FOI

International Trends Analysis
Yearbook 2007

HÅKAN EDSTRÖM & ÅKE WISS (EDS.)

ACTORS

REGIONS

THEMES

FOI

International Trends Analysis – Yearbook 2007

With an introduction to the ART-model

Håkan Edström & Åke Wiss (eds.)

Preface

By Åke Wiss

The present yearbook is published within the framework of the international trends analysis subarea within the FoRMA project, at FOI. It was produced in cooperation with the Swedish Armed Forces Long Term Planning process. Below is a short presentation of FOI and of FoRMA.

FOI – Swedish Defence Research Agency

FOI is a chiefly assignment-funded agency under the Swedish Ministry of Defence. The core activities are research and method and technology development for defence and security purposes. The organisation employs around 1,000 people, of which 800 are researchers. This makes FOI the largest research institute in Sweden. FOI gives its clients access to leading expertise within a large number of fields such as security policy studies and analyses in defence and security, assessment of different types of threats, systems for managing and handling crises, protection against and handling of dangerous substances, IT security, and the potential of new sensors.

FoRMA – Support to Swedish Armed Forces Long Term Planning

The FoRMA project at FOI is run in close cooperation with the Swedish Armed Forces long term planning activities, and is carried out by a number of relatively independent working groups. The overall purpose is to support long term planning with analyses and studies with a longer view, or with secondary studies requiring more in-depth and extensive analysis and method work. The project's main tasks are presented below.

Besides international trends analysis, the FoRMA project shall:

- Support long term planning in the planning, arrangement and analyses of war gaming activities.

- Contribute to the development of methods and models for economic analyses in connection with long term planning, as well as – in order to be able to develop such methods and models – to an improved process for producing supporting documentation, to method documentation and method considerations, competence building and competence supply.

- Support the work to optimise the force structure development process within long term planning.

- Support the long term planning process with respect to the following, and related, issues:
  - How should the Armed Forces handle capabilities that are not part of present operational requirements but which might be needed in the future?
  - How should the Armed Forces guarantee the ability to transform a current defence force structure into a future structure with a different – or at least partly different – composition and size, if future developments demand this?

- Support the work on unit and equipment data sheets. This means developing a method for calculating material costs for unit data sheets, as well as suggesting a process for developing data sheets.

- Make an inventory of how defence planning – primarily long term defence planning – is performed in other countries and, where applicable, in international organisations.

International trends analysis

The task of international trends analysis is to study and identify possible international development trends in subject areas which can be conflict generating or conflict driving. The perspective is 20 years, i.e. developments until around 2027. The subject areas are selected from three overall subject categories: actors, regions and themes; see Chapter 1 for further information.

The supporting documentation that is built up in international trends analysis should be applicable as part of the supporting documentation used in the creation of future scenarios, and should also constitute knowledge accumulation in the international trends analysis area. It should also be usable in future in-depth efforts, e.g. crosswise analyses in which a region, a theme or a player is looked at from the point of view of supporting documentation in a number of the areas specified above, or which have been studied in the preceding year.

One purpose of the material from the international trends analysis is to form the foundation for the development of planning scenarios. These are based on a synthesis of, among other things, the areas studied in the international trends analysis, military technology, combat forces and combat force development, and supporting documentation from other organisations.

The planning scenarios are only one example of possible international or conflict developments. It is important, therefore, to put together a suitably sized "portfolio" of reasonable and high-level scenarios. These scenarios are intended to serve as a basis for the future planning of the Armed Forces as well as to highlight interesting choices of direction for the Armed Forces.

This book

This book contains examples of studies selected from the three overall subject categories: actors, regions and theme. The authors are from FOI, the Swedish Armed Forces Head Quarters and different Swedish universities.

The result from the triangulation in chapter 9 was part of the information used in the Swedish Armed Forces force structure generation process. The result was initially used for generating planning scenarios. These planning scenarios were then used for studying how different force structures managed different tasks. Finally a synthesis was performed, including risk assessments and the production requirement of military units.

Tolkcentralen in Göteborg translated Chapters 2 and 9 and reviewed the language of all the contributions in this yearbook.

The editors would like to thank Carin Dahlberg, FOI, for her help with the layout.

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The ART-model & the New Strategic Settings

By Håkan Edström

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The ART-model & the New Strategic Settings

By Håkan Edström

1. Introduction

The problem this chapter is focused on is the impact from the new strategic settings when it comes to conduct long term planning. In the pages to come I will try to outline the raw model, based on the principles of triangulation, that was used by the Swedish Armed Forces in its long term planning in the years 2005-2007. The model has three perspectives:

- The global **Actors** and the relations between them (A)
- The **Regionalization** going on all around the globe (R)
- The **Thematic** dimension, which is not necessarily actor related (T)
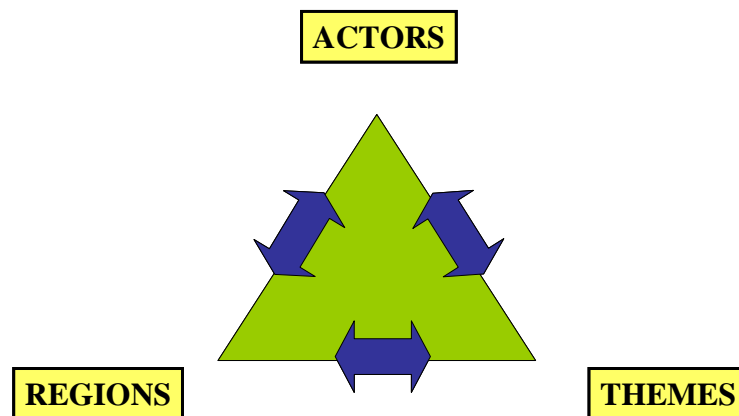
Figure 1.1: The ART triangulation model

The ART model is far from complete. At least two important circumstances have to be taken into account when the reader forms his/her opinion of the model:

- Although it seems to be reasonable to argue that globalization, and especially regionalization, have had an enormous impact on the theories of international relations (IR), the theoretical evolution seems so far to be inadequate when it comes to long term planning. At least, the thinking related to regional integration and the organizing principle of the global system and the functions of the units within the system have to be developed further.

- The strategic logic of the Cold War appears to have died simultaneously with the collapse of the Soviet Union in the beginning of the 90s. Consequently one of the sub-fields of international relations, strategic studies, seems to be in the same disturbing situation as IR itself, lacking theoretical support to describe empirical realities. It seems that the new strategic logic, at the minimum, has to be able to describe the old phenomenon of polarity and vertical and horizontal dimensions.

2. The theoretical impact of regionalization – Principle or unit?

During the interwar period 1919-1939, an **_idealistic_**[1] approach to the study of international relations prevailed. The main themes in the idealistic school at the time were guided by the American president Woodrow Wilson's principles from the Versailles Peace Conference. The idealists had a belief in international law as the main instrument to secure peace. The outbreak of WWII eventually undermined the credibility of this school. **_Realism_** came to overtake the position as the main school of international relations. The core assumptions of the classical realistic school from the 50s were state-centric and can be identified as follows:

- **States** are the most important actors in world politics.
- **States** are unitary rational actors.
- **States** seek power and calculate their interests in terms of power.[2]

During the second half of the 20th century the realistic approach went through several attempts at modification. In the late 70s the increased institutional and economic interdependence among states led to the creation of a new branch of the school, the Neorealism. The neorealistic approach focused on the structure of the world system rather than the evil nature of humans as the main explanatory factor leading to conflicts among states. The **_unit-level_** of the system is defined as the attributes and interaction of the system's parts while the **_system-level_** is defined by the arrangements of the system's parts and by the principle of that arrangement. The **_structure_** is defined as being about how units stand in relation to one another, the way they are arranged or positioned. The theory is built on three main assumptions. First, the units are states and although they might be different in many aspects, they do behave similarly within the system. There exists, in other words, no **_functional differentiation_** at the unit level. Second, at the system level, the **_organizing principle_** is either anarchy or hierarchy. Since all units are equally sovereign, the system is organized by the principle of anarchy. Third, since there is no functional differentiation among the units, and since the system is homogeneously anarchically organized, the explanatory factor is to be found in the **_distribution of capabilities_** within the system.[3]

In the early 90s an even more structuralized version was introduced, Structural Realism. It differs from Neorealism in at least four important ways. Firstly, the focus is not only on the political sector but on **_several different sectors_** (economic, societal, and strategic) besides the political. Secondly, the organizational principle is, together with the functional differentiation of units, defined as deep structure. The structural level of analysis has, however, an additional part; the **_distributional structure_** which focuses on systematic patterns in the distribution of unit attributes. Thirdly, the unit level of analysis also has an addition to the attribute analysis (unit behavior explained in terms of unit attributes); namely **_process formation_** (action-

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[1] See for example Part I "The Grotian and the Idealist Traditions" in Williams, P., Goldstein, D. & Shafritz, J. (1999) *Classic Readings of International Relations (2nd edition)*, Orlando, Harcourt Brace College Publishers. In this part of their editorial work they explore the evolution of the idealistic school from Grotius through de Vattel and Wilson to Bull.

[2] See for example Keohane, R. O. (1986) "Realism, Neorealism and the Study of World politics" and "Theory of World Politics: Structural Realism and Beyond" in Keohane, R. O. (ed.) *Neorealism and its critics*, New York, Columbia University Press. Keohane identifies Edward Hallett Carr and Hans Joachim Morgenthau as the main contributors to classical realism. See for example Carr, E. H. (1946) *The Twenty Years´ Crisis, 1919-1939: An introduction to the Study of International Relations (2nd ed., first published in 1939)*, New York, Harper & Row, and Morgenthau, H. J (1993) *Politics Among Nation – The Struggle for Power and Peace (6th ed., first published in 1948)*, Boston, McGraw-Hill.

[3] The leading exponent of the neorealistic school is undoubtedly Kenneth Waltz. See Waltz, K. (1979) *Theory of international Politics*, Reading, Addison-Wesly.

reaction relations between units). Fourthly, a third level of analysis is introduced between the structural and unit levels; ***interaction level of analysis*** (the absolute quality of technological and societal capabilities, for example norms and values, across the system).[4]

To summarize, it seems unavoidable that at least two theoretical aspects need further exploration:

- The organizing principle
- The functions of the units within the system

2.1 Regionalization – Another organizational principle?

In the era of colonization, which can be argued to have ended simultaneously with the end of WWII, the units either were sovereigns or the vassals of a sovereign. To make the picture even more complex, there were differences between the vassals, ranging from purely subordinated colonies, through partially self-governed protectorates to quasi-independent dominions. The vassals were forced to play a secondary role due to the overwhelming power of the sovereign states. During the Cold War both superpowers were federal. The <u>United</u> States of America was, and still is, a federation with 50 states, while the <u>Union</u> of Socialist Soviet Republics consisted of 15 republics. Two of these had a unique position; Belarus and Ukraine were members of the <u>United</u> Nations. Another permanent member of the Security Council, the <u>United</u> Kingdom, consists of four countries; all of which tried separately to qualify for the football World Cup held in Germany in the summer of 2006. All these states, republics, and countries are or were, however, sub-units, and the UN is not a central government. Although most of the members of the (British) Commonwealth of Nations had a common head of state, they were considered independent units since they had separate heads of cabinet. And despite the fact that some Western states still have different vassals ranging from colonies, through crown colonies, external territories, dependencies, departments, crown dependencies, and self governed areas, to territories and independent states in association with the colonial power, the organizing principle is considered to be anarchical.[5]

2.2 Region – A unit with different function?

The word "function" indicates that functionalism should be considered. As the concept of functionalism should be understood in the context of integration, it seems logical to introduce that approach, besides realism, when it comes to the functionality of units. Since I interpret the functional approach to integration as an alternative to constitutional integration, and since my focus on regionalization includes the political aspect, I will initially confine myself to realism. I do, however, recognize the theoretical implications of governments transferring responsibilities to supranational agencies, with specific mandates, to deal with economic, military and/or societal issues over which there exists a consensus in respect of the need for cooperation.[6]

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[4] Buzan, B., Jones, C. & Little, R. (1993) *The Logic of Anarchy*, New York, Columbia University Press.
[5] Over 4 million people are, for example, living in the 13 vassals of the US, and about 2½ million in the 9 vassals of France.
[6] See for example Haas, E. (1964) *Beyond the Nation-State: Functionalism and International Organization*. Stanford, Stanford University Press. See also Mitrany, D. (1999) "The Functionalist Alternative" in Williams, P., Goldstein, D. & Shafritz, J. (1999) *Classic Readings of International Relations (2nd edition)*, Orlando, Harcourt Brace College Publishers. According to the name of his contribution, also Mitrany seems to interpret functionalism as an alternative to a constitutional or political path.

During the era of colonization, the colonial powers principally maintained the functions of the political, economic, military, and societal sectors. *Politically*, the policy of aggrandizement of the colonial powers led to a division of the conquest into unnaturally based entities. No or only limited account was taken of ethnic, religious, linguistic, or cultural aspects when the new political and administrative sub-units were constructed. *Economically*, the role of the vassals was, put simplistically, to enrich the colonial power, for example by supplying them with natural resources. The colonial powers were, however, completely in control of the refinement of the resources and the location of the refining and finishing industries was often located geographically outside the vassals. Furthermore, the economic transactions involved principally took place among the colonial powers. The sovereign states also exercised a financial monopoly and were the sole suppliers of currency. The monopoly of *military* might was crucial to the capability of the colonial power to the maintenance of its supremacy and control over the vassal. These conditions did not, however, prevent the vassals from organizing military units that fought alongside the colonial power against the common foes in Europe and elsewhere. Although *societal* aspects were not taken into account when the new administrative sub-units were constructed, the religion, the language, and the culture of the colonial power had, more or less unintentionally, an enormous impact on the society of the vassal. Despite the societal influences from their European masters, the vassals, however, often managed to shape or preserve their own identity.

After the end of WWII, and especially after the culmination of decolonization, all units were considered to be equals in terms of the functions they fulfilled, even if each of the states, in terms of attributes and interaction capability, were considered to be more or less unique. *Politically* all units were equally independent. To be considered as a full worthy member of the international community of equals, a state had (and still has), however, to be recognized as sovereign by the other states. The decisive variables for a state to be recognized were (and still are) its ability to exercise control over a defined territory, and inhabitants of the territory identifying themselves as the citizens of the state. *Economically*, interdependence among states successively increased during the Cold War. Free trade areas and customs unions were organized as states begun to unite. The third (currency/monetary union) and fourth (common/single market) steps in this economic integration were seldom taken during this period, and the fifth step (economic union) was not taken at all. The states were, more or less, considered to be equally interdependent. *Militarily* disparate defense blocs were organized, although the state was always considered to be the ultimate protector of its own territory and population. The rivalry between two of the defense organizations, NATO and the Warsaw Pact, was the single most important aspect that dominated the security politics of the European states. In other continents similar arrangements were created with SEATO and CENTO as two examples.[7] The increased interaction capacity of the international society had enormous *societal* impact on the units. Once television became widespread, no state could avoid being influenced by the language and culture of other states. The introduction of the World Wide Web expanded the phenomena even further.

In the new millennium the conditions of the system have begun to change. *Politically* the establishment of the European Union in the mid 90s created a model that other regions seem to be striving to copy. The members of the union have voluntarily handed over some, but not all, of their political independence to the supranational level. The union does not, however, replace the member states as sovereign units. The union rather supplements its members by

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[7] The South East Asia Treaty Organization was operative 1954-1977 and was founded by Australia, France, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Philippines, Thailand, the UK, and the USA. The Central Treaty Organization was operative 1959-1979 and was founded by Iran, Iraq, Pakistan, Turkey, the UK, and the USA.

giving guidance in some, but not all, political fields. ***Economically*** the increased interdependence creates demands among the manufacturing states for access to different markets. Common policies on product regulation and freedom of movement of goods, services, capital and labor have, for example, to be developed; more effort to remove the physical, technical and fiscal barriers among the member states has to be exerted, and the national currencies have to be replaced by a common currency. ***Militarily*** common interests among states increase the need to establish operational interoperability. Military units from different states have to be able to cooperate on the battlefield. The region is considered to act in the role of a coordinator in technical and conceptual aspects while its member states act as contributors of military capacity. In respect of ***societal*** aspects, the supremacy of the member state seems to be unchallenged. Although homogenous behavior in political, economic and military aspects is preferred, cultural diversity among member states ensures that they will be preserved. The region and its members have thereby different functions to fulfill.

2.3 Puzzles to be solved

The neorealistic approach allows only two principles, either anarchy when there is no central government in the system, or hierarchy when <u>all</u> units are governed by a single global authority. But what if some of the state-units, but not all, are partially governed by a supranational or regional authority when it comes to some, but not all, of the sectors offered by the structural realistic approach? Will this constitute a ***semi-hierarchal*** organizing principle? There are more questions to be answered:

- What about a commonwealth that has separate heads of state but a common head of the supranational cabinet?
- Can supra units and units coexist in the same system as sovereigns and vassals did during the era of colonization?
- Can a state be considered as a part of a supra unit, and an independent unit, both at the same time?

The neorealistic approach also allows for only two principles when it comes to the function of the units. Either there is a functional differentiation among them or not (i.e. similar or different functionality of the units). But what if some of the units, but not all, partially and voluntarily transfer the authority over some sectors, but not all, to a supranational government? Will this imply a third possibility, i.e. ***semi-differentiated*** functions of units? Although the answers to the questions above are not brought to a conclusion, when it comes to long term planning, it seems to be necessary to take a separate regional perspective into account in the struggle to predict the future.

3. Solving the challenges of tomorrow with the logic of yesterday?

3.1 A look at the past – The symmetric strategic settings in 1970[8]

At the end of the WWII, the nuclear hegemony placed the US in a position in the world system that no state had ever experienced before. The awareness of its military might help to explain the relative rapid US conventional demobilization immediately after the end of the war. The power of the US military was, however, not unchallenged. For the Soviet Union the war never ended. Conceptually, its dogmatic leadership saw a struggle with the market-oriented democracies in the West as a natural and unavoidable part of its deterministic ideology. For the communists the struggle only shifted into another phase. Instead of demobilization the Soviets used its conventional military power to ensure and increase its sphere of influence. Although Winston Churchill mentioned the Iron Curtain in his Fulton speech in March 1946, it can be argued that it was the evolution of the Truman doctrine[9] in 1947-1948 that first expressed a political ambition to halt the Soviet expansionism. With the strategy of *containment* the West dedicated itself to minimizing the Soviet's influence in the free world. (Perhaps the Reagan doctrine[10] with the *roll-back* strategy can be seen as the last endeavor that finally succeeded in freeing the world from the tyranny of communism.) The Truman doctrine can be seen as the first step in the establishment of the new strategic framework that came to be known as the Cold War. This first step was taken in the geographical or horizontal dimension.

In the second dimension, which focuses on the intensity of the relations (level of conflict) between the main actors in the global system, the nuclear monopoly of the US restrained the conceptual developments. It can be argued that the Soviet requisition of nuclear weapons in the late 40s speeded up the strategic thinking. As the US had an overwhelming nuclear superiority the logic of the "Dulles doctrine"[11] from the early 50s indicated that any Soviet intrusion into the American sphere of interest would be met with *massive retaliation*. The second, or vertical, dimension therefore had only two possible outcomes; the relation between the two superpowers was dictated by the settings of either a cold or a hot war. However, in the beginning of the 60s, both superpowers gained second strike capability, which eventually made it clear that the former logic was invalid. It came to be replaced by the logic of *mutually assured destruction* – MAD, formulated in the "McNamara doctrine"[12]. Since the new Western strategy put a gradual or *flexible response* into practice, the Soviets could no longer predict the consequences of any attempt from their side to interfere with the Western sphere of interests. The vertical dimension had, from now on, several possible outcomes and a wide range of military options, both conventional and with WMD, was accessible to the political

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[8] See for example Gaddis, J. L. (1997) *We Now Know – Rethinking Cold War History*, Oxford University Press, Gray, C. S. (1988) *The Geopolitics of Superpower*, University Press of Kentucky, Friedman, N. (2000) *Conflict and Strategy in the Cold War*, London, Chatham Publishing, and Crabb, C.V. Jr. (1982) *The Doctrines of American Foreign Policy*, Louisiana State University Press.

[9] See for example President Truman's speech to the Congress March 12th, 1947 and NSC 20/4: *U.S. Objectives with respect to the USSR to counter Soviet threats to U.S. security*, Nov. 23rd 1948.

[10] It can be argued that the evolution of the Reagan doctrine was initiated in the beginning of 1981. The approval of covert actions against Soviet-backed rebels in Central America soon became a global policy with the purpose of supporting any anti-Soviet activities. See for example National Security Decision 17, Nov. 16th 1981.

[11] See for example John Foster Dulles, *The Evolution of Foreign Policy*, Department of State Bulletin, vol. 30, Jan. 25th 1954.

[12] See for example Robert S. McNamara, *Defense Arrangements of the North Atlantic Community*, Department of State Bulletin, vol. 47, July 9th 1962, Robert S. McNamara, *The Dynamics of Nuclear Strategy*, Department of State Bulletin, vol. 57, Oct. 9th 1967 and NATO, *Communiqué from ministerial meeting of the North Atlantic Council*, Dec. 14th, 1967.

leadership. Since the US and the Soviet Union were in possession of the largest arsenals of WMD, and since both arsenals consisted of a full spectrum stockpile including nuclear, biological as well as chemical weapons, the dimension was almost totally dominated by the two superpowers. At the same time, the logic of MAD made the horizontal dimension the only reasonable field in which the two superpowers could act. As a coincidence, it seems that this insight of the strategic evolution appeared simultaneously as a more extensive phase of the decolonization which started at the end of the 60s. This decolonization almost doubled the number of states. In most cases the nearly 70 states that gained independence from former great powers in the 60s and the 70s were weak and vulnerable to penetration by the new superpowers.

To summarize, in 1970 the logic of global strategy was symmetric in three ways. First, the main actors were all states. Second, international relations were focused on a static diversity between the two superpowers. Third, the two superpowers had same relative power in the most important aspects of the system; societal influence and military capability. The system was dominated by three themes:

- The global system was bipolar, in which the characteristics were dominated by the military-ideological struggle between the two superpowers.

- The vertical dimension consisted of few states with considerable arsenals of WMD.

- The horizontal dimension consisted of many states with insignificant co-operation between them (except for the superpower led military co-operation that existed in organizations like NATO and the Warsaw Pact).
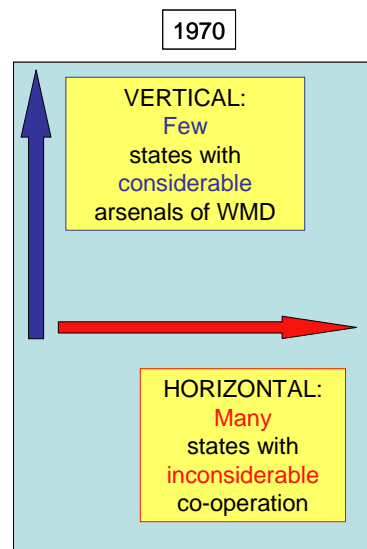
Figure 1.2: The vertical and horizontal settings in the bipolar world of 1970.

3.2 Awaiting the future – American unipolarity as an intermission?[13]

When the Soviet Union collapsed, so did the bipolarity of the global system. It is no exaggeration to argue that the US held the strongest position within the system during the 90s and at the beginning of the new millennium. Although the US possessed an unchallenged military power it can be questioned if the position was hegemonic. The ideological struggle,

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[13] See for example Gray, C. S. (2005) *Another Bloody Century,* London, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, Barnet, T. P. M. (2004) *The Pentagon's New Map*, New York, Berkley Books, and Davis, J. K. & Sweeney, M. J. (1999) *Strategic Paradigms 2025: U.S. Security Planning for a New Era*, Cambridge (Mass.), Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis.

that determined the relations between the two superpowers during the Cold War, is not enough to describe the phenomenon of *polarity*. More aspects have to be added before an adequate description can be made. Barry Buzan sets out different sectors in his security analysis:

> *Generally speaking, military security concerns the two-level interplay of the armed offensive and defensive capabilities of states, and states` perceptions of each other's intentions. Political security concerns the organizational stability of states, systems of government and the ideologies that give them legitimacy. Economic security concerns access to the resources, finance and markets necessary to sustain acceptable levels of welfare and state power. Societal security concerns the sustainability, within acceptable conditions for evolution, of traditional patterns of language, culture and religious and national identity and custom. Environmental security concerns the maintenance of the local and planetary biosphere as the essential support system on which all other human enterprises depend.[14]*

According to Buzan's theories, such aspects as military, political, economic, societal and environmental power (or means of interaction) should be taken into account when a *pole* (or centre of power) in the global system is to be identified. During the Cold War, military power was probably the most important means for the main opponents to exercise their influence. Naturally, it was the military aspect that determined whether the actor was to be regarded as a superpower or just as an ordinary great power. Although the UK, France, and China were in possession of WMD, none of them had global military capacity and therefore none of them was regarded as a superpower. In other words, none of them was a pole in the system from the military point of view (neither are India nor Pakistan today). The UK, France, and China were (and still are) together with the US and the Soviet Union the only permanent members of the Security Council of the UN. All of them thereby had (and still has) a unique possibility to influence the political aspects of the system. It seems, however, that it was not the political but the societal aspect that, together with the military aspect, shaped the characteristics of the system during the Cold War. The US and the Soviet Union respectively played the leading roles in the capitalistic and the communistic societies that divided the World, the other permanent members only co-starred. A third, and more difficult aspect to interpret, is the economic dimension. Undoubtedly the US had (and still has), by far, the strongest economy of the market oriented world. The problem lies in the difficulties in comparing the strength of the American economy with the strength of the Marxist-Leninist economy of the Soviet Union. According to the discussion above, the US has had a hegemonic position in the system, from the end of the Cold War until today. The position was (and still is) based on Americas unchallenged military, economic and societal capabilities, but what about the future?

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[14] Buzan, B. (1991) *People, States and F*ear, Hemel Hempstead, Harvester Wheatsheaf, p. 19-20.

3.3 A look into the future – The Asymmetric settings in 2040?[15]

As the number of states multiplies and their capacity to interact increases, on what principles can a new world order be organized?[16]

One possible evolution of the global system is towards multi polarity.[17] From the **political** aspect, the necessary reformation of the UN was most probably accomplished by 2040. The results of the reformation might well have led to an increased number of permanent members in the Security Council. Regional great powers such as India, Japan and Germany are examples of conceivable new members. Even if such reformation takes place, it is not, however, in its own revolutionary way enough to change the label of the system. What could lead to a change of the label is how the actors interact within the system. During the Cold War the relationship between the two superpowers was more or less static. In the future, relations between the main actors may be much more dynamic. Occasional coalitions may, for instance, rapidly change the distribution of political influence.

As far as the **military** aspect is concerned, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction will probably continue. An increasing number of states may be in possession of biological (for example Syria), chemical (for example Libya) and/or nuclear (for example Iran) weapons. In the worst case the proliferation will not restrict itself only to states; non-state actors such as terrorist networks and organized crime syndicates may be in possession of more advanced weapons than they have had so far.[18] Even if such dramatic evolution took place, it would probably not, on its own, imply an alteration of the polarity in the global system. The logic of the vertical dimension would, however, be fundamentally changed. An evolution that might alter the polarity of the system is the transformation of conventional military power. The transformation may lead up to an increasing number of states with global capacity, with China, the UK and France as leading examples. Even if it is improbable that the UK and France will surrender either their permanent membership in the Security Council or the national control of their nuclear forces to the European Union, one should not neglect the possibility of a joint conventional European expeditionary force with global capacity.

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[15] See for example The United Nations (2005) The Millennium Development Goals Report 2005, The European Union (2003) A Secure Europe in a Better World – European Security Strategy, The EU Institute for Security Studies (2004) European defence – A proposal for a White Paper, The EU Institute for Security Studies (2006) Global Context Study for an initial ESDP Long Term Vision, NATO Strategic Commanders (2004) Strategic Vision, The US National Intelligence Council (2004) Mapping the Global Future, The White House (2003) US National Security Strategy, Auswärtiges Amt Deutschlands (2001) Ursachen von Konflikten und Kriegen im 21. Jahrhundert, French Ministry of Defence (2005) The 30 Year Perspective Plan, British Ministry of Defence (2003) Defence White Paper and Joint Doctrine & Concepts Centre (JDCC)/British MoD (2003) Strategic Trends.

[16] Kissinger, H. (1994) *Diplomacy*, New York, Simon & Schuster, p. 808.

[17] Ibid, pp. 804-836. Kissinger anticipates the development of a balance-of-power system on the global level, similar to the European system in the 19th century. The global centres of power (poles) identified by Kissinger are the US, Europe, China, Japan and Russia. See also Craig, G. and George, A. (1995) *Force and Statecraft (3rd edition)*, Oxford University Press and Deutsch, K. W. & Singer, J. D. (1999) "Multipolar Power Systems and International Stability" in Williams, P., Goldstein, D. & Shafritz, J. (Ed.) *Classic Readings of International Relations (2nd edition)*, Orlando, Harcourt Brace College Publishers.

[18] An example of an attack by terrorists using WMD that has already been accomplished is the events in March 1995, when a religious terror group released Sarin nerve gas into the Tokyo subway system. The terrorists later, in court, intimated that they had made several attempts to attack the Japanese parliament, the emperor's residence, and the headquarters of the US 7th fleet in Yokosuka with bacteriological weapons without success. See for example Henderson, H. (2001) *Global Terrorism*, New York, Checkmarks Books. See JDCC (2003) *Strategic Trends* for examples of states that are considered to have development potential at present and weaponised capability by 2015.

From the *economic* point of view, the consequences of the declining US share of the World's GNP, from about 50 to 25 percent the last 30 years, has naturally had enormous impact. China may pass the US as the World's leading economy by 2040, and another growing Asian power, India, may climb to the position of the World's third biggest national economy. Notwithstanding the evolution of the EU, the integrated national economies of the West European states, with the G8-members France, Italy Germany and the UK as the locomotives will most likely continue to constitute a significant economic pole. A third Asian state and another member of the G8-group, Japan, must be taken into account when it comes to world economics. The increasing global quest for energy will gradually increase the importance of oil- and gas producing countries in the global system. Depending on their ability to organize and co-operate, organizations like OPEC may be able to gain a new and more powerful position within the system in the future.

For *society* as a whole, globalization will most likely continue as a mega trend. The impact of the globalization on identity, culture and language may gradually lead to more homogeneous communities of values. It is not, however, a foregone conclusion that globalization will necessarily continue to be westernized in the future. Since most of the world's population already lives in Asia, and since Asia is predicted to increase its share of the world's total economy, it is not too far-fetched to assert that Asia will also increase its societal influence. Developments in regions that already have strong anti-western currents and existing embryos of alternatives (the Middle East is just one example) may instead lead to heterogeneous communities of values.[19] To be able to identify these potential regions, one should not be bound by the preconception that the causes are a feeling of being left outside (the westernized World) among the population in the region concerned. The causes may, on the contrary, be a feeling of being undesirably brought inside and faced with regionalization, therefore becoming an expression of anti-westernization, or even anti-globalization. As the events of September 11th 2001 showed, in the new millennium even the mightiest state can be challenged by non-state actors. The importance of terrorists, organized crime syndicates, multinational corporations, and other non-state actors will most likely increase. Weak or collapsing states are in particular vulnerable to penetration by these actors. During the 90s another phenomenon increased in extent; regional integration, and this can be described as a global trend. This trend is, however, not homogeneous. Local variances are common, with Western Europe and the European Union as the most integrated example. NAFTA exemplifies that even the USA is affected by the phenomenon.

To summarize, by 2040 the logic of global strategy may have become asymmetric in three ways. Firstly, the main actors do not necessarily have to be states. Challenges from regional integration and non-state actors will probably continue to lessen the importance of the state. Secondly, international relations will not necessarily have to be focused on a static diversity between the main powers in the system. Dynamic and spontaneous coalitions may rapidly change the rules of the game. Thirdly, the main powers will not necessarily have to have roughly equal power in all the important aspects of the system; political influence, military capability, economic strength and societal influence. The system may be dominated by three themes:

- The global system may consist of many poles with various relative powers and the characteristics of the system may be dominated by economic competition, and especially the quest for energy.

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[19] Huntington, S. (1996) *The Clash of Civilizations and the remaking of World Order*, New York, Simon & Schuster.

- The vertical dimension may consist of many non-state actors with minimal arsenals of WMD in addition to an increasing number of states with varying arsenals.
- The horizontal dimension may consist of few regions with considerable internal co-operation and with varying degree of integration
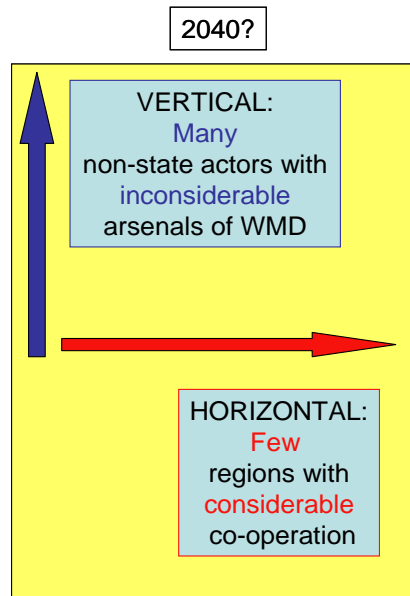
Figure 1.3: The vertical and horizontal settings in a possible multi polar world of 2040.

3.4 The need for a new strategic logic

The strategic logic of the Cold War appears to have disappeared simultaneously with the collapse of the Soviet Union in the beginning of the 90s. The events of September 11th 2001 forced even the last Kremlin-phobic strategists to rethink. Naturally, the events guided many of the strategic analyses in a single direction, towards the new threats from non-state actors such as terrorists. It is likely that the ultimate purpose of the global war on terrorism is to prevent non-state actors from gaining control over any kind of WMD. Consequently one of the first vertical questions should deal with the accuracy of the old concepts of deterrence and flexible response:

- How do you deter a suicidal terrorist from using his WMD with your own nukes?
- How can you be flexible in your response to a terror attack when there is no state to retaliate?

The new logic also has, however, a horizontal dimension. The easily penetrated states from the 70s no longer stand alone, they have amalgamated. At present, not even the strongest integrated region, Western Europe, is, however, indivisible. Nevertheless, strategist analysis should, part from the vertical questions, also consider horizontal ones, such as:

- How can Pole X gain more influence than its opponent poles in country A, without having to take every single member state in the B-region into account?
- How can Pole Z promote its national interests in country C without intervention from the other member states of the D-region (or, worse, helping its opponent poles to gain influence in the D-region, and ultimately intervene themselves)?

