism and its historical roots is Doyle, Michael W.: *Ways of War and Peace. Realism, Liberalism, and Socialism* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1997), pp. 205-311. The classical critique of liberalism is Carr, Edward Hallett: *The Twenty Years' Crisis, 1919-1939. An Introduction to the Study of International Relations*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1964).
- <sup>8</sup> Adam Smith: *The Wealth of Nations*, Book IV.2, quoted from [www.adamsmith.org/smith/won-b4-c2.htm](http://www.adamsmith.org/smith/won-b4-c2.htm).
- <sup>9</sup> See, for instance, Suganami, Hidemi: *The Domestic Analogy and World Order Proposals* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Brown, Chris: "International Political Theory and the Idea of World Community", in Ken Booth & Steve Smith (eds.): *International Relations Theory Today* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995), pp. 90-109; Archibugi, Daniele & David Held (eds.): *Cosmopolitan Democracy: an Agenda for a New World Order* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995); idem, idem & Martin Köhler (eds.): *Re-Imagining Political Community. Studies in Cosmopolitan Democracy* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1998); Falk, Richard: *Explorations at the Edge of Time. The Prospects for World Order* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992); Camilleri, J.A. & Jim Falk: *The End of Sovereignty? The Politics of a Shrinking and Fragmenting*

World (London: Edward Elgar, 1992); Mendlowitz, Saul H. (ed.): *On the Creation of a Just World Order* (New York: Free Press, 1975); idem & R.B.J. Walker (eds.): *Towards a Just World Peace* (London: Butterworths, 1987).

- <sup>10</sup> Rousseau, Jean Jacques: *Extrait du projet de paix perpétuelle de monsieur l'abbé de Saint-Pierre*, at <http://gallanar.net/rousseau/paixperpetuelle.htm>.
- <sup>11</sup> This is described in Rousseau, Jean-Jacques: *Discours sur l'origine et les fondements de l'inégalité parmi les hommes*, quoted from [http://un2sg4.unige.ch/athena/rousseau/jjr\\_ineg.html#seconde](http://un2sg4.unige.ch/athena/rousseau/jjr_ineg.html#seconde) partie: "Voilà comment les hommes purent insensiblement acquérir quelque idée grossière des engagements mutuels, et de l'avantage de les remplir, mais seulement autant que pouvait l'exiger l'intérêt présent et sensible; car la prévoyance n'était rien pour eux, et loin de s'occuper d'un avenir éloigné, ils ne songeaient pas même au lendemain. S'agissait-il de prendre un cerf, chacun sentait bien qu'il devait pour cela garder fidèlement son poste; mais si un lièvre venait à passer à la portée de l'un d'eux, il ne faut pas douter qu'il ne le poursuivît sans scrupule, et qu'ayant atteint sa proie il ne se souciât fort peu de faire manquer la leur à ses compagnons. See also Waltz, Kenneth N.: *Man, the State and War. A Theoretical Analysis* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), pp. 167-169; and Doyle: *op. cit.* (note 7), s 137-160.
- <sup>12</sup> Waltz: *op. cit.* 1979 (note 4), pp. 196-198.
- <sup>13</sup> Hardin, Garrett: "The Tragedy of the Commons", *Science*, no. 162 (1968), pp. 1243-1248; Stein, Arthur: "Coordination and Collaboration: Regimes in an Anarchic World", in David A. Baldwin (ed.): *Neorealism and Neoliberalism. The Contemporary Debate* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), pp. 29-59, especially pp. 42-43
- <sup>14</sup> Herz, John M.: *Political Realism and Political Idealism. A Study in Theories and Realities* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1951), *passim*; idem: "Idealist Internationalism and the Security Dilemma", *World Politics*, vol. 2, no. 2 (1950), pp. 157-180; Jervis, Robert: *Perception and Misperception in International Politics* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1976), pp. 58-93; idem: "Cooperation under the Security Dilemma", *World Politics*, vol. 30, no. 2 (1978), pp. 167-214; Buzan, Barry: *People, States and Fear. An Agenda for International Security Studies in the Post-Cold War Era*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1991), pp. 294-327; Collins, Alan: *The Security Dilemma and the End of the Cold War* (Edinburg: Keele University Press, 1997); Glaser, Charles L.: "The Security Dilemma Revisited", *World Politics*, vol. 50, no. 1 (October 1997), pp. 171-201.
- <sup>15</sup> Snidal, Duncan: "Relative Gains and the Pattern of International Cooperation", in Baldwin (ed.): *op. cit.* (note 13), pp. 170-208; Powell, Robert: "Absolute and Relative Gains in International Relations Theory", *ibid.*, pp. 209-233. For a critique of Realism's view of relative gains see Vasquez, John: *The Power of Power Politics. From Classical Realism to Neotraditionalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 307-310. On the "neo-neo debate" see also Wæver, Ole: "The Rise and Fall of the Inter-Paradigm Debate", in Steve Smith, Ken Booth & Maysia Zalewski (eds.): *International Theory: Positivism and Beyond* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 149-185.
- <sup>16</sup> See, e.g., Mearsheimer, John J.: "The False Promise of International Institutions", *International Security*, vol. 19, no. 3 (Winter 1994/95), pp. 5-49; idem: "A Realist Reply", *ibid.*, vol. 20, nr. 1 (Summer 1995); Gioco, Joseph: "Anarchy and the Limits of Cooperation: A Realist Critique of the Newest Liberal Institutionalism", in Baldwin (ed.): *op. cit.* (note 13), pp. 116-140; idem: "Understanding the Problem of International Cooperation: The Limits of Neoliberal Institutionalism and the Future of Realist Theory", *ibid.*, pp. 301-338; idem: *Cooperation among Nations* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1990).
- <sup>17</sup> Keohane, Robert O. & Lisa Martin: "The Promise of Institutional Theory", *International Security*, vol. 20, no. 1 (Summer 1995), pp. 39-51; Glaser, Charles L.: "Realists as Optimists: Cooperation as Self-Help", *ibid.*, vol. 19, no. 3 (Winter 1994/95), pp. 50-90.
- <sup>18</sup> The classical work is Deutsch, Karl W. *et al.*: *Political Community and the North Atlantic Area. International Organization in the Light of Historical Experience* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1957). For a constructivist revision of the theory see Adler, Emmanuel &



- Michael Barnett: "Security Communities in Theoretical Perspective", in idem & idem (eds.): *Security Communities* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 3-28; idem & idem: "A Framework for the Study of Security Communities", *ibid.*, pp. 29-65. On the EU as a security community see Wæver, Ole: "Insecurity, Security and Asecurity ?? in the West European Non-War Community", *ibid.*, pp. 69-118; idem: "Integration as Security: Constructing a Europe at Peace", in Charles Kupchan (ed.): *Atlantic Security: Contending Visions* (New York: Council on Foreign Relations Press, 1998), pp. 45-63. On the Nordic region see Wiberg, Håkan: "The Nordic Countries: A Special Kind of System", *Current Research in Peace and Violence*, nos. 1-2 (Tampere: TAPRI, 1986), pp. 2-12; Møller, Bjørn: "The Nordic Model of Regionalism", in Stephen C. Calleya (ed.): *Regionalism in the Post-Cold War World* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), pp. 25-44.
- <sup>19</sup> A good overview is Milner, Helen: "Review Article: International Theories of Cooperation among Nations: Strengths and Weaknesses", *World Politics*, vol. 44, no. 3 (April 1992), pp. 466-496. See also Stein, Arthur A.: *Why Nations Cooperate. Circumstance and Choice in International Relations* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1990).
- <sup>20</sup> On superpower cooperation during the Cold War see George, Alexander L., Philip J. Farley & Alexander Dallin (eds.): *U.S.-Soviet Security Cooperation. Achievements, Failures, Lessons* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988); Kanet, Roger E. & Edward A. Kolodziej (eds.): *The Cold War as Competition. Superpower Cooperation in Regional Conflict Management* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991); Miller, Benjamin: *When Opponents Cooperative. Great Power Conflict and Collaboration in World Politics* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1995).
- <sup>21</sup> Axelrod, Robert: *The Evolution of Cooperation* (New York: Basic Books, 1984); idem: *The Complexity of Cooperation. Agent-Based Models of Competition and Collaboration* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997).
- <sup>22</sup> Palme Commission (Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues): *Common Security. A Blueprint for Survival* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1982). See also Väyrynen, Raimo (ed.): *Policies for Common Security* (London: Taylor & Francis, 1985); Bahr, Egon & Dieter S. Lutz (eds.): *Gemeinsame Sicherheit. Idee und Konzept*, vol 1: *Zu den Ausgangsüberlegungen, Grundlagen und Strukturmerkmalen Gemeinsamer Sicherheit* (Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 1986).
- <sup>23</sup> For an elaboration see Møller, Bjørn: *Common Security and Nonoffensive Defense. A Neorealist Perspective* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1992).
- <sup>24</sup> Gilpin, Robert: *War and Change in World Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), *passim*; idem: *The Political Economy of International Relations* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987), pp. 72-92; idem: *Global Political Economy. Understanding the International Economic Order* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001), pp. 93-100.
- <sup>25</sup> Gramsci, Antonio: *Selections from the Prison Notebooks* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1971), pp. 323-377. See also Salamini, Leonardo: *The Sociology of Political Praxis. An Introduction to Gramsci's Theory* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981), pp. 17, 79-80, 126-153.
- <sup>26</sup> Kindleberger, Charles P.: "Dominance and Leadership in the International Economy. Exploitation, Public Goods, and Free Rides", *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 25, nr. 2 (June 1981), pp. 242-254; Balaam, David N. & Michael Veseth: *Introduction to International Political Economy* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1996), pp. 177-178; Russett, Bruce: "The Mysterious Case of Vanishing Hegemony; or, Is Mark Twain Really Dead?", *International Organization*, vol. 39, no. 2 (Spring 1985), pp. 207-231; Strange, Susan: "The Persistent Myth of Lost Hegemony", *ibid.*, vol. 41, no. 4 (Fall 1987), pp. 551-574
- <sup>27</sup> Eichengreen, Barry: "Hegemonic Stability Theories of the International Monetary System", in Jeffrey A. Frieden & David A. Lake (eds.): *International Political Economy. Perspectives on Global Power and Wealth*. 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (London: Routledge, 1995), pp. 230-254. On the Bretton-Woods system see Eckes, Alfred E. Jr.: *A Search for Solvency: Bretton Woods and the International Monetary System, 1941-1971* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1975). On its successors see Keohane, Robert O.: "The Theory of Hegemonic Stability and Changes in International Economic