As these horizontal questions indicate, to promote its national interests, the global actor not only has to be prepared to invest a lot of resources, the actor also has to play its cards well. In the future, not just a single state may be at stake, but a whole region.
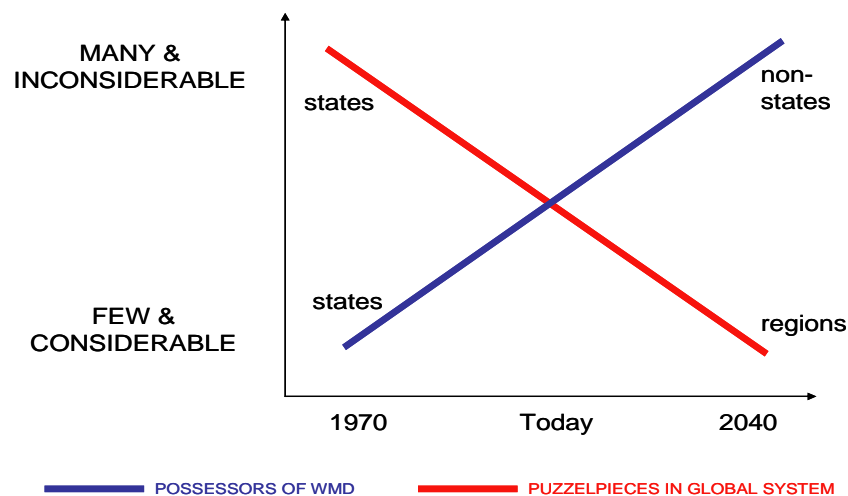
Figure 1.4: The changes of the strategic logic 1970 – 2040 and the crossroad of today

There is one problem though, the strategic changes (shown in the figure above) do not necessarily represent a shift from a single 1970-paradigm to a single 2040-paradigm. Instead, the strategic settings in 2040 may be composed of (at least) two parallel logics, both simultaneously valid. On the one hand, the global actor must put the logic of 1970 in the perspective of its interactions with the other global actors. In 2040 there may still be a few states with considerable arsenals of WMD as well as many minor states that are not integrated with their neighbors. On the other hand, the global actor also must put in place the logic of 2040 in relation to its interactions with both regions and hostile non-state actors.

4. The ART-model – A temporary solution?

During the Cold War most global events were explained by the theories of realism and the logic of bipolarity. In the era of globalization, however, a single perspective of international relations or strategic studies seems to be unable to fully explain today's empirical realities and is insufficient when it comes to predicting the future. By using the principles of triangulation, a raw model for long term analysis of the global context has been developed by the Swedish Armed Forces. The model uses three different perspectives:

- The global **Actors** and the relations between them (A)
- The **Regionalization** going on all around the Globe (R)
- The **Thematic** dimension including political, economic, military, societal and environmental aspects of security (T).

4.1 The A-perspective

The first, actors-related, perspective is based on the old thinking of bipolarity, but instead of only two superpowers the system now consists of five. The A-perspective has taken its theoretical starting point in the structural realism. As a consequence its focus is not only on the political sector but also on the economic, societal, and strategic sectors. In addition, the A-perspective also takes the distributional structure into account including the distribution of

unit attributes. Furthermore the A-perspective not only includes an attribute analysis, i.e. unit behavior explained in terms of unit attributes, but also process formation, i.e. action-reaction relations between units. Finally the A-perspective takes the interaction level of analysis, i.e. absolute quality of technological and societal capabilities across the system, into account. One important aspect of the A-perspective is that the five main powers do not necessarily have to have roughly equal power in all important aspects of the system; political influence, military capability, economic strength and societal influence.
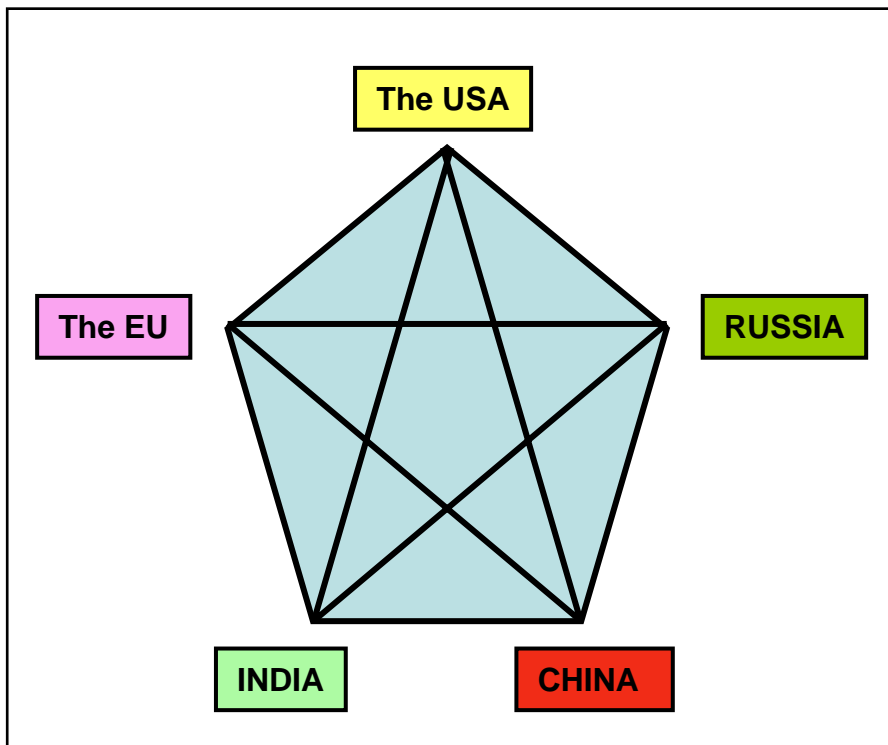
Figure 1.5: The main global actors and the Pentagram of Polarity

4.2 The R-perspective

The second and regionally-oriented perspective focuses on different aspects of integration, mainly at the sub-continental level. Regional integration is an ongoing process all over the World (as the figure below shows) and in the beginning of the new millennium almost every single state participates in one or more regional co operatives. The main focus of the regional organizations may, however, vary. Some organizations have only one single task; political, economic, military or societal integration, while other organizations are striving to coordinate two or more of these sectors. The theoretical inspiration of the perspective has mainly been provided by Barry Buzan and Ole Waever and their work on regional security complexes.[20]

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[20] Buzan, B. & Waever, O. (2003) *Regions and Power – The Structure of International Security*. Cambridge University Press. See also Adler, E. & Barnett, M. (Eds.) (1998) *Security Communities*. Cambridge University Press.

Figure 1.6: The ongoing regionalization of the World.

Political integration is considered to be functional in three (3) different steps, from a political alliance through a common foreign policy to a common foreign administration. A common foreign (and security) policy is, for example, created when two or more cooperating states agree on and define the principles and general guidelines for their common foreign policy as well as common strategies to be implemented. On the basis of those guidelines, the cooperating states may adopt joint actions or commonly held positions. The CFSP of the European Union is an example of a common foreign and security policy. It was established as the second of the three pillars in the Maastricht treaty of 1992, and further defined and broadened in the Amsterdam Treaty of 1997.

Economic integration is considered to be functional in five (5) different steps, from a free trade area through a customs union, a currency/monetary union and a common/single market to an economic union. A *free trade area* is established by a group of states that have agreed to eliminate tariffs, quotas and preferences on goods, not necessarily all, between them. This is the first step of economic integration. States seem to choose this kind of integration when their economic structures are complementary. The members of a free trade area do not have the same policies with respect to non-members. The North American Free Trade Association (NAFTA) is an American example of a free trade area.

A *customs union* is also a free trade area but with common external tariffs. The participant states establish common external trade policy but not necessarily common import quotas. Increased economic efficiency and the establishing of closer political and cultural ties between the member countries are seen as the benefits of a custom union. This is the second step of economic integration. The cooperation between the members of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) is an Asian example of a customs union.
A *currency union* is established when several states create a common mechanism to handle the different rates of their national currencies. A monetary union is established when several states have agreed to share a single currency among them. A mere monetary union does not

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involve a common or a single market. This is the third step of economic integration. The Caribbean dollar of the Organization of East Caribbean States (OECS) is an American example of a monetary union.

A *common market* is a customs union with common policies on product regulation and freedom of movement of goods, services, capital and labour. A single market envisions more efforts geared towards removing borders (physical), standards (technical) and taxes (fiscal) barriers among its member states than a common market. To remove these barriers the members need to establish common economic policies. This is the fourth step of economic integration. The sub-pillar organizations of the ECOWAS, Union Economique et Monetaire Oust-Africanie (UEMOA), and the West African Monetary Zone (WAMZ), are two African examples of common markets.

An *economic union* is a single market with a single currency. An economic union differs from a monetary union since it is not just currency but also economic policy that is coordinated. This is the fifth step of economic integration. The Euro-zone of the EU is a European example of an economic union.

Military integration is considered to be functional in three (3) different steps, from a common defence policy through a military alliance to a collective defence. A *common security and defence policy* is an agreement between two, or more, countries. It is often related to humanitarian and rescue tasks, peacekeeping tasks and tasks of combat forces in crisis management, including peacemaking. The European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) is an example of a common security and defence policy.

A *military alliance* is an agreement between two, or more, countries. It is related to wartime planning, commitments, or contingencies. Military alliances often involve non-military agreements, in addition to their primary purpose. The Council for Peace and Security in Central Africa (COPAX) of ECCAS is an example of military alliance.

Collective defence, finally, is an arrangement, usually formalized by a treaty and an organization, among participant states that commit support in defence of a member state if it is attacked by another state outside the organization. NATO is probably the best known collective defence organization.

Societal integration is harder to describe in different steps. Samuel Huntington focuses on civilizations as the main unit of analysis.[21] He argues that the World is divided into a number of such civilizations. Within some of them there is a core-state. According to Huntington civilization is defined by common objective elements (historical experience, language, culture, religion, and custom) and people's subjective self-identification. He identifies nine different civilizations; Western with the core-states France, Germany, the UK and the US, Sinic with the core-state China, Hindu with the core-state India, Christian orthodoxy with the core-state Russia, Japanese with the core-state Japan, Islamic (lacking a core-state), Latin America (lacking a core-state), Africa (lacking a core-state) and Buddhist (lacking a core-state).

Although Huntington seems to have gone too far in his reductions, and although he is vague in his description of the relationship between state and civilization, his theory touches the

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[21] Huntington, S. (1996) *The Clash of Civilizations and the remaking of World Order*, London, Simon & Schuster.

importance of the societal aspects. What if his theories are practiced at the continental level instead of the global? Africa, for example, is divided into four major linguistic groupings; Afrasan, Khosian, Nilo-Saharan and Niger-Congo, the last grouping divided into two separate sub-groupings; West-Sudanic (Niger) and Bantu (Congo). Each of the major groupings has its origins in a civilization existing long before Christ and each of these ancient civilizations has its own (pre-colonial) historical experience, features of religion and custom. A reduction to only two African civilizations, as per Huntington, seems therefore absurd, at least in a historical context. The Arabic and European colonization led to new societal experiences for Africa, as well as to new sources for future partitions. In the context of the present, the genocide in Central Africa seems, however, to have been an internal clash in one of the African civilizations (Bantu), and not a clash between ancient or post-colonial African civilizations.[22]

In Europe, on the other hand, only one major linguistic grouping dominates; the Indo-European. The Turkish language definitely belongs to the Altaic grouping, while the ownership of the languages of the Finno-Ugrian sub-grouping is under discussion. Also, in respect of religion, Europe is almost homogenously Christian although Islamic communities exist in the Balkans. A division of Europe into two major civilizations, as Huntington's theories suggest, seems therefore truly pessimistic. When it comes to the societal aspects, conclusions therefore seem harder to find, at least at the moment.

There is, to **summarize**, an important difference according to the driving forces of integration. Political and, especially, military aspects of integration seems to be the principal forces when the region is being subject to direct external pressure or threats from the hostile international environment. Integration is, due to the circumstances, considered to be necessary to achieve the needs of the cooperating states; security. Political and military aspects also seem to be an important force when the region is being subjected to increased indirect internal threats from non-state actors such as terrorist networks and organized crime syndicates. Since these new threats are transnational in their characters, it seems desirable for the states to cooperate. When it comes to preventive actions against the terrorists and/or syndicates, integration seems to be desirable. These actions may have to be taken outside the region and the efforts may be too much to handle for a single state.

Economic aspects seem to be the principal forces of integration when the region is being subject to direct internal pressure due to domestic demands for enlarged welfare. Integration is, due to the circumstances, considered to be desirable to achieve the needs of the cooperating states; societal reforms. On the one hand the state, for external security reasons, strives to obtain a high degree of self-sufficiency and therefore is willing to take expensive measures to differentiate its economy. On the other hand the state, for internal economic reasons, is willing to risk some of its self-sufficiency in order to be able to gain access to the desired markets in its neighboring states. The first step towards interdependency is taken when the self-sufficiency is becoming widespread. The economic benefits the state gains when it gives up some of its economic independence can be invested in further societal reforms. Economic aspects also seem to be an important force when the region is being subjected to indirect external pressure from the increased economic competition within the international system. Integration is, due to globalization, considered to be necessary to achieve the needs of the

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[22] Ehret, C. (2002) *The Civilizations of Africa*, Oxford, James Currey, Attah-Poku, A. (1998) *African Ethnicity*, New York, University Press of America, and Oliver, R. & Atmore, A. (2004) *Africa Since 1800 (5th edition)*, Cambridge University Press.

cooperating states; secure access to the four factors of production (goods including natural resources, services, capital and skilled labour).
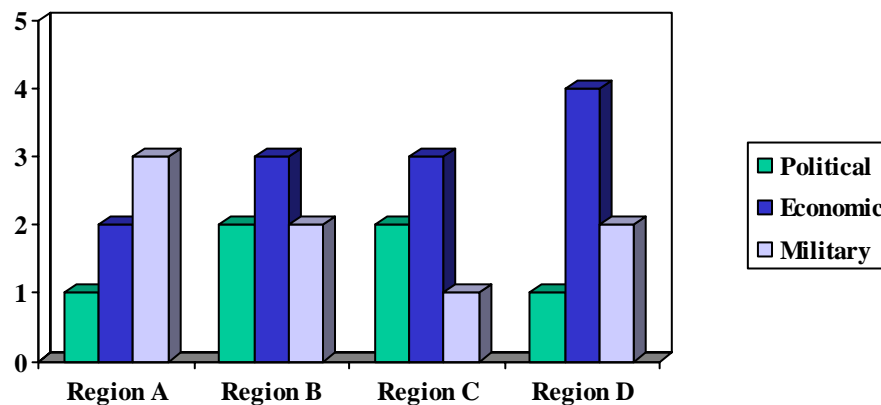
Figure 1.7: The different steps of integration by sector (Illustrative example)

Fourteen different regional security complexes are subject to analyses; North Africa, West Africa, Central Africa, East Africa, South Africa, North America (including the Caribbean and Central America), South America, South Asia, North East Asia, South East Asia, the Middle East (including the Gulf and the Levant), West Europe (including the Balkans), Post-Soviet (including Central Asia, the Caucasus and the former Soviet republics in eastern Europe Belarus, Moldova and Ukraine) and, finally, West Oceania. As the figure above indicates, assessments of the different levels of integration in the political, economic and military sectors are one important aspect.

4.3 The T-perspective

The T-perspective focuses on five different themes, political, economic, military, societal and ecological or environmental security. The theoretical inspiration of the perspective has mainly been provided by Barry Buzan and his work on international security studies in the post-cold war era.[23] The T-perspective differs from the other two perspectives since it does not necessarily include an actor. This means that neither one of the five global actors (as the A-perspective) nor one of the 14 regional complexes (as the R-perspective) is considered to be the driving force, or independent variable, but the theme itself.

Studies of **political** security includes both new aspects such as terrorism and more traditional aspects such as the phenomenon of non-governmental organizations, while studies of **military** security are focused on the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and technical developments. Missile technology is considered to be of special importance.

Studies of **economic** security include aspects such as freedom of the seas and space, access to raw materials and SLOC protection, integrity of financial operations and critical infrastructure protection, while studies of **societal** security include aspects such as uncontrolled migration, poverty, diseases, starvation, organized crime, trafficking and unemployment. Cultural challenges related to identity, religious or ethnical, are considered to be of special importance.

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[23] Buzan, B. (1991) *People, States and Fear*, Hemel Hempstead, Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Studies of **environmental** security, finally, include aspects such as natural resource shortages, extreme environmental degradation, drought, deforestation, climate changes, pollutions, greenhouse-gas emission and lack of clean/fresh water.

4.4 Summary & Introduction to part II – V

In the next three parts the reader will find different studies representing each of the perspectives in the ART-model. In part II the study focuses on one of the five main global actors of the international system (the A-perspective) while the study in part III is an example of a study that focuses on the 14 different regions or regional security complexes that have been identified (the R-perspective). Part IV differs from the two previous part since it consists of five studies. These studies represent each of the five different themes in the T-perspective (political, economic, military, societal, and environmental security). Part V is a summary of the long term study on the global context that was conducted within the department of Strategic Planning, Swedish Armed Forces Headquarters, during 2005-2006. The summary is the first result of using the ART-model.

In selecting the studies that were used as empirical material, we tried to rely on more than one university and more than one academic faculty. The reason is quite simple. Since we were convinced that a single perspective could not give us all the answers, neither could a single university nor a single faculty. The use of different faculties was not, however, conducted in such a systematic way that methodological triangulation can be claimed. Nevertheless different departments of political, economic, geographic and other sciences from different universities provided insights in each of the three perspectives in the ART-model. The very same principal has guided the editors in their selection of the contributors to this book.

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Part II

The Actor-perspective

Chapter 2:

The USA: Trends in security and domestic policy 2005-2025

By Mike Winnerstig

Chapter 2

The USA: Trends in security and domestic policy 2005-2025

By Mike Winnerstig

1. Introduction

It is famously difficult to predict future development tendencies, perhaps particularly so when it comes to foreign and security policy. One of the most familiar examples of this is the fall of the Berlin Wall and of Soviet communism, events which most security policy analysts did not even regard as possibilities only a few years before they happened in 1989. This was despite the fact that such a development had been a priority objective of the US administration that took office in 1981 under the leadership of Ronald Reagan – but this objective was very rarely taken seriously by the western security policy elite in the 1980s.

Perhaps even more difficult is producing credible predictions for individual countries. That said, the situation is slightly different for major powers, such as the US, than it is for smaller countries. This is because a country of the US's size and present power may be expected not just to be able to affect its own development, but that of the rest of the world as well, and to a very considerable degree. As an example, the earlier Clinton administration held that international security policy was something for the US and its allies "to build, to shape, to mold". What this implies is that it is crucial to every form of security policy scenario effort that the analysis of the biggest countries in the international system is reasonably correct, or at any rate fruitful.

However, describing a development over as long a period of time as this paper aims to do – i.e. 15-20 years – can only be done in a very tentative form. As a parallel, fifteen years was the period of time which elapsed between the Swedish defence decision in 1925 and the outbreak of the Second World War. The situation in the world changed drastically during this period, which few analysts thought possible in the mid-1920s.

Despite this, the aim of this paper is nevertheless to draw a preliminary picture of some of the most important development trends in and concerning the US and its security policy until 2025. I intend to do this in two ways: first, by means of a description and analysis of the most important general explanatory factors for American foreign policy and domestic development tendencies; and second, by suggesting a small number of development paths which the US and it external relations may take during this time.

2. The US and the historical heritage

In order to have a chance of looking into the future, one needs a clear view of how a country has acted in the past. This is not to say that one should conclude that the past fully determines future actions, which unfortunately happens very frequently in the public discourse.

It is often assumed that the US is "naturally isolationist" and that the period after the Second World War is the exception to this that proves the rule, rather than anything else. This is said to have to do with the country's geopolitical location – between two oceans, etc. – and with

the American "spirit", which was originally moulded when persecuted, often puritanical, European immigrants set out to found a new society far removed from, and undisturbed by, the constantly warring European class societies.

This, however, is a very misleading picture. Even if it is true that the US, until the turn of the previous century, had a policy which did not much affect the big European powers of the day, it in fact devoted most of the 19th century to an expansionist, not isolationist, policy. This policy was aimed at consolidating the country's geographical area so that it covered all of North America except Canada (this was known as the "manifest destiny" policy). It involved, besides several decades of war against various Indian tribes, the purchase of enormous tracts of land (e.g. the Louisiana Purchase of 1803), the incorporation of independent republics that had previously broken free from colonial, generally Spanish, rule (e.g. Texas in 1845), and downright colonial wars, again generally with Spain (e.g. over Cuba and the Philippines around the turn of the previous century). The last states to be established on the North American continent joined the Union only in the first decade of the 20th century (e.g. Arizona), and Hawaii only became fully recognised as the 50th state at the end of the 1950s.

This policy, then, is anything but isolationist, particularly in view of the fact that the United States which won independence from Great Britain at the end of the 18th century consisted of 13 very small colonies on North America's east coast. Expansion since then can be said to have been very evident.

The resistance that has always existed against involvement in European affairs, most famously formulated in the Monroe Doctrine of 1823, has, by contrast, been through distinct ups and downs. At the time of the First World War, this tendency was widespread in the US Congress, which was why American entry into the war was delayed for so long – until 1917 – and also why the US, again due to resistance in Congress, a few years later decided not to join the League of Nations, despite the fact that the then president, Woodrow Wilson, was one of its most ardent promoters. This was followed by a period of isolationism in US foreign policy which lasted, essentially, until 7 December 1941 and Pearl Harbor. This period of just over 20 years, or about 10% of the country's history since independence, is the only period which can convincingly be described as isolationist. After the end of the Second World War the US, as is well known, became one of the big actors in world politics, and this is a role the country has retained since then – its might only increased after the fall of the Soviet Union.

We therefore have no reason to make the a priori assumption that the US, regardless of the ideological inclination of its government, will pursue an isolationist policy in the future. Most of the country's history, and of course later events such as globalisation and the so-called global war on terror, suggest the opposite.

3. US foreign policy in our time

A quick overview of the last twenty years of US policy, perhaps in particular towards Europe, confirms this picture. To an overwhelming extent, Reagan (1981-1988), Bush Sr. (1989-92), Clinton (1993-2000) and Bush Jr. (2001-) all either held or were forced to adopt a position in which the rest of the world and American involvement in it played a very important role for US foreign policy, regardless of the political hue and ideological convictions of the administration from the outset. In several cases, e.g. Clinton ("It's the economy, stupid") and Bush Jr. ("The US shouldn't go interfering everywhere"), it was not the administration's

original policy, but circumstances forced a change of course to a policy strongly aimed at problems and events abroad.

The current Bush administration may have been accused of many things (including isolationism), not least in Europe, but a reasonably objective analysis of its policies should indicate that it is characterised by considerable involvement and vast commitments abroad rather than by a shrinking interest for the world beyond its borders.

In many ways, the 2003 Iraq War became a watershed for the US and some, though far from all, of its European allies. The debate about the rationale for and/or desirability of this war divided the EU countries between themselves more than it divided Europe from the US. Nonetheless, talk of reconciliation between the US and those European allies most critical of it has been heard increasingly since the re-election of George W. Bush in November 2004. Among the more important contributing factors to this are the problems that the US has encountered during the occupation of Iraq, and the need for more benevolent countries – as potential suppliers of troops – that these have generated. Because of these problems, the need for better relations with the big European countries, including France, has become increasingly evident. This has also brought a change to American rhetoric and policy, which was demonstrated by the various trips to Europe undertaken by the American leadership early in 2005.

4. The US in the future: Foreign policy

4.1 Introduction

About 25% of the world's total GNP is generated by the US, and about 50% of total world military expenditure is American. The latter figure is on the increase, with the likely effect that the US in the near future will be spending more resources on military capacity than all of the other countries in the world put together. Considering the fact that the American people represent only 5% of total world population, this is a pretty remarkable situation, and one which says a lot about the dynamics that American society has created.

In the debate about US supremacy, a number of analysts have claimed that the American position of power as it exists today will be impossible to maintain in the future, since historically all "empires" have collapsed sooner or later. The theory of "imperial overstretch" which was popularised in the 1980s then applied to the US as well. After the fall of the Soviet Union, however, the theory did not hold true regarding the American situation, as the US quickly emerged as the only superpower with a wholly unique position of power. Fairly frequent comparisons between today's US and the Roman empire, made at the time of the 2003 Iraq War for instance, tended to focus precisely on the terminal phase – i.e. the coming collapse of the American empire – but disregarded the fact that the Roman empire as such lasted for at least four hundred years, and that the US has only had an "imperial" position for the last 50 years. In other words, even if the American "empire" has only half the staying power of the Roman empire, we can expect several hundred more years of continued American dominance – if the parallel with Rome is right, that is.

If so, the question will be what sort of foreign policy the US will pursue. There is a considerable amount of research about this, and numerous scenarios have been produced. Some have a structural, foreign policy focus, while others emphasise domestic developments

in the US. I will outline some of the most important of these below, starting with those based on foreign policy factors.

4.2 Foreign policy-based scenarios for US policy

Those foreign policy-based scenarios that are most talked about today, with regard to future (10-20 years) development tendencies for US security policy are listed below. They are based on different explanatory factors and theoretical underpinnings, which will be briefly described in connection with each scenario.

4.2.1 Asian reorientation

For a considerable number of analysts, the focus of future US foreign policy will be Asia's ascendancy. The causes are primarily external: China's rapid growth to the position of superpower, politically, economically and militarily; the fact that Asia has a particularly large future potential for conflict (India-Pakistan, China-India, China-Japan, China-Russia, and of course China-Taiwan); and a number of other issues, e.g. the steeply increasing Chinese demand for energy and the rivalry that could arise over the region's natural resources. The Chinese market is also becoming increasingly important for the US, which further complicates the situation, as it is troublesome to be economically dependent on a actor that could become a military threat. This scenario is based primarily on realpolitik and geopolitical explanatory factors, which emphasise the anarchic nature of the international system and the tendency to selfish action of the states within it.

In this scenario, then, the consequences of the end of the cold war in Europe, and of the relative peace which has obtained there since 1989, would be that the US increasingly phased out its involvement there, withdrew its troops and ceded defence and security policy in Europe to the EU. American interest would instead be transferred to Asia, more and stronger alliances would be built with countries in this region, and large resources would be used to thwart or at least contain Chinese expansion (a kind of neo-containment policy).

In a 10 to 20-year perspective, this scenario would lead to a dynamic but very volatile security situation in Asia, where a classic great power game would be played out along lines reminiscent of the cold war. The scenario features strong internal tensions in the US, as a consequence of the strategic threat from China and American economic dependence on China. It is, in other words, far from certain that – as some researchers have claimed –the situation must necessarily lead to a full-scale war between the US and China, even in the long term. It is more likely that the conflict situation will be extended under a complex canopy of both economic interdependence and balance of terror.

However, this scenario suffers from certain credibility flaws. The EU is currently the US's biggest and most important trading partner outside of NAFTA. American direct investment in individual European countries is in many cases bigger than it is for all of China. In all sorts of political contexts, Europe – though not necessarily the EU as an institution – unquestionably remains the foremost partner of the US, and it is really only when the US runs into trouble with its European allies that the country has problems carrying out its own policies. It might also be added that probably the first political scientist – at least the first Swedish political scientist – who predicted that the attentions of US policy would shift from Europe to the nascent mass market in China was Rudolf Kjellén. The prediction was made in his 1916 book, Staten som lifsform (The State as a Living Organism). The fact that this has not yet come to

pass, at least not to any decisive extent, does seem to suggest that the prediction remains less than completely credible.

4.2.2 Wilsonianism with teeth – Global democracy expansion

Another scenario which is popular in the public debate is the continuation of an ideologically driven US foreign policy, with the expansion of (western) democracy to all corners of the earth as its main objective. This strategy is based on liberal explanatory factors, e.g. the democratic peace theory – i.e. that democracies do not go to war with each other precisely because they are democracies and therefore solve their conflicts in other ways. It follows that if all the world's states became democracies, there would be no more wars between states.

The current Bush administration is often credited with this strategy, but the concept is in fact considerably older. It was President Woodrow Wilson who, in the early 20th century, saw it as the duty of the US to make the world "safe for democracy". A great many American presidents, though not all, have seen this as perhaps the paramount objective of foreign policy. The policy pursued by the Reagan administration during the 1980s, for example, was based on exactly the same premises – that supporting underground movements within the Soviet empire, particularly in Poland, would ultimately undermine the empire itself. By combining this with a drastic increase in US armaments, and external pressure on the Soviet Union, the empire would eventually be made to collapse – which is in fact what happened, even if US policy was not the sole reason for this.

The expansion of democracy has been described as perhaps the foremost objective of the US today. That implies, if the objective is achieved, a very large US involvement in very many parts of the world. It is common knowledge that a large number of the world's countries cannot be regarded as democracies. The whole Middle East would, in this situation, become something of a democratic test lab, which would also apply to large parts of Asia. All of which, of course, could easily lead to extended periods of domestic instability in these regions, which in turn could have dramatic consequences for the world economy.

It is likely, however, that even in the very long term, the costs of the Iraq War will have a restraining effect on the desire of future administrations to embark on similar enterprises. A more likely scenario – even if the fundamental objective of expanding democracy remains – is a return to a more Reaganesque policy, in which support for groups that promote democracy within the countries in question, combined with strong outside pressure, becomes the central strategy, rather than military invasion. This kind of foreign policy may of course be combined with elements of realpolitik and geopolitics, e.g. continued US military dominance, and also with an effective American multilateral leadership. It was this stance which, to a great extent, made US foreign policy successful in the 1980s and 1990s.

4.2.3 American "malaise" following setbacks to empire-building

As has been noted above, "isolationism" is not a credible scenario for the US, either now or in the future. However, events in the rest of the world as well as in the US may cause US pre-eminence as a superpower to be undermined for shorter or longer periods of time. The US experienced such a period in the 1970s, when the unpopular war in Vietnam ended in what most people saw as an American defeat – even if technically speaking it was the South Vietnamese government, which the US supported, that lost and whose territory was subsequently occupied by regular troops from North Vietnam. This, in combination with a number of other unfavourable developments for the US during the same decade – oil crises, culture wars between the establishment and the "'68 generation", high inflation and

unemployment etc. - , led the then President, Jimmy Carter, to speak of the "malaise" that the American people were suffering from.

However, this condition did not last for very long, as Carter's Republican challenger in the 1980 presidential election, Ronald Reagan, campaigned from a distinctly proactive and positive electoral platform, by means of which he proceeded to win the election. In the years that followed, the foundations were laid for what is the US's current position as sole military superpower, through the arms expenditure that Reagan initiated. The economic upswing that this brought with it was – as is the case today – financed through loans and budget deficits, but it contributed greatly to changing American society internally as well as altering its position externally.

It is nevertheless quite easy to imagine a "malaise"-like condition occurring again. If, for instance, one of the US's international military commitments goes seriously wrong – armed opposition groups seizing power in Iraq, say, while at the same time Afghanistan implodes and once again becomes a base for terrorists, the Taliban, and opium cultivation – at the same time as changes in the international economy make US trade and budget deficits unmanageable, a similar atmosphere could ensue. The US domestic economy, which of course is the crucial one for the country, would be hit very hard in such a situation, and it would also mean that costly foreign policy operations, whether they were democratisation campaigns or geopolitically motivated invasions, could not be carried out.

However, it is difficult to put together a credible scenario on this theme, as it would depend on a number of small but dramatic events which are difficult to pinpoint. For example, it does not at the moment look as if Iraq or Afghanistan will become such large problems for the US that they in themselves could trigger a development towards a national "malaise". US defence expenditure is indeed the biggest in the world. Calculated as a percentage of GNP, however, it is only half as big as it was during the Reagan years, and three to four times smaller than total domestic health care costs. The US economy appears more than capable of "weathering" the costs that these two military commitments have incurred. Looking at the human cost of these wars, it must be remembered that since all American soldiers today – in contrast with how things were during the Vietnam War – are professional soldiers and not conscription troops, American society's tolerance of losses is substantially higher today. Another big difference with Vietnam is that Iraq is a battleground of considerably higher geopolitical and strategic importance.

It is of course possible that over the next 15 to 20 years other such commitments emerge, causing US military overstretch to reach breaking point. If, in addition to a continued large military presence in Iraq, the US should invade Iran and North Korea – in itself an extremely unlikely scenario – then such a military collapse could of course occur. If this were combined with an economic collapse as described above, we could have a situation in which the US lost, in a relatively short time, its role as superpower and went back to being, as it was during the first half of the 20th century, a great power among others – and a pretty battered one at that.

The actions of other countries in such a situation are not without importance. A scenario may be imagined in which a declining US is faced down and attacked – in different ways, most likely not military in the first instance – by smaller powers that see an opportunity for acting without the risk of an overwhelming US response. In such a situation the global balance of power could shift even further to the US's disadvantage, and a counterbalancing coalition of states – e.g. with China and Russia as leaders – could then appear as a stronger seat of power.

But it would not be a reasonable consequence of such a development for US foreign policy to turn isolationist, since the globalized economy and other American interests would, even under such circumstances, continue to be dependent on contacts with the rest of the world. Nonetheless, US foreign policy would certainly become generally defensive rather than offensive.

4.3 Domestic policy-based scenarios for US foreign policy

There are several difficulties in weighing up what affects US foreign policy most – e.g. external or internal factors. The traditional view has been that external factors are most important, while certain internal factors, such as presidential elections and changes of administration, may of course play a decisive role under certain circumstances. Furthermore, a covariance of external and internal factors can mean that both contribute to a specific development. Below I will point to some central factors, which at a later stage could be connected with external factors as described above.

4.3.1 Demographic changes

The significance for US policy of coming demographic changes in the country is a hot topic, not least outside the US. If new ethnic groups were to outgrow the traditional white majority of mainly European descent, the thinking goes, and then US policy would also change.

The statement needs qualifying. It is true that there is at least one state today (California) in which white Americans with some kind of European background are not in the majority. However, even there they constitute more than 49% of the population. For the US as a whole, the figures are different: roughly 70% Caucasians, about 12.5% Hispanics, 12% Afro-Americans, and around 5% Asians. Even with rapid population growth, particularly among Hispanics, it will be some time before the "white" group of Americans loses its pre-eminent position.

The US is moreover very ethnically homogenous in some parts. In New England, for instance (the north eastern part of the country), white descendants of Europeans are totally dominant. New Hampshire, for example, has about 1.2 million inhabitants, of which only around 8000 are Afro-Americans, or just under 0.07% of the population. By contrast, Washington, DC is populated by about 500 000 people of which nearly 80% are Afro-Americans – though very few of these are part of the vast federal power centre which also exists in the city. What will be decisive for future US foreign policy is not precise numbers or population increases in certain ethnic groups, but what access these have to power.

Certain changes have occurred in this area over the last few years, though these do not necessarily imply any change in policy. The current Bush administration has made an effort to have a "diversity oriented" composition, and has therefore included Afro-Americans (e.g. Secretaries of State Colin Powell and Condoleezza Rice) and Hispanics (e.g. Attorney General Alberto Gonzales) in prominent posts. However, in the main these officials have been very loyal advocates of, and occasionally also instigators of, the President's policy, which most people would describe as very conservative.