- Regimes, 1967-1977”, in C. Roe Goddard, John T. Passé-Smith & John G. Conklin (eds.): *International Political Economy. State-Market Relations in the Changing Global Order* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1996), pp. 89-108.
- <sup>28</sup> Adebajo, Adekeye & Landsberg, Christopher.: “South Africa and Nigeria as Regional Hegemons”, in Mwesiga Baregu & Christopher Landsberg (eds.): *From Cape to Congo. Southern Africa’s Evolving Security Challenges* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2003), pp. 171-204; Legum, Colin: “Balance of Power in Southern Africa”, in York Bradshaw & Stephen N. Ndegwa (eds.): *The Uncertain Promise of Southern Africa* (Bloomington, IA: Indiana University Press, 2000), pp. 12-23.
- <sup>29</sup> Keohane, Robert O.: “The Demand for International Regimes”, *International Organization*, vol. 36, no. 2 (Spring 1982), pp. 325-355; Krasner, Stephen D. (ed.): *International Regimes* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press 1982); Müller, Harald: *Die Chance der Kooperation. Regime in den internationalen Beziehungen* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1993); Rittberger, Volker (ed.): *Regime Theory and International Relations* (Oxford: Clarendon Paperbacks, 1995); Hasenclever, Andreas, Peter Mayer & Volker Rittberger: *Theories of International Regimes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Stein, Arthur: “Coordination and Collaboration: Regimes in an Anarchic World”, in Baldwin (ed.): *op. cit.* (note 13), pp. 29-59. For a critique see Gilpin: *op. cit.* 1987 (note 24), pp. 82-93.
- <sup>30</sup> Hasenclever & al.: *op. cit.* (note 29), pp. 86-104; Zartman, I. William: “Negotiating the Rapids: The Dynamics of Regime Formation”, in Bertram I. Spector & idem (eds.): *Getting It Done. Post-Regime Negotiation and International Regimes* (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2003), pp. 13-50.
- <sup>31</sup> Bull, Hedley: *The Anarchical Society. A Study of Order in World Politics*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1995), pp. 74-94, 272-294. See also idem: “Society and Anarchy in International Relations”, in Kai Alderson & Andrew Hurrell (eds.): *Hedley Bull on International Society* (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000), pp. 77-94; Anderson, Kai & Andrew Hurrell: “Introduction”, *ibid.*, pp. 1-76; Dunne, Tim: *Inventing International Society: A History of the English School* (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Macmillans, 1998); Fawn, Rick & Jeremy Larkins (eds.): *International Society after the Cold War. Anarchy and Order Reconsidered* (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996); Roberson, B.A. (ed.): *International Society and the Development of International Relations Theory* (London: Pinter, 1998).
- <sup>32</sup> Bull, Hedley: “The Grotian Conception of International Society”, in Herbert Butterfield & Martin Wight (eds.): *Diplomatic Investigations: Essays in the Theory of International Politics* (London : Allen & Unwin, 1966), pp. 51-73; idem: “Society and Anarchy in International Relations”, *ibid.*, pp. 35-50; Wheeler, Nicholas J.: “Pluralist or Solidarist Conceptions of International Society: Bull and Vincent on Humanitarian Intervention”, *Millennium*, vol. 21, no. 3 (1992), pp. 463-487; Neumann, Iver B.: “John Vincent and the English School of International Relations”, in idem & Ole Wæver (eds.): *The Future of International Relations. Masters in the Making?* (London: Routledge, 1997), pp. 38-65; Knudsen, Tonny Brems: *Humanitarian Intervention and International Security: Contemporary Manifestations of an Explosive Doctrine*. Ph.D. Dissertation (Århus: Institut for Statskundskab, Århus Universitet), pp. 48-93.
- <sup>33</sup> Galtung, Johan: “Violence, Peace, and Peace Research”, in idem: *Peace: Research, Education, Action*. Essays in Peace Research, vol. I (Copenhagen: Christian Ejlers Forlag, 1975), pp. 109-134; idem: “Twenty Years of Peace Research: Ten Challenges and some Responses”, *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 22, no. 1 (1985), pp. 141-158. See also Kriesberg, Louis: *Constructive Conflicts. From Escalation to Resolution* (Lanham, ML: Rowman & Littlefield, 1998), pp. 68-73; Midlarsky, Manus I.: *The Evolution of Inequality. War, State Survival, and Democracy in Comparative Perspective* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999), pp. 231-247.
- <sup>34</sup> Axelrod, Robert: “The Concept of Stability in the Context of Conventional War in Europe”, *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 27, no. 3 (1990), pp. 247-254.
- <sup>35</sup> On flexible response see Daalder, Ivo H.: *The Nature and Practice of Flexible Response. NATO Strategy and Theater Nuclear Forces Since 1967* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991); Stromseth, Jane E.: *The Origins of Flexible Response. NATO’s Debate over Strategy in the 1960’s*.

- (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988); Haftendorn, Helga: *NATO and the Nuclear Revolution. A Crisis of Credibility, 1966-1967* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).
- <sup>36</sup> On no-first-use (NFU) see Bundy, McGeorge, George F. Kennan, Robert S. McNamara & Gerard Smith: "Nuclear Weapons and the Atlantic Alliance" (Foreign Affairs, Spring 1982), in William P. Bundy (ed.): *The Nuclear Controversy. A Foreign Affairs Reader* (New York: New American Library, 1985), pp. 23-40; Blackaby, Frank, Josef Goldblatt & Sverre Lodgaard (eds.): *No-First-Use* (London: Taylor & Francis, 1984). A more moderate version of the same basic point of view is Harris, John B.: "From Flexible Response to No Early First Use", in P. Terrence Hoppman & Frank Barnaby (eds.): *Rethinking the Nuclear Weapons Dilemma in Europe* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988), pp. 86-114. For a critique of NFU see Mearsheimer, John J.: "Nuclear Weapons and Deterrence in Europe", in Hylke W. Tromp (ed.): *War in Europe. Nuclear and Conventional Perspectives* (Aldershot: Gower, 1989), pp. 71-100
- <sup>37</sup> Rawls, John: *A Theory of Justice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999). On the possible application to international relations see Mapel, David R.: "The Contractarian Tradition and International Ethics", in Terry Nardin & idem (eds.): *Traditions of International Ethics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 180-200. See also Bull, Hedley: *op. cit.* (note 31), pp. 74-94; idem: "Justice in International Relations: The 1983 Hagey Lectures (1984)", in Alderson & Hurrell (eds.): *op. cit.* (note 31), pp. 206-245.
- <sup>38</sup> On the background, i.e. the critique voiced against Galtung for allegedly defending imperialism, see Lawler, Peter: *A Question of Values. Johan Galtung's Peace Research* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1995), pp. 67-89.
- <sup>39</sup> On neutrality see Andrén, Nils: "On the Meaning and Uses of Neutrality", *Cooperation and Conflict*, vol. 26, no. 2 (June 1991), pp. 67-84; Raymond, Gregory A.: "Neutrality Norms and the Balance of Power", *ibid.*, vol. 32, no. 2 (June 1997), pp. 123-146; Hakovirta, Harto *East-West Conflict and European Neutrality* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1988); Kruzal, Joseph & Michael H. Haltzel (eds.): *Between the Blocs. Problems and Prospects for Europe's Neutrals and Non-Aligned States* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Korkisch, Friedrich W.: "90 Jahre Haager Abkommen und Neutralität. Völkerrechtliche, sicherheitspolitische und militärische Komponenten", *Österreichische Militärische Zeitschrift*, vol. 35, no. 6 (Nov-Dec. 1997), pp. 655-666.
- <sup>40</sup> Glenn Snyder labelled this "the alliance security dilemma", i.e. the choice between "entrapment" and "abandonment". See his "The Security Dilemma in Alliance Politics", *World Politics*, vol. 36, no. 4 (1984), pp. 461-495.
- <sup>41</sup> Mendez, Ruben P.: "Peace as a Public Good", in Kaul, Grundberg & Stern (eds.): *op. cit.* (note 2), pp. 382-416; Hamburg, David A. & Jane E. Holl: "Preventing Deadly Conflict. From Global Housekeeping to Neighbourhood Watch", *ibid.*, pp. 366-381.
- <sup>42</sup> Ayton, Andrew & J.L. Price (eds.): *The Medieval Military Revolution. State, Society and Military Change in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1995); Prestwich, Michael: *Armies and Warfare in the Middle Ages. The English Experience* (New Haven, NJ: Yale University Press, 1996), pp. 12-157; Howard, Michael: *War in European History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976), pp. 1-53; Stephan, Cora: *Das Handwerk des Krieges* (Berlin: Rowohlt Verlag, 1998), pp. 102-108.
- <sup>43</sup> Herbst, Jeffrey: *States and Power in Africa. Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), pp. 139-172.
- <sup>44</sup> Roberts, Michael: "The Military Revolution, 1560-1660", in Clifford Rogers (ed.): *The Military Revolution Debate. Reading on the Military Transformation of Early Modern Europe* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1995), pp. 13-36; Rothenberg, Gunther E.: "Maurice of Nassau, Gustavus Adolphus, Raimondo Montecucoli, and the 'Military Revolution' of the Seventeenth Century", in Peter Paret (ed.): *Makers of Modern Strategy from Machiavelli to the Nuclear Age* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986), pp. 32-63; Guerlac, Henry: "Vauban: The Impact of Science on War", *ibid.*, pp. 64-90.
- <sup>45</sup> The formulation in art. 107 of the 1793 constitution of revolutionary France was "Le force générale de la République est composé du peuple entier". See Godéchet, Jacques (ed.): *Les*