This, in combination with the President's own background in very Hispanic-influenced Texas and his quite passable Spanish, has gone down very well with large groups of Hispanic voters. These voters feel, by virtue of their Catholic religious convictions among other things, considerably more at home with the value conservative and religious, albeit rarely Catholic,

Republicans than they do with the increasingly liberal and secularised Democrats. This was demonstrated in the last election, when Republicans won an unusually large number of Hispanic votes, while Democrats retained their firm grip on the Afro-American electorate. The latter group nonetheless remains the worst off in terms of influence among the larger ethnic minorities in America.

There is thus no easy way of fast-forwarding demographic changes in the US and of making predictions about US politics based on these changes. It seems reasonable to assume that an increased interest in Latin America will be a consequence of increased Hispanic influence in the US, but bearing in mind the considerable economic power that Europe and parts of Asia wield in comparison with Latin America, it seems doubtful that this will have any major significance.

It is, however, possible to speculate about a connection between the domestic emergence of a strong Hispanic group and the foreign policy developments that we see today in Latin America, particularly in Venezuela and some Central American countries, and in Cuba. If an anti-American movement grows stronger in oil-rich Venezuela, and the country then sponsors rebellious movements in other Latin American countries, consequences in the US could be domestic as well. The situation could become particularly interesting if the current Venezuelan regime under Hugo Chavez develops strong ties with China, in order to break US dominance in Latin America. This is in China's interest as well, and its vast oil needs make Venezuela a suitable partner in several ways. If this were to occur, it is not unlikely that certain Hispanic groups in the US could become influenced by such a sino-hispanic connection, which in turn could have consequences for relations between Hispanics and whites in the US. This is far from certain, however, as many whites – in the business community, for example – will, for economic reasons, having an interest in good relations with China for a long time to come.

4.3.2 Domestic economic developments

Domestic economic developments in the US obviously also have a certain role in future foreign policy development. It must be remembered, however, that the US economy is particularly dynamic, not least because of its strongly competitive nature and its enormous domestic market, which make production and sales relatively easy to manage, even when compared, for instance, to the EU area. At the same time, these American strengths are a possible weakness in the future, if the American people in the long run demand that the US become a welfare state of a more European cast, in which many costs that are currently borne by the individual American citizen would be paid for via the tax bill. This would involve a fundamental change in American society and in its economy, but the likelihood of this happening is not very high in the medium term.

If an international economic crisis such as the one outlined above should befall the US, it is of course possible that financial security factors rather than competitive instincts would climb up the American agenda. In such a situation it is also likely that protectionist tendencies would gain a wider appeal in the US, which would primarily affect the political stance of the Republicans, who today are oriented exclusively towards free trade.

The dollar's current position as the main international currency could be affected by such a crisis as well. In the event that the dollar lost its present position in the international currency markets, it is likely that the power position of the US would also be adversely affected. This need not, however, have any immediate consequences for security policy.

4.3.3 Cultural and trans national influences

In recent years, mainly under George W. Bush's administrations, religion has emerged as a presumed and significant divider between the US and Europe. The picture in European media, for example, is that the so-called "Christian Right" is now leading the US towards what may be likened to a modern theocracy.

This picture is grossly exaggerated, of course. In a transatlantic comparison, it is first of all not the US which has changed – the role of religion has always been important, albeit not crucial, to most Americans. And so it was in Europe not so long ago. The change has in fact happened in Europe, where secularisation has progressed by leaps and bounds in the last 30 years.

Second, it is a minority of the American population that identifies itself as belonging to the "Christian Right" in the media sense. Many opinion polls put the size of this group at less than 20% of Americans. What happened in the 2004 election (and to some extent in the 2000 election) was that many members of this group actually voted, while others – e.g. young people and Afro-Americans – did not vote to the same extent. With polling figures of around 60%, it only takes a certain effort from one of these groups to affect the outcome in one direction or other. It is often forgotten these days that the same American people that elected the current administration also twice elected the relatively secular, liberal, pro-gun control and abortion Democrat, Bill Clinton, as recently as in the 1990s. The people, then, have not changed: John Kerry, who is significantly to the left of Bill Clinton in political terms, actually received over 48% of the vote in the last election. What does change all the time in US politics is what the majority looks like among those who go to the polls on Election Day?

But even if we take the American "Christian Right" movement seriously, it too faces a number of challenges. In Europe over the last decades, secular, relativist attitudes in various cultural and moral issues have gained considerable ground. These types of positions certainly exist in the US as well, but primarily in academia and other elite contexts. It is not unlikely that the US will face a major "culture struggle" when these values begin to trickle down from elite cliques and universities to other social strata.

It is of course difficult to draw any clear line from these possible socio-cultural changes to changes in US foreign policy, particularly as they will not, in themselves, necessarily affect the US's role as superpower. However, in combination with other developments – e.g. military setbacks and economic crises – they could have an impact on US politics in general.

5. Possible complex scenarios

The above is an outline of some of the most important development trends and explanatory factors that could shape US foreign policy. As always, it is difficult to judge, based on these trends and factors, what will be the most likely developments. Furthermore, the issue remains of how external and internal developments influence each other. What can be done at a later stage when making a US-oriented scenario is to gather the above in a diagram, so that a complex development may be used as the basis for a scenario which can then be measured against others. An example of such a diagram is given below.

Externally generated trends   Internal factors for change

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┌─────────────────────┐    ←────────→    ┌─────────────────────┐
│                     │                  │                     │
│  Asian reorientation│                  │     Demographic     │
│                     │                  │       change        │
│                     │                  │                     │
└─────────────────────┘                  └─────────────────────┘

┌─────────────────────┐                  ┌─────────────────────┐
│  Wilsonianism with  │                  │                     │
│   teeth - global    │    ←────────→    │ Domestic economic   │
│     democracy       │                  │   developments      │
│     expansion       │                  │                     │
└─────────────────────┘                  └─────────────────────┘

┌─────────────────────┐                  ┌─────────────────────┐
│ American "malaise"  │                  │                     │
│ following setbacks  │                  │    Cultural and     │
│  to empire building │    ←────────→    │   transnational     │
│                     │                  │     influences      │
└─────────────────────┘                  └─────────────────────┘
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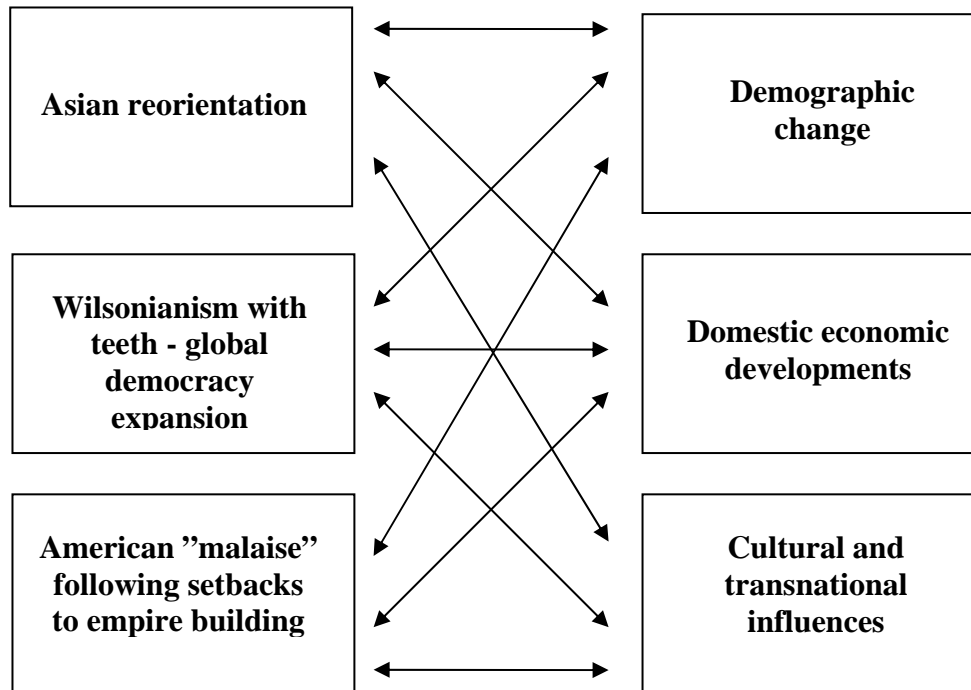
Diagram 2.1. Development factors and trends in US foreign policy

From this outline, the scenario can then evolve to include complex development patterns, which can comprise several possible development trends.

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Part III

The Regional-perspective

Chapter 3:
The Future of Armed Conflicts in Africa

By Anders Nilsson, with contributions by Anícia Lalá and Sérgio Mate

Chapter 3

The Future of Armed Conflicts in Africa

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1. Background

This paper argues that any effort of forecasting future armed conflicts in Africa must start with a search of a solid paradigmatic, theoretical and political point of departure, on which scenario building and preventive interventions can be based. The relevance of these basic assumptions can only be measured in relation to the operational outcome of long term action research. Thus, the normative strength of academic endeavours in the field of peace and development can only be established post hoc.

The present situation on the ground in Africa seems, in some cases, to progress towards peace. But there is no consolidated academic consensus on why this happens, or to what extent current transitions in Sierra Leone, Liberia, Angola and Democratic Republic of Congo are irreversible, or not. Hence, any vision of future conflicts must be explicit on its basic assumptions.

Following a reasoning based on a modified relative deprivation approach, there are few signs indicating that today's endeavours in conflict prevention, conflict resolution, and peace building in Africa will succeed in establishing the social and structural stability, which would be a prerequisite for what Johan Galtung would call positive peace.

Hence, within the forthcoming 20 years, more large scale military operations (as Great Lakes) can be expected, together with minor outbreaks of war (as Ethiopia-Eritrea), at the same time as local armed conflicts, and generalised social violence (as organised cattle-rustling, land conflicts, and Somali-like dissolutions of nation-state projects) may constitute an endemic *undertone.*

2. Introduction

In the current debate on armed conflicts, mainly those taking place in Africa, there are two discernable tendencies. They could be labelled "securitisation of development" and the other "developmentalisation of security". Securitisation of development means that mainstream security studies are directing an increasing interest towards development issues. This is an obvious redirection, in line with the changing global panorama of conflicts, in which most conflicts take place in poor countries, with mostly only one state involved. However deserving this move may be, the general tendency is a subordination of development thinking to the needs of security analysis. Developmentalisation of security means that scholars and practitioners in the sphere of development try to take security issues into account when designing developmental programmes and strategies. Still, a change in this direction is hampered by a fear of coming too close the military and security establishment, both in the debate and in the struggle for resources. This change is also hampered by a still too limited view on a future role of development co-operation in terms of conflict resolution and prevention. This limitation can be illustrated by the Do No Harm-thinking, in which the

objective not to interfere negatively in a conflict setting appear as more important than efforts to <u>use</u> the intervention as a conflict resolution, or prevention, instrument, for example in line with John Burton's 'prevention' approach (Burton, 1990).

Hence, there is no consolidated theory on which to base operative interventions, either from the security, or from the development perspective. Mainstream security thinking seems to have tried to transpose basic assumptions, theories and research methods from the interstate conflict realm to an intrastate environment, focussing mainly on elite and leadership questions. From a development perspective, conflicts are still mainly seen in their local expressions. As far as local populations are considered, they are portrayed mainly in their role as victims. In the case that ordinary people are described as agents in an armed conflict, they are first and foremost portrayed as victims of elite manipulation.

A tentative point of departure to overcome the limitation of the ongoing bipolar debate would be to argue that the development process, seen as societal change, always contain a certain degree of force. This implies that force, as well as violence in its structural form is an inherent dimension of development, and that different strategies of development may be more or less prone to conflict. Thus, a coherent way of approaching an analysis of contemporary, or future, World Society conflicts should have as a starting point an increased understanding of the conditions under which a long term process of developmental change, may lead to conflicts which cannot be stopped from transgressing into direct violence. Identifying these conditions must start from a basic assumption that its complexity cannot be captured with quantitative regression analysis on poverty, or similar approaches, nor can these conditions be understood constructivistically, beyond the material conditions under which people are living. This means that we, firstly, have to try to open the 'black box of social science', to find the mechanisms linking 'independent variables' to the 'dependent variables', and, secondly, we have to engage empathically in efforts to improve understanding of the material and immaterial circumstances nurturing the motivational processes that drive people into violent actions of different kinds. Three fields of study are probably crucial for this: 1) the nature of driving forces, 2) the process of mobilisation, and 2) different sources of conflict.

3. Basic assumptions

Along the years I have gradually come to the conclusion that analyses and discussions on conflicts and conflict resolution are seldom carried out in such a way that also our basic assumptions and value premises, behind concrete positions, are made explicit. Too often, discussions about concrete proposals and recommendations become less relevant, since underlying basic assumption on the nature and emergence of violent conflicts are not made visible. Hence, this report is initiated with a short overview of the underlying, somewhat theoretical, assumptions about conflicts and development, which I carry with me as points of departure for my understanding.

4. Driving forces

Although there are a variety of different assumptions on the emergence of societal violence, we can discern three main trends. The first is based on a classical rational choice approach. This is still a mainstream approach, with references back to Mancur Olson and the assumption that people only participate in violent actions in case there are individual gains to be collected

(Olson, 1977). A rational choice perspective, together with an assumption of existing individual cost-benefit analyses, is also at the heart of the so called "greed"-approach (Collier). Hence, rational choice analysis is still a mainstream and dominant approach underpinning contemporary conflict understanding, often also complemented with a compromise strategy based on a zero-sum perspective on resolution formulas.

The second discernable approach can be traced back to Charles Tilly, and his organisation/mobilisation theory on conflict (Tilly, 1978). Although Tilly, in many senses, is not far away from a rational choice perspective, his theory is very clear on the existence of a collective political purpose behind the organisation and mobilisation efforts for collective action. With Tilly it would be possible to argue that it is obviously not true that people engage in violent action only if individual gains are within reach. Hence, armed conflicts and violent actions should be seen as expressions of collective political purposes, and proposals for resolution must take a point of departure in such an understanding of human concerns.

According to my experience, none of these approaches is sufficient to create an adequate theoretical base for analysis of armed conflicts, or generalised social violence, in Africa, let alone for projections of future conflicts. Hence, I will use some space to present my point of departure regarding driving forces, based in relative deprivation theory.

Many of the societal circumstances that with Galtung's word, could be identified as structural violence, are omnipresent in all African conflict environments. Along with the 'Greed-Grievance' debate during the last years, 'greed'-advocates have often pointed at the difficulties 'grievance'-proponents have had to show substantial evidences for the assumed linkages between poverty and armed conflicts. From my point of view, this demand departs from a methodological approach, in which it is assumed that armed conflict, and the kind of generalised social violence we have seen in Africa during the last 25 years, can be explained through statistical co variation exercises. The difficulty I see in this endeavour is that it does not take into account the actors' perception of the various societal conditions this kind of analysis tries to reduce into one independent variable - often called poverty, and described in terms of monetary income or income distribution.

Relative deprivation theory has socio-psychological roots, in which people's perception of societal surroundings is a central object of study. Basically, it goes back to Festingers cognitive dissonance theory (Festinger, 1962). It was developed by Ted Gurr (1970), and has got an institutional base in the Minorities at Risk programme. In a simplified manner I will now describe my version of this approach. Gaps of frustration are a crucial concept.

A frustration gap is the difference between people's (individuals as well as groups) expectations and aspirations, and their interpretations of the capabilities they are entitled to for satisfaction of these expectations. Here we do not talk about unrealistic expectations or fantasies, but primarily about people's possibilities to satisfy aspirations, which are considered as legitimate and justifiable in their specific social and political context. What is important here is that the proper aspirations are defined in both material and immaterial terms. Such gaps of frustration may emerge within any identity group in a society. They can be palpable among the poorest groups, as well as among elite groups, who are considering themselves excluded or unjustly marginalised on their specific level in the society. This is probably the most misunderstood part of a relative deprivation theory. Used as an approach to understand driving forces behind armed conflict and violent action it is not restricted to a discussion about material poverty, but expanded to include all actors' perception of their specific societal

situation. Since aspirations differ between different societies and different identity groups, it has not been (and will probably never be) possible to confirm co variation between 'poverty' and armed conflict, as long as we do not take perception into account.

5. The process of mobilization

If we assume that there is a driving force (to close the frustration gap), which is common for both broader segments of the population, and elite groups, we can describe mobilisation for collective action as the result of both groups' efforts to diminish their respective gaps of frustration. These efforts can be described in terms of 1) politicisation of identity, as a bottom-up process, in which people formulate and display demands for change in the name of any identity group, and 2) instrumentalisation of politics, as a top-down process in which elite groups try to acquire popular support in order to strengthen their struggle against other elites. A common identity, which coincides with perceived injustices or grievances, a "we", would be a base of mobilisation. Elites need the popular support in order to strengthen their capacity to deal with other elites, and the people need relations to structures that can direct the struggle at the centre of the society. Most contemporary armed conflicts display these processes, in which the dynamics in a meeting point between them is a strong mobilising force.

Relative deprivation theory implies that the larger the gap of frustration, the higher is the risk for conflict. However, it is necessary to state that this is by no means any automatic process. The most important in terms of mobilisation is to study what happens when an elite/leadership marked by large gaps of frustration meets broad segments of a population, in a state of politicisation of identity, marked by strong grievances and gaps of frustration. The extent to which the elite/leadership does succeed in establishing a trustworthy and legitimate relation to the people is a crucial factor. Too often this relation is understood as a one-way manipulative relation, in which the elite have no intentions whatsoever to satisfy any other needs than its own greed. This relation should rather be seen as varying between the two extremes of elite manipulation and total legitimacy. However, where on a such a line an elite-people relation would be found is not necessarily determining the degree of trust that a population could have in 'its' elite, as long as the elite message is perceived as trustworthy.

Another crucial factor influencing the outbreak, or not, of violence is the possibility for both elites and masses to channel their grievances into a decision-making process. An explicit incapacity of the political system to find forms for handling protests, and to manage contradictions in a reasonable fashion, or to balance relations between different identity groups, often contributes to an escalation of the conflict. Such a situation influences the legitimacy of both an actual government, and the political system as such. Here we could talk of gap legitimacy. At the local level, a legitimacy gap regards two different relations. One is the political relation between the national and the local environment, and the performance of the local political institutions in relation to the local community. Crucial here is the extent to which the central political institutions care about the regional and local public institutions, and their capacity to provide the expected and promised public services. The legitimacy gap is also influenced by the economic relations between rural and urban areas, as regards both public sector allocation of resources, investments, and terms of trade. In both these dimensions gaps of frustration may increase if the perception of people at the local level says that their needs and expectations are not satisfied in a relevant way.

The greed-grievance debate, with its strong dichotomist approach, has been an obstacle to the research of driving forces behind armed conflicts and generalised societal violence. The use of a relative deprivation approach does not exclude the existence of greedy elites, but offers a possibility to go beyond concrete expressions of greed, and a possibility to analyse the societal justifiability of elite claims - both in relation to other domestic elites and trans national global market actors. It can also go beyond the debate on poverty-violence causality and study motivational processes rather than single variables.

There are two areas of study that should be highlighted in efforts to understand mobilization. The first is the motivational processes (other than the elite manipulation argument) among the kind of "rank and file" we have seen in many wars in Africa. The features of mobilization will probably differ between different countries and conflict settings, but we still lack a clear understanding of the deeper relationship between the "rank and file" combatants, or violent perpetrators, and their leaderships. Unemployment, poverty, powerlessness are obviously important pieces in such an understanding. But we still have to find out what kind of social change would be needed to redirect these youngsters into socially cohesive environment. The second area concerns the process of elite formation in Africa. Consolidation of power has traditionally been focussing on political power, since the weak economic performance has not permitted an inwardly directed market economy to develop. Hence, African elites have come to have their main base of affirmation and accumulation in the political sphere. The huge difficulties in economic development mean for the foreseeable future that the nation-state project in Africa has no economic base. Elite frustration gaps may therefore mainly emerge out of political contradictions among elites, or in relation to their struggle for control of access to the world market for the few products they may be able to export.

6. Sources of conflict

The last theoretical shortcoming I want to highlight is what could be called the single variable approach. Such a concept does not really exist in any explicit form. Nevertheless, it is inherent in mainstream quantitative research on armed conflict. It lies behind efforts to confirm the poverty-conflict causality, and it limits the methodological expansion into a much more qualitative research approach, as well as it limits efforts to apply social constructivist approaches. As such, a single variable approach, even if sometimes expanded to multivariate anaylses, does not deal with the mechanisms between independent variables and dependent variables, and its is confined to conditions and circumstances that can be given numerical values. Hence, the conditions behind the independent variables are assumed to be <u>causes</u> of conflict. However, no such causality is still widely agreed upon. Here we may find a potential advantage of a relative deprivation approach, in its effort to look at how a broad variety of conflict <u>sources</u> are cognitively perceived, and eventually contribute to gaps of frustration. The methodological difference here is between, on the one hand, efforts to show a statistically significant covariation between assumed cause and effect, and, on the other hand, efforts to identify the variety of sources of conflict, which simultaneously are contributing to a relative deprivation, which in its turn is understood to be the driving force behind violent conflict escalation.

The concept of sources of conflict are used by John Burton (1990). In our context it is helpful because sources of conflict are not stable entities. They can vary over time, they appear in different constellations, and they may be different between different actors. Hence, the searched for common denominator between different armed conflicts would not be causes or

sources of conflicts, but the degree of relative deprivation they are able to cause, as well as how the emerging gaps of frustration are managed. Burton discerns three broad catgories of conflict sources: interests, values and basic human needs. <u>Interests</u> refers to the omnipresent wants all people, groups of peole, institutions and organisations carry in ordinary societal life. Mostly, conflicting interest can be be solved in negotiations, though interests sometimes can be of a very high importance for societal actors. Interests can be both economic and political, hence important not only for individuals, but also for large companies and governments. In a relative deprivation perspective, interest is not only an asset someone may want to aquire. It also includes an actor's perception of hir or her legitimate or justifiable right to aquire what is in his/her interest. <u>Values</u> refers to issues around identity, religion, ideology, and issues which are deeper anchored in our identity, self-image and social belonging. These issues are more difficult to negotiate, when they appear as sources behind gaps of frustration. <u>Basic Human Needs</u> are in Burton's version defined broader than a conventional defintion based on what is needed for material survival. Burton points to human beings' need of identity, respect, dignity in forms which are common social norms in society. Perceived existential threats against physical, as well as social and cultural communities would in this context get high scores of relayive deprivation. Most conflicts contain dimensions from all three categories, in different combination and degrees. It is a challenge of research to identify the specific combination of sources of conflict, which may lead to strong relative deprivation in a potential conflict environment. Elites and broader segments of the population can display completely diffrent patterns. Nevertheless, they may unite in an identity based common endeavour to diminish, or close, their respective gaps of frustration.

The most important consclusion from this reasoning is that these three categories och conflict sources can be seen, in different combinations, both among marginalised elite groups and among ordinary people. The long term research challenge in this context is to find analytical patterns, which can underpin operative conclusions.

Summarising my basic assumptions:
- Relative deprivation, gaps of frustration, is a driving force of armed conflicts, and generalised social violence.
- The mobilisation for collective and violent action takes place in a meeting point between frustrated elite groups, and broader segments of the poulation, also motivated by relative deprivation, often based on a perceived common identity, with a common perception of 'the problem'.
- The sources of conflict building up the basis for gaps of frustration are multifold, and should be understood in a holistic perspective.
- The sources of conflict (the issues at stake) are not necessarily the same for elites as for the population, or rank and file participants in collective and violent actions. Furthermore, they may vary in importance along the conflict.
- Identification of the complex patterns of sources of conflict, in each specific conflict environment, and within each actor's gap of frustration, is a main challenge both in research and peace work.

7. Sources of conflict in Africa

Africa is still the most conflict ridden continent, holding 8 locations of ongoing conflicts in the world 2004 - out of 22 identified locations in the world (Harbom & Wallensteen, 2005). As in the rest of the world there has been an decreasing tendency in the numbers of conflicts in the world, since the 1991 peak. However, affirmations of changes of the number of conflicts, their locations, scope and structure, are dependent on the defintions we use. Relatively small changes in defintions may create large changes in numbers of conflict. The same reasoning holds for how we structure descriptions of armed conflicts, their roots, genesis, course, and environment. A common way is to discuss causes, and make projections in terms of "resource wars", "water conflicts", "ethnic nationalism", or "religious fundamentalism". Sometimes we also can see references to lack of democracy and weak states, as explanations to armed conflicts. Such an approach carries a weakness in the way conflict causes are analysed. It hypothesises a a cause (as independent variable), without taking into the equation the mechanisms through which people's perception and understanding of such a cause lead them to take action. One illustration to this phenomenon would be the failure to establish any statistical covariation between poverty and armed conflict. For every case in which we with credibility can argue that poverty seems to be an important cause of conflict, there are at least as many cases in which we have to conclude that widespread and deep poverty do not lead to armed conflict. Hence, the search of a common denominator fails. One possible remedy should be direct the search towards another level of abstraction than "cause". This other level could be the degree of relative deprivation that <u>any</u> kind of "cause" could create. Thus, an intense relative deprivation among both elites and broader segments of the population may emerge as the common denominator. Each case of conflict and violence will display different sources, and combination of sources, behind the relative deprivation. No individual "cause" or source of conflict can be isolated and conformed in regression analysises, but the concentrated effect may, possibly, be understood as varying degrees of relative deprivation. So a high degree of relative deprivation would emerge as the measurable common denominator, not the specific causes and sources of conflict. From an improved understanding of the mechanism leading from sources of conflict, to relative deprivation, gap of frustration, politicisation and instrumentalisation, and, potentially, collective action, new indicators for risk analysis and Early Warning Systems could be tried.

Armed conflicts and wars have since long been categorised in interstate and intrastate (or civil) wars. This categorisation stems from the Westphalian heydays of Clausewitz, and later realists of different shades. Globalisation has shattered this distinction, which is now becoming increasingly articificial. Only seven of the 118 identified armed conflicts 1989-2004 are considered as interstate conflicts, and during 2004 no interstate conflict was active (Harbom & Wallensteen, 2005). Thus, 94% of all armed conflicts in the world were intrastate, or internationalised intrastate, conflicts. One notable feature of these conflicts is that they are seldomly carried out by conventional armies, but by a variety of actors. These actors do not always behave as the predominating realist-rooted theories predict. While earlier theories on wars implicitly have assumed that conflict parties, or actors, also were the main stakeholders in the outcome of a conflict, globalisation, and the dissolution of Westphalian principles, has made it clear that this is no longer the case. An actor perspective on contemporary conflict analysis will mainly look at the visible combatents, their organisations and possible international political affiliations. However, as the distinction between interstate and intrastate war seem to loose it relevance as the character of war is changing, also a limited actor approach looses the possibility to grasp the full range of interests behind new wars. Hence, a

through application of a <u>stakeholder</u> perspective could open up the analysis for taking into account also more subtle stakeholder influence.

In summary, the actual pattern of armed conflict and generalised social violence, in Africa and elsewhere, challenges the distinction between interstate war and civil wars, calling for a new terminlogy. Tentatively, Burton's concept of World Society Conflict could be a solution. At the same time, the assumption that conflict actors are also the main stakeholders in the conflict does not fit into the structure of current armed conflicts, in which a broad variety of globalised World Society actors are important stakeholders. This will be discussed in the following reflexions on different sources of conflict.

8. Interests as sources of conflict

Looking at <u>interests</u> as a category of sources of conflict, in a relative deprivation perspective, means that we have to go beyond mainstream empirical data from the <u>absolute</u> numerical figures of economy and trade, and the constitutional changes generating multiparty systems and democratic procedures in decision-making. The challenge is to move our attention to understand actors', and stakeholders', perception of their rights in the society they live. This means that we have to understand the aspirations, expectations and needs they perceive as societally justifiable. This perception should then be compared with how the very same people <u>perceive</u> their capacities and possibilities to achieve what they aspire or need. The difference constitutes the gap of frustration. From this follows that interests, as a source of conflict, should not be analysed only in zero-sum terms, but also in realation to how different stakeholders see their justifiable <u>rights</u> to have their interests satisfied.

It is in this context we can see so called resource wars. Angola may be an illustration to this, having huge deposites of both oil and diamonds. Angola is interesting in two senses. <u>Firstly</u>, because the internationally dominating view on the war between the MPLA government and the UNITA rebels has changed along the conflict. During the 1980s, focus was on the war's nature as a proxy, regional conflict within the Cold War parameter. Only after the end of the Cold War, and after a marked shift in stakeholders' alliances, the war came to be inserted in the resource war analytical scheme. Hence, Angola should not, without strong conditioning, be used as a case of civil war based on natural resources. <u>Secondly</u>, the status of civil war between two domestic belligerents (actors), basically driven by self-enrichment and self-grandiosity, has obscured an analysis of the conflict as a fight between two competing elites striving for a fair stake in an Angolan nation-state project. External stakeholder interests, first political in the Cold War setting, then economic in the struggle for access to shrinking oil resources, hijacked these elites and superimposed their interests over the combatents'. The resolution of the <u>elite dimension</u> of the Angolan conflict emerged only at the end of the Cold War, when it became clear to western <u>stakeholders</u> that the MPLA, although portraying itself as a convicted marxist-leninist party, running a one-party state, would never sever its relations to those wanting to explore Angolan oil. With this insight, the earlier supporters immediately abandoned UNITA.

How can a difference between a zero-sum perspective and a relative deprivation approach be understood. On the one hand, small countries' right to self-determination, and a predominant realist view on the nation-state project, and defense of the victorious national liberation struggle, was at the heart of MPLA's political positioning at Independence. Hence, the defense of the political and economic interests of the new state also stretched into <u>value</u>

category of sources of conflict. Therefore, the scope for a negotiated settlement diminished, or even disappeared, as a response to the South African invasion 1975. Any zero-sum approach to negotiations on the process of Independence was ruled out. Thus, the MPLA positions were based on both the interest and the value sources of conflict. On the other hand, the struggle for liberation in the former Portugues colonies in Africa was deeply entrenched in the Cold War pattern of geopolitical and ideological interests. None of the superpowers were prepared to harm their own strategic interests in southern Africa. So here two sets of interests were pitted against each other. A relative deprivation approach to this situation would argue that the superpowers saw this situation as part of their long term geopolitical and strategic bargaining. However, the MPLA position did not allow for participation in such a bargaining process, since it was determined not only by negotiable interests, but first and foremost by the value considerations it could not give up in that specific situation. A high degree of relative deprivation followed, and the superpower imposition of their interests, above MPLA's strong value considerations, made an armed conflict almost inevitable.

The same kind of reasoning could be applied to the Angolan actors. At the elite level, interests were important sources of conflict. We can look at the two belligerent organisations as two alternative elites with different historical roots within the same nation-state project. UNITA was rooted in the ancient Ovimbundu kingdom, in the periphery of the powerful Congo kingdom. MPLA was emerging among the urban and assimilated elite in Luanda. It is obvious that both these elites had strong expectations on Independence, but both ran immediately into a wide open gap of frustration. The urban/assimilated elite developed a perception that its possibilities and capacities to achieve the long aspired Independence of Angola was effectively denied by external forces, through the South African intervention. The more rurally based elite perceived its possibility to get its fair stake in the nation-state and modernisation project as non-existant, mainly denied them by the assimilated urban elite in MPLA. The external intervention in the process was a strong determinant in portraying the internal tensions in an East-West (socialist-capitalist) perspective. However, a deeper search of the sources behind the strong relative deprivation of the elite around UNITA would certainly reveal deep gaps of frustration based on human dignity issues in basic human needs (BHN) perspective. These would be emerging out of the urban-rural divide in colonial Angola, and the aspiration to be included as elite in the new Angola. The social base of UNITA was anchored among the poor and marginalised Ovimbundu population, both in the heartland at the high plateau, and among the Ovimbundus in Luanda, who under colonial divide and rule policies were confined to survive at the margins of the city, mostly as garbage collectors. Antecipating the later discussion about values (see below), it should be said already here that among this marginalised population there were very strong sources of conflict in the value category, as well as immaterial BHN, related to the marginalised position of Ovimbundus in the colonial society. Recuperation of Ovimbundu identity and dignity was an important aspiration among ordinary people. In the value dimension, respect for traditional customs and African originality were strong among the UNITA elite, while rhetorically dismissed by the urban elite. The main lesson learned in this context is that neither values, nor basic human needs were allowed to play any relevant role for the external conflict analysis, which informed the intervention of external stakeholders.

In this interest category of conflict sources we should also discuss the proper nation-state process. Being politically, and economically born into a modernist Westphalian development project, most of the political leaders, and other elite groups in Africa, act based on strong realist assumptions in foreign and security policies. New elites in Africa have seen their nation-state projects as a main political interest in international relations. At the same time,

their internal legitimacy (whatever strength it may have today) has to large extent been based on what Buzan call the "idea of the state" (Buzan, 1991). In many African states, the nationalist achievements gave the idea of the state a strong content of social change and African dignity. Political conflicts regarding the state thus came to carry not only conflicts of interests, but also sources of conflict in the realms of values and basic human needs. The main lesson from this would be that efforts for long term engagement and intervention in armed conflicts in Africa must be seen in the light of what african elites perecive to be central as <u>their</u> legitimate interests, and the underlying potential sources of conflict in the value and basic human needs realms. So, in what sectors would it be possible to foresee conflicts based on contradictory interests during a coming twenty years period?

The most common answer to this question is obviously oil and minerals, which are both crucial resources in the global economic system. Thus, securing the acess to these commodities is a central strategic goal for all states. Oil production is growing rapidly in Africa, and African countries are increasingly becoming of interest for the industrialsied world. This situation is obviously a potential source of conflict, out of which frustration gaps easily may appear. The issue of energy in the industrialised countries, is not only question of interest, in the meaning we used the word here. In these countries the energy issue has deep roots also in value and basic human needs sources of conflict, as lifeststyle ideologies, and transport-based well being. Strong demands for government action to secure the fulfilment of these expectations are prevailing. With a clear paralell to the reasoning above, it is not evident that the heavily oil dependent states' interests do coincide with long term interesta among the states on which territory the deposits are located. Such contradictory interests may well be compared with the political interests of the Cold War period. There may emerge a fierce competition about the available resources, not only between African elites, but also between the industrialised countries. Hence, there is high risk that this international competition is transferred to competing internal elites, who all want control over these valuable assets. The parallel to the Angolan case is clear, in the sense that the warring actors permanently were tied to different sides in the superpower competition. Hence, increasaing global competition for oil may again reinforce internal elite competion. Angolan elites again being reduced to proxies for external stakeholders.