- constitutions de la France depuis 1789* (Paris: Garnier-Flammarion, 1970), p. 90. See also Lynn, John A.: *The Bayonets of the Republic. Motivation and Tactics in the Army of Revolutionary France, 1791-1974* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1984), pp. 49-66 & *passim*; Howard: *op. cit.* (note 42), pp. 75-93; Best, Geoffrey: *War and Society in Revolutionary Europe 1770-1870* (Phoenix Mill: Sutton Publishing, 1998), pp. 82-98; Forrest, Alan: "Conscription as Ideology: Revolutionary France and the Nation in Arms", in Lars Mjøset and Stephen Van Holde (eds.): *The Comparative Study of Conscription in the Armed Forces* (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2002), pp. 95-116; Kestnbaum, Meyer: "Citizen-Soldiers, National Service and the Mass Army: The Birth of Conscription in Revolutionary Europe and North America", *ibid.*, pp. 117-144. On the further development of the notion of people's sovereignty with nationalism see Paret, Peter: "Nationalism and the Sense of Military Obligation", in idem: *Understanding War. Essays on Clausewitz and the History of Military Power* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992), pp. 39-52; Posen, Barry R.: "Nationalism, the Mass Army, and Military Power", *International Security*, vol. 18, no. 2 (Fall 1993), pp. 80-124.
- <sup>46</sup> Clausewitz, Carl von: *Vom Kriege* (Frankfurt a.M.: Ullstein Verlag, 1980), pp. 25 and 34 (Book I, chapters. 1.11 and 1.24).
- <sup>47</sup> On the strategic background see MacIsaac, David: "Voices From the Central Blue: The Air Power Theorists", in Paret (ed.): *op. cit.* (note 44), pp. 624-647; Builder, Carl H.: *The Icarus Syndrome. The Role of Air Power Theory in the Evolution and Fate of the U.S. Air Force* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1996), pp. 41-95. On the historical experiences see Pape, Robert A.: *Bombing to Win. Air Power and Coercion in War* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996), pp. 254-313; Murray, Williamson: "Strategic Bombing: The British, American, and German Experiences", in idem & Allan R. Millett (eds.): *Military Innovation in the Interwar Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 144-190. The official US history is Craven, Wesley Frank & James Lea Cate (ed.): *The Army Air Forces in World War II* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1951-1953); and its British counterpart is Webster, Charles & Noble Frankland: *The Strategic Air Offensive Against Germany 1933-1945* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1961).
- <sup>48</sup> Alperovitz, Gar: *Atomic Diplomacy: Hiroshima and Potsdam. The Use of the Atomic Bomb and the American Confrontation With Soviet Power* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1985); Walker, J. Samuel: *Prompt and Utter Destruction. Truman and the Use of Atomic Bombs against Japan* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1997).
- <sup>49</sup> Brodie, Bernard (ed.): *The Absolute Weapon* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1946), p. 76: "Thus far the chief purpose of a military establishment has been to win wars. From now on its chief purpose must be to avert them. It can have no other useful purpose".
- <sup>50</sup> See Rosenberg, David Allen: "'A Smoking Radiating Ruin at the End of Two Hours'. Documents on American Plans for Nuclear War with the Soviet Union, 1954-1955", *International Security.*, vol. 6, no. 3 (Winter 1981/82), pp. 3-38; idem: "The Origins of Overkill: Nuclear Weapons and American Strategy, 1945-1960", *ibid.*, vol. 7, no. 4 (Spring 1983), pp. 3-71; Ball, Desmond: "The Development of SIOP, 1960-1983", in idem & Jeffrey Richelson (eds.): *Strategic Nuclear Targeting* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1986), pp. 57-83.
- <sup>51</sup> Ehrlich, Paul, Carl Sagan, Donald Kennedy & Walter Orr Roberts: *The Cold and the Dark. The World After Nuclear War* (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1984). For a critique see Wohlstetter, Albert: "Between an Unfree World and None", *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 63, no. 5 (Summer 1985), pp. 962-994.
- <sup>52</sup> Getcher, Frank L. & William J. Weida (eds.): *Beyond Deterrence. The Political Economy of Nuclear Weapons* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1990).
- <sup>53</sup> Gaddis, John Lewis: "The Long Peace: Elements of Stability in the Postwar International System", in Sean M. Lynn-Jones (eds.): *The Cold War and After. Prospects for Peace. An International Security Reader* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991), pp. 1-44; idem: "The Essential Relevance of Nuclear Weapons", in idem: *The United States and the End of the Cold War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 105-118. See also Mearsheimer, John J.: "Back to the Future: Instability in Europe After the Cold War", *International Security*, vol. 15, no. 1 (Summer 1990),



- pp. 5-52; Jervis, Robert: *The Meaning of the Nuclear Revolution. Statecraft and the Prospects of Armageddon* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1989).
- <sup>54</sup> Mueller, John: "The Escalating Irrelevance of Nuclear Weapons", in T.V. Paul, Richard J. Harknett & James J. Wirtz (eds.): *The Absolute Weapon Revisited. Nuclear Arms and the Emerging International Order* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1998), pp. 73-98; idem: *Retreat from Doomsday: The Obsolescence of Major War* (New York: Basic Books, 1989); Evera, Stephen Van: "Primed for Peace: Europe After the Cold War", *International Security*, vol. 15, no. 3 (Winter 1990-91), pp. 7-57.
- <sup>55</sup> Bundy, McGeorge: "Existential Deterrence and its Consequences", in Douglas Maclean (ed.): *The Security Gamble* (Totowa NJ: Rowman & Allanhead, 1986), pp. 3-13.
- <sup>56</sup> See, for instance, Bracken, Paul: *The Command and Control of Nuclear Forces* (New Haven, NJ: Yale University Press, 1983); Blair, Bruce: *Strategic Command and Control. Redefining the Nuclear Threat* (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 1985); idem: *The Logic of Accidental Nuclear War* (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 1993); Carter, Ashton B., John D. Steinbruner & Charles Zraket (red.): *Managing Nuclear Operations* (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 1987); Posen, Barry: "Inadvertent Nuclear War? Escalation and NATO's Northern Flank", in Steven E. Miller (ed.): *Strategy and Nuclear Deterrence. An International Security Reader* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984), pp. 85-111.
- <sup>57</sup> Anders Boserup invented the term "subnuclear setting" for such a situation. See his "Deterrence and Defence", in idem & Robert Neild (eds.): *The Foundations of Defensive Defence* (London: Macmillan, 1990), pp. 7-11.
- <sup>58</sup> Allison, Roy & Phil Williams (eds.): *Superpower Competition and Crisis Prevention in the Third World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990). On the role of the 3<sup>rd</sup> World in the Cold War see Kauppi, Mark V.: "Strategic Beliefs and Intelligence: Dominoes and Bandwagons in the Early Cold War", *Security Studies*, vol. 4, no. 1 (Fall 1994), pp. 4-39; Hopf, Ted: *Peripheral Visions. Deterrence Theory and American Foreign Policy in the Third World, 1965-1990* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1994); Jervis, Robert: "Domino Beliefs and Strategic Behaviour", in idem & Jack Snyder (ed.): *Dominoes and Bandwagons. Strategic Beliefs and Great Power Competition in the Eurasian Rimland* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. 20-50.
- <sup>59</sup> Kaldor, Mary: *New and Old Wars. Organized Violence in a Global Era* (Oxford: Polity Press, 1999). See also Snow, Donald M. *UnCivil Wars: International Security and the New Pattern of Internal War* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1996); idem: *Distant Thunder. Patterns of Conflict in the Developing World*. 2. udg. (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1997); Van Creveld, Martin: *The Transformation of War* (New York: The Free Press, 1991); Holsti, Kalevi J.: *The State, War, and the State of War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Møller, Bjørn: "The Faces of War", in Håkan Wiberg & Christian P. Scherrer (eds.): *Ethnicity and Intra-State Conflict: Types, Causes and Peace Strategies* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), pp. 15-34.
- <sup>60</sup> See, for instance, Cohen, Lenard J.: *Broken Bonds. Yugoslavia's Disintegration and Balkan Politics in Transition*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1995); Woodward, Susan L.: *Balkan Tragedy. Chaos and Dissolution after the Cold War* (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 1995); Burg, Steven L. & Paul S. Shoup: *The War in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Ethnic Conflict and International Intervention* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1999); Campbell, Greg: *The Road to Kosovo. A Balkan Diary* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1999); Clark, Howard: *Civil Resistance in Kosovo* (London: Pluto Press, 2000); Tretter, Hannes, Stephan Müller & Violeta Demaj: "Die Verfolgung der albanischen Volksgruppe im Kosovo", in Joseph Marko (ed.): *Gordischer Knoten Kosvo/a: Durchschlagen oder entwirren?* (Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 1999), pp. 127-155.
- <sup>61</sup> General overviews include Clapham, Christopher: "Introduction: Analysing African Insurgencies", in idem (ed.): *African Guerillas* (Oxford: James Currey, 1998), pp. 1-18; Keller, Edmond J.: "Transnational Ethnic Conflict in Africa", in David A. Lake & Donald Rothchild (eds.): *The International Spread of Ethnic Conflict. Fear, Diffusion and Escalation* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998), pp. 275-292; Reno, William: *Warlord Politics and African*