It should be remembered that in most African countries the process of formation of modern elites is still ongoing. One of the consequences of the lack of economic growth and development is that the modernisation process is hampered. With few exceptions, African states have no consolidated modern entrepreneurial or political elites. To the extent that a distinction between these two categories is analytically relevant, the fastest growing economic elites are probably those linked to international oil and mineral interests, while political elites still struggle with lack of internal legitimacy, and a strong desire to establish themselves in the economic sphere. With the lack of dynamics in the internal development process, and still very bleak opportunities for internally based capital accumulation most wannabes and embryonic elites, turn to international sources of accumulation (some would say self-enrichment). The oil and mineral sector offers an extremely high pace of capital accumulation for potential elites in the developing world. A fortune for lifetime can be gained through the bonus from one single exploration contract. No business activity based on domestic demand can compete with this. So, if control of the state earlier was seen as the most important source of accumulation, good relations to external oil and mineral companies are incresingly turning first priority. Since all the asprirations related to the nation-state and development process are still prevailing, and the quick enrichment opportunities have increased new forms of elite aspirations and expectations, there is a strong potential for a deep relative deprivation to

develop among the elites, reinforcing the struggle about positions from which external economic relations ca be controlled.

A second area in which there is a variety of potential conflicts is international trade, and linked to that, agricultural subsidies. The current negotiations taking place at the World Trade Organization, and between ACP countries and the European Union in Brussels (Economic Partnership Agreements- EPAs), may lead to further marginalization of Africa. The emphasis of trade as the new panacea for development – "trade as a development tool", may accelerate differentiation among, and within, African countries. The most controversial issue is the persistent resistance among industrialized countries to agree on thorough reforms in the sphere of trade. Another is the even harder resistance to remove their domestic subsidies to agriculture, at the same time as international conditions, tied to the volume of aid, prohibit developing countries to use agriculture subsidies as a tool of economic policy. This situation is currently moving the intra-African debate on this issue from a conflict of interest into the source of conflict categories of value and basic human need. It is often argued, among African observers, that food subsidies are the one most important obstacle to rural development in Africa. This kind of argument should not be seen only in an interest perspective, since the underlying circumstances are directly linked to the elite formation process. It diminishes the room of maneuver for elites at different societal levels to establish themselves in accumulation processes outside politics. This is negatively affecting aspirations, not only at central level, but also the consolidation of a rural class of entrepreneurs. Disappointment with the lack of coherence between the aid discourse, and concrete politics in the sphere of trade, is increasingly taking the form of gaps of frustration. The urban-rural divide is therefore likely to be further aggravated in many countries, and within a country we may see the emergence of one "useful" and one "useless" Africa. Relative deprivation expressed in this kind of statements is rooted far deep in the realm of basic human needs and questions of human dignity.

Before we are leaving this interest realm of conflict sources something about the national question should be said. With less than a handful exception, all African states gained their independence during the last fifty years. They were born out of a strong commitment to nation-state building. The pan-African movement constituted a counterpoint in the debate at the time, but the state-building advocates gained the upper hand. Not only have most, if not all, African elites maintained a strong nationalist position; they have also developed their international policies and security thinking within a strong structural realist framework. The very early decision by the OAU that the colonial borders would be maintained has been rigorously safeguarded. Hence, defending national interests has been at the heart of most African governments, and as an ideology of cohesion it is deeply entrenched in their political value systems.

9. Values as sources of conflict

When it comes to values as a type of conflict source, it is crucial to be precise about conflict dynamics. Value issues are more often than interest issues described as causes of conflict. Suffice to say religious fundamentalism, and most people would argue that it is a main cause of conflict. However, this is a point in which we still lack a consolidated theory on conflict dynamics. Values and belief systems are often parts of people's identity. When an identity is politicised, in the sense that it becomes a carrier of political demands in the name of a specific identity group, and a vehicle for mobilisation, it can be very difficult for an external observer

to distinguish between religion as an identity mark, and the role of, for example, religious discrimination as a source of conflict behind a growing gap of frustration. Hence, in a relative deprivation perspective, religious discrimination can be a source of conflict, which is contributing to a gap of frustration that, in its turn, can lead to a politicisation of the identity built upon the proper religion. However, it is not religion as such that is a source of conflict, but the fact that religious people do live a situation in which their human right to exercise their religion is restricted. It seems as if in the general debate this distinction is too seldom made. Therefore religion, or religious fundamentalism is described as a cause of conflict, rather than that restrictions on religious freedom would be the relevant source of conflict. This distinction is easier to illustrate as soon as we move to other politicised identities that the religious. Being a journalist would never be described as a source of conflict. But restrictions in the freedom of the press and speech could be analysed as a source of conflict (in the value category) which could lead to a politicisation of people with a common identity as journalists. Being a journalist is as such no cause of conflict, neither is religious fundamentalism.

As we have seen in the reasoning above, there is not necessarily any clearcut distinction between the different kinds of conflict sources. Value issues coexist and overlap with issues of interest and basic human needs. A thorough conflict analysis must thus be broad enough to take onboard issues from all three categories. Single issue analyses often focus on issues of interests, leaving aside that the defense of certain interests can have a very deep anchoring in value or belief systems, and basic human needs. If these less negotiable issues are not taken into account in conflict analysis and efforts of conflict resolution, a compromise solution at interest level, may hide crucial underlying strong gaps of frustration.

10. Basic Human Needs as sources of conflict

It should be remembered that basic human needs in this context are defined much broader than normally. The needs of food, water and shelter are obviously included. But the concept also includes immaterial issues. Immaterial needs are as likely as the material basic needs to be base for relative deprivation. It should also be highlighted again that also elites, including those living on an ostentatiously high material level, can be experiencing a high degree of relative deprivation. In contradiction to more conventional use of the basic human needs concept, also materielly very rich people may appear with a high degree of relative deprivation in terms of basic human needs. The most actual example in international politics may be Israel. The deeply felt existential threat, a threat of physical and cultural extinction, is by all means a basic human needs source of conflict, creating the strongest possible degree of relative deprivation. With the other party to the conflict being in exactly the same situation of relative deprivation, all external stakeholders should leave aside their own interests in the outcome of peace, and concentrate on basic human needs sources of conflict. This reasoning is strategically important to include in all conflict analyses, not least those with strong elite and external stakeholder involvement.

However, most human basic needs discussion use to be focussed on food security. Advances in agricultural technology are ensuring that food production could theoretically meet the needs of a growing population in Africa. Indeed, there has already been a general trend towards reducing under-nutrition. However, for these new technological advances to materialise into concrete benefits, African countries need to have adequate water supplies for irrigation, and there are few signs that this could be provided during the coming three decades. It has been estimated that the number of chronically malnourished people in sub-

Saharan Africa will increase by over 30% by 2025 and the potential for famine will remain a reality. Agrarian societies with explosive population growth may find croplands being exhausted. This will lead to urban migration overwhelming the precarious infrastructure and insufficient jobs offer. This in turn may lead to rising crime and political instability, which can affect governments and create failed states and humanitarian crisis.

In relative deprivation theory it is acknowledged that it is not first and foremost the poorest people who rebel, or resort to violence. The proper concept of relative deprivation builds on the assumption that people, and groups of people, can develop high degrees of relative deprivation, independent of their material status. However, this assumption may need to be qualified in one important sense. It seems as if very poor people rebel more seldom and participate less often in collective action. This could be linked to an observation that if poverty can be held within an acceptable norm of social differention, still being based on socially integrated systems of production at community level, local social violence may prevail on a relatively low level. Social norms, historical experience and the nature of local social differentiation may dampen the development of gaps of frustration, since expectations and aspirations may be low. However, as soon as this stabilising social cohesion is eroded, the poorest households may fall in total destitution and move out of existing social norms into a lumpen category, at the margin of the local community. Their vulnerability for mobilisation into social violence, petty criminality and local brigandage will increase. Such marginalisation processes take place in both rural and urban settings in Africa, and produce ever increasing numbers of young marginalised people, who are extremely vulnerable for recruitment to any violent and warlike activity. Their relative deprivation may be extremely high in the basic human needs type of sources of conflict, since they are deprived not only in a material sense, but also in the realm of social belonging and cohesion.

The Islamic Courts in Somalia is an interesting illustration to possible effects of neglect of basic human needs issues, both material and immaterial. The total dissolution of the Somali state, and the warlord regime in the country, managed during a certain period to uphold some social cohesion within their respective identity group. Although Somalia ceased to exist as a unitary society, pople could rely on some social security. Along the years, this eroded, and it seems as if the last legitimacy of the warlords faded during the process of negotiation to establish a new national government in Somalia. But there was another elite more than willing and ready to take on responsibility to cater for the destitute populations' basic human needs, and value expectations. This was the religious islamic leadership that could recreate sufficient societal order as a base for satisfaction of the very minimum level of basic human needs. Hence, large parts of the population seem to have switched their allegiance from the warlord controlled clansystem, to the Islamic Courts and an emerging alternative elite. Whatever scenario that will develop out of the present situation, it teaches that in interest and value based elite, easliy can substitute rival groups who have lost capacity to guarantee satifaction of basic human needs. Suddenly, both the warlords and the interntional community discovered that they had to face a new "enemy". This situation may threaten the fragile situation at the entire Horn of Africa.

Environment related conflicts (land, water, pastoralism, food insecurity, demography (Malthusian thesis) can also be analysed in terms of unsatisfied basic human needs. Horisontal conflicts at local level, between different identity groups deprived of customary rights to land or other common resources, affecting possibilities for long term reproduction, may become endemic in areas in the periphery of modernisation and national systems of production. Water resources are a special case in this context, since most rivers and lakes are

shared between states. By 2025 it is estimated that over 4 billion people will be living in water-stressed areas, many of them in Africa. Indeed, availability of water sources will become a politically complex issue in countries in the Sahelian region (Mali, Niger, Chad), Mauritania, Senegal, Nigeria, Burkina Faso, Sudan, Kenya, South Africa. The problem will be more acute when most usage of water goes into agriculture, and many countries will be unable to secure enough irrigation to guarantee adequate production. Some 85% of African water resources are comprised of large basins that are shared by several countries and most of them receive water from outside their borders. Present population trends and patterns of water use suggest that more African countries will exceed the limits of their economically usable, land-based water resources before 2025. Mozambique is a case in point, as it gets water from rivers in South Africa, Zimbabwe, Malawi, and DRC, and in periods of floods and drought the water management is a serious political and social problem. Tensions have flared between Botswana, Namibia and Angola over the vast Okavango basin. Droughts may revive Namibia plans to for a water pipeline to supply the capital and thus leading to shortages in other countries. Draining the delta would be lethal for locals and tourism. This is a potentially explosive scenario for those three countries.

11. Concluding discussion

Careful analyses of the determinants of conflict in Africa point at a complex picture: Deep political and economic development failures seem to be the root causes of conflict in Africa. The most cherished explanations of armed conflict, i.e. ethnic rivalry and religious fanatism, should be complemented with reinforced analytical efforts in search of as deeper understanding of motivational patterns and mobilization. In such an endeavour, the artifical distinction between interstate and intrastate wars should be abolished, and as regards actor analysis, a stakeholder approach should be reinforced. Local factors matched by external involvement will prevail in determining future conflicts in Africa. The economic underlying causes of conflicts should be addressed if further marginalization of Africa, internal political turmoil, manipulation of identities is to be avoided and violent conflict is to be prevented.

Analytical attention should be much more focussed at the mechanisms of mobilisation, and the meeting point between frustrated elites and politcised masses. It can be assumed that it is in these meeting points that armed conflicts and situations of generalised social violence may silently dwell, nurtured by rising expectation on life, but continuously deprived of capacities. Elite groups cannot start wars themselves, they need capacity for mobilisation. The mechanisms of this mobilisation are still not satisfactorily understood. Therefore, they are difficult to manage. Such an improved understanding would have direct consequences for how future conflicts can be managed, and hopefully, prevented. This can probably not be achieved without a holistic strategy, which can simultaneously deal with the the gaps of frustration of both elites and populations. Poverty-conflict analyses shoud be expanded to include also relative deprivation approcahes in order to improve understanding of where in society the most vulnerable for violent-prone agitation and mobilisation are to be found.

As regards the relations to the elites, a high degree of attention should be directed at understanding the oil and mineral issues, not only as questions of interest that can be managed into zero-sum compromises. The national interests of African states and leaderships related to these strategic minerals are not only interests, in the conventional mening of the word. These interests are deeply entrenched in still ongoing nation state projects, and the complex process

of elite formation. As such, they also carry high expecations and aspirations in the value and basic human needs categories of conflict sources.

The industrialised countries will have to live with tensions around oil and mineral access for the foreseeable future. These countries are the main end users of these commodities, which imply a certain responsibility for how these assets are managed and how the benefits are distributed between different categories of domestic elites in the producer states. We have seen how mineral explorations rights in DRC came up for negotiation and sale already before Laurent Kabila reached Kinshasa as president. This led to a huge redistrubution of assets, substituting some beneficiaries for others. This contributed tremendously to reinforced elite competion in DRC, as well as in neighbouring countries, subsequently leading the the murder of Kabila and the reinforced war that folllowed. Another illustration to possible consequences of mineral management is the LAMCO adventure in Liberia. Few long term benefits were awarded the population around the mine site, or the elites of that specific group. Elites from this specific identity group have played a crucial role in the Liberian havoc, though it is not possible today to blame LAMCO for this. However, such internal tensions and long term growth of feelings of injustice and gaps of frustration can live in silence for many years. But with increasiong elite tensions, there may exist a growing gap of frustration in local communities that makes large amounts of people vulnerable and available for mobilisation efforts.

From a development perspective I see, unfortunately, few indicators confirming a positive outcome of today's mainstream development strategies. As has transpired throughout the report, the necessary organic merger of development and security thinking, let alone operative interventions, has still to be seriously treated if to avoid a continuous high frequency of armed conflicts, and outbreaks of generalised social violence in Africa.

As for the regional organisations of conflict prevention and management, all impressions and analyses point at their wekaness. However, there are two different aspects of such an impression. On the one hand, they are weak because of lack of cadres, lack of material and logistical means, as well as they are economically weak. Hence, whatever operational task they will perform, the result would be mixed. On the other hand, international efforts to remediate these weaknesses may not necessarily improve outcome. This is so beacuse the weaknesses we discuss may also be part of a more or less organised "defense" of national interests. As has been argued above, the predominant thinking is still strongly realist, and in defence of nationalist interests, the military option is in no way ruled out. On the contrary, the Clausewitzian logic of war is still considered valid to pursue national interests. Some examples are the rectification of borders (Eritrea-Ethiopia), acquisition of wealth (African countries' involvement in DRC), and distraction from government failures elsewhere (Ethiopia intervention in Somalia, or Chad incursions in Sudan). These illustrations show that both the possibility and acceptability of the use of force are high, and the domestic political costs are low, as such operations are seen as legitimate. It cannot be ruled out that local and foreign interests may be tempted to redefine a country's borders along ethnic, religious and other identity-type lines. Attention should be placed on the capacity of non-state actors to disrupt the search for stability as its interests (control over land, resources, wealth, like the tutsi-hima empire in the Great Lakes, Christianity vs. Islamism in Sudan) are not secured in a stable and strong state, built on structural stability and social cohesion. One imminent challenge is the fate of Somaliland in the ongoing, though complicated, restructuring of Somalia.

This pessimistic scenario has obviously many and important roots in internal African conditions and circumstances. But one issue that industrial countries can improve is their understanding of the continuous transitional character of Africas politica, economic and social process of change. Such an understanding must be better tuned to African historical experiences, and African elites' contemporary understanding of the industrialised countries' interests behind the humanitarian concerns. Where development institutions, organisations and development researchers may see and admit a lack of policy coherence in international development co-operation, too many African analysts only see a double agenda. Many African analysts express their conclusions as follows:

On the one hand, they see the external engagement in the consolidation of the African Union as a strategy to diminish interstate tensions. The kind of military support, the SSR approach, and the technological level that African military systems (with known exceptions such as South Africa and Egypt) will be allowed to aquire and develop, seem to be designed with the objective to remove the military capacity for interstate conflicts in Africa. At the same time, many people argue that the development priority (not necessarily the amount of available funds) is sacrificed, giving way for uncertain international trade reforms, and macroeconomic support, in combination with futile efforts to achieve the Millenium Goals. Hence, a common opinion seems to that that the balance has tilted from a very strong development priority to a security priority, not takjing into account their mutual intrisic linkages.

On the other hand, Africa is still a continent with a large numbers of non-consolidated nation-state projects. The nation-state project is for most politicians, and the military, the main political priority. African regional organisations and multilateralist endeavours are being built on top of, or at the expense of, these unfinished nation-state projects. The slow pace of this process may not necessarily be best accelerated by reinforcing these organisations, but through a reinforcement of national legitimate governments. However, goes the argument, external interventions in these processes are based on a deficient understanding of the dynamics of war and violence in Africa, and they are tampering with the elite consolidation process. Furthermore, efforts for poverty reduction are bound to fail as long as they is not coupled to a adequate long term development strategy. This means that elite visions of the nation-state are blocked, at the same time as the base of recruitment to violence is continuously expanded through the failure of development.

Part IV

The Thematic-perspective

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Chapter 4

Regional Integration & Regional Disparity –
Keeping the world together

By Olof Stjernström

1. Introduction

What is a region? How can different regions cooperate? What are the origins of these co-operations? What does regional cooperation mean? How will areas, regions or nations outside regional co-operations develop? In a wider context, the questions related to regional integration are strongly related to individual nations. How does different nations co-operate which each other? What threats and possibilities can be identified in relation to these interstate co-operation organisations regarding international peace and order? Questions concerning international co-operation and regional integration are many. The common sense is that regional integration is considered as something good. It is reasonable to believe that the European image of regional integration or inter-national arrangement is strongly influenced by history of the 20th century with the break down of large empires (Habsburg 1918, The German Reich 1945, and Soviet Union 1990) and the end of the imperialism era. From these European convulsions (which in fact affected major parts of the world), new ideas and forms for cooperation in Europe was born. After World War II two military blocks appeared, The Warsaw pact and NATO. The most prominent cooperation was however the origin to the modern European Union. The actual European cooperation is an obvious example of regional integration on the international level. The European Union is based on its regions, which cultivates their cultural and social values within the EU framework. The Subsidiarity principle in the European Union is built upon relatively autonomous regions while the EU-integration is built upon integration between different national states.

There can be many different purposes and driving forces behind a regional integration process. In the EU-case the peace was in the beginning, the most important motive for cooperation and integration between the European nations. Keeping together and coming along are still important principles for the European integration even though economical, social and environmental reasons have become more important during the last decades. In other parts in the World, the driving forces behind regional integration can be the possibilities to put forward own regional issues on the global arena.

There is a certain risk for conceptual misunderstandings when issues related to regional integration are discussed. Therefore, initially, regional integration and related concepts are in the following text briefly discussed.

This report aims to describe possible trends in the development of the ongoing regional integration processes in Asia, Latin America and Africa in a long-term perspective (2017-2027). The point of departure is by help of relevant geographical theories related to the concept of region and regional integration describe and analyse regional integrations organisations in Asia, Latin America and Africa.

In the task are especially Latin America with MERCOSUR and OAS mentioned, as well as ECOWAS and AU in Africa and ASEAN in Southeast Asia. The editorial limitation does not admit any deeper analyse of economic, demographic or political conditions. The regional

integration organisations mentioned in the aim are the point of departures for a number of regional themes with connections to international trade, political geography, geopolitics, regional security and globalisation.

2. The concept of region

The concept of region is both ambiguous and flexible. Noticeable often the regional concept is used without any closer definitions or decimations. Many times the regional concept seems to be intended for an intermediate level in a spatial structure (Wiberg 1995). The size of region territories can vary from the functional hinterland surrounding a central place to a region consisting of several countries (ibid 1995). Despite territorial differences in size, there can be differences between regions concerning background and function. What really creates and defines a region is therefore of quite different reasons and purposes. Within the research tradition in Human Geography, one normally differs between homogenous and functional regions. The classification remains from the American geographer Richard Hartshorne and his work about the political geography of Europe. Hartshorne published his monograph "The Nature of Geography – A Critical Survey of Current Thought in the Light of the Past" in 1938. The theoretical discussions in his work are mainly built upon studies in current German literature (Johnston 1997) and early German geographers such as Ratzel and Haushofer probably influence Hartshorne. Friedrich Ratzel developed the idea about the state or the territory as depending on its surroundings. The territory, the city or the region was compared with the biological concept of an organism. The Swedish political scientist Rudolf Kjellén, a pupil to Ratzel, developed these ideas to an organic science of politics. The German political geographer, Karl Haushofer, who studied together with Rudolf Kjellén, legitimized the German territorial policy with the early organism analogy as a point of departure.[1] Furthermore, Hartshorne argued that geography is about spatial differentiation. Regions are characterised by its homogeneity and the regions peculiarities.

A homogeneous region is delimited by one or several characteristics which not only gives the region obvious characteristics but also a geographical stability in the delimitation vis-à-vis other regions. This type of regional definition is essential (Wiberg 1995). This definition comprises and reflects a territorial character that is understood as natural in a human consciousness (Gidlund & Sörlin 1993).

The character of the functional region is more constructive than the homogeneous region (Wiberg 1995). The character or the characteristics, which delimits a functional region, can be experienced, spontaneous and planned (created). Trade hinterland and commuting zones are examples of functional regions. These functions (hinterlands) express a spatial, interconnected system or internal relations of some kind. The system or the extent of the spatial delimited relations can be seen as an expression for the strength of the region in comparison with other regions.

The homogeneous regions are divided into three different types. The first category is the identity region (Wiberg 1995). The identity region is mainly based on ethnical ground and has similarities with the original nationalism or proto-nationalism (Taylor & Flint 2000). The

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[1] The links between the thinking of Rudolf Kjellén and the German political geography, the geopolitics of Adolf Hitler and the friendship between Kjellén and Karl Haushofer is still partly unknown. In Sweden, the interest to clarify these issues seems to be low.

unifying forces in a homogenous region are for example unifying cultural characteristics and traditions with historical roots (Wiberg 1995). Proto-nationalism is supposed to have deep roots in history. Normally, nationalism is associated with the common nationalistic movements during the second half of the 19th century. Gottmann (1973) argues that proto-nationalism can trace back as far as the beginning of the 15th century. It is possible to derive the idea of pro patria mori, to die for your country to this time. Even in Shakespeare dramas, it is possible to find nationalistic expressions. However, Taylor & Flint (2000) argues that these early expressions of nationalism more express a loyalty to the crown and the regent rather than a loyalty to a geographical area inhabited by a unified collective.

The centralistic ambitions combined with the late 19th century nationalism resulted in a higher degree of cultural homogeneity. There are many expressions of this in the Swedish national state project for example the introduction of the Swedish language, culture and administration in previous Danish territories (Skåne), the reluctance of the Swedish state to allow the minorities the right to speak their own language within the borders of Sweden etc. England, France, Portugal, the Netherlands and Sweden are all example of early nations, which develops from the state. The state preceded the nation (Taylor & Flint 2000). The nation and the national consciousness developed within the framework of the territorial state from the middle of the 19th century. Usually this is called proto-nationalism. In the case of Germany, the national consciousness came first and thereafter the state was created.

The other type of homogeneous region is the natural region (Wiberg 1995). This type is normally delimited by the location of different natural resources (for instance the boreal forests, Taiga) or other physical phenomenon like a river drainage basin. The third type is related to a functional definition and concerns homogeneous trade and industry regions and they are defined by the connection between located natural resources and product specialisation in some sense.

The other main type of regions, functional regions can also be divided in a number of subgroups. The economic dimension is fundamental in the characteristic of functional regions. In some senses is it difficult or problematic to isolate the regional dimensions. Even a cultural defined and delimited region also contains strong economic features. The agricultural sector, sometimes called the primary sector, is one example of an economic activity with strong symbolic values. A crucial part of the National Socialist politics during 1930- and 40s was about the importance of the agricultural sector and the search for arable land.

One of the main types of functional regions according to Wiberg (1995) is trade- and industry regions. These are often built up in relation to a well-developed production system with one or two strong actors (businesses), functioning as regional engines. A network of subcontractors and competitors within the same businesses could also characterise a trade- and industry region. With a more modern use of language, the concept of industrial cluster is applicable. The other main type of functional regions is central place region. Normally it consists of a core (city, town) with a functional hinterland. The hinterland relates to commuting, flows of goods, information flows etc. Successful trade- and industry regions can be linked to other successful regions in a functional network of city regions (ibid 1995). These multi nuclear regions characterise the third type of functional regions. This last type also demands a institutional level while a multi nuclear regions in a higher degree is depending on planning system and planning issues related to infrastructure and long term planning.

The functional regions can develop in several ways. A development analogy in this context is the industrial production systems and how they are developed over time. The production systems today are linked on a global basis. Other factors like cultural identity and distance are important in relation to the driving forces in the global production systems.

Sometimes can comparable functional regions found so called regional alliances based on agreements concerning rules and coordinated activities. The concept of "political region" is used in the political science literature. The social and political forces define the "political region" and its function. It could also be a matter of regions that are differentiated politically, for example the regional policy of EU (Wiberg 1995).

Political regions exist on several levels such as within a nation state, interstate and transnational level (Wiberg 1995). Aalbu (1995) and Wiberg (1995) divide the political regions into three main categories: Administrative regions, which are a part of national or international structures, dominance regions that also are a part of a hierarchical structure in a national system. The last category is collaboration regions, which are more characterised by a voluntary, horizontal structure where interaction occurs between authorities on the same level and institutionalised collaboration arises (Wiberg 1995).

The European collaboration refers to the first and third category of political regions. Many other kinds of regional organisations such as MERCOSUR, NAFTA and ASEAN etc are to be referred to the category of collaboration regions. The European collaboration is in a international perspective unique both to its form and function.

3. How does a region arise and how to maintain the region?

Wiberg (1995) indirect formulates the rhetorical question of how a region is constructed and what components the region includes. Once again must this question be assigned to what kind of region it matter. The identity region or the homogeneous region, which in many cases is the cornerstone for the creation of the classical national state, is normally based on an emotional base rather than a narrow rationalistic economic base. Many territorial conflicts originate entirely or partly from different opinions related to division and legitimacy principles concerning the territory identity.

When the creations of regions are discussed, the question of what type of region it relates to must be raised. The basics for the territorial extent of identity are not static over time. Territories that earlier were conceived as Norwegian territories (Jämtland and Härjedalen), are now conceived as Swedish territories. The European history after the break through of nationalism is full of examples of drastic changes in territorial changes and peculiar territorial constructions. The Versailles peace treaty and the shrinking of Hungary are well known examples as well as the absurd construction of Macedonia as a ethnic innovation Taylor & Flint 2000). The territorial loss of Finland after World War 2 clearly illustrates how of an identity region was reduced due to political decisions. The renaissance of nationalism in Eastern Europe after the fall of Communism is also of interest while the identity region as a phenomenon and a fundament for the return of new or re-established national states, for example the Baltic States or Caucasus.

The discussion about the creation of regions also relates to a paradoxical dichotomy. A region can emancipate based on political decisions, which will affect patterns of movement, flows

and trade which in the next turn defines a functional region. The ethnical cleansing constitutes one of the most extreme expressions of this kind of political decisions. The opposite is also possible that is already existing patterns of movement contributes to the formation of a region that in the long run also will be a political project (the national state).

The latter, that a region emancipates from an existing patterns, relates to the idea of developmentalism. Pounds and Bell (1964) identifies a number of historical core areas in Europe and works with hypothesis that the actual nations partly originates from these core areas. This theory has been criticised partly due to the misconception of core areas and origin areas (Taylor & Flint 2000). There are some similarities between the core area theory and the theory of centre-periphery, especially the idea that a core area from the beginning must have some advantages in comparison with other areas to qualify to become a core area.

In Paasi´s conceptual model for the creation of regions in a national context four stages are discussed (Paasi 1986). In the initial stage, an idea or consensus of the delimitation of the region is established. In the next stage, the regional identity forms through the development of regional concepts and symbols. These regional concepts and symbols relate to historical events, regional disparities, cultural settings, natural phenomena etc. In the third stage, the formal structure of the region in the shape of institutions and rules are settled. In the last, fourth stage, the region is recognised in a larger structure in a regional system of several regions (Paasi 1986, Wiberg 1995).

When it comes to the creation of cross border regions, the literature discusses several driving forces. In practice, one of the forces has the same base as the identity region. A national border can divide cultural homogeneous areas, for example the distribution area of an ethnic group. The driving force behind regional integration in this case can be the re-establishing of a split affinity (ibid 1995). Another important force behind regional integration refers to cross-boundary obstacles in relation to flows like trade, migration, capital-flows etc. The rational argument for this is strong; to decrease or eliminate costs of transactions for different kinds of flows and movements. A third driving force relates to the obsolete traditional regional structure and the need for larger entities in order to control problems, for example environmental problems related to pollution of the sea and the atmosphere. This kind of environmental problem does not consider administrative borders of different kinds. Another reason for regional integration is the common interest of peace and security. The importance of the European Union as a stabilising actor in Europe should not be under-estimated.

A regional division or a regional integration based on, for example economic cooperation implies that the identity region gets another function or meaning in relation to a functional defined region. To put it in a simpler way: The geographical definition of an identity region or a national state have, throughout the history, caused and still causes ambivalence and controversies related to the geographical definition of the territory and the legitimacy of the power. A federative state formation is one strategy to coop with different ethnical groups need of cultural homogeneity. The European Union is rhetorically build on "the regions of Europe" were the regional disparity are given greater opportunities to work within a framework of a supranational structure.[2]

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[2] The European Union is in many cases interesting in this sense. However in this report there is not enough space for a deeper analysis of the European Union.

4. Keeping together (a regional construction)

To identify and create regions is one thing. To maintain and develop regions is another task. With the functionalistic theory of Hartshorne as a point of departure, the integration of the different social, economical and cultural contents to a functional entity is the core of the process (Taylor & Flint 2000). The territorial integration is depending on two forces; centrifugal forces which are divisive or distracting and centripetal forces which are unifying. Different types of movements tends to have a sundering effect while iconography, that is the creation of national or regional symbols like a flag or other symbols, tends to unify. The literature stresses the importance of geographical disintegration of the territory as a disintegrative force. Oblong stretched out territories or territories that are separated from the territory core area can be an aggravation for keeping a territory together, the history and the experiences of this is ambiguous. Pakistan was split into two independent nations while US successfully integrated Hawaii and Alaska which both are separated from the US mainland. Language, ethnicity and religious differences are seemed to be the most common reasons for disintegration or dissolution. Other centrifugal forces can differences in the socio-economic conditions in a national-state (Taylor & Flint 2000).

One of the fundamental condition for a regional integration crossing national borders is the territorial sovereignty (Taylor & Flint 2000).The recognised sovereignty formats the legitimated base for cooperation and arrangements between national states. The sovereignty itself is an expression for cooperation between states. A state that declares its sovereignty and also gets its sovereignty recognised by other sovereign national states is sovereign. The final step in this sovereignty process is normally to become a member of the United Nations. There are a number of examples of territories which have declared their independence but have not won a recognition by the international community for instance the Turkish part of Cyprus and Chechnya and thereby not been given the opportunity to take part in the international cooperation.

In order to attain sovereignty Burghardt (1973) mean that three conditions have to be fulfilled. The firs condition is an effective territorial control. The territorial control is important in order to get the international community to accept the territory. Very few or none questions the Indian occupation of the former Portuguese colony Goa in 1962. The second condition, territorial integrity, is best exemplified by enclaves. The destiny of the Russian enclave Kaliningrad is partly affected by its territorial integrity. Historical and cultural claims constitute the third condition according to Burghardt. One example of this is, according to Taylor and Flint (2000), the conservatism that characterise the relations between countries. The colonial African heritage is obvious but the national borders stability is apparent. The explanation to this is probably the arrangements between national states. No independent country is willing to question or recognise a territorial separation or other territorial changes in other countries to avoid being questioned themselves. The rules of the game in the international relations have clearly a geographical setting. In Africa this is interesting while the borders mainly refer to the former colonial powers and the territorial control they had when the borders were decided in the end of the 19th century. The borders in Africa do not consider ethnical and lingual borders to the same extent in comparison to Europe.

5. Regional integration and trade agreements

There are a number of international organisations which some of them have well defined geographical areas. Some of the organisations are based on common interests while other has multilateral purposes. The latter aims in the first hand to establish connections between national states in order to facilitate different kinds of movement for example trade. In general terms this seems to be the case in neighbouring states. The actual trade- and migration flows are by logical reasoning more frequent between neighbours than between states geographically separated from each other. The geographical principle of subsidiary is in these cases obvious. In a normal case like Sweden in its neighbours it is natural that the trade flows between the Nordic countries is important and thereby it is logical to simplify these trade flows and connect sovereign territories (national states) closer to each other. This is normally called regional integration, but the integration is based on the principle of sovereignty. Two or several independent, sovereign states can agree upon different matters and in the specific matters create a larger geographical unit.

The common denominator for regional integration is trade and the actual and central actor within the field of world trade is WTO (World Trade Organisation) and its forerunner GATT. How the world trade is organised and has developed over time partly explains the existence of regional trade integration. From 1947, when GATT was established until 1994, 124 regional trade agreements were reported to GATT. In 1994 GATT was replaced by WTO and during the following years 149 new trade agreements were added (Gustavsson & Kokko 2004). This number is considering as high. Why has the number of international agreements and co operations within economy and trade grown so fast? An important precondition for this is the growth of the world economy and the development of more integrated system, better and cheaper transports, larger market areas etc. Gustavsson & Kokko (2004) think that the reason for the low interest for international co operation until 1994 was that many countries did not saw any welfare advantages in international co operations. The exception was the countries in the Third World where many countries cooperated in order to became stronger in the GATT negotiations (ibid 2004).

The importance of the economics of scale for the regional integration became obvious during the 1970- and 80th. A regional integration does not only affect the trade flows, it also means a larger common market. The economics of scale in this connection means that larger entities (firms or companies) produce goods and services to a lower unit price than a smaller firm and that implies that companies with a large domestic market are more competitive when the world market is liberalised. This process is supposed to stimulate the regional integration in Europe and tends to deepened the integration ambitions (Gustavsson & Kokko 2004).[3]

Many of the international organisations such as OAU, MERCOSUR, EU etc tends to get mer member countries over time. En possible explanation to this is that countries that from the beginning choose not to become a member realises that the cost is higher not to be a member than being a member (Gustavsson & Kokko 2004). That counts especially for countries with an uncertain role in the global or continental economy. Norway have chosen not become a member of the EU. Norway is already so integrated in the global economy and have a strong position in relation to the own oil resources. This gives a country as Norway a strong position

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[3] The regional struggle of the localisation of the large, economics of scale intensive firms raises the demand for harmonizing regulations, subsidies, tax policies etc in the member countries in a integrated region in order to secure fair conditions. In the next turn this creates a clear legitimacy for harmonizing rules and regulations.

in negotiations with for example EU. The idea that more countries over time join international organisations by financial reasons is called the Domino theory (ibid 2004).[4]

Some of the bilateral trade agreements also seem to confirm the imperialistic idea resulted in. The number of bilateral trade agreements between US, Japan and the EU on the one hand and countries in the Third World on the other hand tends to increase (ibid 2004). These agreements (so called hub-and-spoke agreements) means that the central area (industrialised countries) have full market access to the other country (Third World country) while the Thirld World country not have the same market access neither to the central area nor other poor countries in the same hub-and-spoke system (ibid 2004).