- States* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1998); Turner, John W.: *Continent Ablaze. The Insurgency Wars in Africa. 1960 to the Present* (Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball, 1998). On the Congo see also Jennings, Christian: *Across the Red River. Rwanda, Burundi and the Heart of Darkness* (London: Phoenix, 2000); Lemarchand, Renè: "The Crisis in the Great Lakes", in John W. Harbeson & Donald Rothchild (eds.): *Africa in World Politics. The African State System in Flux*. 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Boulder, CO: Westview, 2000), pp. 324-352; Shearer, David: "Africa's Great War", *Survival*, vol. 41, no. 2 (Summer 1999), pp. 89-106; International Crisis Group: "Scramble for the Congo: Anatomy of an Ugly War", *ICG Africa Report*, nr. 26 (20 December 2000); On Liberia see Ellis, Stephen: *The Mask of Anarchy. The Destruction of Liberia and the Religious Dimension of an African Civil War* (London: Hurst & Co, 1999); Huband, Mark: *The Liberian Civil War* (London: Frank Cass, 1998). On Sierra Leone see Hirsch, John L.: *Sierra Leone. Diamonds and the Struggle for Democracy* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2001); Richards, Paul: *Fighting for the Rain Forest. War, Youth and Resources in Sierra Leone* (Oxford: James Currey, 1996).
- <sup>62</sup> On Lebanon see Khazen, Farid El.: *The Breakdown of the State in Lebanon 1967-1976* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2000); Sirriyeh, Hussein: "Lebanon: Dimensions of Conflict", *Adelphi Papers*, nr. 243 (London: Brassey's, 1989); Norton, Augustus Richard: "Lebanon's Malaise", *Survival*, vol. 42, no. 2 (Winter 2000-01), pp. 35-50. On Afghanistan see Rubin, Barnett R.: *The Search for Peace in Afghanistan. From Buffer State to Failed State* (New Haven, NJ: Yale University Press, 1995); Kaplan, Robert D.: *Soldiers of Good. With Islamic Warriors in Afghanistan and Pakistan*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (New York: Vintage Departures, 2001); Harpviken, Kristian Berg: "Transcending Traditionalism: The Emergence of Non-State Military Formations in Afghanistan", *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 34, no. 3 (August 1997), pp. 271-287; Kartha, Tara: "The Weaponisation of Afghanistan", *Strategic Analysis*, vol. 19, no. 10-11 (New Delhi: IDSA, 1997), pp. 1389-1422; Rashid, Ahmed: *Taliban, Militant Islam, Oil and Fundamentalism in Central Asia* (New Haven, NJ: Yale University Press, 2000); Cooley, John K.: *Unholy War. Afghanistan, America and International Terrorism* (London: Pluto Press, 1999); Mishra, Pankaj: "The Making of Afghanistan", in Robert S. Silvers & Barbara Epstein (eds.): *Striking Terror. America's New War* (New York: New York Review Books, 2002), pp. 69-90; idem: "The Afghan Tragedy", *ibid.*, pp. 203-244; Judah Tim: "War in the Dark", *ibid.*, pp. 111-168.
- <sup>63</sup> Berdal, Mats & David Malone (red.): *Greed and Grievance. Economic Agendas in Civil Wars* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2002); Jean, Francois & Jean-Christophe Rufin (red.): *Économie des guerres civiles* (Paris: Hachette, 1996); Keen, David: "The Economic Functions of Violence in Civil Wars", *Adelphi Papers*, nr. 320 (1998); Jung, Dietrich (ed.): *Shadow Globalization, Ethnic Conflicts and New Wars: A Political Economy of Intra-State War* (London: Routledge, 2003). On the DRC see the UN report *Report of the Panel of Experts on Illegal Exploitation of Natural Resources and Other Forms of Wealth of the Democratic Republic of the Congo* (S/2001/357).
- <sup>64</sup> See, e.g. Adelman, Howard & Astri Suhrke (eds.): *The Path of a Genocide. The Rwanda Crisis from Uganda to Zaire* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2000); Gourevitch, Philip: *We Wish to Inform You that Tomorrow We Will Be Killed with Our Families. Stories from Rwanda* (London: Picador, 2000); Mamdani, Mahmood: *When Victims become Killers. Colonialism, Nativism, and the Genocide in Rwanda* (Oxford: James Currey, 2001); Melvern, Linda R.: *A People Betrayed. The Role of the West in Rwanda's Genocide* (London: Zed Books, 2000); Prunier, Gérard: *The Rwanda Crisis. History of a Genocide*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Kampala: Fountain Publishers, 1999); Pottier, Johan: *Re-Imagining Rwanda* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).
- <sup>65</sup> Kaldor: *op. cit.* (note 59), pp. 52; Tétreault, Mary Ann: "Justice for All: Wartime Rape and Women's Rights", *Global Governance*, vol. 3, no. 2 (May-August 1997), pp. 197-212.
- <sup>66</sup> International Rescue Committee: *Mortality in the Democratic Republic of Congo. Results from a Nationwide Survey* (2003) at [http://intranet.theirc.org/docs/drc\\_mortality\\_iii\\_full.pdf](http://intranet.theirc.org/docs/drc_mortality_iii_full.pdf).
- <sup>67</sup> David A. Lake & Donald Rothchild (eds.): *The International Spread of Ethnic Conflict. Fear, Diffusion and Escalation* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998); Brown, Michael E. (ed.): *The International Dimensions of Internal Conflict* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1996); Midlarsky, Manus I. (ed.): *The Internationalization of Communal Strife* (London: Routledge,

- 1992); Carment, David & Patrick James (eds.): *Wars in the Midst of Peace. The International Politics of Ethnic Conflict* (Pittsburg, PA: University of Pittsburg Press, 1997).
- <sup>68</sup> Deng, Francis M.: *War of Visions. Conflict of Identities in the Sudan* (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 1995); Johnson, Douglas: *The Root Causes of Sudan's Civil War* (Oxford: James Currey, 2003).
- <sup>69</sup> Eriksen, Mikael, Peter Wallensteen & Margareta Sollenberg; "Armed Conflicts, 1989-2002", *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 40, no. 5 (September 2003), pp. 593-607.
- <sup>70</sup> Negash. Tekeste & Kjetil Tronvoll: *Brothers at War. Making Sense of the Eritrean-Ethiopian War* (Oxford: James Currey, 2000).
- <sup>71</sup> Moore, Jonathan (ed.): *Hard Choices. Moral Dilemmas in Humanitarian Intervention* (Lanham, NJ: Rowman & Littlefield, 1998); Rodley, Nigel (ed.): *To Loose the Bands of Wickedness. International Intervention in Defence of Human Rights* (London: Brassey's Defence Publishers, 1992); Dorman, Andrew M. & Thomas G. Otte (eds.): *Military Intervention. From Gunboat Diplomacy to Humanitarian Intervention* (Aldershot: Dartmouth, 1995); Lyons, Gene M. & Michael Mastanduno (red.): *Beyond Westphalia? National Sovereignty and International Intervention* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995); Roberts, Adam: "Humanitarian War: Military Intervention and Human Rights", *International Affairs*, vol. 69, no. 3 (July 1993), pp. 429-450; Phillips, Robert L. & Duane L. Cady: *Humanitarian Intervention. Just War Versus Pacifism* (Lanham, NJ: Rowman & Littlefield, 1996); Hippel, Karin von: *Democracy by Force. US Military Intervention in the Post-Cold War World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000). See also International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty: *The Responsibility to Protect* (Ottawa: International Development Research Centre, 2001); and idem: *The Responsibility to Protect. Research, Bibliography, Background* (same publishers, 2001).
- <sup>72</sup> On Somalia see Hirsch, John L. & Robert B. Oakley: *Somalia and Operation Restore Hope. Reflections on Peacemaking and Peacekeeping* (Washington, DC: United States Institute for Peace Press, 1995); Lyons, Terrence & Ahmed I. Samatar: *Somalia. State Collapse, Multilateral Intervention, and Strategies for Political Reconstruction* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 1995); Sahnoun, Mohamed: *Somalia. The Missed Opportunities* (Washington, DC: United States Institute for Peace, 1994). On Cambodia see Morris, Stephen J.: *Why Vietnam Invaded Cambodia. Political Culture and the Causes of War* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999).
- <sup>73</sup> Figures from UNHCR: *Statistical Yearbook 2001: Refugees, Asylum-Seekers and other Persons of Concern. Trends in Displacement, Protection and Solutions* (Geneva: UNHCR, 2002), pp. 82-94.
- <sup>74</sup> One of the few attempt at a quantification of such effects is Cramma, Michael (red.): *The True Cost of Conflict* (London: Earthscan Publications, 1994), which contains case studies on East Timor, Iraq, Kashmir, Mozambique, Peru, Sudan and the former Yugoslavia.
- <sup>75</sup> Benoit, Emile: *Defense and Economic Growth in Developing Countries* (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1973).
- <sup>76</sup> Ball, Nicole: *Security and Economy in the Third World* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1988); Dumas, Lloyd J.: "The Role of Demilitarization in Promoting Democracy and Prosperity in Africa", in Jurgen Brauer & J. Paul Dunne (eds.): *Arming the South. The Economics of Military Expenditure, Arms Production and Arms Trade in Developing Countries* (Houndmills: Palgrave, 2002), pp. 15-34; Olaniyi, Oyinlola: "Military Spending and Economic Development in Sub-Saharan Africa: A Supply-Side Analysis", *ibid.*, pp. 275-290; Büttner, V. & J. Krause (eds.): *Rüstung statt Entwicklung? Sicherheitspolitik, Militärausgaben und Rüstungskontrolle in der Dritten Welt* (Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 1995); Norman A. Graham (ed.): *Seeking Security and Development. The Impact of Military Spending and Arms Transfers* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1994); Väyrynen, Raimo: *Military Industrialization and Economic Development. Theory and Historical Case Studies* (Aldershot: Dartmouth, 1992); Deger, Saadet & Somnath Sen: "Military Expenditure and Developing Countries", in Hartley & Sandler (eds.): *op. cit.* (note 4), pp. 275-308; Kusi, Newman Kwadwo: "Economic Growth and Defense Spending in Developing Countries. A Causal Analysis", *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, vol. 38, no. 1 (March 1994), pp. 152-159; Adeola, Francis O.: "Military Expenditure, Health, and Education: Bedfellows or



Antagonists in Third World Development”, *Armed Forces and Society*, vol. 22, no. 3 (Spring 1996), pp. 441-467; Looney, Robert E. & David Winterford: *Economic Causes and Consequences of Defense Expenditures in the Middle East and South Asia* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1995); Mohammed, Nadir A.L. & Jean K. Rhisen: “The Economics of Disarmament in Africa”, in Nils Petter Gleditsch, Olav Bjerkholt, Ådne Cappelen, Ron P. Smith & J. Paul Dunne (eds.): *The Peace Dividend* (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 1996), pp. 359-380; Sandler & Hartley: *op. cit.* (note 4), pp. 200-220; Mohammed, Nadir Abdel Latif: “The Development Trap: Militarism, Environmental Degradation and Poverty in the South”, in Geoff Tansey, Kath Tansey & Paul Rogers (eds.): *A World Divided. Militarism and Development after the Cold War* (London: Eartscan Publications, 1994), pp. 44-66.