A number of studies show that international co operations do not harm third part, which means that countries outside the cooperation are not harmed economically. Other studies show that the economy in participated countries is stimulated by the cooperation Gustavsson & Kokko 2004). With these two points of departures it is reasonable to believe that the number of international agreements or regional integration will increase and on the same time will deepen. According to Gustavsson & Kokko (2004) the US and EU are key actors in this process. What forms the globalisation will take in the future and how new co operations can be established is to a high extent depending on how USA and EU can cooperate. Frosty and cold trade relations between these two actors can in the worst scenario cause global economical problems (ibid 2004).

One crucial question is the success of the regional integration process. Can a successful regional integration process cause negative consequences for the liberalisation of the world trade? A possible scenario is that the regional integration in a global perspective results to the birth and growth of fewer numbers of trade unions or mega regions with well developed economical and political integration and that these regions develops problematic relations to each other.

6. The Growth of the regions

During the late 19th century the world trade was characterised by a relatively freedom and low customs tariffs. This early free trade became more protectionists during the interwar period and reaches its peak right before the outbreak of World War 2. After the war the consensus regarding the danger of protectionism was recognised and in this spirit the establishing of GATT 1947-1948 followed. The GATT-system became successful and the customs tariffs were radically reduced by general agreements managed by GATT. The descendant to GATT, WTO was in some way also successful in that sense that WTO managed to incorporate the textile industry, the agricultural sector and services in the agreements. Gustavsson & Kokko (2004) suggests that despite the successful work of GATT not all parties were satisfied. The reason can be political. Many international agreements and international co-operations have a political background rather than a economical background. The embryo to EU, the coal- and steel union had a pronounced political motive; to prevent the main members in the union, France and Germany, starting a dispute once again. Preventing the communism to spread was one political reason to establish ASEAN in 1967.

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[4] The concept of the Domino theory originates from a political context and the Truman doctrine. The Truman administration warned for the spread of communism in Asia and Europe. If one country in a certain region becomes a communist country other countries in the region will be in danger.

Another reason to develop international agreements can be the possibilities to compete on the international market. Regional trade agreements in the Third World created better opportunities to compete with countries in the same development stage. When GATT reduced the customs tariffs, other forms of protectionism trade barriers occurred. In order to reduce the consequences of these barriers it becomes a strategy to come to a trade agreement with important trade partners. Gustavsson & Kokko (2004) claim that the classical trade theory, developed by Heckser and Olin, is not applicable in all parts; a trade theory has to include different types of market imperfections. Economies of scales are one of these imperfections. Large firms in big countries have a advantage on a new established common market by the economy of scale.

Regional integration has become one of the most important alternatives for smaller countries if they would like to participate in the global trade system. GATT and WTO from the beginning aimed to inspect different types of bilateral and multilateral agreements. Even though GATT from the beginning aimed to contribute to a better global order with reduced custom tariffs as a tool to work in this direction, regional integration can be seen as something inconsistent to the principles of GATT. However regional agreements are often accepted as long as they intend all trade between the parties. There are seven categories of regional integration. Regional trade preferences are the first and simplest main category. These agreements are quite often selective and can comprise only a few number of commodity groups were the custom tariffs have been reduced. A higher degree of integration is represented by the so called free trade agreement. This agreement implies that all the participating countries eliminate all custom tariffs in the trade between the participating countries. The largest free trade areas are NAFTA (North American Free Trade Association), AFTA (Free Trade Association) and EFTA (European Free Trade Association). Despite eliminated custom tariffs still other trade barriers can remain. That could for example be product regulations and the problem with the burden of proof related to the national origin of a product (Gustavsson & Kokko 2004). It is for example common to use a transit country with whom the exporter has a free trade agreement with. This transit country thereafter re-exports the product to the destination country which the re-exporter has a free trade agreement with (but not the actual export country). One way of evade this problem is to establish a custom union were the participating countries commits to follow the agreements and were the participating countries agree on a trade policy related to the rest of the world. One example of a custom union is MERCOSUR in South America. One of several problems with a custom union is the acceptance of the first real step towards a regional integration which means that the single countries in a custom union have to renounce their own trade politics independency (ibid 2004). In fact, this has caused problems within MERCOSUR (the custom union between Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and Venezuela). Brazil has a historical tradition of import substitution through high custom tariffs against the surrounding world. Brazil wanted to keep these high tariffs, which for the other members in MERCOSUR resulted in higher custom tariffs. This circumstance is probably the main reason why Chile choose not be a member in MERCOSUR.

Despite a custom union it is still possible for single members to act in contravention with the custom union agreement and this can be understood as a trade barrier. In addition it is also possible to restrict the flow of capital, labour and trade of services between custom union countries. It is therefore necessary to harmonise product regulations and competition policies and also guarantee the free movement (ibid 2004). This leads towards a need of an integration agreement and give rise to a common market. In the next step an economic union is established which means a common market with harmonised monetary- and finance policies

and a system of fixed exchange rates. Thereafter is the step to a common currency not far away and the deepened cooperation has then resulted in an economic and monetary union. The only example of this kind of advanced integration world wide is European Monetary Union (EMU) which was established in 2001. The driving force in this kind of regional integration is often to simplify trade between the member states. The political motives will become much more evident with a deepened cooperation. The European project had from the very beginning very distinct a pacifistic political point of departure. In addition it is noticeable that the trade political integration constitutes only one of the driving forces to and an explanation for the European regional integration.

Type of agreement	Meaning	Example
1. Regional trade preferences	Lower custom tariffs	Bangkok-agreement, LAIA, bilateral agreements
2. Free trade area	Tariff exemption	NAFTA, AFTA, EFTA, bilateral agreements
3. Custom union	Tariff exemption and a common trade policy	EEC 1959
4. Common market	Tariff exemption, common trade policy and harmonized product regulations, common competition policy and free movement	MERCOSUR, EG 1992
5. Economic union	As above and fixed exchange rates and harmonized monetary- and finance policies	EMU 1999
6. Economic and monetary union	As above and common currency and monetary	EMU 2001
7. Political union	As above and harmonized taxes and social benefits	

Table 5.1 Different type of regional agreements (Source: Gustavsson & Kokko, 2004, p 29)

Regional integration can of course mainly have political driving forces. Some present examples of regional integration are the reunification of Germany in 1990, the reunification of Yemen the same year and the Chinese incorporation of Hong Kong in 1997. All these cases were driven mainly by political reasons. In the same sentence also the regional disintegration should be mentioned. The history is marked by the fall of empires and the latest examples of fallen empires are the Soviet Union and the Yugoslavian federation which can be described as a regional disintegration.

7. Regional Integration – Some examples

In the following section some of the regional integration organisations will be closer examined. The examples are MERCOSUR/OAS, ECOWAS/AU, and ASEAN.

7.1 South America and MERCOSUR/OAS

MERCOSUR is an abbreviation for Mercado Comun Del Sur (the organisation for regional integration in South America). The organisation was founded on the 26th of March 1991 by Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay and Paraguay by the agreement of Tratado de Asunción, which came into power in November same year. January the first in 1995 the free trade union of MERCOSUR was established. The cooperation is based on a customs union where the ambition is to phase down all kinds tariff and non-tariff barriers between the countries in the union and to establish a common extern trade policy. MERCOSUR is governed by a ministry

council with its secretariat in Montevideo. MERCOSUR was established one year after the establishment of the North American version, NAFTA.

The background to the creation of MERCOSUR is partly related to the time of unrest in the economic and democratic development in South America and the constant presence of US interests and trade barriers. The ambition to be able to coop with the US interests is one strong unifying factor for MERCOSUR. Another important explanation for the creation of MERCOSUR is the regional tradition of high custom tariffs and Brazilian tradition of import substitution.

A very important driving force in MERCOSUR is the possibility to create economics of scale by building a large domestic market. This might give the entrepreneurs and companies in the region better opportunities to compete on the international market.

The ambitions to establish a larger trade political union in South America continues. A parallel organisation to MERCOSUR exists in the Andinian community, Comunidad Andina, which is a free trade area consisting of Bolivia, Colombia, Venezuela and Ecuador. There are plans to merge the Andinian community with MERCOSUR and thereby also include Chile, Guyana and Surinam (Internet 1). Today Bolivia and Chile has a free trade agreement with MERCOSUR. This lighter agreement comes into existence by the so called Acuerdos de Complementación Económica. This agreement was complemented some years later (2004) when Peru, Colombia, Ecuador and Venezuela were included (Internet 2). The question of a merger and to establish a common trade political union on the whole South American continent is a central and complicated issue. Chile and Peru have both chosen to become members of the North American Free Trade Association (NAFTA). This is in a way in conflict with the idea of MERCOSUR to establish a strong trade political union in the south to match NAFTA and support a growing trade political independence and bigger influence on global economical arena. Brazil is the main actor behind this issue. During 2004 the countries in South America agreed on the importance to continue the work and cooperation in this direction (Internet 1). One further expression of the political will to establish better and closer cooperation between the countries on the continent is the preliminary plans on a cooperation based on a regional energy support, energy ring (Anillo Energético).

The Free trade strategy as a solution of the poverty problem and the political turbulence in South America has partly failed. The process of social and economical marginalisation has increased in the region. At the summit in Argentina in the end of 2005 there was a clear back-lash for the ambition to create a free trade agreement between NAFTA and South America (ALCA, FTAA).[5] The neo-liberalism has failed when it comes to the problem of poverty. What people want is economic growth combined with justice (Internet 4). An expression for this is the political ambitions in Brazil and Argentina to combine economic growth with a more equal distribution of incomes and social reforms. For US and the Bush administration the latest development is a back lash. However the countries in South America are split in relation to the issue about ALCA. Mexico, Chile, Colombia and the countries in Latin America support USA in this matter, while MERCOSUR is more negative. MERCOSUR stands for 75% of the total GNP in South America which means that the success of ALCA is to a high extent depending on the standpoint of MERCOSUR (Internet 4).

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[5] The Spanish denotation for this free trade agreement is Área de libre comercio de las Américas (ALCA) and the English ditto is Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA).

The controversy between ALCA and many of the South American countries was intensified when Venezuela became full member of MERCOSUR in December 2005. The Venezuelan president Hugo Cháves is strongly against a closer cooperation with NAFTA and USA. Venezuela is the world's fifth oil exporting country and third largest economy in South America. The entrance of Venezuela makes MERCOSUR to a stronger actor. At the meeting in December 2005 where Venezuela became full member of MERCOSUR the intraregional conflict was strengthened. Especially Chile indicated that they do not sympathise with the polarisation between USA and MERCOSUR. Today Chile is a member of NAFTA and associated member of MERCOSUR (Dagens Nyheter 2005).

In the Swedish newspaper, Dagens Nyheter, it was suddenly reported on the 4th of May 2006, that the MERCOSUR cooperation had break down because Uruguay choose to leave the organisation to protest against Argentina arrogance (Shachar 2006). If this should turned up to be a fact it should meant a serious failure for the integrations attempts in South America and the field once again would be open for protectionism and US trade dominance. However this report turned up to be rash and unverified but it clearly put the headlights on the vulnerable situation in the region and the consequences of less well-advised statements. In this case the rumour of the death of MERCOSUR emancipates from a statement from the Uruguayan president Vasquez in Uruguayan television after a meeting with President Bush. President Vasquez stated that it was better for Uruguay to leave MERCOSUR or to degrade the membership regarding to Brasilia and Argentina and their advantages of MERCOSUR. The same day Vasquez regrets his statement and made a clarification that MERCOSUR did not work properly in its actual form (BBC News 2006).[6] Vasquez also emphasised the importance of an enlarged MERCOSUR.

MERCOSUR has now been in progress for ten years. The development has sometimes been troublesome both politically and economically. It seems to be difficult to evaluate the economical impact of MERCOSUR (Gustavsson & Kokko 2004, OECD 2001). Especially it is hard to find something to evaluate against or to compare with. The contradictory process is in a way not interesting because it did not happen. On the political arena Rubens Ricupero, former minister of finance in Brazil, is of the opinion that MERCOSUR have had an stabilising impact for the development in the region (OECD 2001). It is well known that the relations between Argentina and Brazil for a long time been rather strained. The trade between these two nations has not only been questioned but also steps towards integrative actions have been made before the establishment of MERCOSUR. In the beginning of the 1980th, Argentina and Brazil had a bilateral agreement concerning the trade of automobiles and steel products and this bilateral agreement was the initial step to the formation of MERCOSUR (OECD 2001). To create trust between countries by trade agreements is well known and have been discussed among for example political scientists for a long time (OECD 2001). This statement seems to correspond to the development in South America so far.

An international cooperation by the character of MERCOSUR could also contribute to a politically more stabilised development in the single member country and in the region as a whole. During April 1996 a rumour was spread saying there was an imminent military coup in Paraguay. The head of the four member states at that time frankly announced that democracy is a condition for being a member of MERCOSUR. The same year this statement

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[6] An additional source of irritation is the planned paper mills in Uruguay almost at the border to Argentina which have resulted in protests in Argentina.

was formulated as a binding agreement for the cooperation in MERCOSUR as a whole (OECD 2001).

Today MERCOSUR represents the fourth largest trade political bloc in the world after EU, USA and Japan and is one of the fastest growing economies. It is reasonable to assume that the existence of MERCOSUR has hastened this development and strengthened the regional self confidence. The regional integration in MERCOSUR was not only restricted to establish a larger domestic market with high a high tariff barrier but also modernising the economy and stimulating the economic growth in order to have better odds on the global market (Internet 3).

The economical, demographical and democratic development in South America in general and in the existing MERCOSUR-area in particular is in a longer perspective positive. The development has partly been characterised by social uneasiness, protectionism, social injustices, political populism etc but the development towards a economically and socially sustainable development proceeds. The chances are good for a stable political development in South America increases with a regional integration process. It is however important that these regional co-operations survive and develops and that more common areas/arenas of common interest can be identified in order to strengthened the integration. MERCOSUR is today the strongest regional actor in South America. In addition to MERCOSUR the Andinian community and NAFTA exists. The latter is interesting in a longer perspective. At the presence there is a certain tension in the region regarding the relation between MERCOSUR and NAFTA, foremost represented by Argentina and Brazil on the one hand and USA on the other hand. The division is aggravated by the fact that Chile, Peru and the countries in Central America have been united behind NAFTA and USA. This can be a destabilising factor for the regional development. Much depends on the future American geopolitics.

Two possible scenarios are that the polarisation on the American continents increases as a result of a cold trade war or that MERCOSUR and NAFTA in the long run will be integrated. The decisive for the development is of course how the world trade develops. Probably the American administration does not consider a strong polarisation as a good solution. MERCOSUR is developing towards a big market and can, in a near future give NAFTA a match. In all senses it would be unhappy for both world trade and the regional development if the polarisation between the two (MERCOSUR and NAFTA) trade unions increases.

It is very likely that the MERCOSUR co-operation will be deepened and incorporates more members. It is also likely that MERCOSUR will continue to develop the contacts with other organisations like EU and ECOWAS etc. It is furthermore reasonable to believe that the positive development regarding social conditions, institutional structure, economy etc in South America continues.

There are a number of questions of regional character that must be considering as worrying. One of the questions concerns criminality and drug trade and the other question relates to the democratic development in the member states. A regional integration needs a broad democratic legitimacy in order to be successful. On the same time the existing cooperation illustrates that by common work it is possible to neutralize negative non-democratic forces.

Another important actor, however not that obvious like MERCOSUR, is OAS, Organisation of American States. OAS is one of the older existing cooperation organisations on the

continent. The organisation was founded in 1948 and originates from the so called Pan-American Union which was founded 1910 and the Rio-pact, a defensive alliance established 1947. All countries on the American continents are members of OAS apart from Cuba which was excluded from OAS 1962. The OAS has their general meetings once a year and foreign ministry council is summons only at extraordinary events (Internet5, 6).

OAS is an organisation that has existed for a long time and it is difficult to evaluate or judge the importance of the organisation. As a forum for discussions between different countries and interests OAS probably have had a major importance. How the relations of power de facto are on the American continents is reflected in the symmetry of power which characterise OAS. The US interests especially in Latin America also influences the US intentions in OAS. USA has used OAS in order to legitimise their own foreign policy agenda in the region while the other members in OAS have had a more restrictive view on the US dominance and interventionism. The other members have also tried to get USA to adapt the agreed behavioural code (Bogota agreement).

Without any doubts a number of regional disputes have been defused by negotiations and agreements within the framework of OAS. It is obvious that OAS during the last year got a more ideological role. Today democratic principles, human rights, women's rights, drug trade, corruption and the support of free trade characterises the cooperation within OAS. Among other things OAS contributes with election observers at public elections.

The newly identified gap between NAFTA and MERCOSUR and the unsuccessful ambitions to create a larger trade political bloc, ALCA or FTAA, only illustrates the gap which has been a fact for a long time within the framework of cooperation in OAS. The difference now is that the major economies in MERCOSUR, Brazil, Argentina and Venezuela have had a rapid economic development and a real growth in the economy which in the next turn resulted that MERCOSUR has become an important actor on the global market which NAFTA and USA not can neglect. This has also meant that USA most likely has to reconsider the strategic considerations regarding South America. The success of MERCOSUR has also resulted in a regional self confidence which has meant that important issues in the south with certain success can be put on the international agenda.

7.2 Africa and ECOWAS/AU

In comparison with South America the demographical and economical development in Africa has been slower. The post-colonial burden is more ambiguous and of later date compared to South America. The numbers of colonial powers have been bigger in Africa and the colonial powers maintained for a longer period than in South America. Africa is also a continent with a catastrophic image in media characterised by starvation, malnutrition, epidemics, regional conflicts, civil wars, refugees etc. Africa is the continent of contrasts where welfare exists side by side with poverty and starvation, where stability and security exists side by side with civil wars and genocide, where a positive development in many areas occurs on the same time as a negative development occurs in other areas.[7]

The regional integration is relatively well developed in Africa. There are a number of organisations and established cooperation forms between the national states. The Organisation of African Unity (OAU), African Union (AU) and New Partnership for Africa's

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[7] In fact this description could be applicable for all inhabited continents and not only Africa.

development (NEPAD) are examples of organisations/cooperation's which comprises the whole or parts of the African continent. Regional co-operations within trade, communications, infrastructure, economy etc are exists in many areas for example West African Economic and Monetary Union (UEMOA), the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) (ECA 2004). One explanation to the rich existence of integrative attempts can be the history of the political borders. Linguistic, cultural and ethnical many borders in Africa can be seen as obsolete. Many borders do not consider peoples origin and movement patterns. This could possibly create a need for alternative ways of interaction across national borders. Of special interest is ECOWAS (Economic Community of West African States). The organisation was established 1975 as an economical cooperation between 16 West African nations.[8]

This cooperation was later developed towards a military defence cooperation comprising 11 of the 16 nations in ECOWAS (OECD 2004). The military cooperation authorises a military intervention in a conflict between some of the countries in the military cooperation or if any member country is being attacked from outside the cooperation. The defence or military cooperation in parts of the ECOWAS area is a good example of how a regional faith capital can be built up, administer and developed within regional integration cooperation (OECD 2004). The countries in ECOWAS has also organised a permanent mediation commission with a view to mediate in regional conflicts. The ECOWAS military forces have also been used in peace keeping operations in the region. In the year of 1990 the ECOWAS military forces intervened in the civil war in Liberia and later also Côte d'Ivoire Internet 7).

The military cooperation and the binding security agreement in ECOWAS have some similarities with the military and defence cooperation in Europe (EU). A military cooperation illustrates an advanced ambition in the regional integration process, a great trust and common responsibility but it also illustrates some of the difficulties. One problem is the command and control regarding the common military forces. A troublesome historical example of this is the difficult act of balance between different narrowed regional interests exampled by the former people's army of Yugoslavia. By historical reasons the major part of men and officers in people's army was recruited from the Serbian group. In the Yugoslavian regional dissolution this fact resulted in devastating and catastrophic consequences (Stjernström 2006). It is probably rather unusual that integrative attempts are made in order to makes integrated regions to fall apart. The lesson is maybe to find a solution how to balance different interests.

Despite that the colonial history of West Africa have resulted in three official languages (English, French and Portuguese) which means a certain barrier in the communication between the countries there are also lots historical and cultural factors that unifies the region. Despite that the region is considered as one of the poorest region in the world suffering from poverty, conflicts and ruthless exploitation of natural resources (Internet 7) have the cooperation within ECOWAS also resulted in economic, security and democratic successes. An important condition for a positive economic and democratic development is the regional security. The regional conflicts have had a devastating effect on the development in West Africa. During the last years the development had taken another direction. The old saying that "trade supports peace" is also obvious in the case of ECOWAS. You do not fight against the hand that feed you. The political cost for national self-willed behaviour can, in the worst

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[8] Today ECOWAS comprise 15 West African countries, since Mauritania left the organisation. These countries are Benin, Burkina Faso, Cote d Ivory, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Cap Verde, Liberia, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Mali, Niger, Senegal, and Togo (Internet 7).

scenario, be a stream of refugees and starvation and this is not sustainable in a democratic system. In relation to time, economic integration and democratic process the number of successful peace efforts has increased. Democratic elections have been held in a number of national states and the transition 1999 to a democratic system most populated country in ECOWAS, Nigeria, was confirmed by public elections 2003 (Internet 7). A big challenge within ECOWAS is to increase the per capita income. Despite a favourable economic development in ECOWAS the population growth have been so extensive that the per capita income have not noticeable changed. If ECOWAS should have any possibilities to develop to a major actor in the global economy a more justified global trade policy is needed. The work of MERCOSUR in South America can be one model. By a regional cooperation were the economical strength is reinforced also increases the opportunities in the international context. For ECOWAS this is also one of the most important issues in relation to WTO.

The equivalent to OAS (Organisation of American States) in Africa is African Union (AU). The African Union was established 1999 as a descendent to or a development of Organisation of African Union (OAU). The formal start of the African Union was 2002 at the 53 African states meeting in Durban (Internet 8). The African Union is partly inspired by the European Union. The important tasks for the African Union are among other issues to keep a united front in negotiations with the industrialised world. Further on, the African Union claims that a democratic development in the member states is fundamental. An important difference compared to the predecessor regards the policy balancing common issues and national interests. The African Union is built upon, as in other regional integration projects, on the sovereign and independent national state. A particularly important deviation from OAU:s early principle never to get involved in the member states internal affairs is the principle of the African Union to mutual consider one's interests for human rights, corruption, peace and security etc. Intervention of a common all-African peace force can become an agent in order to secure peace and security etc. The large democracies, Nigeria and South Africa, are main actors behind this issue (Internet 8 and 9).

The African union has prerequisites to be able to function as a unifying force and a coordinator in many areas. Many of the visions which the African Union has are about supporting a development towards democracy, peace and security and a positive economic development. Now and then the African Union have been criticised for being imprecise and wordy more than being specific and working with operational targets.

In the report "The regional integration in Africa" by the economic commission for Africa (ECA 2004) a number of problematic areas and challenges are highlighted. One of the problems in the regional integration process in Africa is the great variety of regional integration projects. They have all a lot in common but also to some extent different agendas. This can be troublesome in the relations between different countries belonging to different regional organisations or when a single country change member organisation etc (ECA 2004).

In this context the African union will have a major importance. In the same report the protocol euphoria is pointed out as a problem. The number of important meetings and sessions on government level is high and the extent of written agreements overwhelming. An important task in this work is the national ratifying process of these international agreements. In this process the African Union can have a major impact by rationalising the protocol- and ratifying processes (ECA 2004).

Another problem is the importance of the big words. The discrepancy between the ceremonious words and the reality in the different countries in Africa is far too big according to the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA 2004). A barrier for integration is the lack of investment capital for building of a continental infrastructure. It counts for investments in road system, an African railroad system and continental air lines. In the same report it is also mentioned the importance of involving the private sector in the process. There is a tendency to forget about the private sector in international agreements, which would have been desirables (ECA 2004).

The restart of the continental cooperation that the African Union represents and illustrates is without any doubt a vitamin injection for the regional integration process in Africa. The African Union has a clear democratic anchorage and the rejection of the old principle not to get involved in other countries internal affairs are two main factors for a greater chance for success. It is also noticeable that the Arabic speaking Northern Africa to a greater extent is oriented towards the rest of Africa and focuses less on Europe.

7.3 Asia and ASEAN

The equivalent to ECOWAS and MERCOSUR in South East Asia is Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). ASEAN was established in 1967 and comprised five members from the beginning; Indonesia, Philippines, Malaysia, Singapore and Thailand (Internet 10). The ASEAN-declaration from 1967 is considered by ASEAN as the starting signal to one of the most well developed organisations in the world (Internet 10). From the beginning the cooperation concerned economical, social, cultural, technical and educational issues. Today the organisation has 10 members; Brunei, Darussalam, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam. In ASEAN lives almost half a billion people and some of the countries has undergone a spectacular development comparable to the Asian tigers. Some of the success of ASEAN can be connected to remarkable economic development in some of the member countries.

In comparison with for example the European Union (EU) and MERCOSUR is ASEAN to a greater extent a heterogenic region when it comes to ethnicity, history, religion, culture and tradition (Lindberg 2006). It is also possible, like Acharya (Acharya 2000 in Lindberg 2006) to claim that "diversity is what gives Southeast Asia its distinctiveness". The observation is interesting when it, in a way, questions the traditional regional concept. The difference is uniting but what is it in this difference that one can regard as the lowest common denominator? The colonial history and the, in many parts of Southeast Asia, the disorderly 20th century can be contributory causes. The under development in the region has probably positively affected the economical driving forces for regional integration.

In the beginning the work of harmonising the customs tariffs was sluggish. Normally, harmonising the customs tariffs is the initial project in a regional integration process, but this was not the case with ASEAN. More important in the initial steps towards integration in the region was the security policy. There were political tensions between the five original member states before the formal start of ASEAN but no or only minor tensions after the establishment of ASEAN (OECD 2001). In 1992 "the Asean Free Trade Area" (AFTA) was founded by six of the ASEAN members; Brunei, Darussalam, Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore and Thailand. The other countries are expecting to join the free trade area in the near future. The most important trade partners of AFTA are Japan, USA and EU.

The ASEAN cooperation is also a good illustration to the earlier mentioned domino theory. More countries are joining ASEAN after they gradually experiences the advantages with a membership. During the last five or ten years the success of the Chinese economy attract attention and apprehensions. Some of the apprehensions deal with the regional balance and others are dealing with price development and supply of strategic resources. ASEAN borders on several important countries especially China and further away Australia, Japan and India. How these countries will be included in regional co-operations of security policy reasons is one of the many interesting issues in Asia right now.

A step forward in this direction was taken in the middle of 1990th when ASEAN+3 were announced. There is an apprehension from ASEAN that they are risking to become marginalised in relation to the big economies China, Japan and India (Lindberg 2006). One way to cope with this apprehension is to think in terms of a larger domestic market. China on their hand expects large advantages in approaching ASEAN. China will have direct access to a large export market around the corner. In the year 2000 China approached ASEAN and two years later, in 2002, an agreement was signed between China and ASEAN which in the first hand regards trade cooperation. The Chinese cooperation with ASEAN has clearly political implications.

Regarding Japan the cooperation with ASEAN has grown from the bottom, from a business pragmatically level by, for instance, Japanese business investments in ASEAN. In 2003 a cooperation agreement was signed between ASEAN and Japan. The same business relation can be described in the relation between South Korea and ASEAN. The agreement between South Korea and ASEAN was signed in 2005. ASEAN together with China, Japan and South Korea founds ASEAN+3.

Beyond these agreements a number of other agreements have been signed with other actors. One example is India, which for a long time wanted to approach ASEAN and in 2003 an agreement between India and ASEAN was signed regarding economic cooperation (Lindberg 2006).

ASEAN+3 is interesting from many points of view and can possibly be seen as a intermediary step towards a more comprehensive economic cooperation in the region which could result in East Asian Free Trade Area (EAFTA). This big trade elephant can of course be considered as both promising and as a threat by other global actors. Internal, within ASEAN and before the East Asian Summit it was discussed whether other actors outside the geographical region should be involved. Primarily it concerned Australia, New Zeeland and India. USA has also expressed an ambition to participate at the East Asian Summit (EAS) as an observer not risking to be stepped aside in Asia (Lindberg 2006).

At the present it is hard to get a clear overview of all negotiations and agreements which comprises South East Asia. This also contributes to the uncertainty regarding the direction of the future regional cooperation and integration in the region. The Chinese interest of cooperation with ASEAN and the economical success of China the last years clearly change the focus more towards China. It is also important to observe the reaction of USA and WTO regarding the regional integration process in the region.

8. Keeping together without falling apart – A discussion

The concept "regional integration" comprises two vital components; space and time. Which are the geographical bricks in an integration process? How develops these building bricks over time? To begin with these two central or vital concepts are discussed in relation to the phenomenon of regional integration. Thereafter a number of paradoxes are discussed.

8.1 Space

How the concept of region is conceived is rather central in relation to the question of how the future international order should be understood and analysed. It is obvious that, for example, economists and geographers sometimes do not speak the same language. The spatial, geographical and economical analyse is sometimes unclear in relation how the concept of region is used. The concept "regional integration" is normally used in macro-economical contexts were international cooperation in various forms are discussed. That kind of international organisations and co operations which forms the base for the actual analysis takes its only and immediate point of departure in the national state. It is national states which cooperate with each other, establish bi- or multilateral agreements etc. The national states often find that they in one way or another benefit by cooperate with other national states. The cooperation is normally built upon geographical vicinity. National neighbours create a bigger geographical entity in some respects. It is however striking how important the concept of national state is in these integrative contexts. Regional integration is built upon the national state as a concept and a phenomenon. New countries rarely arise as a result of an integration (exceptions exist of course for example by re-unification of earlier divided states like Germany). The period after the cold war is more characterised by the renaissance of the national state and national disintegration.

An important focus in question concerning regional integration should emphasise the question of national state. What is a national state and in what way is the national state connected to legitimacy and solidarity? The national state is the corner stone in a international integrative project. The European Union in its actual shape is the international cooperation which is the most developed. The integration in this case relates to integration between independent and recognised national states. From a geographical point of view the most interesting with the EU-project is the question or principle of Subsidiarity i.e. the principle that decisions within EU should made on the lowest geographical level as possible. The point of departure is democratic aspect and the prospects of creating a civil legitimacy for the governance of EU. A consequence of this is that the regional level is not the national state or the single member state. Then we are back to the core question; what is a region? What formats a region? These questions were discussed in the introduction to this report and it is not easy to answer. The importance of historical, cultural and symbolic solidarity is central. Language and religion are central corner stones. The political project to build or create (new) regions is not unimportant but not either uncomplicated. The political project United Kingdom has only partly succeeded in the creation of building a national solidarity and unity, the British. In many other, symbolic respects, the Scottish, Welsh, Irish and English identity are still important. Even in the Nordic unitary states it is possible to identify national disintegration symptoms. One of the crucial questions deals with the political project aiming to create a new mental, symbolic regional cohesive level. It succeeded in USA; EU is maybe on the road, Yugoslavia fall apart. In the latter case the political project failed to create a new regional level that was mentally and symbolic superior the historical nationalism within the federation.

In an international context nationalism can be understood as a ghost from the past. A new world with new preconditions gives birth for new social relations (between national states) and new regional basis of division. The regionalisation is adjusted to the question but at the bottom nationalism ghost is guarding. During the whole post war period the international trade has developed towards a dependency system. Trade makes countries depending on each other and the intricate trade systems promote cooperation between countries (or national states) also in many other ways. The trade between national states is thus fundamental for the process of regional integration. Trade also promotes peace. Trade integration has in some cases also develops hand in hand with political peace project like for example the case with the forerunner to EU, the coal- and steel union in Europe after world war two.

The question of the nature of regional integration and the expression of regional integration illustrates the need of discussing the corner stone in the regional integration process. The concept of region needs to be developed in the discussions about international relations. As it is now the regional integration is based upon the classical and unlimited national state. A thesis in this connection is that the classical national state in it self represents a successful regional integration. Other forms of regional integration or integration on other levels has up until today shown not be as successful as the traditional national state. To gather and unite is a difficult art. A common enemy is a good start.

Another ambiguous question in relation to the concepts of region and regional integration is the difference between economic integration and political integration. In some senses it is easy to argue for a clear division between these two. A strong argument for an integration of the economic and political integrations is that they are so intertwined that it is difficult to separate them from each other. Hettne (2005) and Lindberg (2006) argues for a revised regional concept "the new regionalism approach" avoiding the state centrism often found in classical regional integration theory (Lindberg 2006). The approach is interesting, no doubt about that. The grass-root level can rock the world, change the pattern of demand, change people's values etc. The new regionalism approach is worth an own study.

8.2 Time

In the assignment to analyse the regional integration there were also an aspect of time. How these regional integration projects can develops in the future. In the assignment this was formulated as the development between 2017 and 2027. The simple answer is of course the exclamation "I have no idea!" so in this case it has to be a full cover with nuances i.e. possible scenarios with the historical and present development as points of departures.

In all prospects of the future, social and regional planning, scenarios, forecasting etc a useful exercise is to look back in time just as many years than looking into the future. I was for instance born 1961. How did the world look like at that time? What questions and issues were important then and how did we consider our common future? Many of the questions at that time we have in common with the present time but so much has also been dramatically changed. Just to mention some of the changes we can consider world trade, the information flows and technology development. These changes normally refer to what we sometimes name the process of globalisation. Our perception on the surrounding world has also changed, at least partly. It is striking how we make use of our language when we talk about different parts of the world. Still a more imperialistic usage of the language is common in discussions and analysis regarding Africa. For instance we discuss in terms of ethnical movements or

problems in Europe but when it comes to Africa we discuss in terms of tribal wars. The image of Africa changes slowly.

In my old school atlas from the fifth grade i.e. from the beginning of the 1970th, there was a map showing the diffusion of languages in Europe and Africa. The language map for Europe was rich and complex while the language map for Africa was much more simplistic. The African map consisted of only two colours or languages. In the north people speak Arabic languages and in the south people speak negro-languages. The ethnographical research with the old National Swedish Institute of Human Genetics or Race biology in Uppsala in Sweden is a nice illustration of how old dust and a musty view of humanity was preserved for a long time. The Institute in Uppsala still exists but under another name. The name was changed 1956.

Time is a factor that is difficult to deal with. It is not only a question of actual events occurring in time. Values and attitudes are constantly changing, processes are running and new time-spatial restrictions are created over time.

9. Lines and paradoxes

With space and time as points of departures some development tendencies and development paradoxes are discussed in the following text.

9.1 North and South

A comparable stable global order is the relation between north and south over time. The former federal chancellor of the former Federative Republic of Germany, Willy Brandt, coined the concept of the Brandt line, which intended to describe the stable delimitation between north and south or between rich and poor. No further insight is required in order to understand the political forces that are unwilling to discuss this order. The order can be experienced and understood as an imperialistic remain and an expression for the unfair distribution of the global resources. This order may possibly have an influence on the international relations between North and South. A reinforced regional integration and cooperation in the South supports and strengthen the arguments from the South in relation to the concentration of global power to the North. This counts especially for the WTO-negotiations where a wider unity among the countries representing the southern hemisphere has influenced the negotiations. MERCOSUR in South America and ECOWAS in Africa are two expressions of this. If MERCOSUR survives its internal discussions MERCOSUR can become a stronger actor on the global arena. Already today MERCOSUR is the fourth largest trade political bloc in the world and is a strong (counter)-part in relation to NAFTA. It is reasonable to believe that both North- and South America are to be found in a common trade political bloc in the future. One of the crucial questions are the conditions (as s single nation) to participate in that kind of trade political cooperation. MERCOSUR certainly want to be presence when the agenda is going to be formed.

9.2 Barriers or blocs

An important ambition with regional integration is to simplify and liberalise the flow of goods, services, capital and people. The trend is clear; elimination of trade barriers is often followed by a liberalisation of other kinds of flows. Instead of a large number of independent national states and a global trade between countries the development have resulted in trade

between a number of trade political blocs were the role of the single national state is subordinated. The national custom barriers are being tearing down while the trade political blocs tend to create new, outer, custom barriers. The importance of the domestic market is growing and the theories about the advantages of scale economy feeds the efforts of regional integration. Whether larger geographical entities have an affect on the global security needs to be discussed. In a way the work of WTO seems to be paradoxical when there is a certain risk for an unhealthy competition between the trade blocs. The question then will be whether regional integration is an obstacle or a precondition for a more liberal world trade.

9.3 Mental Geography and Global Economy

If the national state is an expression of unity and national solidarity the question must be raised concerning unifying factors in trade political blocs like MERCOSUR, EU, and ASEAN etc. What unites a trade political bloc? Is it even possible to build or create a symbolic based, public consensual fellowship on a level above the existing national state? Maybe the existing national state in it self should be seen as a successful example of regional integration were both the mental map and the real map (or the identity region and the functional region) been successfully integrated. The actual trade unions (or blocs) are more or less build upon cooperation between independent countries. In many of the regional integration projects the importance and respect of the independent national state is pointed out.

During the 1990th the concept of "the Regions of Europe" was frequently discussed (see for example Gidlund & Sörlin 1993), referring to the decline of the national state and the success of the region in the framework of a new territorial project; the European Union. The way EU tried to develop this regional principle in practise was by applying the principle of Subsidiary. However the regional issue and the related debate have almost disappeared from the agenda and at the presence the importance of the independent national state is back in focus. Maybe this only reflects the more and more prominent nationalistic and populist tendencies we have seen in Europe and South America.

9.4 Peace and security trough balance of terror or trade

The Cold War is over and the world has become more "dense". Most analysts claim that trade supports peace. The networks are close and hard tied and mutual relations are intricate and in it self a guarantee against attacks and isolation because an aggressor will also suffer from hostile attacks. A possible scenario could be situations were the world suffers from continentally linked cold trade wars. It is possible to put the controversy between NAFTA and MERCOSUR in the light of a pre-stadium to a cold trade war. MERCOSUR tightens the connections with EU and other actors, which could imply that USA and NAFTA are risking becoming more and more isolated. Even the actual development in the Middle East is a source of concern and the policy of countries such as Iran.

However, the global trade still seems to develop in a positive manner and more and more areas/countries are incorporated in the global economy. Isolation, custom barriers and a one-eyed protectionism may win one or two votes in political elections in the rich world, but isolation and protectionism does not support the efforts towards a safer and secured world.

9.5 The Domino effect and the need for a Territorial Insurance

A global system based on small independent states requires a need for a global order aiming to secure the national sovereignty. Small states (or countries) can choose different strategies: a) the neutrality strategy with a strong military defence. Sweden during the 1950th and 60th is one example of this strategy. b) The cooperation strategy were independent states voluntarily participate in an organisation with several countries under a common security policy umbrella. This organisational umbrella is based on democratic principles. The last expansion of the EU is partly characterised by this strategy were for instance the Baltic States and many other former East European countries were very anxious the join the European Union. This strategy can be seen as a fulfilling of a territorial insurance demand. C) The third strategy is related to involuntarily participation in a super powers geographical interest area. The Cold War and the Warsaw Pact is one obvious example of this.

The examples of regional integration in this report can partly be seen in the light of the topical security policy situation in the world. When the Iron Curtain fell and with the dissolution of the Soviet Union a vacuum arise which partly contributed to the new or re-established national states to seek new security policy solutions in order to provide for the national, territorial, security.

9.6 Regional inflation

In the report from the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA 2004) the demand of coordinating activities between different regional actors is pointed out. There are many organisations wit different tasks and purposes to keep in mind. If the basic principle is that a membership in an international organisation should be based upon the national states gives a clear picture of what a regional integration really is. An interesting question in this relation is what will happen if a country leave one organisation and join another? The continental organisations like the African Union (AU) are in this respect, important in order to gather all African nations under one umbrella. To some extent to number of regional integration projects can be experienced as inflationary. As if a regional integration was the only way

9.7 Power and natural resources

An issue that have not been discussed in this report is the control regarding natural strategic resources like oil, gas, fresh water, arable land, strategic minerals (uranium, iron, gold, copper etc). How the global order will be affected by a real shortage of a strategic resource we really do not know. We have had shorter situations with shortage of for example oil, and we have experienced situations were a main supplier had stopped the delivery. An example of this is some of the former Soviet republics dependency of Russia concerning energy supply i.e. gas from Russia. Especially Ukraine and Georgia have had experiences from this kind of situations.

10. Regional integration 2017-2027

It is hard to imagine a situation where the global process with an expanding global trade could be stopped. Why would anyone want that? Trade and global networks are in it self the base for a peaceful co-existence in the future. Of course there are potential threats that we must consider. The democracy is one problem. A democratic system has difficulties with

avoiding short-sighted populism. A growing interest for nationalism could cause division and isolation, to a "we-and-them perspective". Corruption and organised crime is also potential problems. That counts especially for South America and Africa. Lack of resources and the global distribution policy are two other problematic fields. The international organisations are of course well aware of these problems. The decisive power is mostly in the hands of the rich world.

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Chapter 5

EU trade policy in the future: Contributing to peace or war?

A study on EU-African relations

By Ann-Sofi Rönnbäck

1. Introduction

Today, the majority of the armed conflicts in the world take place on the African continent. The conflicts usually have a long history and some of them have so far been hard to put an end to. In most cases, the conflicts have a complex background but many of them share some common characteristics when it comes to their causes and the effects of the conflicts. A decline in economic and social conditions is almost always important causes of, triggers to and effects of armed conflicts. This typically leads to missed opportunities for development. It's hard to estimate the precise economic and social consequences of the armed conflicts but the direct and indirect costs are clearly very high. Collier has estimated the economic cost of a typical civil war to at least $ 50 billion.[1] Sums like this could have improved the conditions considerable in most of the countries affected by armed conflict if used differently.

Most of today's serious conflicts occur in states that by the United Nations been defined as Least Developed Countries, LDC. This type of states has many common features. They have a weakly developed industry sector, extended poverty, are highly indebted, have a large share of the population dependent of agriculture production and have certain patterns when it comes to foreign trade. In general, they export primary goods and are hence very dependent on prices of global markets. The same conclusion holds for their import which often is concentrated to necessary products not produced in the country. These states are very vulnerable to changes in global economy. Half of the countries classified as LDC's by the UN have experienced major armed conflicts in the last twenty years.[2] 34 of the 54 African countries are defined as LDC's. Today, in 2006, countries like Somalia, Sudan, Sierra Leone, Democratic Republic of Congo and Uganda belongs to the LDC-group.

Traditionally, most of the Sub-Saharan countries (not just the LDC's) have been described as 'hopeless', with high levels of corruption, instable and undemocratic governments, lack of infrastructure, large foreign debts and ineffective economies. At the same time, there are conditions in many of the countries that could constitute a ground for development and growth. Natural resources, fertile soil and cheap labour force can be found in all parts of Africa. Today, the continent hosts about 30 percent of the world's mineral reserves, 40 percent of the gold, 60 percent of cobalt and 90 percent of platinum metals.[3]

A majority of the African countries could probably have had a more positive development if they have had better opportunities producing and exporting products but different policies in developed countries, together with other problems, has reduced their possibilities to develop their production and to trade. Even though trade barriers in the developed countries have gradually been reduced towards low income countries, there are still obstacles that continue

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[1] Collier, Paul (2004) Development and Conflict.
[2] Stewart, Frances & Valpy, FitzGerald (2001) War and Underdevelopment, p. 2.
[3] Ilorah, Richard (2004) Nepad: The Need and Obstacles, p. 223.

to have an effect on their trade opportunities. Of course there are many import causes for the lack of development in African countries but the in the research on development and developing countries there are a common understanding that trade can be an import tool, together with others, in development efforts. One of the most successful ways of reducing the risk for conflicts and civil war is long term development and economic growth that changes the living conditions for the whole population in a country, not just for exclusive elites.

One common prediction today concerning possible future African conflicts is that they will probably to a high degree be driven by problems connected to the governance of resources and to state weakness. The former is focusing on potential destabilization caused by mismanagement of the natural resources as an increased security threat, and the latter deals with the risk of an enlargement of what is called "ungoverned spaces". State weakness can lead to a development where governments loose the ability to exercise effective political, security and economic control over geographic zones. Poor infrastructure, insufficient financial resources, legal deficiencies, democratic deficit and fragmentation between groupings in society may, in a worst case scenario, results in a situation where government's position is gradually weakening. In this case, economic activity may bee mainly driven by non-state and criminal actors out of control of the state.[4] Another conclusion on African conflicts is that they have a tendency to be exported to the region.[5] Internal conflicts often become regional conflicts which makes the future progress even more important to regions and to the whole of the continent. In the post-Cold War world, treats to regional security has become more obvious then ever. An understanding of regional security dynamics is central to understand the fears and aspiration of actors within both states and regions.[6]

EU has for a long time been one of the most influential actors in global economy. Trade is one of the major policy arenas in the European Union. EU's share of world trade in goods is around 20 percent which makes it the largest trading partner in global trade. Decisions concerning trade made by the EU are therefore of great importance to developing countries. Many of them have well established relations with EU members. The relations between EU members and Africa have long historic rots and different EU strategies for Africa have been developed during the years. Agreements on trade related matters have been signed on a number of occasions between the two continents. Today, EU is still expressing a deep concern for the future of African countries and is using different instruments to promote peace, stability and predictability on the African continent. Critics if EU stresses that there are also other motives for EU policies towards Africa which are more focused on protecting European domination and its own security. In 2008, the negotiations between most of the African states[7] and the EU on an Economic Partnership Agreements shall be completed. The agreement is supposed to lay out a foundation for further development of the economic relations between EU and African States. Trade relations are an essential part of the agreement. It has already been criticised for being unfair and focusing too much on European needs.[8] EU trade policy has several goals today, for instance increasing the opportunities for European firms to trade by improved market access around the world and contributing to economic growth and development in those countries less involved in contemporary international trade, i e developing countries.

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[4] McNamee, Terence (ed) (2006) African Security, Commodities and Development, pp. 3-4.
[5] Herbst, Jeffrey & Mills, Greg, (2006) *Africa in 2020: Three scenarios for the future*.
[6] Buzan, Barry & Weaver, Ole (2003) *Regions and Powers. The Structure of International Security*, p. 43.
[7] The African ACP states witch includes all African states except Algeria, Egypt and West Sahara.
[8] See for instance Oxfam International (2006) Unequal partners. *How EU-ACP Economic Partnership Agreements could harm the development prospects of many of the world's poorest countries.*

The future EU trade policy is though not evident. The expansion of the European Union may influence the direction of the trade policy when members with different economic and social priorities shall agree on how fare the opening of the European market is supposed to go and what the demands on other state's trade policy should be. The question today is if there will be a contradiction between EU's different goals in the future? And what will the effect be for the African countries – win or loose? The "best case scenario" includes more open trade relations between Africa and EU, contributing to development and peace for African countries. The opposite "worst case scenario" can be divided in to two parts; a more protectionistic EU, where the trade relation to Africa will develop very slowly, or open and extensive trade relations dominated by EU interests, leaving African countries with less control over what the effects of trade will be and therefore not able to plan and take advantage of trade in their development policy. In the last scenario, with asymmetric trade relations, the prospect for a peaceful development on the African continent is much less optimistic.

The purpose of this study is to discuss alternative developments concerning EU trade policy in 2017-2027. Research questions:

- How can the EU trade policy towards developing countries be expected to develop in the future?
- Will there be visible and measurable effects?
- If there are effects, will they be contributing to peace, by reducing tensions and leading to an increased economic development, or are they the opposite, by reinforcing existing differences?
- What is the importance of regional agreements and organisations in this area?

This study is focusing on EU-African trade relations and what the future effects of this relation may be. Effects of EU's trade policy on other continents will not be considered. Off course, there are also other countries that may make an import difference when comes to influencing the future on the African continent. For instance, China, India, Russia and Brazil all are investing in African countries today and will probably increase their investments in, and trade with, the African countries in the future. The importance of this will though not be analysed in this study. Today, EU members are together the largest trading partner for African countries important areas and will probably be remain so for a long time.

The effect of trade and trade relations on the development in a country is always dependent on political decisions and developments at different levels. For instance, EU is an active part in the World Trade Organization (WTO) and some the decisions taken there will have an effect on EU's trade policy towards African countries. The negotiations and decisions in WTO are thought very complicated and extensive and will not be analysed in dept here because of lack of space.

African countries are of course not an entity but separate countries. Focus in this study is thought primary on the continent as a whole since it would broaden the study to much if separate countries were analysed.

Another important delimitation is that effects of other economic relations and polices, besides trade policy, will not be discussed here. Today, and in the future, financial flows, foreign aid, policies for debt reduction and so on, are important to African countries. They will thought, only be discussed briefly here.

African economic development will be discussed in the study but it is important to emphasize the empirical difficulties in describing this development. One reason for this is that official statistics has reliability problems caused by a general lack of data. Another circumstance is the importance of informal economic activities in African economy which is hard to measure. Informal channels, contacts and institutions play a decisive roll in the way the economy at different levels operates.[9] Besides this aspects, the differences among the countries are so extensive that a complete description would have to include all the dimensions that can bee found in different parts of Africa. This will not be done in this study. The focus here is on trade and the way it can develop depending on external trade policies, foremost the trade policy of the European Union.

A vide variety of sources have been used for this study to capture different dimensions of African and EU trade policy development, for instance academic conclusions, EU and WTO documents, material from civil society organisations and so of. These two areas have attended extensive interests so there has been no problem finding relevant material, on the contrary. Only English and Swedish written sources have been used. Even though there is a risk that interesting sources in other languages been missed, it has been estimated that the most important conclusion on the subjects have been available.

2. Economic dimensions of war and peace

Security and development are closely correlated. The former can be defined in many ways but today there is a consensus that security is not just military security. The general conditions in a society have to be incorporated in analysis of what determines the level of security, together with other circumstances both internally and externally.[10] Lack of development can lead to insecurity and security can improve development efforts. The connection between security and development can be analysed both in a national context and from an international perspective since there are implications of this connection at both levels. The concept of development is often defined as a "progress in human well-being"[11] and the ability of a society to handle decisive problems. The correlation between security and development is more evident the ever when civil war and other forms of internal conflicts are the dominant form of armed conflict. Violent conflicts are an effective obstacle to development. And lack of development is an important cause of discontent which may lead to violent conflicts. Development can also be defined in many ways but in this study focus is on economic development which still often is seen as equal to economic growth. When there is economic growth there can be development. This is though a very simplistic view on development.[12] To prevent discontent in a country, growth is one, of several, preconditions for a peaceful development. Growth in itself is not enough. There has to be some form of distribution of the positive effects of growth, for example a change in the living conditions of the population. In the development literature focus has to a great deal switched from discussions on economic growth to the importance of fulfilment of basic needs. Development is also seen as a process

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[9] Hyden, Goran (2006) *African Politics in Comparative Perspective.*
[10] Buzan, Barry (1991) *People, states and fear. An agenda for international security studies in the post-cold war era.*
[11] Stewart, Frances, *Development and Security,* p. 2.
[12] For a discussion on the relationship between economic growth and development, see Cline William (2004) *Trade Policy and Global Poverty.*

in the whole of the society, not just a progression determined by the development in the economic sphere.[13]

One way of analysing the risk of conflict in a country where there exists extensive dissatisfaction among the whole population, or specific groups, is to study the characteristics of the countries economy. It reveals the vulnerability for change which is of special importance the more the economy is globalized and today, an even more in the future, economies will be open for global influences. Changes in the economy can contribute to a more peaceful development or, off course, to conflicts of scarce resources. When analyzing the relationship between conflict risk and economic development, important variables are for instance income levels and distribution, the proportion of the population in or near poverty, the role of the agriculture sector in the economy, dependency on import for essential commodities, level of investments, private sector activities, domestic savings, government revenues and expenditures, inflation, the ability to switch production to more productive or basic areas if needed, exposure to price shocks on external markets, level of natural resources and raw material in the economy in general and in the foreign economic relations. A negative development in these areas can be increase the danger of conflict. Finally, the diversification in foreign trade is also if importance. In many conflict affected countries, there is a measurable correlation between the structure of production, foreign trade and the occurrence of civil war. The more the economy is dependent on a few primary commodities the greater the risk of conflict. The profits from trade in these types of commodities seldom bring prosperity to resource rich developing countries. On the contrary, they tend to worsen the situation why some name the natural resources as a "resource curse".[14] It is thought important to stress that it is not the natural resources per se that are the real problem, it is the absence of good governance that causes the problems.

Economic progress in general brings both advantages and problems to a country in development. An increase in job opportunities, higher level of incomes, more resources to education are possible improvements but in most cases these advantages do not encompass the whole population. A prise for development is not seldom an increase in economic inequality together with a concentration of political power to an elite. This may lead to an even larger marginalization of weaker groups in a society then before.[15]

Today, there is a general consensus that economic development can contribute to peace but there is a lack of agreement on which economic policy that best can prevent or counteract war and internal conflicts.[16] The importance of trade and trade policy is today in the centre of the debate on economic policy and development.

3. Trade and trade policy – Some general observations

For several years there has been an increased interest among scholars in the relationship between trade and militarized conflict. Focus has been on the question whether trade promotes peace or if trade, particularly asymmetric trade, actually increases the risk of

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[13] Kambhampati, Uma S (2004) *Development and the developing world.*
[14] Bannon, Ian & Collier, Paul (2003) *Natural Resources and Violent Conflict.*
[15] Payne, Richard J & Nasser, Jamal R (2006) *Politics & Culture in the Developing World. The Impact of Globalization.*
[16] Humphreys, Macartan (2002) *Economics and Violent Conflict.*

conflict.[17] Trade is though, by most scholars, seen as an important tool, among others, that can increase peaceful conditions inside a state and between states under the stipulation that there is more than one winner. Trade can lead to economic interdependence which may prevent the outbreak of conflicts since it too economically costly to terminate economic relations, at least if they are of a substantial value. The peacemaking side of trade is of course also dependent on the context in which the trading takes place, who the trader is and who benefits from the trade. When rebel groups sell conflict diamonds to anyone who buys or if agriculture production in at country is export oriented and concentrated only to demands on the global market and not to local needs, then trade can do more harm then good. If the consequences of an increase in production and trade reinforces economic, social and political variations in the population it is more likely that it will cause, normally together with other forces, a development towards more differences and maybe even an armed conflict in the end.

In this study it is of importance to grasp that trade and trade policy can promote the development to better condition and therefore contribute to more peaceful conditions or it can worsen the situation in a state and therefore contribute to a more conflict prone development.

When it comes to the consequences trade and trade policy can have on the development in a country it is important to distinguish between the effects that is a result from a states own trade policy and trade relations and what is a outcome from other states trade policy decisions and trade. For developing countries, both of these categories of effects are important and they are closely interconnected today. Governments negotiate on trade matters both bilateral with other states and multilateral in the World Trade Organization and can seldom make trade policy decisions without considering other states preferences. Trade policy can be defined as measures used by the state to directly influence trade relations. It can, simply put, be free trade-oriented, with an opening of markets and a free flow of good and services as a goal or it may be more protectionistic and then aiming at protecting national interests from competition from abroad. Trade policy is closely connected to other policy areas, for instance agriculture policy since the decisions on different forms of agriculture support affect trade patterns. This is especially evident when it comes to EU trade policy. Trade negotiations in the World Trade Organization has changed the meaning of trade policy, today newer issues concerning intellectual property rights, services and investments are also on the trade agenda. Trade policy is has both domestic and external relevance because of the possible effects of the decisions made.

There is no general consensus in the debate on the importance if trade as a tool for economic progress in developing and developed countries. Trade policy is subject to a lot of policy controversy.[18] All states have policies that affect trade but what should be the proper level of state involvement in trade relations is a politically very complicated question. Every trade intervention potentially creates a conflict between winners and losers, producers and consumers, industry and agriculture, skilled and unskilled labour. Trade policy can produce both opportunities and problems.[19] Should the state take direct action to increase trade flows or should it leave up to the market forces? And to what degree should the state protect local production? Is an export oriented policy always to the advantage to the country as a whole? If not, should some interests be prioritized? What importance shall consumer interests have? What are the consequences of changes in tariff levels and different export support systems?

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[17] Barbieri, Katherine & Levy, Jack S (1999) Sleeping with the Enemy: The Impact of War on Trade.
[18] Toye, John (ed) (2003) *Trade and Development. Directions for the 21st Century*.
[19] Hoekman, Bernard, Mattoo, Aaditya & English, Philip (2002) *Development, trade and the WTO. A handbook*, p. xv.

These are some of the questions that practically every government has to decide on today and in the future.

4. African development and armed conflict

In almost every analysis on African development some basic facts are repeated. It's well known that African countries in general have economic problems that by fare exceed countries on the other continents. These problems have implications for many aspects of normal life. Half of the population in Sub-Saharan countries must survive on 1 dollar/day, which is the UN definition on absolute poverty. This is almost the double compared to the beginning of 1980's.[20] The African continent is the only one where the conditions for the population living in poverty have worsened. African economies attracts less then 1 per cent of the global direct investments and are therefore not part of the enormous financial flows in today's global economy.[21] African economy constitutes of a large number of small economies and two regional economic powers, South Africa and Nigeria, the latter account for 55 percent of the African economic activity.[22]

Lockwood has summarized the general conditions in African countries in five dimensions:
1) African poverty is chronic. 2) Africa is economically marginalized. 3) Africa is highly foreign aid-dependent. 4) Africa contrast with Asia (they are often compared today) 5) Aids is a massive burden.[23] Off cause there are differences among them but these conclusions holds for a large majority of them. The majority of today's armed conflicts are taking place in this environment. The correlation between economic conditions and the existents of armed conflicts is clear in a large part of African countries. With this said, it's important to stress that this connection is not seen as deterministic here. There are many reasons for the armed conflicts in Africa and the African continent faces enormous challenges but this does not imply that change is impossible.

There have been serious armed conflicts in 23 of 54 African states in the years after the ending of the Cold War. During that time, more people died from the consequences of war in Sub-Saharan states than in all the other continents together.[24] In 2005, according to the Heidelberg Institute for International Conflict Research, there were in all 58 observed serious conflicts on the African continent. This is an increase in number of conflicts compared to earlier years. At the same time, the number of high-intensity conflicts has declined from 13 to 5 while conflicts where there had been use of violence rose from 25 to 27. The number of conflicts that can be defined as non-violent crises increased from 12 to 22. So, the pattern of conflicts is divided depending on type of conflict.[25]

Different economic aspects can be found as causes, triggers and consequences in most of the African armed conflicts. More then 30 % of the above mentioned conflicts in 2005 contained clear economic dimensions as a cause of conflict. In most of these cases, there was conflict on control over, or lack of, resources. If short- and long term economic consequences are

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[20] Chen, Shaohua & Ravallion, Marin, *How have the wolrd's poorest fared since the early 1980s?* pp. 16-17.

[21] McNamee, Terence (ed) (2006) *African Security, Commodities and Development*, p. 1.

[22] Broadman, Harry G (2006) *Africa's Silk Road. China and India's New Economic Frontier*, p. 58.

[23] Lockwood, Mattew (2005) *The State They're In. An Agenda for International Action on Poverty in Africa*.

[24] *Human Development Report 2005*, p. 23.

[25] *Conflictbarometer 2005. 14th annual conflict analysis*, p. 18.

included in the conflict pattern, the number will be even higher.[26] An economic improvement would, of cause, not solve all the problems but would be an important starting point in erasing some of the causes to why conflicts escalate. For instance, if people can support themselves, they are less of a target for recruiting of rebel groups and other more extreme forms of groupings. Economic development that raises the living conditions for the whole population in a country could counteract horizontal conflicts, defined as conflicts between groups in a society.

A larger part of the African countries have had extensive relations with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB) for a long time, with the purpose of achieving financial stability, economic development, poverty, and debt, reduction. Many of them have followed recommendations on economic policies constructed in the highly debated Structural Adjustment Programs (SAP) and Poverty Reduction Strategies from the IMF and WB. Stricter currency and macro economic policies, privatization and a liberalization of foreign trade are some of the well known used measures. These recommendations have seldom been successful in eliminating economic problems and critics claim that they, on the contrary, have contributed to a worsening of the economic, social and political realties in African countries. The debate has focused around whether the African economic conditions are caused by structural, global, orders or of if the obstacles are more domestic.[27]

5. African trade patterns

World trade has gradually expanded for many years now, with a few exceptions. This affects states in a variety of ways, both directly and indirectly. Global trade is still an important part of global economy even though the importance of other forms of economic activities has grown. Changes on global markets and trade rules trickles down to local markets and have an effect on the daily lives for a larger part of the world's populations. Africa's share of world trade is in total around 2 per cent. On the contrary to hopes and expectations, African share of world trade have been declining for a longer period of time. In the last six decades, while the percent of developing countries share of world trade in general have increased, Africa's exports have gradually fallen. The same pattern applies to imports.[28]

All African states, except for 8 of them, have full membership in the World Trade Organization. As such, they are also "members" of world trading system, but that can be questioned when it comes to realities since the African trade is such a minor part of world trade. According to an UNCTAD report, African trade patterns can be explained by the structure of international trade, composition of Africa's merchandise trade, trade policies in African countries in the past 20 years, market assess and agriculture policies in industrial countries.[29]

Another very concrete explanation of African trade performance is the geography and lack of infrastructure. Some countries experience severe transportation difficulties. And without functioning transportations, there is no trade. There has though been an increase in both

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[26] *Conflictbarometer 2005. 14th annual conflict analysis*, p. 19.
[27] Ravenhill, John (2005) *Global Political Economy*, p 324.
[28] Broadman, Harry G (2006) *Africa's Silk Road. China and India's New Economic Frontier*, p. 60.
[29] *Economic Development in Africa. Trade Performance and Commodity Dependence*. (2004), p. 1.

African exports and imports in manufactures in recent years but the value of the trade have been negatively affected by the rise of the oil prices.[30]

African exports are still heavily dominated by primary commodities, in contrast to many developing countries on other continents where manufactures has increased its share of exports up to 70 per cent in some cases. For countries like Angola, Cote d'Ivore, Ethiopia, Malawi, Mozambique, Niger, Rwanda and Tanzania, primary commodities constitutes for more then 70 per cent of the export.[31]

The growth in primary commodities exports in general are much lower then growth in manufactures exports. The demand in several of the primary commodities traditionally produced in African countries, such as cocoa, tea and sugar, has declined on the international markets. There has been a swing to fruits, vegetables, fish and seafood. African production and trade have been having trouble adjusting to shifts in international trade.[32]

In general, African production has not undergone any major changes to adapt to changes in global economy. A diversification of production and export has not occurred to any higher degree, as it did in Asian countries. Lack of financial resources is of course an important explanation here for the small size and direction of African trade. Another important reason is political, focusing on the occurrence of elites not interested in developing the economy of their countries and mainly occupied by obtaining private wealth. In recent years thought, several African countries have had an economic boom, with high levels of economic growth. High prices for their exported commodities are the main reason for this development.[33]

Prices on primary commodities are though in a constant change which makes the economic future difficult to predict. In a longer perspective, prices of primary commodities have been falling. The prices on beverages and food have, for instance, declined with around 60 percent between 1980 and 2002.[34]

There has been a minor increase in low and medium technology exports from African countries but it's mainly products produced in Nigeria and South Africa. Africa's share of low and medium-low technology export from developing countries is at a low position. Its shares of medium and high technology exports are the lowest among all developing regions.[35]

African trade is to a high degree, more then 70 percent, directed towards developed countries. Europe is today Africa's largest trading partner. Over 40 percent of African trade is directed to European countries followed by North America and Asia on 18 and 16 percent. The share of trade within the African region is only about 10 percent.[36] Africa's share of European exports and imports in merchandise goods are today very low, about 3 percent. South Africa and some of the North African countries are the major traders with member in the European Union.[37] Approximately 85 percent of Africa's exports of cotton, fruit and vegetables are imported by EU.[38] EU export to Africa is dominated by manufactures (over 80 percent) and

[30] *World Trade Report 2005*, p. 4.
[31] *Human Development Report 2005*, pp. 274-278.
[32] *Economic Development in Africa. Trade Performance and Commodity Dependence.* (2004) pp. 2-12.
[33] Broadman, Harry G (2006) *Africa's Silk Road. China and India's New Economic Frontier,* p. 58.
[34] Development and Globalization. Facts and Figures. (2004) p. 82.
[35] Broadman ,Harry G (2006) *Africa's Silk Road. China and India's New Economic Frontier,* p. 63.
[36] *International Trade Statistics 2005*, p. 40.
[37] *International Trade Statistics 2005*, p. 69.
[38] Commission of the European Communities (2005) EU Strategy for Africa.

agriculture products (11 %) while the import mainly consists of fuels & minerals (49 %), manufactures (32 %) and agriculture products (16 %).[39] All these figures show that trade relations between Africa and the European Union are asymmetric, EU's position in superior in every aspect.

Trade relations are a significant part of the globalization process. Herbst has made an economic categorization of African countries when it comes to their readiness for globalization which in this context means good governance and economic performance.[40] The latter is also connected to the openness towards the global economy. Both are important for a country's ability to take advantage of globalization processes. 6 categories have been identified. They can be used in this study to predict the consequences of EU trade policy on different types of African countries. The consequences are here assumed to be different depending on the economic conditions in a country. The categories are:

1) *High performers ready to globalize*. In this category, there are economically successful states that have managed economic and political reform programs for over twenty years which has resulted in good governance, a functioning private sector, higher growth rates and levels of foreign investments. Botswana, Mauritius, Seychelles, South Africa, Uganda, Ghana and maybe Namibia are, according to Herbst, states in this category. These states represent a minor share of the African populations.

2) *Countries on an upward trajectory*. Countries in this category have governments that have showed an improvement in governance in recent years but their future growth rates are uncertain and are still at lower levels. In these countries there are significant doubts on whether the economic policies will have intended effects. The private sector is not as well functioning as in the first category. Infrastructure is also less developed. Mozambique, Benin, Madagascar, Senegal and Tanzania are countries in the second category.

3) *Large, poorly performing countries*. These countries have the lowest per capita incomes in Africa. They have large populations, very instable economies and armed conflicts. Economic policies have not been consistent or successful. Even thought they may attract foreign investments, due to natural resources, the growth rates are low because of the economic policies by the governments. A rise in resource prices has a small effect on the economy of the countries. Democratic Republic of Congo, Ethiopia, Nigeria and Sudan are in this category.

4) *Poorly performing countries*. The majority of the African countries are in this category. They have growth rates close to zero and the chances of economic progress are low. There are severe ecological constraints and governance are poor compared to international standards. Some of them have a history of armed conflicts which could be escalating again. Burkina Faso, Kenya, Cameroon, Malawi, Republic of Congo, Rwanda, Zambia, Chad, Mali, Mauritania and Niger are countries in this category.

5) *Countries in collapse*. Countries in this category are close to a institutional collapse. They have low per capita incomes and their changes of economic development is even lower the former category. The governance of the government is in general declining. For these states is important to try to avoid a total collapse in the country. Herbst identifies Central African Republic, Côte d'Ivoir, Guinea, Somalia, Sierra Leone, Liberia, and Zimbabwe as countries in this category.

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[39] *International Trade Statistics 2005*, p. 84-85.
[40] Herbst, Jeffrey (2005) Africa and the Challenge of Globalization.

6) *Oil producing countries*. Extensive assets of oil resources may, of course, give country better prospects for development, if the incomes are used to the benefit of the country. Governance is of the out most importance here. If there are policies for economic development, large cash inflows from oil export can, together with good governance, improve the situation in a country. Oil producing countries like Angola, Cape Verde, Equatorial Guinea and Gabon have high growth rates but still have governance problems. Sudan and Niger are oil producing countries but are placed in the third category due to their larger populations.

These categories show some of the important differences among African countries. They can be expected to develop in different ways depending both on domestic and external decisions and reforms. For some countries an opening towards the global economy, represents opportunities for a better development. An increase in foreign trade and investment brings incomes to the country which can be used to improvements. In other cases, globalization and an increase in the trade can be perceived as a negative since it threatens local production.