<sup>77</sup> See, for instance, Alic, John A., Lewis M. Branscomb, Harvey Brooks, Ashton B. Carter & Gerald L. Epstein: *Beyond Spinoff. Military and Commercial Technologies in a Changing World* (Boston, MA: Harvard Business School Press, 1992); Gottlieb, Sanford: *Defense Addiction. Can America Kick the Habit?* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1997), pp. 137-148. The special structure of the Japanese arms industry (scattered across many, mainly civilian, plants) probably lessens the problems compared to the United States. See, e.g., Samuels, Richard J.: “*Rich Nation, Strong Army*”. *National Security and the Technological Transformation of Japan* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994); Chinworth, Michael W.: *Inside Japan's Defense. Technology, Economics and Strategy* (Washington, DC: Brassey's, 1992).

<sup>78</sup> On the concept see Buchanan, James M.: *Cost and Choice. An Inquiry in Economic Theory*, quoted from [www.econlib.org/library/Buchanan/buchCv6Contents.html](http://www.econlib.org/library/Buchanan/buchCv6Contents.html); Gilpin: *op. cit.* 2001 (note 24), pp. 48-49; Balaam & Veseth: *op. cit.* (note 26), pp. 106-107. An attempted calculation of the opportunity costs of arms expenditures is Gold, David: “Opportunity Costs of Military Expenditures: Evidence from the United States”, in Jurgen Brauer & William G. Gisse (eds.): *Economics of Conflict and Peace* (Aldershot: Avebury, 1997), pp. 109-124.

<sup>79</sup> Gilpin, Robert: “The Economic Dimension of International Security”, in Henry Bienen (ed.): *Power, Economics, and Security. The United States and Japan in Focus* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1992), pp. 51-68; Baldwin, David A. & Helen V. Milner: “Economics and National Security”, *ibid.*, pp. 29-50, especially pp. 44-46; Mastanduno, Michael: “Strategies of Economic Containment. U.S.- Trade Relations with the Soviet Union”, in David A. Lake (eds.): *The International Political Economy of Trade* (Aldershot: Edward Elgar, 1993), vol. II, pp. 401-429; Becker, Abraham S.: “U.S.-Soviet Trade and East-West Trade Policy”, in Arnold L. Horelick (ed.): *U.S.-Soviet Relations. The Next Phase* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1986), pp. 175-197; Stent, Angela: “Economic Containment”, in Terry L. Deibel & John Lewis Gaddis (eds.): *Containing the Soviet Union. A Critique of US Policy* (London: Pergamon-Brassey's, 1987), pp. 59-77. See also the chapter on economic security in Buzan, Barry: *People, States and Fear. An Agenda for International Security Studies in the Post-Cold War Era*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1991), pp. 230-269.

<sup>80</sup> On interdependence theory see Keohane, Robert O. & Joseph S. Nye: *Power and Interdependence. World Politics in Transition* (Boston, MA: Little Brown, 1977); idem & idem: “Power and Interdependence in the Information Age”, *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 77, no. 5 (Sept-Oct. 1998), pp. 81-94; Wilde, Jaap de: *Saved from Oblivion: Interdependence Theory in the First Half of the 20th Century. A Study on the Causality Between War and Complex Interdependence* (Aldershot: Dartmouth, 1991); Haas, Ernst B.: “War, Interdependence and Functionalism”, in Raimo Väyrynen (ed.): *The Quest for Peace. Transcending Collective Violence and War Among Societies, Cultures and States* (London: Sage, 1987), pp. 108-127; Copeland, Dale C.: “Economic Interdependence and War. A Theory of Trade Expectations”, *International Security*, vol. 20, no. 4 (Spring 1996), pp. 5-41; Barbieri, Katherine: “Economic Interdependence: A Path to Peace or a Source of Interstate Conflict”, *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 33, no. 1 (February 1996), pp. 29-49

<sup>81</sup> Mansfield, Edward D.: *Power, Trade and War* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994); Goodwin, Crauford D.: “National Security in Classical Political Economy”, in idem (ed.): *Economics and National Security. A History of Their Interaction* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1991), pp. 23-35. See also Barbieri, Katherine & Gerald Schneider: “Globalization and Peace:

- Assessing New Directions in the Study of Trade and Conflict”, *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 36, no. 4 (July 1999), pp. 387-404; Morrow, James D.: “How Could Trade Affect Conflict?”, *ibid.*, pp. 481-489; O’Neal, John R. & Bruce Russett: “Assessing the Liberal Peace with Alternative Specifications: Trade Still Reduces Conflict”, *ibid.*, pp. 423-442.
- <sup>82</sup> On the concept see Wæver, Ole: “Securitization and Desecuritization”, in Ronnie D. Lipschutz (ed.): *On Security* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), pp. 46-86.
- <sup>83</sup> A good overview is Gleditsch, Nils Petter: “Democracy and Peace”, *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 29, no. 4 (November 1992), pp. 369-376. See also Russett, Bruce: *Grasping the Democratic Peace. Principles for a Post-Cold War World* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993); Elman, Miriam Fendius: *Paths to Peace. Is Democracy the Answer?* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1997); MacMillan, John: *On Liberal Peace. Democracy, War and the International Order* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1998); Brown, Michael E., Sean Lynn-Jones & Steven E. Miller (eds.): *Debating the Democratic Peace* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1996); Gowa, Joanne: *Ballots and Bullets. The Elusive Democratic Peace* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999); Gaubatz, Kurt Taylor: *Elections and War. The Electoral Incentive in the Democratic Politics of War and Peace* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999); Ray, James Lee: *Democracy and International Conflict. An Evaluation of the Democratic Peace Proposition* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1995); Weart, Spencer R.: *Never at War: Why Democracies Will Not Fight One Other* (New Haven, NJ: Yale University Press, 1998); Kacowicz, Arie M.: “Explaining Zones of Peace: Democracies as Satisfied Powers”, *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 32, no. 3 (August 1995), pp. 265-276
- <sup>84</sup> Kant, Immanuel (1795): *Zum ewigen Frieden. Ein philosophischer Entwurf* (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1963). See also Doyle, Michael: “Kant, Liberal Legacies, and Foreign Affairs”, *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, vol. 12, no. 3-4 (1983), pp. 205-35, 323-353; idem: *op. cit.* (note 7), pp. 251-300; Laberge, Pierre: “Kant on Justice and the Law of Nations”, in David R. Mapel & Terry Nardin (eds.): *International Society. Diverse Ethical Perspectives* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998), pp. 82-102; Tesón, Fernando E.: “Kantian International Liberalism”, *ibid.*, pp. 103-113; Brown, Chris: *International Relations Theory. New Normative Approaches* (Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1992), pp. 28-44.
- <sup>85</sup> Gleditsch, Nils Petter & Håvard Hauge: “Peace and Democracy: Three Levels of Analysis”, *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, vol. 41, no. 2 (April 1997), pp. 283-310.
- <sup>86</sup> Newman, Saul: *Ethnoregional Conflict in Democracies. Mostly Ballots. Rarely Bullets* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996); Gowa: *op. cit.* (note 83).
- <sup>87</sup> Russett, Bruce M.: & William Antholis: “Do Democracies Fight Each Other? Evidence from the Peloponnesian War”, *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 29, no. 4 (November 1992), pp. 415-434; Bachteler, Tobias: “Explaining the Democratic Peace: The Evidence from Ancient Greece Reviewed”, *ibid.*, vol. 34, no. 3 (August 1997), pp. 315-323.
- <sup>88</sup> See note 7 above.
- <sup>89</sup> Intriligator, Michael D.: “The Peace Dividend: Myth or Reality?”, in Gleditsch & al. (eds.): *op. cit.* (note 76), pp. 1-13; Bjerkholt, Olav: “The National Peace Dividend”, *ibid.*, pp. 17-26.
- <sup>90</sup> For an elaboration see Møller, Bjørn: “Transarmament and Conversion: A Comprehensive Agenda”, in idem (ed.): “Non-Offensive Defense in Europe. IPRA Defense and Disarmaments Study Group Paper 2”, *AFES-Press Reports*, no. 42 (Mosbach: AFES-PRESS, 1991), pp. 45-89.
- <sup>91</sup> On the multiplier see Keynes, John Maynard: *The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money* (London: Macmillan, 1973), pp. 113-131. An attempt at such an analysis of Danish military expenditures is by two authors, both from the Ministry of Finance: Rasmussen, Per Bremer & Claus Flyng Baumkjær: “Military Spending and the Peace Dividend in Denmark”, in Gleditsch & al. (ed.s): *op. cit.* (note 76), pp. 257-274.
- <sup>92</sup> On co-production and the dubious benefits see Martin, Stephen (ed.): *The Economics of Offsets: Defence Procurement and Countertrade* (Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1996).
- <sup>93</sup> This is, for instance, the proposed option in Weidenbaum, Murray: *Small Wars, Big Defense. Paying for the Military after the Cold War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).