6. Regional organizations in Africa

In recent years, there has been global trend towards more and more regional trade agreements. More the 250 regional trade agreements had been noticed to the World Trade Organization in 2005.[41] Regional trade integration can be peace promoting when it is successful but poorly designed and implemented agreements can heighten tensions between countries. Economic self interest is usually the driving force for the creation of the agreements but there are often political and security implications. Countries that trade with each other are assumed to be less likely to fight each other.[42] Regional organizations and agreements can be focused on economic, political, security, culture or and social aspects. In general, African organisations and agreements have had an ambitious agenda, covering most of these aspects, but haven't, until now, fulfilled their goals.
Economic integration in Africa has been discussed for forty years but has not been very successful.[43] Ever since the decolonialization started has African leaders stressed economic integration of Africa as a prerequisite for real independence and development. Many attempts have been made to increase economic integration between African countries but most of them have failed to meet its goals.[44] The markets of the African countries have been too small and the production has not been diversified to an extent that an exchange between the countries would have been economically meaningful. There are eight more developed regional economic cooperations within Africa.[45] There are also a large number of sub-regional trade arrangements but none of them have managed to surpass any substantial level of exports directed to another member within a trade block.[46] Regional organisations or agreements have not stopped countries from involvement in each other's armed conflicts. Democratic Republic

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[41] Brown, Oli, Shaheen Haq, Faisal & Yusuf, Moeed (2005), *Regional Trade Agreements: Promoting conflict or building peace?* p. 1.
[42] Brown, Oli, Shaheen Haq, Faisal & Yusuf, Moeed (2005), *Regional Trade Agreements: Promoting conflict or building peace?* p. 10.
[43] Herbst, Jeffrey (2005), Africa and the Challenge of Globalization. p. 13.
[44] Taylor, Ian (2006) 'Partnership' through Accommodation? p. 23.
[45] *Development and Globalization. Facts and Figures.* (2004), p. 55.
[46] *Development and Globalization. Facts and Figures.* (2004), p. 54.

of Congo and several of its neighbours are members of the Common market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) and have still been involved in the conflict in Congo.[47]

The New Partnership for Africa's Development, Nepad, was established in 2001. According to Melber, Nepad is an expression of an increased African awareness of the continents responsibility to its own development.[48] Recent policy changes in the African Union, AU, can be regarded as a new paradigm where Africa is empowered to make influential collective decisions. Nepad was first introduced by the leaders from South Africa, Nigeria and Algeria as a plan for economic regeneration of Africa and is now a program within the AU. Its main objectives are: to eradicate poverty, to place African countries, both individually and collectively, on a path of sustainable growth and development, to halt the marginalisation of Africa in the globalisation process and enhance its full and beneficial integration into the global economy and to accelerate the empowerment of women.[49]

Nepad diversify from earlier regional agreement since it stresses the importance of good governance, democracy, human rights as prerequisites for socioeconomic development. Other purposes of Nepad is also to attract foreign investments to African countries, to increase Africa's share of world trade and accelerating intra-African trade and improving access to markets of developed countries. The program in Nepad's aims at achieving an overall 7 percent annual GDP which is higher than most countries normally reach.[50]

Nepad is also supposed to lead to a genuine partnership between Africa and the developed countries based on mutual respect and accountability. Expected promises of debt relief are also a part of this. G8-states and EU has been very appreciative towards Nepad. Peace, security and regional integration are prerequisites for a realization of the goals if Nepad.[51]

So, Nepad is at the same time stressing the responsibility of Africa and the importance of Africa's external relationship with the developed countries. Nepad is a new interesting arrangement since it captures many aspects important for achieving real changes in Africa. It's still too early to tell what the actual importance of Nepad will be, though it will be further discussed in the last section if this paper. There are also other interesting regional initiatives in Africa, such as Ecowas[52], but they have to a larger extent focused on aspects other then trade and will therefore not be considered here.

7. EU Trade policy

The trade policy of the European Union has been under debate for a long time which can be explained by its importance, both for EU itself and for the rest of the world. EU is the largest trade block and has for many years been an active part in different trade contexts. Trade policy has ever since the beginning been one of the major policy areas of the European

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[47] Brown Oli, Shaheen Haq Faisal & Yusuf Moeed (2005), p. 1.
[47] Brown Oli, Shaheen Haq Faisal & Yusuf Moeed (2005), p.11.
[47] Brown Oli, Shaheen Haq Faisal & Yusuf Moeed (2005), p 10.
[48] Henning, Melber, AU, NEPAD and APRM – Towards Democratic Change, in Manga, Charles, Kebonang, Fombad and Zein, (2006), p 5.
[49] Nepad in brief (2005).
[50] Ilorah, Richard (2004), Nepad: The Need and Obstacles, p. 223.
[51] Ilorah, Richard (2004), Nepad: The Need and Obstacles, p. 448.
[52] Economic Community of West African States.

Union. It was at an early state decided that a common commercial and trade policy towards external markets should to be established. Liberalization of trade and integration was seen as important economic tools for the European development but also as peace promoting processes both internally in Europe and in on other continents. EU has been an eager promoter of regional integration in its external relations but the result has so fare not been as successful as intended.[53] The overall objectives, formulated in the Rome Treaty, of the EU trade policy are: to contribute to the harmonious development of world trade, the progressive abolition of restrictions on international trade and the lowering of customs barriers.[54] Other basic features are: to ensure that the European economy is open to the world and competitive in foreign markets, to support a strong multilateral trading system and to promote European values on democracy, rule of law, environment and social rights.[55] The objectives are implemented in three types of frameworks; multilateral, regional/bilateral and unilateral.

The trade policy of the European Union can be explained by both its domestic relevance and its global dimensions. It has to satisfy decisive domestic and sectorial interests and reflect national goals of the members, and the Union, but at the same time match ambitions in the external relations. The debate on the trade policy of the European Union has to a high degree focus on the relation between these two policy levels and critics stress that the EU's domestic considerations are too influential in the creation of its trade policy position. Another common criticism is that EU hasn't to a sufficient degree liberalized its agriculture markets or abolished the different form of support that affects trade in agriculture products.[56]

As mentioned above, interest groups in EU can be expected to highly influential in the trade policy making. Aggarwal has identifies four types of EU interest groups.[57] 1) Internationally competitive actors interested in globalisation and "doing business". 2) Export-oriented actors depending on subsidies or other forms of protection from EU. 3) Non export-oriented actors that are in great need of protection from EU. 4) Societal groups that is critical to globalization and internationalization. Depending on which of these groups that has the most influence, different kinds of trade policy can be expected. The first group of interests will support free trade and oppose different obstacles which make it harder or more expensive to trade. They are successful on their own and are not threatened by import and don't need any support from EU. Free trade policies are the best alternative for them. The second and the third group of interests are more likely to support different measures that complicate import to EU and they are also i favour of measures that support export financially (i.e. subsidies). In these two groups, there are both free trade oriented and more protectionist oriented interests. The forth group, societal groups as environmentalists, human rights activist and development oriented organisations, will generally prefer to keep economic activity at a smaller scale, where it is more easily regulated. Some of these organisations oppose capitalism while others want to incorporate environmental, developmental and human values to a much higher degree into trade policy decisions and agreements. They support trade policy decisions that make room for domestic considerations both in developed and developing countries.

The development of the trade policy of the European Union illustrates the changes of the concept of trade policy that can be identified. In the early stages of the European Economic

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[53] Tsoukalis, Loukas (2005) Managing Interdependence: The EU and the World Economy, p. 236.
[54] *Trade policy review*. Report by the European communities, p. 19.
[55] European Commission, External Trade, *The European Union Trade Policy.*
[56] Woolcook, Stephen (2005) Trade Policy. From Uruguay to Doha and Beyond, p. 396.
[57] Aggarwal, Vinod K & Fogarty, Edward A (eds.) (2004) EU Trade Strategies. Between Regionalism and Globalism, pp. 7-9.

Community (EEC), trade policy was a question of tariffs and markets. It was regarded as a something exclusive for trade officials and sectoral agriculture and industrial interests. Over time, the trade policy area has expanded and is today a much larger policy area with extensive domestic and international implications. The establishment of the World Trade Organization and the fact that several new issues been incorporated into the trade policy area, forces the European Union to formulate policies and positions in new ways. EU has been much more proactive in global trade policy matters since the beginning of the 1990s.[58] There has been an increased interest from civil society. This has changed the process of trade policy decision making process and probably also the outcome of it since a broader range of interest has to be considered.[59] The enlargement of the European Union has also widened den number of member states interests that have to be included in the trade policy decision making. Today's members can be divided in to more protectionist or free trade oriented groups of countries. There are constant discussions between these groupings on the positions of the European Union in different trade policy issues. New members can tip over the majority in one way or the other.

EU can use a wide range of trade policy measures to defence and promote European trade and trade developments in other parts of the world. Tariffs, anti-dumping, anti-subsidy and safeguards are some of the most commonly used barriers to trade. Today, EU is developing interregional trade agreements with all continents. Europe's the first interregional relationships were developed with African, Caribbean and Pacific countries (ACP).[60] There is a network of agreements and policies between EU and Africa, for instance the Cotonou Agreement (ACP-countries), the Trade Development and Cooperation (South Africa), the Euro-Mediterranean partnership (North Africa), the European Neighbourhood Policy, the EBA-initiative (Everything But Arms) and the EU Strategy for Africa. These have been signed from the beginning of 1990s and forward. They cover several policy areas, for instance foreign aid, development, peacemaking, trade, culture, investments and aids. 34 African countries are, as Least Developed Countries, included in the EBA-initiative (Everything But Arms), signed in 2001, which gives them duty- and quota free access for almost all exports to EU. The Euro-Mediterranean partnership was signed in1996 and the goal is the establishment of a free trade area in 2010. The objective is a liberalization of trade in goods and services, agriculture, included, compliance of rules on intellectual property rights and competition and an increase in regional cooperation between the 40 states around the Mediterranean Sea. 50 of the African countries are signatories of the Cotonou Agreement and included in EU's General System of Preferences which gives them non-reciprocal trade preferences and reductions until 2007. This includes duty-free treatment on industrial, processed agriculture and fishery products, and special conditions for primary commodities. The GSP system gives African countries favourable access to EU markets but the utilization has been low.[61]

In general, The Coutonou Agreement is the most important agreement for the trade between African countries and EU.[62] It will be though replaced by new bilateral economic partnership agreements (EPA) in 2008. The objectives of these new agreements are to integrate the ACP countries into the world economy, by beneficial trade preferences, to foster development and

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[58] Woolcook, Stephen (2005) Trade Policy. From Uruguay to Doha and Beyond, p. 381.
[59] Woolcook, Stephen (2005) Trade Policy. From Uruguay to Doha and Beyond, pp. 378-379.
[60] Aggarwal, Vinod K & Fogarty Edward A (eds.) (2004) EU Trade Strategies. Between Regionalism and Globalism, p. 118.
[61] *Trade policy review*. Report by the European communities, p. 35.
[62] Melber, Henning (2005) *Trade, Development and Cooperation. What Future for Africa?*, p. 18.

to promote and reinforce regional integration. The bilateral negotiations on the agreements started in 2002, and are planned to cover a wide range of trade policy issues. An important element in EPA is the concept of reciprocity. It is stated that the new agreement will be based on reciprocal marketing openings which replaces the non-reciprocal principal in the older agreements. Civil Society Organization has, so fare, been very critical to the negotiations and the expected outcome of them. They are questioning the demand from EU in the negotiations of an increased access for EU exporters to African markets and fear that the competition will hinder an industrial development in African countries. Many Sub-Saharan governments are today dependent on the incomes from import taxes and the critics of EPA assumes that their will be heavy demands on these countries to remove the taxes as they can be regarded as a trade barrier. The negotiation has also been criticized for being negotiations on unequal terms since the trade relations and political power are so asymmetric.[63]

EU, on the other hand, has argued that the motive for EPA's is the need to do something about low levels of trade between African countries and EU. Negotiations between EU and ACP governments facilitate actions against policy failures in African countries which from an EU perspective are described as the most important reason for the low trade levels. EU argue that EPA will bring advantages both to EU and African countries due to an increased competition and trade, specialization in production, attractiveness to foreign investments, increased intra-regional trade and trade with the rest of the world. All this is supposed to promote economic and social development.[64] The question is though if all African countries have enough resources for the development of their economies to bee beneficiaries from these new agreements.

The future importance of EPA is dependent on the ongoing bilateral negotiation but also on the development of EU common agriculture policy (CAP). Today, there are several exceptions in the trade agreements between EU and African countries on what is regarded as sensitive agriculture products in EU. This means that trade in some products has less favourable tariff preferences and quota levels. The future of the ongoing CAP reformation will show how trade in agriculture products between EU and Africa develop. EU has promised to eliminate its agriculture export subsidies until 2013. They are also of great importance for the future trade relations since they lower the cost for exporters of agriculture products. EU agriculture exports are competing with African producers of fruit and vegetables since they are a large part of EU agriculture export. In total, EU is the largest importer and second largest exporter of agriculture products in the world.[65]

In general, the global interest for Africa declined after the end of the Cold War. EU has though continued to develop the relationship to, and agreements with, African countries. In 2005, EU introduced a new strategy for Africa, "EU Strategy for Africa: a Euro-African pact to accelerate Africa's development".[66] The purpose of the strategy is to establish a long-term framework for the relations between EU and Africa and to support African countries to reach the United Nations Millennium Development Goals until 2015. Earlier EU relations with Africa are here described as too fragmented in policy formulation and implementation and the need to coordinate EU's different relationships with Africa are expressed in the strategy. The changed security context and the impact of globalization are also motives for a more coherent

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[63] Oxfam International (2006), *Unequal Partners. How EU-ACP Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs) could harm the development prospects of many the world's poorest countries.*
[64] Melber, Henning (2005), *Trade, Development and Cooperation. What Future for Africa?,* p. 20-21.
[65] Commission of the European Communities (2005) *Beskrivning av den gemensamma jordbrukspolitiken.*
[66] Commission of the European Communities (2005) *EU Strategy for Africa.*

EU strategy towards Africa. In the strategy, the need for partnership, equality and dialogue is emphasized. These are key concepts in almost all policies on development today. It is also argued that EU and Africa share the same concerns regarding the economic, security and social developments. After 11 September 2001, EU members and African countries have suffered from terrorists attacks and in the strategy it is stated that the security of the citizens is a major concern for both Africa and Europe. Peace and security are described as the first essential prerequisites for sustainable development. To ensure that globalization becomes a positive force for Africa's development, it is expressed that EU should contribute to a sufficiently, rapid, broad-based economic growth. The measures are: a support for macroeconomic stability, creation of integrated regional markets with the help of for instance EPA (South-South trade), increased market access and trade (North-South trade), stimulate private-sector development, support to an increased competitiveness and productivity in African agriculture and to exploit fish resources sustainable. The strategy also covers a wide variety of areas not mentioned here. It has a very ambitious agenda. The strategy shall be implemented in EU relations towards Africa and in dialogue with the African Union. It is to be reviewed every second year. In November 2006, a Euro-Africa Business Forum will be established. Its purpose will be to influence both European and African public policies in order to improve the business opportunities and the business climate in Africa. Civil society organizations has expressed that the strategy is a step in the right direction but are concerned over the lack of concrete solutions to several of the African problems. It is argued that the strategy fails to offers little on trade and agriculture matters and fall short to address the need of African governments to protect their markets until they are developed enough to stand the competition from the global market.[67]

In October 2006, the EU Trade Commissioner Peter Mandelson presented a new trade policy strategy, "Global Europe. Competing in the world. A Contribution to the EU's Growth and Job Strategy." It is established that EU's internal agenda for job and growth must be complemented by an external agenda for creating opportunities in a globalized economy.[68] The purpose is to set out the contribution of trade policy to stimulating growth and creating jobs in Europe and strengthening the competitiveness of Europe. The importance of ensuring that Europe remains open and that other markets to Europe is stressed. It is also emphasized that Europe must reject protectionism but also defend European interest against unfair trade by using targeted restrictions on imports. An opening of the European markets must be followed by activism in creating open markets for trade abroad. It will spur economic reform in other countries and reinforce the competitive position of EU industry. Bilateral and regional free trade agreements are described as prioritized stepping stones for multilateral liberalization.

In the strategy, focus is on market opening and stronger rules in new trade areas if economic importance such as intellectual property rights, services, investment, public procurement and competition. EU has been working for an inclusion of these areas in the trade rules of the World Trade Organization but has yet not been successful in all areas. Developing countries has been strong opponents of this kind of widening of the trade policy agenda. This new trade policy strategy by the European Union is interpreted as a serous treat to the development of poor countries by civil society organizations. They stress that EU's emphasizing of market access, bilateral free trade agreements and new trade issues are an anti-development strategy. Demands for a high level of reciprocity in trade negotiations are seen as opposed to the need

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[67] *The Networker* (2006).

[68] European Commission (2006) *Global Europe. Competing in the world. A Contribution to the EU's Growth and Jobs Strategy.*

for special and differential treatment for developing countries and their right to protect important products.[69]

The different strategies and policies on trade matters developed by the European Union in recent years gives a mixed impression on which the EU preferences really are. Some of them (EU-African Strategy) are development friendly and takes important consideration in to account. Other (Global Europe) are more focused on European interests and how trade policy can benefit European interests. A key question her is how fare EU is stressing the importance of reciprocal market openings. If there is a pressure on the African countries to open their markets for European firms before they are prepared for this, the consequences are likely to be harmful to development efforts and counteract other trade benefits given to African countries. Most likely, this will not contribute to a peaceful development.

8. Concluding remarks

The future trade policy of EU towards Africa can be regarded as an outcome of a complicated negotiation processes between EU's and African preferences and characteristics. A large number of variables can be expected to influence this process. Interest groups, bureaucratic politics, coherence among state leaders, understanding of traditions and ideas, power relations and the international context, will lead to a certain outcome of the process.

Building on the content in earlier sections in this paper, 3 alternative scenarios for the future, here the period of 2017-2027, can be developed. EU trade policy towards African:

- changes in an extensive way towards a more free trade oriented direction.
- remains about the same as today.
- changes in a more restrictive, protectionist direction.

In the following discussion, arguments for, and against, the three alternative scenarios will be examined. There will also be a discussion on potential outcomes of each alternative; will they contribute to a more peaceful or to a more conflict prone future on the African continent? Before discussing the three alternative scenarios, some general conclusions can be made about the future development, here 2017-27. The large economic differences between North and South have a long history and a general and extensive improvement in the economic situation of the South is not expected to happen in foreseeable time. The same conclusions hold for the trade patterns, they are not anticipated to change in a dramatic way. Major or minor adjustments up and down in the size of the trade of individual countries may occur but the general pattern is presumed to remain quiet unchanged. It is also important to stress that political development is important in all three scenarios. A change towards democratization can make a positive contribute to a more stable and peaceful development. A progress in the opposite direction may, of course, lead to the contradictory situation.

8.1 A more free trade oriented direction.

The first scenario is the most positive of the three alternatives. If EU would drop most of the trade barriers and other measures that influence the trade relations until 2017, the effect will be notable to both developed and developing countries. A more comprehensive liberalization

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[69] Oxfam International (2006) Oxfam warns proposed new EU trade policy is 'development blind'.

of EU trade policy would increase the competition on the global markets. In some cases it would gain African countries and in some cases it would have a more negative effect. Trade in agriculture products is probably the area where the benefits would be most obvious. The EU support to agriculture has today a trade disrupting influence. EU farmers and agriculture business are more competitive on the global markets then they otherwise would be. Without the support system in EU, their prices would go up and farmers on other continents would stand a better chance in the competition. African leaders have repeatedly stressed the importance of trade for their development and a step in this direction from the European Union could make a considerable difference.

The framework for the future relations between EU and African, EU-African pact, introduced in 2005, contains arguments that supports a development of EU trade policy towards more extensive changes in this direction. EU has also in many other connections argued for a liberalization of its trade, thought usually without any exact timeframes. One of the argument used by EU, is the importance of using measures that can support African countries efforts to reach the UN Millennium Goals until 2015. EU foreign aid to also devoted to reaching this goal. With a better coordination between trade and foreign aid, a more genuine result could be accomplished. Today, there is a lot of pessimism among scholars, civil society organisations and African governments concerning the likelihood of Africa reaching the UN Millennium Goals. A stronger effort from EU's side could strengthen the chances of an improvement in African living conditions, which the UN goals are all about.

If EU would open up its markets for external economic actors to a much higher degree then today, it could also have a positive impact on other industrialized countries, so that they would follow EU's example. This would further benefit developing countries.

A much less protectionist EU would probable also be a positive influence on the attempts to increase the regional integration on the African continent. If the prerequisite for an economic development improved on the domestic level, caused by better trade opportunities towards EU, the foundation for regional integration would be enlarged. Extended trade relations with Europe would raise the economic growth and surplus could be used to economic development, specialization and diversification in African economies. This would, to a much higher degree, motivate economic relations among African countries. In a longer perspective, this would probably be very peace promoting.

Another argument for why EU would change its trade policy towards Africa is the future importance of Africa's production of oil. Today, oil producing African states vouches for 15 percent of US import of oil. It is estimated that there will be an increase to 25-40 percent in 2015.[70] U S and Chinese oil companies are located in several of the oil producing African countries. African oil vouches for 24 percent of Chinese oil import and China has made huge investments in Africa.[71] When Russia and U S practically left Africa after the end of the Cold War, the Chinese did the opposite and started a massive campaign in Africa. Foreign aid, arms deals, support to African countries in different international organisations and oil investments were important elements in the Chinese strategy. The Chinese trade with African countries has also increased. When China buys oil from Africa, Chinese companies sell cheap goods, for example high-tech products, to the African market.[72]

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[70] Savic, Vladislav (2006) *Det tysta kriget. Olja, makt, kontroll*, p. 240.
[71] China has oil interests in the following African countries: Algeria, Angola, Niger, Nigeria, Mauretania, South Africa, Tchad, Zambia, Zimbabwe. Holmertz, Gert (2006) Kampen of Afrikas olja.
[72] Savic, Vladislav (2006) *Det tysta kriget. Olja, makt, kontroll*, p. 241.

African oil producing will probably be even more important in the future. There is a growing interest from other countries and this may lead to a large increase in income in some African countries. This will probably exceed the importance and effects of changes in EU future trade policy. If other influential industrialized countries will increase its engagement in Africa, EU will probably follow their example.

The effects that a change in this direction would have would though be dependent on if EU introduced this new trade policy without putting any demands on other countries. If the question of reciprocity remains important for the EU, and they therefore insist on liberalization in other countries, then the effects will lesser. African countries have already made liberalizations in their trade policy, due to demands from the IMF and WB. In gereral, they are less willing to make more far-reaching abolishes of their trade barriers. It is regarded as important for them to keep control over the trade relation on their own terms. In the development debate the concept of 'policy space' was introduced a few years ago. It refers to, for instance, the need to let every government decide when, and to what extent, they will liberalize their economy. If EU is prepared to be show more flexibility, and leave a 'policy space' to the African governments, it would gain the political relations between EU and Africa. Of course, many African governments have made many less successful economic decisions through history, but that does not imply that they always will. If EU, together with other institutions, also would donate more resources on capacity building it would further improve the chances of a positive development.

In conclusion, the trade policy of the European Union in the first scenario can be assumed to have a positive effect on the security situation since it may, together with other factors, reduce tensions in African societies. Most African countries would gain from this development which could improve the situation on the whole continent since most conflicts in Africa have a regional character.

8.2 EU trade policy towards Africa remains about the same as today.

Looking back on the trade relations between the European Union and the African continent, not much has changed in the last 20 years. EU has offered most African countries preferential trade agreements for a long time but that has not improved the size of the trade in any substantial way. The African exporters have not taken advantage of the beneficial trade conditions, probably because haven't been able to do so. Low level of both industrial and agriculture production have not made it possible to redirect resources to export. Most African farmers are production in a small scale and therefore not capable to sell their products anywhere else then at local markets. The industrial production has also been at low levels. Furthermore, the industrial products have not been attractive on European markets.

With this in mind, is can be regarded as likely that the EU trade policy towards African countries will remain in large unchanged in the future. EU will continue to grant African countries preferential trade agreements in some form but more of political reasons then economic. This can be explained by the long historic relations between the continents and by Europe's geopolitical interests. Europe has, as a neighbour, an interest of a stable development in Africa but hasn't so far been engaged in such a magnitude that it have made a real, substantial difference. From this perspective, it is likely that Europe's interest will remain at about the same level. Europe will pay more attention to some countries and conflicts zones and less to others.

In this scenario, EU trade policy will not influence armed conflicts in Africa to any larger extent since it would not contribute to development efforts made in African countries. The different categories of African countries will be affected in a about the same way as they are today. Some will have more extensive trade relations with Europe in the future, foremost the oil producing countries and South Africa which already are dominating the African trade with Europe, while others will remain unchanged. The first category of countries will have a production of interest for the European market while the other categories will not.

The attempts to increase the regional integration will in this perspective not be more fruitful in the future then they are today. This conclusion is drawn from the historic experiences, with a lack of enhanced trade relations between the African countries, in mind. Necessary specialization in production, to motivate an increase in trade, will probably not have occurred in the African economies for many years. EU's trade relations with the North African countries will almost certainly expand, as a result of the Euro-Mediterranean partnership and the development of a free trade area until 2010. These countries are though today already larger trading partners with Europe compared to Sub-Saharan African countries so it will not make a major difference for Africa as a whole.

The conclusions in this scenario build on an assumption that African leaders accept this development and the relatively low level of engagement in African trade matters from Europe's side. So far, the demands on EU to increase its trade with Africa have been quite reasonable even though some African government , together with other developing countries, have increased their demands on the industrialized countries within the negotiation in the World Trade Organization. This can perhaps be explained by the fact that Europe is the largest donor in foreign aid and will probably remain so. It is maybe political sensitive for the African leaders to put strong demands in trade matters on governments that invest larges sums in development projects. This kind of financial transactions will probably still be seen as important for the future development at the domestic level.

EU has promised to eliminate its export subsidies until 2013 and this, together with a further reduction in agriculture subsidies, would most likely lead to a rice of the food prices at the international market. Many developing countries are food exporters but many of them import more food then they export so a rise in food prices at international market would cost more then they would gain. 41 of the Sub-Saharan countries are net food importers.[73]

8.3 A more restrictive and protectionist direction.

This scenario is the most negative of the three potential scenarios. A more protectionist European Union will reduce the special trade conditions that most African countries receive today. Trade policy will here be based on European interests solely. In this perspective, EU's general economic policies are closer connected to trade policy. Foreign policy and external security dimensions are not considered to a higher degree in trade policy decisions making. There are today some signs that indicate that development in this direction is not impossible.

First of all, the enlargement of the European Union will most likely have gone much further in 2017 and this can have an impact of future trade policy decisions. In general, future new members lack the historic relationships with African countries that most of the older members

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[73] BBC webpage, 23 June 2006. www.news.bbc.uk (060623)

have. The expected new members also have economies more domestically oriented which may give rise to more protectionist positions in trade policy. New members are supposed to accept trade policy decisions made earlier but will probably try to influence future decisions according to their interests. The question is though whether they will be influential enough to change the direction of the trade policy in a substantial way. Probably not to a large extent but they may make a difference large enough to direct some of the future trade decisions. This is more likely if new members cooperate with older members with more protectionist interests but which in recent years haven't been able to stir the decisions their way. Decision on trade related agriculture matters may be areas where this may occur. The reformation of CAP and its trade related matters can be delayed if a coalition of protectionist interests gets more influence. If more conservative and/or agriculture friendly political parties win future domestic elections, then this development is not totally unlikely.

Another sign that indicate that the trade policy could develop in this direction in the future is the increased emphasis that today's EU Trade Commissioner Peter Mendelson puts on connections between trade policy and the European competitiveness and labour market. In the so called new trade policy of the European Union, there is an increased weight on opening of foreign markets. Mendelson is announcing an enhanced importance of reciprocity which could mean that the future European Union will be less willing to grant other countries non-reciprocal trade conditions. This is of special importance to African countries since it could worsen the trade conditions considerable for them. It is of even greater relevance if it would lead to a situation where the African countries are forced to open up their domestic markets to a much larger extent then today, to get beneficial trade conditions with EU. Markets more open for European firms, could mean less opportunities for an African industrial development since European firms would be more competitive. This would counteract the attempts to develop and diversify African economies. The negotiations on bilateral Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA) between African countries and EU are supposed to be concluded in 2008. In these negotiations, EU has been pushing for increased opening of African markets and for reciprocity. If they are successful, the above described development could be a reality. Civil society organisations in Europe and Africa and some African leaders have been warning for a progress in this direction. African economies are today already highly exposed to changes in the global economy. This could make them even more vulnerable to activities of external economic actors which would make it more difficult for them to plan for a development to the advantage of whole countries.

There is also another aspect of EPA that could be of future importance for African countries. EU is emphasizing the significance of global rules for the so called 'new trade issues', for instance investments, intellectual property rights and services. EU's attempts to enlarge the rules on trade in the World Trade Organization to these new areas have not been completely victorious in WTO, due to resistance from developing countries. EU has though been expressing the same demands in the EPA negotiations, but this time on a bilateral level towards single African governments. Without going in to details about these rules, it's important to stress the difficult situation that these governments find themselves in. It is unlikely that they will be able to neglect demands from EU because of the importance of the European markets for the African firms that are able to export. The asymmetry of the power relations is obvious here.

In this scenario, the changes in the trade policy towards African countries are likely to also have a negative effect on the domestic development. There is a risk that these changes will lead to a worsening of the economic situation in several countries, especially those that are in

a 'better' situation then others, i e countries that there are some hope of a more positive future development.

If this development will occur, the political relations between the African continent and EU will probably worsen. African leaders are most likely not willing to accept a change in this direction. This could inspire more extreme groups to act on their own towards Europe and this could affect the security in Europe and in Africa in a most negative way. The connection between the economic situation in a country and security treats could then apparent.

There is also a risk that a development in this direction would have a negative impact on conflict situation in African. A decline of the economic situation could trigger conflicts to escalate if the dissatisfaction of people and different grouping would increase.

Finally, it's unlikely that regional organisation and agreement could work against a development in this direction. Even though several of them have widen their scope to incorporate also security dimensions, they need a strong base for the cooperation to develop and a decrease in the countries economies would probably counteract these efforts. And, as mentioned in an earlier section, regional organisations have not, so far, been an obstruction to countries taking part in internal and cross boarder conflicts. These regional arrangements will then not have the integrative functions originally intended.

In conclusion, the last scenario predicts a darker future for African countries. There is a risk that the effects of a trade policy of this character may reinforce differences in African societies and therefore contribute to a more conflict prone development. Of course, this would foremost effect African countries but Europe, as a neighbour, would probably not be unaffected.

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Chapter 6

The future of military interventions -

Who, why and where?

By Malin Eklund Wimelius

1. Introduction

> *I honestly believe that every country ought to do what it wants to do…*
> *It is either proud of itself afterwards or less proud of itself.*
> (Donald Rumsfeld on whether or not the US is bound by international law.
> Quoted in Whitman 2005, 267).

> *It's no secret that Syria is in jeopardy, Libya is in jeopardy,*
> *Sudan is in jeopardy and maybe even Lebanon too.*
> (A Lebanese diplomat reflecting on the regional consequences of the Iraq war.
> Quoted in Ezzat 2003, 2).

In 1985 Bertil Dunér wrote a book on foreign military intervention in civil wars. He argued that although military intervention across international borders was a persistent feature of the state system, there were "judicious analysts who contend that we are moving towards a world which is increasingly intervention-prone." (Dunér 1985, 1). Some 20 years later the prediction made by these analysts seems to be correct. Military interventions – from pre-emptive ones to humanitarian – are firmly placed on the agendas of individual states as well as regional and international organisations. It is telling that three consecutive Secretary-Generals of the United Nations have claimed that state borders no longer should offer protection for governments who engage in ethnic cleansing or genocide of their own people (Krain 2005, 363-364). Kofi Annan has repeatedly encouraged UN member states to embrace the "responsibility to protect" as a new norm and "a basis for collective action against genocide, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity." (Annan 2005, 4). However, and as noted by Weiss (2004), the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq have had far reaching consequences for the readiness to subscribe to the responsibility to protect in significant parts of the world. As illustrated by the second quote, there are diplomats who envision a US "hit list" on which a number of countries in the Muslim world are found.[1]

There is in other words a fear that the only remaining superpower will embark on military interventions whenever it feels compelled to, with or without authorization from the UN Security Council (as illustrated by the first quote). Some commentators have warned that other countries will follow the US in this regard and intervene by force in the affairs of others

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[1] As this is being written a ceasefire has just been agreed on in Lebanon. The country was indeed in jeopardy but perhaps not in the sense imagined by the Lebanese diplomat. Interestingly enough, however, journalist Seymour M. Hersh wrote in *The New Yorker* on August 14 that the Bush Administration "was closely involved in the planning of Israel's retaliatory attacks." (Hersh 2006). His sources (intelligence and diplomatic officials and Middle East experts) also argue that there was an Israeli plan to attack Hezbollah well before the kidnappings of two Israeli soldiers and that the Israelis shared this plan with the Americans (Hersh 2006). Moreover, a successful bombing of Hezbollah's underground-missile and command-and-control complexes could also "serve as a prelude to a potential American preëmptive (sic!) attack to destroy Iran's nuclear installations, some of which are also buried deep underground." (Hersh 2006).

using the war on terror as pretext (Whitman 2005). Others emphasize the importance of regional organisations with regard to military interventions. Adebajo (2005) argues that the African Union's Constitutive Act of 2002 "has one of the most interventionist regimes in the world in cases of egregious human rights abuses, coups and regional instability." (Adebajo 2005, 386). The AU has ambitious goals indeed. By 2010 it aims to have a stand-by force of its own with the capacity to intervene in conflicts on the African continent with the purpose to stop genocide and ethnic cleansing. The stand-by force is an important part of the new Common African Defence and Security Policy (CADSP) adopted in 2004. Touray (2005) describes the CADSP as "the most important continental regime on peace and security" (Touray 2005, 635). He also writes that African leaders – as a result of the Iraq war when the US decided to act without a UN Security Council authorization – felt that weak African states had no choice but to face future peace and security challenges through common policies (Touray 2005, 641).

The European Union – which serves as a model for the AU– has already been involved in military and police operations in Africa and the Balkans. By 2010 the EU hopes to be able to "deploy up to an army corps to fulfil 'Petersberg missions'" (ISS 2004, 12). The Union continues to develop a European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) which forms an integral part of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). Battle Groups and a Rapid Reaction Force are well under way. By January 1, 2008 a Nordic Battle Group led by Sweden is to be ready. The EU has also "set itself the goal of being able to call upon a 60,000 strong force that can execute various missions in implementation of ESDP" (Gnesotto 2004, 5). According to the Institute for Security Studies (ISS), these goals call for a thorough and long term development of the military capabilities of the EU (ISS 2004, 13). As of today EU member states have the capacity to conduct large-scale peacekeeping operations but lack the ability to undertake a "high-intensity humanitarian intervention" and are not capable of defending European strategic interests (the supply of oil for instance) in a regional war (ISS 2004, 76, 80).[2]

In Asia signs of similar forms of regional integration are less obvious. However, dominated by Russia, The Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) does claim responsibility for peace and security in the former Soviet republics. In the name of that responsibility Russia has intervened a number of times in what it usually calls its "near abroad" (Jonsson 1997, 71). China and India are frequently referred to as "emerging giants" by the international news media, Japan remains a close US ally and North Korea continues to put the patience of the international community to the test. However, ASEAN in Southeast Asia has been regarded as a successful example of regional cooperation in the developing world.[3]

With regard to ASEAN, intervention and sovereignty Acharya (2001) notes that while the international community is in a process of redefining state sovereignty, ASEAN resists such a change. Buzan and Waever (2003) write similarly that old-fashion concerns about power dominate security agendas in Asia. "Sovereignty and independence are highly valued, not least because it is still within living memory for many that these were denied by Western

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[2] According to the European Security Strategy, Europe is the world's largest importer of oil and gas. Imports account for as much as 50 % of energy consumption today. That percentage is expected to rise to 70 % in 2030 (European Security Strategy 2003, 3).