- <sup>94</sup> See, for instance, Melman, Seymour: *The Demilitarized Society. Disarmament and Conversion* (Nottingham: Spokesman, 1988); Adams, F. Gerard (ed.): *The Macroeconomic Dimensions of Arms Reduction* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1992); Chatterji, Manas & Linda Rennie Forcey (eds.): *Disarmament, Economic Conversion, and Management of Peace* (New York: Praeger Press, 1992); Klein, Lawrence R., Fu-Chen Lo & Warwick J. McKibbin (eds.): *Arms Reduction. Economic Implications in the Post-Cold War Era* (Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 1995); Lall, Betty G. & John Trepper Marlin: *Building a Peace Economy. Opportunities and Problems of Post-Cold War Defense Cuts* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1992); Markusen, Ann & Joel Yudken: *Dismantling the Cold War Economy* (New York: Basic Books, 1992); Cassidy, Kevin J. & Gregory A. Bischak (eds.): *Real Security: Converting the Defense Economy and Building Peace* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1993); Renner, Michael: *Economic Adjustments after the Cold War. Strategies for Conversion* (Aldershot: Dartmouth, 1992); Møller, Bjørn & Lev Voronkov (eds.): *Defence Doctrines and Conversion* (Aldershot: Dartmouth, 1996).
- <sup>95</sup> See, for instance, Smith, Ron P.: “The International Peace Dividend”, in Gleditsch & al. (eds.): *op. cit.* (note 76), pp. 351-357; Bayoumi, Tamim, Daviel Hewitt & Steven Symansky: “Global Disarmament and Developing Countries: A MULTIMOD Simulation”, *ibid.*, pp. 491-520.
- <sup>96</sup> SIPRI: “World and Regional Military Expenditure Estimates 1993–2002”, at [http://projects.sipri.org/milex/mex\\_wnr\\_table.html](http://projects.sipri.org/milex/mex_wnr_table.html).
- <sup>97</sup> See, for instance, Brunn, A., L. Baehr & H.-J. Karpe (eds.): *Conversion—Opportunities for Development and Environment* (Berlin: Springer-Verlag, 1992); Paukert, Liba & Peter Richards (eds.): *Defence Expenditure, Industrial Conversion and Local Employment* (Geneva: ILO, 1991); Southwood, Peter: *Disarming Military Industries. Turning an Outbreak of Peace into an Enduring Legacy* (London: Macmillan, 1991); Cooper, Julian: *The Soviet Defence Industry. Conversion and Economic Reform* (New York: Council of Foreign Relations Press, 1992); O’Prey, Kevin P.: *A Farewell to Arms? Russia’s Struggles with Defense Conversion* (New York: Twentieth Century Fund, 1995); Gleditsch, Nils Petter, Ådne Cappelen & Olav Bjerkholt: *The Wages of Peace. Disarmament in a Small Industrialized Economy* (London: Sage, 1994); Inbar, Efraim & Benzion Zilberfarb (eds.): *The Politics and Economics of Defense Industries* (London: Frank Cass, 1998); Jelusic, Ljubica & John Selby (eds.): *Defence Restructuring and Conversion: Sociocultural Aspects* (Brussels: European Commission, 1999).
- <sup>98</sup> McCormick, David: *The Downsized Warrior. America’s Army in Transition* (New York: New York University Press, 1998); Jolly, Ruth: *Changing Step. From Military to Civilian Life: People in Transition* (London: Brassey’s, UK, 1996). On the general trend from conscription to professionals see Haltiner, Karl W.: “The Definite End of the Mass Army in Western Europe”, *Armed Forces and Society*, vol. 25, no. 1 (Fall 1998), pp. 7-36. On the complexities of such comparisons see Sandler & Hartley: *op. cit.* (note 4), pp. 156-176; Warner, John T. & Beth J. Asch: “The Economics of Military Manpower”, in Hartley & Sandler (eds.): *op. cit.* (note 4), pp. 347-398; Jackwerth, Christoph: “Ökonomische Aspekte eines Vergleiches unterschiedlicher Wehrsysteme”, *Österreichische Militärische Zeitschrift*, vol. 36, no. 4 (July-August 1998), pp. 375-382; Møller, Bjørn: “Conscription and Its Alternatives”, in Mjøset & Holde (eds.): *op. cit.* (note 45), pp. 277-305.
- <sup>99</sup> Ball, Nicole: “Demobilizing and Reintegrating Soldiers: Lessons from Africa”, in Krishna Kumar (ed.): *Rebuilding Societies after Civil War. Critical Roles for International Assistance* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1997), pp. 85-106; Kingma, Kees (ed.): *Demobilization in Sub-Saharan Africa. The Development and Security Impacts* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000); Mashike, Lephophoto: “Standing Down or Standing Out? Demobilising or Reintegrating Former Soldiers”, *African Security Review*, vol. 9, no. 5/6 (Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies, 2000), pp. 64-71; Motumi, Tsepe & Penny Mckenzie: “After the War: Demobilisation in South Africa”, in Jacklyn Cock & Penny Mckenzie (eds.): *From Defence to Development. Redirecting Military Resources in South Africa* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1998), pp. 181-207; Williams, Rocky: “Demobilisation and Reintegration in Society: Human Resources Conversion”, *ibid.*, pp. 208-221; Porto, João Gomes & Imogen Parsons: “Sustaining the Peace in Angola. An Overview of Current



- Demobilisation, Disarmament and Reintegration”, *IIS Monograph Series*, nr. 83 (Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies, 2003).
- <sup>100</sup> MccGwire, Michael: *Military Objectives in Soviet Foreign Policy* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 1987); idem: *Perestroika and Soviet National Security* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 1991). See also Checkel, Jeffrey T.: *Ideas and International Political Change: Soviet/Russian Behavior and the End of the Cold War* (New Haven, NJ: Yale University Press, 1997); Kanet, Roger E., Tamara J. Resler & Deborah N. Miner (eds.): *Soviet Foreign Policy in Transition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992)..
- <sup>101</sup> See, for instance, Mercer, Jonathan: *Reputation and International Politics* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996); idem: “Reputation and Rational Deterrence Theory”, *Security Studies*, vol. 7, no. 1 (Fall 1997), pp. 100-113; Copeland, Dale C.: “Do Reputations Matter?”, *ibid.* pp. 33-71; Huth, Paul K.: “Reputations and Deterrence: A Theoretical and Empirical Assessment”, *ibid.*, pp. 72-99. See also Jervis, Robert & Jack Snyder (eds.): *Dominoes and Bandwagons. Strategic Beliefs and Great Power Competition in the Eurasian Rimland* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).
- <sup>102</sup> Zartman, I William: *Ripe for Resolution: Conflict and Intervention in Africa* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989); idem & Saadia Touval: “International Mediation: Conflict Resolution and Power Politics”, *Journal of Social Issues*, vol. 41, no. 2 (1985), pp. 27-45; idem: “Conclusions: The Last Mile”, in idem (ed.): *Elusive Peace. Negotiating an End to Civil Wars* (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 1995), pp. 332-346.
- <sup>103</sup> Princen, Thomas: *Intermediaries in International Conflict* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992); Berkovitch, Jacob (ed.): *Resolving International Conflicts. The Theory and Practice of Mediation* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1996); Carment, David & Dane Rowlands: “Three's Company: Evaluating Third-Party Intervention in Intrastate Conflict”, *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, vol. 42, no. 5 (October 1998), pp. 572-599; Dixon, William J.: “Third-Party Techniques for Preventing Conflict Escalation and Promoting Peaceful Settlement”, *International Organization*, vol. 50, no. 4 (Fall 1996), pp. 653-681; Hampson, Fen Osler: “Third-Party Roles in the Termination of Intercommunal Conflict”, *Millennium*, vol. 26, no. 3 (1997), pp. 727-750.
- <sup>104</sup> Simon, Herbert: *Administrative Behavior* (New York: Macmillan, 1957); March, J.G. & idem: *Organizations* (New York: Wiley, 1958); Katz, Daniel & Robert L. Kahn: *The Social Psychology of Organizations* (London: John Wiley & Sons, 1966), pp. 282-294.
- <sup>105</sup> Inspired by, but different from, Lipsey, Roderick K. von (ed.): *Breaking the Cycle. A Framework for Conflict Intervention* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997).
- <sup>106</sup> Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict: *Preventing Deadly Conflict. Final Report* (New York: Carnegie Corporation, 1997), pp. 39-102.
- <sup>107</sup> On rank imbalances see Galtung, Johan: “A Structural Theory of Aggression”, in idem: *Peace and Social Structure. Essays in Peace Research*, vol. III (Copenhagen: Christian Ejlertsen, 1978), pp. 105-132; idem: “Rank and Social Integration. A Multidimensional Approach”, *ibid.*, pp. 133-181; idem: “The Dynamics of Rank Conflict: An Essay on Single vs. Multiple Social Systems”, *ibid.*, pp. 182-196. See also Paul, Thaza Varkey: *Asymmetric Conflicts: War Initiation by Weaker Powers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).
- <sup>108</sup> See, for instance, Danida: *Violent Conflicts in Developing Countries. MFA Issues in Focus* (Copenhagen: Royal Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2000); SIDA: *Strategi för konflikthantering och fredsbyggande* (Stockholm: SIDA, 1999).
- <sup>109</sup> See, e.g., Adler, Emanuel (ed.): *The International Practice of Arms Control* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992); Croft, Stuart: *Strategies of Arms Control: a History and Typology* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996); Goldblat, Jozef: *Arms Control. A Guide to Negotiations and Agreements* (London: SAGE, 1994). A comprehensive overview of arms control agreements is Burns, Richard Dean (ed.): *Encyclopedia of Arms Control and Disarmament*, vols. 1-3 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1993). A critique of the underlying philosophy is Gray, Colin S.: *House of Cards. Why Arms Control Must Fail* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992).

- <sup>110</sup> Lund, Michael S.: *Preventing Violent Conflicts. A Strategy for Preventive Diplomacy* (Washington, DC: United States Institute for Peace, 1996); idem: "Early Warning and Preventive Diplomacy", in Chester A. Crocker, Fen Osler Hampton & Pamela Aall (eds.): *Managing Global Chaos. Sources of and Responses to International Conflict* (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1996), pp. 379-402; Rupesinghe, Kumar & Michiko Kuroda (eds.): *Early Warning and Conflict Resolution* (London: Macmillan, 1992); Adekanye, J. 'Bayo: "Conflict Prevention and Early-Warning Systems", in Lennart Wohlgemuth, Samantha Gibson, Stephan Klasen & Emma Rothschild (eds.): *Common Security and Civil Society in Africa* (Uppsala: Nordic Africa Institute, 1999), pp. 103-117; Harff, Barbara & Ted Robert Gurr: "Systematic Early Warning of Humanitarian Emergencies", *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 35, no. 5 (September 1998), pp. 551-580.
- <sup>111</sup> Hufbauer, Gary Clyde, Jeffrey J. Schott & Kimberly Ann Elliott: *Economic Sanctions Reconsidered. History and Current Policy*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., vols. 1-2 (Washington, DC: Institute for International Economics, 1990); Preeg, Ernest H.: *Feeling Good or Doing Good with Sanctions. Unilateral Economic Sanctions and the U.S. National Interest* (Washington, DC: CSIS Press, 1999); Simons, Geoff: *Imposing Economic Sanctions. Legal Remedy or Genocidal Tool?* (London: Pluto Press, 1999); Cortright, David (ed.): *The Price of Peace. Incentives and International Conflict Prevention* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1997); idem & George A. Lopez (eds.): *Economic Sanctions. Panacea or Peacebuilding in a Post-Cold War World?* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995); Mansfield, Edward D.: "International Institutions and Economic Sanctions", *World Politics*, vol. 47, no. 4 (July 1995), pp. 575-605; Pape, Robert A.: "Why Economic Sanctions Do Not Work", *International Security*, vol. 22, no. 2 (Fall 1997), pp. 90-136; idem: "Why Economic Sanctions Still Do Not Work", *ibid.*, vol. 23, no. 1 (Summer 1998), pp. 66-77; Elliott, Kimberly Ann: "The Sanctions Glass: Half Full or Completely Empty", *ibid.*, pp. 50-65.
- <sup>112</sup> Wallensteen, Peter, Carina Staibano & Mikael Eriksson (ed.): *Making Targeted Sanctions Effective. Guidelines for Implementation of UN Policy Options* (Uppsala: Department of Peace and Conflict Research, University of Uppsala, 2003).
- <sup>113</sup> See, for instance, Ratner, Steven R.: *The New UN Peacekeeping. Building Peace in Lands of Conflict After the Cold War* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995); Hill, Stephen & Shahin P. Malik: *Peacekeeping and the United Nations* (Aldershot: Dartmouth, 1996); Warner, Daniel (ed.): *New Dimensions of Peacekeeping* (Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1995); Whitman, Jim (ed.): *Peacekeeping and the UN Agencies* (London: Frank Cass, 1999); Durch, William J. (ed.): *The Evolution of UN Peacekeeping: Case Studies and Comparative Analysis* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993); idem (ed.): *UN Peacekeeping, American Politics and the Uncivil Wars of the 1990s* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996); Furley, Oliver & Roy May (eds.): *Peacekeeping in Africa* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998).
- <sup>114</sup> Findlay, Trevor: *The Use of Force in UN Peace Operations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); Cilliers, Jakkie & Greg Mills (eds.): *Peacekeeping in Africa* (Braamfontein: South African Institute of International Affairs/Halfway House: Institute for Defence Policy, 1996); idem & idem (eds.): *From Peacekeeping to Complex Emergencies. Peace Support Missions in Africa* (Johannesburg: South African Institute of International Affairs/Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies, 1999).
- <sup>115</sup> See, for instance, Lapidot, Ruth: *Autonomy. Flexible Solutions to Intrastate Conflicts* (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1996); Sisk, Timothy D.: *Power Sharing and International Mediation in Ethnic Conflicts* (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace, 1996).



## DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH SERIES

### WORKING PAPERS:

- No. 1: *Olav Jull Sørensen*: Marketing Issues in Peasant Agricultural Development, 55 pp, 1983.
- No. 2: *Hans Gullestrup*: The Ecol-Humanistic Technology - the new Technology as Experiences from the Past, 33 pp, 1983.
- No. 3: *Georg Sørensen*: Transnationals and the Transfer of Technology to the Third World, 31 pp, 1984.
- No. 4: *Georg Sørensen*: International Bureaucracies and Aid: The Political Economic of the 'B-Share', 11 pp, 1984.
- No. 5: *Georg Sørensen*: Notes on Materialism and Boredom - Western Development Ideals, 12 pp, 1984.
- No. 6: *Olav Jull Sørensen*: Marketing Systems and Economic Development. An Institutional-Structural Approach, 41 pp, 1984.
- No. 7: *Georg Sørensen*: How much Poison is Another Man's Meat? - Notes on the Logic of World Systems Analysis, 29 pp, 1984.
- No. 8: *Georg Sørensen*: Peace and Development: Looking for the Right Track, 18 pp, 1984.
- No. 9: *Georg Sørensen*: The Twists and Turns of Development Theory - A Comment on "The European Experience" by Dieter Senghaas. 19 pp, 1984.
- No. 10: *Jacques Hersh & Ellen Brun*: Aspects of Soviet Participation in a Shifting World Economy. 45 pp, 1984.
- No. 11: *Olav Jull Sørensen*: Marketing System Development and Labour Migration: Analysis and Consequences. 41 pp, 1984.
- No. 12: *Georg Sørensen*: How Cold is the Second Cold War? - An Assessment of the Scope of 'the Great Contest'. 23 pp, 1984.
- No. 13: *John E. Kuada*: Agricultural Development in the Third World. 23 pp, 1984.
- No. 14: *Olav Jull Sørensen*: Profiles of Tanzanian Peasants and their Marketing Implications. 52 pp, 1984.
- No. 15: *Jørgen Kristiansen*: Urban Passenger Transport in Developing Countries - Socio-economic Impact and the Choice of Technology. 58 pp, 1985.
- No. 16: *John E. Kuada*: Marketing Systems in a Development Process. 35 pp, 1985.
- No. 17: *Georg Sørensen*: Some Contradictions in a Rich Concept on Development. 14 pp, 1985.
- No. 18: *Olav Jull Sørensen*: Marketing of Agricultural Inputs/Implements and Profiles of Farmers in Kenya: Project Preparations. 47 pp, 1986.
- No. 19: *Georg Sørensen*: Development Through the Eyes of a Child. 17 pp, 1986.
- No. 20: *Georg Sørensen*: International and External Intertwined: 5 Obstacles to Development in India. 20 pp, 1986.
- No. 21: *John E. Kuada*: Macro-Micro Integrated Framework for Market Opportunity Analysis and Project Selection. 14 pp, 1986.
- No. 22: *Olav Jull Sørensen*: Co-operatives: Movement-to-Movement Cooperation. Some Conceptual Views. 15 pp, 1986.
- No. 23: *John E. Kuada*: Financing Rural Food Marketing Systems in Ghana. 16 pp, 1986.
- No. 24: *Hans Gullestrup*: Culture, Cultural Analysis and Cultural Ethics - Or What Divides and What Unites Us? (Out of print) (in Danish). 84 pp, 1987.
- No. 24a: *Hans Gullestrup*: Culture, Cultural Analysis and Cultural Ethics - Or What Divides and What Unites Us? (Second revised edition) (Out of print) (in Danish). 92 pp, 1988.
- No. 25: *John E. Kuada*: Food Marketing in Ghana, the Role of Rural Food Traders. 53 pp, 1988.
- No. 26: *Henrik A. Nielsen*: Monitoring Rural Development in Bangladesh. 22 pp, 1989.
- No. 27: *Hans Gullestrup*: The Ethical Dilemma in the Intercultural Co-operation, or: The Development Aid Worker's Personal Problem (in Danish). 26 pp, 1991.
- No. 28: *Chaiwoot Chaipan*: Current Issues on Economic Development in East and Southeast Asia. 24 pp, 1991.
- No. 29: *Henrik Nielsen*: Databased Information on Danida-Projects 1962-91: Overview and Analysis of the Daniproj-Database. 55 pp, 1992.
- No. 30: *Hans Gullestrup*: Evaluating Social Consequences of Social Changes in the Third World Countries. 24 pp, 1993.
- No. 31: *Johannes Dragsbaek Schmidt*: In The Shadow of the Pacific Century - Comparative Perspectives on Externalities Influence on Economic Policy-Making in Southeast Asian Would-be NICs. 106 pp, 1993.
- No. 32: *Henrik A. Nielsen*: Local Community Development Around the Bay of Bengal: Context, Crises and Perspectives. 27 pp, 1994.
- No. 33: *Johannes Dragsbaek Schmidt*: Southeast Asian State Responses to a Regionalized World Economy. 21 pp, 1994.
- No. 34: *Johannes Dragsbaek Schmidt*: Semi-autonomy in Economic Policy-making: The Case of Thailand. 28 pp, 1994.

- No. 35: *Johannes Dragsbaek Schmidt*: Increasing Exports in a Decreasing World Market: The Role of Developmental States in the ASEAN-4. 27 pp, 1994.
- No. 36: *Johannes Dragsbaek Schmidt*: State Capacities and Bargaining Strategies in the Global Disorder. 14 pp, 1994.
- No. 37: *Samir Amin*: The Future of Global Polarization. 17 pp, 1994.
- No. 38: *Peter W. Cunningham*: The Re-affirmation of State Socialism. The South African Debate. 17 pp, 1995.
- No. 39: *Andre Gunder Frank*: Nothing New in the East: No New World Order. 28 pp, 1994.
- No. 40: *Johannes Dragsbaek Schmidt*: State Intervention in Southeast Asia. Creating Growth without Welfare. 20 pp, 1994.
- No. 41: *Garry Rodan*: Ideological Convergences Across 'East' and 'West': The New Conservative Offensive. 24 pp, 1995.
- No. 42: *Jacques Hersh*: North Korea: Ideal-Type Anomaly. 18 pp, 1995.
- No. 43: *Research Centre for Development and International Relations (DIR), Johannes Dragsbaek Schmidt et al. (eds.)*: Research Program 1995-1997. Globalization and Social Change - Structures, Systems and Unidisciplinary Research. 74 pp, 1995.
- No. 44: *Feiwel Kupferberg*: Ethno-nationalism, Liberal Democracy and the Psychology of the Post Cold War Era. 19 pp, 1995.
- No. 45: *Feiwel Kupferberg*: Uncertainty, Chaos and Learning: Prolegomenon to a Sociology of Creativity. 27 pp, 1995.
- No. 46: *Feiwel Kupferberg*: Strategic Learning: East Germany as a "Model Case" for Transformation Theory. 26 pp, 1995.
- No. 47: *Li Xing*: China and East Asia vs. The West: Controversies, Clashes and Challenges. 19 pp, 1995.
- No. 48: *Kwang-Yeong Shin*: Democratization and Class Politics in Korea, 1987 - 1993. 20 pp, 1995.
- No. 49: *Joachim Hirsch*: Regulation Theory and its Applicability to Studies on Globalization and Social Change. 12 pp, 1995.
- No. 50: *Ellen Brun*: The New Social Contract: Sustainability from below. 20 pp, 1995.
- No. 51: *Li Xing*: The Dynamics of East Asian Intra-Regional Economic Relations. 22 pp, 1995.
- No. 52: *Kwang-Yeong Shin*: Characteristics of the East Asian Economic System: Authoritarian Capitalism and The Developmental State. 33 pp, 1996.
- No. 53: *Li Xing*: Playing Democracy and Human Rights. The International System and the China-West Case. 17 pp, 1996.
- No. 54: *Jacques Hersh & Johannes Dragsbaek Schmidt*: Dirigisme or Laissez-Faire? - Catching-up Strategies in the Global System After the Demise of Soviet-Style Command Economies. 22 pp, 1996.
- No. 55: *Johannes Dragsbaek Schmidt & Jacques Hersh*: Peace Convergence and Political Legitimacy in Israel and Palestine. 16 pp, 1997.
- No. 56: *David Harvey*: Globalization in Question. 22 pp, 1997.
- No. 57: *Amiya Kumar Bagchi*: In Praise of the Developmental State. 35 pp, 1997.
- No. 58: *Su-Hoon Lee*: The Rise of Environmentalism in South Korea. 31 pp, 1997.
- No. 59: *Mark Beeson & Kanishka Jayasuriya*: The Politics of Regionalism: APEC and the EU in Comparative Perspective. 37 pp, 1997.
- No. 60: *Manfred Bienefeld*: The State and Civil Society: The Political Economy of the "New Social Policy". 35 pp, 1997.
- No. 61: *Duncan McCargo*: Problematising Democratisation: The Thai Case. 22 pp, 1997.
- No. 62: *Li Xing*: Conceptualizing the Crisis of Socialism: A Gramscian Approach. Some Reflections on the Chinese Socialist Experience. 41 pp, 1998.
- No. 63: *Henrik A. Nielsen*: Decentralising the Monitoring of Development Intervention: From Local Government Impact-Monitoring. 116 pp, 1998.
- No. 64: *Suresh Narayanan*: From Miracle to Realities: The Malaysian Economy in Crisis. 26 pp, 1998.
- No. 65: *Li Xing, Jacques Hersh & Johannes Dragsbaek Schmidt*: The Rise and Fall of East Asian Capitalism: Back to the future? 30 pp, 1998.
- No. 66: *Jan Oberg*: Globalization and Responses by Civil Society to Humanitarian Emergencies. 44 pp, 1998.
- No. 67: *Johannes Dragsbaek Schmidt*: Development Theory and the Crisis of the State. 30 pp, 1998.
- No. 68: *Johannes Dragsbaek Schmidt, Jacques Hersh and Li Xing (eds.) and members of DIR*: Research Program 1998-2000 Globalization and Social Change Interdisciplinary Critical Perspectives. 81 pp, 1998.
- No. 69: *Katarina Tomaševski*: Human Rights in International Development Co-operation: Between Politics and Policy. 69 pp, 1999.
- No. 70: *Mammo Muchie*: Problems of Sub-Saharan Africa's Renewal in the Era of Globalisation. 32 pp, 1999.

- No. 71: *Wolfgang Sachs*: Globalization and Sustainability. 38 pp, 1999.
- No. 72: *Xing Li*: The Market Approach to Industrialization: A Critique of China's Experiment. 37 pp, 1999.
- No. 73: *Bob Jessop*: The State and the Contradictions of the Knowledge-Driven Economy. 37 pp, 1999.
- No. 74: *Bob Jessop*: What follows Fordism? On the Periodization of Capitalism and its Regulation. 36 pp, 1999.
- No. 75: *Mammo Muchie*: Climbing the Value-Added Chain in Leather Manufacture: Lessons from the Indian Case to Enhance Value-Added Leather Processing in Ethiopia and Kenya. 26 pp, 2000.
- No. 76: *Stanislav Menshikov*: Macropolicies to Help Re-Start Economic Growth in Russia. 44 pp, 2000.
- No. 77: *Stanislav Menshikov*: Indicators and Trends of Economic Globalisation. 26 pp, 2000.
- No. 78: *Stanislav Menshikov*: The Role of International Capital Flows: How to Reduce the Vulnerability of the Global Economy. 23 pp, 2000.
- No. 79: *Mammo Muchie*: The Way Africa Entered The Millennium: Trousers and Skirts down or Head High: A Commentary. 19 pp, 2000.
- No. 80: *Manfred Bienefeld*: Globalisation and Social Change: Drowning in the Icy Waters of Commercial Calculation. 48 pp, 2000.
- No. 81: *Mammo Muchie*: From Protest to Sanitation: Critical Reflections on the UN's Discourse of Environmentally friendly Technologies. 24 pp, 2000.
- No. 82: *Jacques Hersh*: Globalization and Regionalization: Two Facets of One Process. 22 pp, 2000.
- No. 83: *Mammo Muchie*: Towards a Theory for Re-framing Pan-Africanism: An Idea Whose Time Has Come. 30 pp, 2000.
- No. 84: *Rajah Rasiah*: From Dragons to Dwarfs: Reexamining Neo-Liberal Explanations of the Southeast Asian Financial Crisis. 23 pp, 2000.
- No. 85: *Jacques Hersh*: The Constraints of World Capitalism in Catching up. 35 pp, 2000.
- No. 86: *Johannes Dragsbaek Schmidt*: Political Business as Usual-Comparing Public-Private Partnerships in East and Southeast Asia. 22 pp, 2000.
- No. 87: *Johannes Dragsbaek Schmidt*: Democratization and Social Welfare in Thailand. 23 pp, 2000.
- No. 88: *Mammo Muchie*: The Uptake of Environmentally Sensitive Innovation in Production in Sub-Saharan Africa. 19 pp, 2000.
- No. 89: *Mammo Muchie*: Imagining Ethiopia Beyond War and Poverty: The two-year war between two strategic allies in the Horn of Africa. 34 pp, 2000.
- No. 90: *Susanne Thorbek*: Beyond Equal Rights. 25 pp, 2000.
- No. 91: *Timothy M. Shaw*: Development Studies at the Start of the New Millennium in South and North. 18 pp, 2000.
- No. 92: *Jane L. Parpart*: Rethinking Participatory Empowerment, gender and development: The PRA Approach. 24 pp, 2000.
- No. 93: *Timothy M. Shaw*: Contemporary Conflicts in Africa: implications for development studies/policies. 36 pp, 2000.
- No. 94: *Andre Gunder Frank*: ReOrient Historiography and Social Theory. 41 pp, 2000
- No. 95: *Howard Stein*: The Development of the Developmental State in Africa: A Theoretical Inquiry. 30 pp, 2000.
- No. 96: *Li Xing and Jacques Hersh*: Understanding Capitalism: Crises and Passive Revolutions. 35 pp, 2001.
- No. 97: *Jiang Shixue*: Reflections from Comparative Studies Of the Development Models in Latin America and East Asia. 15 pp, 2001.
- No. 98: *Jiang Shixue*: Sino-Latin American Relations: Retrospect and Prospects. 21 pp, 2001.
- No. 99: *Peter Wad*: Social Development in East Asia: Warfare, Workfare, Welfare? 51 pp, 2001.
- No. 100: *Peadar Kirby*: Is the Irish state developmental? 28 pp, 2001.
- No. 101: *Elmar Altvater*: The Growth Obsession. 28 pp, 2001.
- No. 102: *Berhanu Gutema Balcha*: Food Insecurity in Ethiopia: the Impact of Socio-political Forces. 17 pp, 2001.
- No. 103: *Marianne H. Marchand*: Gendering Globalization in an Era of Transnational Capital: New Cross-border Alliances and Strategies of Resistance in a Post-NAFTA Mexico. 21 pp, 2001.
- No. 104: *Ravindra Kumar*: Gandhi: Non-violence and Indian Democracy. 9 pp, 2002.
- No. 105: *Mammo Muchie*: The New Partnership for African Development (Nepad): A False or a True Start for Shaping Africa's Decolonised Future? 10 pp, 2002.
- No. 106: *Vibeke Andersson*: Indigenous Authority and State Policy: Popular participation in two villages in rural Bolivia. 19 pp, 2002.
- No. 107: *Johannes Dragsbaek Schmidt*: Rethinking the Nexus between Development Theory and IR: From Old Divisions to New Encounters. 23 pp, 2004.
- No. 108: *Louise Takeda*: The Emancipatory Potential of Ecological Economics: A Thermodynamic Perspective on Economics, Space and Sustainability. 94 pp, 2002.

- No. 109: *Johannes Dragsbaek Schmidt*: No Middle Road Capitalism: The Impact of the Uniform Policy-regime in Eastern Europe and East Asia. 23 pp, 2004.
- No. 110: *Johannes Dragsbaek Schmidt*: Confronting Globalization through Social Reform in East and Southeast Asia. 26 pp, 2004.
- No. 111: *Johan Galtung*: A World in Economic Crisis. 33 pp, 2002.
- No. 112: *Kristen Nordhaug*: US Hegemony, Economic Integration and Monetary Regionalism in East Asia. 33 pp, 2002.
- No. 113: *Johannes Dragsbaek Schmidt*: Regionalism in East and Southeast Asia. 23 pp, 2004.
- No. 114: *Rajah Rasiah*: The Competitive Impact of China on Southeast Asia's Labor Markets. 37 pp, 2002.
- No. 115: *Johannes Dragsbaek Schmidt*: Crisis Management in Thailand: The Ambivalence of "New" Keynesian Responce. 27 pp, 2003.
- No. 116: *Annette Kanstrup-Jensen*: Constraints on Capability Formation of Indigenous Communities: The Case of Human Development among Akha and Hmong Groups in South East Asia. 22 pp, 2003.
- No. 117: *Li Xing & Mammo Muchie*: Globalization and Social Well-being Alternative Approach to Well-being Attainment and Measurement. 22 pp, 2003.
- No. 118: *Bjørn Møller*: Raising armies in a rough neighbourhood. The Military and Militarism in Southern Africa. 45 pp, 2003.
- No. 119: *Johannes Dragsbaek Schmidt*: Making capitalism work: The dubious dichotomy between welfare and workfare. 24 pp, 2003.
- No. 120: *Bjørn Møller*: African conflicts: Background factors, motives and patterns. 92 pp, 2003.
- No. 121: *Li Xing & Jacques Hersh*: The Genesis of capitalism. 30 pp, 2003.
- No. 122: *Bjørn Møller*: Conflict theory. 68 pp, 2003.
- No. 123: *Johannes Dragsbaek Schmidt*: Reflections on human rights and the new US world disorder. 16 pp, 2004.
- No. 124: *Bjørn Møller*: Aid against terrorism. 19 pp, 2003.
- No. 125: *Timothy M. Shaw*: Two Africas? Two Ugandas? An African 'Democratic Developmental State'? Or Another 'Failed State'? 19 pp, 2004.
- No. 126: *Jane Parpart*: Gender, Power and Governance in a Globalizing World. 16 pp, 2004.
- No. 127: *Bjørn Møller*: Peace as a Global Public Good. 37 pp, 2004.