[3] That is not to say that challenges have been or are absent. According to Acharya (2001), ASEAN has had to face the rising power of China, the controversy surrounding its admission of Myanmar, territorial disputes among member states and internal debates over the much cherished norm of non-interference (Acharya 2001, 5-6).

and/or Asian imperialists." (Buzan and Waever 2003, 94). However, a sign of a broader take on security on the part of the ASEAN is the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) established in 1993 now including "all the major actors of the international system" representing a multilateral security forum in the wider Asia Pacific region (Acharya 2001, 173).[4]

Past US military interventions in Central and South America were triggered by the presumed communist threat. In the post Cold War period the US has been engaged in a war on drugs, notably in Colombia. Regional integration is expressed in Mercosur, regarded by Buzan and Waever as an exception to the rule that in South America grand plans for regional integration are seldom implemented (Buzan and Waever 2003, 324). Buzan and Waever also note that after September 11, 2001, the US has changed its role in the war on drugs to one in which it supports the Colombian government in its fight also against "terrorist activities" (Buzan and Waever 2003, 328).

1.1. Purpose and approach

Given the developments and the different perspectives on military intervention described above, what does the future of such interventions in international relations look like? The purpose of this paper is to explore answers to that question by sketching possible future scenarios and in each of these scenarios consider implications for Sweden. The future begins in 2017 and stretches to the year 2027. The time perspective is in other words challenging to say the least and predicting the future in political or other terms is notoriously difficult.

Adam (1990) has even argued that most social scientists have a simplistic conception of time itself. Theories in social science often focus either on structure or on change but rarely manage to combine the two. According to Adam, the need to reduce complexity while studying the social world is obvious but must not lead to oversimplifications. Her observations make it necessary to ponder upon how oversimplifying the future of military interventions can be avoided.

Although this is not the place to engage in philosophical quandaries about the nature of time in relation to military interventions, I do subscribe to the proposition that change is constant. Expressed in other words; innumerable variables influence the shape of the future and thereby the future of military intervention in international relations. By necessity this paper is limited to discussing and analysing but a few. In sketching possible future scenarios Figure 1 will therefore be used as a point of departure.

	Status quo	Increase	Decrease
Unilateral	Why	Who	Why
		Why	
		Where	
Multilateral	Why	Who	Why
		Why	
		Where	

Table 7. 1. Possible future scenarios for military interventions

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[4] Scholars disagree over the significance of the ARF. Some refer to it as a "talk-shop" while others consider it to be an instrument of regional order (Acharya 2001, 173). Perhaps it could be considered as evidence of the latter that Japan and South Korea in July of 2006 decided to use an ARF meeting to push for the return of North Korea to the six-nation talks on its nuclear arms (ASEAN Regional Forum 2006).

The figure should be read as follows. Military interventions can be unilateral, multilateral or both. Their number can increase, decrease or remain at today's levels. The questions why, who and where are to be discussed in each scenario. Why would military interventions (unilateral, multilateral or both) remain at today's level, increase or decrease? Who are the likely interveners, why and where would they intervene? This paper is organized in three sections. The first discusses the definition and history of military intervention and gives a summary of the contemporary debate. The second section discusses and analyses possible future scenarios for the role of military intervention in international relations. The third and final section offers tentative conclusions.

1.2 Defining military intervention & summarizing the contemporary debate

The academic literature on intervention is vast and a number of competing definitions exists (Amer 1997, 18-20). In its broadest form intervention is defined as one actor intervening in the affairs of another.[5] However, scholars usually distinguish between political, economic and military intervention.[6]

In the words of Wallensteen, intervention in the international system "refers to the involvement of an external force in the internal affairs of another country. Normally, we think of military intervention, that is, the use of military force" (Wallensteen 1997, 5). However, military force involves many different levels and instruments. Sometimes a high level military intervention is defined as dispatching troops and a low level one as supplying arms (Dunér 1985, 14). In between there can be heavy bombardment, financial and logistic support and assistance, military training etc. When the future of military intervention is discussed here, I limit the discussion to include the deployment of troops (for whatever purpose) and bombardment. This is not to say that other instruments and forms are unimportant only that the size of this paper does not allow for such distinctions to be made.

2. Who, why and where? – A short look at the history of military intervention

Holsti (1991) has analysed armed conflicts in the world between 1648 and 1989.[7] An interesting pattern emerges when the periods 1815-1914, 1918-1941 and 1945-1989 are studied. The three dominating issues that generated wars and major interventions between 1815 and 1914 were maintaining the integrity of a state or empire, territory and national liberation/state creation (Holsti 1991, 138-145). Between 1918 and 1941 there was an

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[5] James N. Roseanu early on defined intervention as "any action whereby a state has an impact upon the affairs of another" (Rosenau 1969, 153). He further argued that intervention occurs when the actions of the intervening state alters the affairs of the state that is being intervened against its will. Such a definition includes all kinds of interventions – from diplomacy to free trade, from the flow of ideas to the sending of troops.

[6] Many observers have noted that the potential and the possibilities for states to intervene in each other's domestic affairs have grown considerably as the world has become increasingly interdependent. Although states are still key actors they are not the only ones. The growth of intergovernmental organizations that promote norms of good governance, liberal democracy and human security serve to illustrate this point.

[7] The definitions of armed conflict and war are constantly debated. The number of wars counted by Holsti is much lower compared to the Uppsala Conflict Data Program for instance. However, at issue here is a general pattern and as to that pattern Holsti is in agreement with the Uppsala Conflict Data Program. For the number of wars and major interventions counted by Holsti (1991) see pp. 140-142, 214 and 278.

increase in the number of wars and major interventions and the top three issues that generated them were territory, state/regime survival and the enforcement of treaty terms (Holsti 1991, 214-219). According to Holsti, the period between 1946 and 1989 was marked by an increase in the number of instruments states can use to influence each other. Among them were a whole range of military instruments – from warnings to so called surgical strikes and limited interventions. He notes that "Most interventions have had as their purpose something more akin to police functions: restoring or maintaining order in a client state" (Holsti 1991, 273). Holsti also concludes that as the number of interstate wars has declined, the number of military interventions "not directed against an opposing army" has grown (Holsti 1991).

According to his classification, a majority of wars between 1946 and 1989 were "wars of national liberation undertaken by irregular forces, various military interventions, usually to prop up or topple regimes and several cases that might be termed "peacekeeping", where the purpose was to maintain or restore order, to put an end to fighting, and/or to protect the citizens and economic interests of the intervening party." (Holsti 1991, 278-279). The three top issues sparking wars were government composition, the creation of states and maintaining the integrity of a state or empire.

According to Wallensteen and Harbom (2005), there have been 228 armed conflicts[8] after World War II and 118 after the end of the Cold War. The majority of these conflicts are internal. "However, a little over one-fifth of the internal conflicts are internationalized in the sense that outside states contribute troops to the conflict. Less overt support, involving for example, financial and logistic assistance, is found much more frequently. This type of support was present in nearly three-quarters of the armed conflicts after the end of the Cold War. Both governments and rebels receive support from outside states, usually neighboring states. Outside support for governments fighting rebel movements is almost always provided by other governments, not by other rebel movements." (Wallensteen and Harbom 2005, 623).

Wallensteen and Harbom, record 30 armed conflicts in 22 locations in 2004. One more compared to 2003. The number of armed conflicts in the world is today as low as it was in the early 1970s (Wallensteen and Harbom 2005, 623). Based on data from the Uppsala Conflict Data Program, they report that there were 3 "internationalized intrastate"[9] conflicts in 2004. These are conflicts in which the government, the opposition or both receive military support from other governments. Since the end of World War II 165 internal armed conflicts have been recorded. In 36 of these, troops from an external state have been involved. The Cold War witnessed a number of such external interventions but in early post Cold War days the dissolutions of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia became closely associated with external intervention. The authors also write that after September 11, 2001, several countries have been drawn into the conflicts of other states. Many countries have for instance sent regular troops to Afghanistan (Wallensteen and Harbom 2005, 627-628).

Analysing *who* the interveners are Wallensteen and Harbom reach the conclusion that they can be divided into three partly overlapping categories; major powers, neighbouring

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[8] An armed conflict is defined as "a contested incompatibility that concerns government and/or territory where the use of armed force between two parties, results in at least 25 battle-related deaths. Of these two parties, at least one has to be the government of the state." (Wallensteen and Harbom 2005, 634). Note: the battle-related deaths are recorded per annum.
[9] The category "internationalized intrastate" has replaced a category called "intrastate with foreign intervention".

countries[10] and what they call asymmetric interventions. The latter refers to major powers who are engaged in a non-major power's internal conflict (Russia in Uzbekistan and Libya in the Central African Republic); interventions motivated for humanitarian reasons such as Kosovo in 1999, and external troop involvement in the global war on terror. On the latter they write: "Since 2001, this campaign has come to dominate external troop involvement, and in 2004, this was the only type of external intervention recorded in intrastate conflicts." (Wallensteen and Harbom 2005, 629).

A model that can be used for the purpose of discussing the question of who is Buzan's and Waever's '1+4+regions'. The United States is the only remaining superpower (1); Russia, China, the EU and Japan are great powers (4) and the rest of the world consists of regional security complexes (RSCs). In their book Regions and Powers they describe and analyse these RSCs. Their point of departure is that the regional level is both increasingly important as a locus for cooperation and conflict for states and as a level of analysis for scholars (Buzan and Waever 2003, 10).[11] The US has on repeated occasions shown not only that it does possess the military capacity to intervene in other countries but also that it will do so to defend itself or to protect its interests.

As noted by Wallensteen and Harbom, the major power Russia also has the capacity to intervene at least in what it frequently refers to its "near abroad". The EU is in a process of developing its military capacities for reasons partly to do with military intervention. China does have the military capacity but has – thus far in the post Cold War era – refrained from using it. During the summer of 2006, Japan was troubled by missile tests in North Korea and immediately worked with the US to present the UN Security Council with a draft resolution calling for sanctions against North Korea (BBC 2006).

As to *why* military interventions take place it could on the one hand be argued that they express power relations; weak states are made to submit to the power, interest and will of stronger ones. However, within the field of IR, constructivists have challenged that assumption and found other explanations to why states behave the way they do in their relations to other states. Among other things constructivists claim that identity formation and international norms play a major role. Wallensteen expresses it in terms of intervening actors being perceived to act in relation to a set of objectives that can be either self-serving (protecting resources for instance) or more altruistic (protecting international standards) (Wallensteen 1997, 5).

Military intervention can in other words be said to hinge upon perceived threats and possibly perceived responsibilities. As is well known and well documented in the literature, the very

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[10] In his study of military intervention during the 1970s Dunér also paid attention to neighbouring countries. He challenged the notion that developed countries were the interveners. His analysis showed that developing countries also had a tendency to intervene in the affairs of others. He concluded that "a low intervention capacity does not hold back the LDCs as might be easily thought on theoretical grounds." (Dunér 1985, 71). An important explanatory variable was (and probably still is) vicinity. A short distance to the state that is subjected to intervention may compensate for lack of military capacity (Dunér 1985, 75).

[11] RSCs are by no means homogeneous. Different parts of the world are made up by different kinds of states that relate in different ways to the process of globalisation. In some parts of the world globalisation is securitised as a threat, in others it is seen in opposite terms (Buzan and Waever 2003, 13). "In some places conflictual RSCs, with their predominantly military-political interstate rivalries, remain the order of the day. In others, RSCs have become security regimes or security communities, and the discourses of security have shifted away from both states and military issues. And in yet others, the state framework itself is coming apart at the seams, giving prominence to substate and/or superstate actors." (Buzan and Waever 2003, 19).

concept of security has undergone profound change over the last decades as new thinking on what security is and what constitutes a threat has been advanced. Buzan, Waever and de Wilde (1998) have for instance developed a sectoral approach to security arguing that security can no longer be restricted to the military sector. Instead they think of security in five inter-linked sectors; the military, the political, the economic, the environmental and the societal (Buzan, Waever and de Wilde 1998, vii-8). According to them, migration, pollution, or poverty can be securitized and made into a matter that local, regional, national or international actors must pay attention to and address.[12] As mentioned earlier and as will be discussed in the section on the contemporary debate on military intervention, the concept of "human security" has also been launched; partly as a way to rethink state sovereignty and the responsibility of the international community to protect the right to life of everyone on this planet.

After September 11, 2001 international terrorism has been singled out as a prominent threat together with the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (and the possibility that such weapons could end up in the hands of non-state actors), collapsing states, transnational crime, illegal immigration, environmental disasters and trafficking of drugs, human beings and weapons (ISS 2004, 10). These threats are all discussed in the European Security Strategy in which internal and external aspects of security are explicitly linked and in which it says that "the first line of defence will often be abroad" (European Security Strategy 2003, 7). According to the Security Strategy, addressing these new threats involves a complex mix of economic, political and military instruments. Good governance on the part of Europe's neighbours must be promoted; the root causes of terrorism dealt with, regional conflicts solved and failed states reconstructed. In addition, prevention is a key word. The Security Strategy emphasizes that the European Union must be ready to act before a crisis occurs. With regard to intervention the Security Strategy says that there is a need "to develop a strategic culture that fosters early, rapid and when necessary, robust intervention." (European Security Strategy 2003, 11).

Where military interventions take place is closely connected to why actors would intervene in the first place and to their military capacity to do so. As argued above, why is an outcome of perceived threats and responsibilities. Non-state actors such as international terrorists are given priority these days, but even they need geographical bases. It is often argued that they thrive in weak states[13] or are allowed to set up camps in what the US calls "rouge states". The most recent case of hostilities between Hezbollah and Israel shows that military intervention can be the result of clashes between a non-state actor in one country and a government in another. Weak states are today located primarily in Africa and Central Asia. Theoretically, military interventions could take place in such states but also in states in which ethnic cleansing and genocide make the international community take on a responsibility to protect people targeted for such atrocities. It is also possible that states believed to develop weapons of mass destruction could be subjected to bombings aimed at destroying facilities for the production of such weapons (much like Israel did in 1981 when Osirak in Iraq was bombed).

Regions, countries and areas associated with new threats are in other words prime candidates for where military interventions could take place in the future. However, it should be born in mind that continued and developed regional cooperation and integration could make it more

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[12] When something is securitized the issue is regarded as an existential threat that requires emergency measures. Threats are in other words constructed and communicated by actors (Buzan, Waever and de Wilde 1998, 24-25).

[13] Weak states refer to a low degree of "socio-political cohesion between civil society and the institutions of government. In a real sense it is about the degree of stateness." (Buzan and Waever 2003, 22).

difficult for an actor outside the region to intervene in a country in that region without the support of regional or sub regional organisations.

3. The contemporary debate on military intervention

Closely associated with the state system established after the Westphalia peace, non-intervention, state sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence have been prevailing norms in international relations. These are all enshrined in the UN Charter. According to article 2 (4), "All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations". State sovereignty is a legal and political defence against the dominance of stronger states (Wallensteen 1997, 5).

Violating that sovereignty by military force is regarded as an act of aggression to which self-defence "until the Security Council has taken measures necessary to maintain international peace and security" is a legitimate response (Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations).

The Charter places the responsibility for determining whether a threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression exists with the Security Council. Articles 39-42 in chapter VII allows the Security Council to decide what measures should be taken in order to maintain or restore international peace and security including the use of force. Of central importance is therefore how the Security Council defines a threat to or breach of the peace. Many scholars agree that the Security Council's definition of peace over the last 15 years has expanded (Johnstone 2004).

Peace has been increasingly tied to respect for fundamental human rights and human security. Domestic affairs can in other words be defined as threats to international peace and security demanding intervention on the part of the international community (Weiss 2005, 197).[14]

The changing definition of peace is linked to the changing character of war. When the cold war was over, the world awoke to the fact that an increasing majority of wars and armed conflicts now take place within rather than between states. In the opinion of numerous scholars and politicians these new wars called for new thinking on how to approach them. Mary Kaldor, Kofi Annan, Thomas G. Weiss and many others have argued that the passivity of the international community during the genocide in Rwanda in 1994 was morally reprehensible. According to them, state sovereignty cannot be interpreted as the right of governments to slaughter their own citizens. If governments attempt to do so, the international community has a responsibility to protect the lives of citizens at risk (Annan 2004).

The reconceptualisation of military humanitarian intervention as a responsibility to protect stems from the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS). In 2001 the Commission released its much awaited report The Responsibility to protect. It discusses "the question of when, if ever, it is appropriate for states for take coercive – and in particular military – action, against another state for the purpose of protecting people at risk in that other state." (ICISS 2001).[15] The report revolves around the idea that when sovereign states are unwilling or unable to protect their citizens from "avoidable catastrophe" it is the

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[14] Notable is that the number of UN peacekeeping operations have increased since the end of the Cold War. Since 1948 60 UN operations have been carried out, 42 of these after 1990 (United Nations 2006). There are currently 15 such operations.

[15] When I refer to humanitarian interventions in this paper I use the ICISS definition.

responsibility of the international community to do so. In A more secure world: Our shared responsibility (2004) published by the High Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change (which was initiated by United Nations' Secretary-General) the responsibility to protect is referred to as a new norm. The UN Secretary-General's own report In Larger Freedom, (intended to serve as a point of departure for the UN summit in the fall of 2005) also refers to the responsibility to protect as a new international norm.

According to Johnstone, post Cold War activities of the UN "shaped and were shaped by a normative climate that permits ever deeper intrusion in the domestic affairs of states" (Johnstone 2004, 814). However, when the Security Council did not authorize NATO's bombings of Yugoslavia in 1999 things became more complicated. Some countries considered the intervention illegal, others as illegal but legitimate and justified. In Johnstone's words "the upshot of the Kosovo case is an emerging consensus on humanitarian intervention: namely, that it is lawful with Security Council approval and unlawful without it, but there may be rare cases in which intervention without Council authorization will in effect be excused." (Johnstone 2004).

The responsibility to protect remains contested however. Critics warn that while paying lip service to the noble ideal of protecting people all over the world from avoidable catastrophe, countries will intervene in the domestic affairs of others for economic, geopolitical and strategic reasons. Some have also raised the concern that the responsibility to protect could become a new form of colonialism, in which the West forces the Rest to accept and adopt liberal democracy and liberal market economy. In the words of Mamdani: "Not surprisingly, every imperial intervention claims to be humanitarian, but calling an intervention "humanitarian" cannot strip it of its politics. Whether in Congo or Rwanda, Kosovo or Iraq, every intervention – and nonintervention – has its politics." (Mamdani 2000, 4).

Conlon even argues that "The prevalence of the doctrine of humanitarian intervention comes not from a renewed commitment to human rights, but from a need for a new pretext for imperialist interventions and to put a 'humanitarian' face on the war on terror." (Conlon 2004, 76). Not surprisingly former colonies have been among the staunchest critics of the responsibility to protect. Analysing the perception of humanitarian intervention in The Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) for instance, I have found that the organization firmly rejects the responsibility to protect and considers humanitarian intervention to be "totally in conflict with the UN Charter and the provisions and general principles of the General International Law" (OIC 2000).

According to Weiss (2004), decisions made by the Security Council during the 1990s reflected "a humanitarian impulse", a desire to come to the rescue of men, women and children in harms way. However, already in 2004 he argued that the sun had set on the responsibility to protect (Weiss 2004, 135). In his view the war on terror and the attempts to establish a doctrine of pre-emptive war were major reason for this[16]: "The sun of humanitarian intervention has set for now. Whether US power will underpin or undermine humanitarian intervention is uncertain. But one thing is clear. It will be decisive. If the responsibility to protect is to flourish, the United States must be on board. The current moment is dark, but that is not to say that humanitarian intervention will not dawn again." (Weiss 2004, 149).

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[16] The American military campaign in Afghanistan and the invasion of Iraq were not justified as humanitarian interventions but in the absence of evidence of weapons of mass destruction and ties to al-Qaida in Iraq, humanitarian arguments have been put forth post facto (Weiss 2005, 28; Johnstone 2004, 830).

Some commentators claimed that a new unilateral era was born in April of 2003 when the US-led coalition invaded Iraq. In the years to come powerful countries would intervene by military force whenever and wherever they wanted to. The UN would be constantly sidestepped and the credibility underpinning the idea of the responsibility to protect would be lost. Is that a possible future of military interventions in international relations?

Buzan and Waever would disagree arguing that "The terrorist attack on the United States in 2001 may well trigger some reassertion of great power interventionism, but this is likely to be for quite narrow and specific purposes, and seems unlikely to recreate the general willingness to intervene abroad that was a feature of Cold War superpower rivalry." (Buzan and Waever 2003, 3). I will return to these contrasting perspectives in the scenarios developed in the next section.

4. Possible future scenarios for intervention in international relations

The point of departure of this section is the figure presented earlier. The scenarios (A-F) are discussed and described as illustrated below.

	Status quo	Increase	Decrease
Unilateral	Why	Who	Why
	(A)	Why	(E)
		Where	
		(C)	
Multilateral	Why	Who	Why
	(B)	Why	(F)
		Where	
		(D)	

Table 7.2. Possible future scenarios for military interventions

4.1 Scenarios A and B

In these scenarios international relations remain what they are today. The number of military interventions – unilateral as well as multilateral – does neither increase nor decrease. The reasons are many and multifaceted. Norms of state sovereignty and territorial integrity are strengthened. Regionalization continues throughout the world but military intervention as a means by which to solve conflicts of various types does not gain in popularity. States, regional and international organizations agree that intervention is a hazardous business and that foretelling its military, economic, political, social and human consequences and costs is virtually impossible. In just a couple of years from now the interventions in Afghanistan and Iraq are widely regarded as failures that did not contribute positively to the war on terror. The fragile Iraqi state apparatus has collapsed and no one contests the existence of a brutal and unpredictable civil war. American troops have left the country but the US continues to bomb what it considers to be training camps for terrorists and facilities in which it says it can prove that weapons of mass destruction are being developed by "hostile governments in the region". In Afghanistan the Taliban controls two-thirds of the country. Only Kabul remains in the hands of a weak central government backed by the UN, US and the EU. Afghanistan is still one of the world's poorest countries. Socio-economic and infrastructural reconstruction has

been thwarted by corruption, lack of funds and inadequate implementation. The US regularly bombs Taliban controlled areas claiming that organizations more dangerous and more fanatical than al-Qaida are being established there.

The US remains a superpower and is in military terms completely superior to everyone else. The war on terror is regarded as a constant battle and the US reserves the right to intervene by force in rouge states that constitute a potential threat to US values, interests or way of life. However, rhetoric is stronger than practice and for reasons of not losing allies, an increasingly negative domestic public opinion, a huge budget deficit and the risk of overstretch, the US does not become more interventionist than it is today. Its allies also engage in occasional military interventions. Israel is not happy with the UN mission in Lebanon and occasionally bombs what it considers to be Hezbollah strongholds in the southern parts of the country.

The African Union fails to develop a stand-by force of its own. Having seen little or no practical results over the years, donors are not willing to pledge any more money and local funds are missing. However, the AU does not abandon its ambition to solve African problems without foreign involvement and continues to develop economic ties between the countries and oppose outside interference. With the approval of the AU, there are several peacekeeping UN operations on the continent (but no more than the current 7). It could be argued that in the event of a new genocide in Africa, a humanitarian military intervention is likely if sanctioned by the UN. The United Nations do not want to face yet another Rwanda followed by accusations of racism.

According to Carlsnaes (2005), a crucial issue for the European Union is "how foreign and security policy should be made in the future, and, in particular, if Europe will be able to act jointly and speak with one voice." (Carlsnaes 2005, 403). In this scenario the EU is at a stalemate. Public opinion in EU member states does not favour a "militarisation of the union" which means that the military capacity of the Union is only very slightly enhanced compared to today. The development of a Rapid Reaction Force and Battle Groups is delayed and commissionaires complain that the EU will be unable to handle a new "Balkan like" crisis in Europe on its own. In addition, the larger the Union gets, the more difficult it is to speak with one voice in matters of foreign and security policy and member states do not agree on how decisions are to be made. Some observers worry that the EU will go through a process of renationalisation as nationalist parties hostile not only to multiculturalism but also to what they call an EU "super state" make progress in many member states, among them France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Denmark and Sweden (cf. Buzan and Waever 2003, 375). Sweden keeps on referring to international law as a basis for international relations but also emphasizes the need for reform of the UN and the need for the EU to continue develop its capacity for crisis management and conflict resolution. There are Swedish soldiers under UN flag in a couple of African countries. There is Nordic Battle Group but it has no missions and the whole project of Battle Groups is put on hold.

Russia continues to struggle with its former republics and continues to participate in the global war on terror in its near abroad. However, "The main instrument of control by Russia is not direct military intervention but either manipulation of the domestic (or sub regional) political scene in ways detrimental to obstate leaders or simply exploitation of their dependence on Russia, not least economically." (Buzan and Waever 2003, 409). Like the US, Russia is not more intervention prone than it is today.

In Asia as a whole, regional cooperation continues and develops but norms of state sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence are constantly reaffirmed. China remains stable and exercises its power as a giant in more subtle ways than through the use of force. India and Pakistan engage in sporadic diplomatic disputes over Kashmir but Pakistan keeps a lower profile as a consequence of its neighbour's stronger military capacity. There is talk in the UN of organising a referendum in Kashmir in order for the people there to determine whether they want to be independent or belong to either India or Pakistan but nothing happens. There is a change of leadership in North Korea and signs of easier relations between Pyongyang, Seoul and Tokyo.

In South America the amount of what Buzan and Waever call US 'penetration' is constant over the next couple of decades but concentrated to the northern part of the continent (Buzan and Waever 2003, 330). Politically, left wing governments dominate. Venezuela continues to develop its cooperation with Russia; buying arms from the great power (cf. Palton Walsh 2006, 20). Although ties have been known to exist between governments in other countries and the guerrillas in Colombia, instability does not spread from that country to neighbouring ones (Buzan and Waever 2003, 330). Regional integration continues in the Mercosur.

Ambitious reforms of the United Nations engineered by cosmopolitan politicians and scholars are not implemented. The Security Council is not expanded, the veto right is not abandoned and UN bureaucracy is not made more efficient. Sometimes the members of the Security Council agree, even on the necessity of military intervention, but mostly they don't. Brazil, India, Indonesia, Nigeria, Egypt and South Africa grow increasingly tired and impatient with the lack of reforms in the UN. There is talk of establishing an alternative forum called the United South.

4.2 Scenario C

"We must not overlook a basic fact: the US will not always act through the UN. We have other vital instruments of national power at our disposal, as was demonstrated in both Bosnia and Kosovo, where NATO acted without UN authority. I would advocate similar actions again if they were in the national interest." (Richard Holbrooke quoted in Whitman 2005, 262-263).

This scenario revolves around the US as a unilateral intervener and the consequences of such unilateralism. The words by Richard Holbrooke illustrate the mindset of coming American administrations in this regard. The Bush doctrine (expressed since 2002 in speeches and National Security Strategies) which says that pre-emptive self-defence is legitimate in the face of threats posed by terrorism, rouge states and weapons of mass destruction is made permanent (Whitman 2005, 265). Rouge states are defined as proliferating weapons of mass destruction, harbouring terrorists and brutalizing their own people. According to the Bush doctrine, such states must be stopped (Williams and Bellamy 2005, 28). The American public supports the course of continued unilateral action and supports American military interventions when the US is threatened or when US interests are at stake. Buzan and Waever envision a high level of US penetration into the Middle East as long as the US defines itself as a superpower and as long as it is concerned with oil from the region, international terrorism and Israel (Buzan and Waever 2003, 257). The US retains its massive presence in Iraq and well before 2017 it has bombed what it in the UN Security Council describes as "underground Iranian nuclear arms facilities". The American president declares that his country will bomb Iran again if evidence is found that nuclear weapons are being developed. After the first

bombing Iran was furious and accused the US of illegal actions. The Iranian ambassador to the UN argued that Iran considered the attack an act of war and said that Iran would defend itself against outside aggression should it be resumed in the future. The US also homes in on Syria which is still regarded as a major factor of instability in the Middle East. In addition, it bombs "terrorist training camps" in Somalia and Sudan. The AU protests but to no avail. The Union has not been able to develop its military capacities the way in envisioned in the early years of the century. Since the military supremacy of the US remains unchallenged allies voice only carefully worded protests and critics adapt to the new unilateral or imperial era (cf. Cox 2002, 229).[17]

International law seems to be a thing of the past or something that smaller states still cling to. The UN is reduced to a mere discussion forum.

The world can be described as unipolar but that does not mean that the US alone engages in military interventions. The warning of some contemporary scholars that the Bush doctrine could become generalised turns out to be true. Expressed differently, if the US abides by international law only when it wants to, why should other states think differently? Furthermore, why should not any state be able to justify military interventions on the grounds that they take part in the war on terror (Whitman 2005, 267)? In this scenario Russia uses the rhetoric of the superpower in order to fight what it says is a war on terror in its former republics, which are defined as a Russian sphere of interest. In Central Asia elites compete for political power in weak states. There are Russian minorities in many countries. The protection of minorities and an Asian war on terror makes Russia and the other members of the Shanghai Forum (Russia, China, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan) send troops to governments in Central Asia who need assistance in local wars on religiously motivated terrorists.[18] Other former republics resist domination by Russia by leaving the CIS and joining organisations like GUUAM (Georgia, Ukraine, Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan and Moldova) which continues to approach NATO (cf. Buzan and Waever 2003, 409-411).[19]

Analysing Russia's interventions in its near abroad, Hopf (2005) argues that a key to understanding these interventions has to do with the social construction of Russian identity. In the early 1990s liberals, conservatives and centrists fought for the power to define what being Russian meant. They all subscribed to the idea of Russia as a great power but advocated different policies with regard to its near abroad. Liberals were hesitant to military intervention and conservatives enthusiastic about them but in the end centrists won. Military interventions were indeed embarked upon but their number was limited (Hopf 2005, 226-227). A state's identity as well as its interests and understandings of what constitutes legitimate international behaviour are social products which means that they change as new elites and leaders emerge and old ones disappear. Hopf's analysis is important with regard to all scenarios described here but in this one it can easily be imagined that what he calls conservative ideas and individuals resurface and help underpin and make legitimate unilateral military intervention in Russia's near abroad.

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[17] There is currently a debate on whether or not the US is in fact an empire (see for instance Cox 2002; Barber 2004 and Hurrell 2004). In this scenario it is recognised as an empire and thinks of itself as one.

[18] As of now the Shanghai Forum considers "religious extremism, separatism, international terrorism and drugs trafficking" as threats (Buzan and Waever 2003, 410).

[19] Several of the former republics have already opted out of the Tashkent Treaty which establishes a collective security component within the CIS (Buzan and Waever 2003, 411).

China has opted for a more cautious course of action. It uses its economic power to influence world affairs. China has a strong non-military presence in Africa. Its relations with Taiwan remain hostile but stable. After the fall of the North Korean political system China has become a 'protector' of the North Korean people and encourages economic development and careful political liberalisation.

The US is still present in Central America and in the northern parts of South America. However, rather than intervening by deploying troops it supports US-friendly governments in their fight against drugs, illegal migration and guerrillas. This support comes primarily in the form of economic aid, intelligence sharing and arms supply. Brazil and Venezuela are among the staunchest critics of what they see as "American imperialism" in South America.
The EU is internally divided over the issue on how to respond to US unilateralism. It is easier for member states to reach agreements on Russia, which is firmly condemned. The UK continues to back what it argues to be "a necessary Pax Americana". France remains a critic and Sweden urges for a return to respect for international law but avoids open criticism of the US.

4.3 Scenario D

In this scenario military intervention becomes a multilateral concern. Main actors are the UN and various regional organisations. The motives behind military interventions continue to be based on perceived threats and responsibilities. The European Union has found ways to make decisions on foreign and security policies that all members (by now more than 25) can agree on and public opinion in the member states supports such a development. The predictions of the Institute for Security Studies (2004) are correct insofar as the ESDP grows and develops primarily for two reasons. The first has to do with what Gnesotto calls the "deterioration of the international context" (Gnesotto 2004, 5). That is crises in Africa, the Caucasus and the Middle East remain unresolved, wars are ongoing and could spread and international terrorists show no sign of being in retreat. It is impossible for the members of the European Union to ignore such a development and not respond to it. The second reason has to do with the US wanting its allies to do more "either on a bilateral basis with the American military, or within a UN or NATO framework, or even within a purely European framework on occasions when the US decides not to be involved." (Gnesotto 2004, 5). Among other things, EU member states are engaged in preventive policies to address the causes of terrorism; pre-emptive operations by police and military forces; humanitarian and rescue tasks, peacekeeping, crisis management and peacemaking (ISS 2004, 17). In addition – and as argued by the ISS – the European public is becoming less tolerant of human rights abuses and crimes against humanity and sometimes press their governments to intervene by military force for humanitarian reasons (ISS 2004, 20). Interventions are not undertaken without a UN mandate, however. In the coming 20 years, the Nordic Battle Group is involved in several operations in Africa and the Middle East. Sweden has abandoned its need to always maintain a unique position or identity in foreign and security policy issues. The impact of the ESDP has been significant and led to an increased focus on international crisis management (cf. Carlsnaes, 2005 405).

In this scenario the unilateral course taken by the US after September 11, 2001 (sketched in scenario C) turns out to be short lived. The US realizes that it can make use of regional multilateral cooperation in order to preserve international stability. Press-Barnathan (2005) and others are consequently right when they argue that the American "imperial drive" is temporary (Press-Barnathan 2005, 282). Defining security regionalization as state-centred and

taking institutions as a point of departure, Press-Barnathan writes that from a theoretical perspective unipolarity creates a direct incentive for states to engage in regional security management and an incentive for the unipolar state to promote such a development for three major reasons; it considers regional stability a vital interest, it wants to preserve the unipolar moment and it wants to reduce the costs of hegemony (Press-Barnathan 2005, 285-287). Preserving the unipolar moment can be accomplished within a multilateral framework of cooperation that provides security and appears "egalitarian and democratic" because it provides a voice for smaller states (Press-Barnathan 2005, 286). Tago's (2005) analysis of three domestic conditions; recession, election cycle and divided government with regard to the US opting for unilateralism or multilateralism also holds in the coming 20 years: "A weak economy and a national election, which may make the president more cost-conscious and more cognizant of possible public opposition, can promote the utilization of coalitional forces for burden-sharing. A divided government with an opposition majority in the Senate or House, which either discourages the president from seeking congressional approval, owning to the risk of encountering obstacles from the opposition party, or motivates the president to seek international authorization for persuasion of an opposition majority, can enhance the attraction of collective legitimization by international organizations." (Tago 2005, 598). In this scenario the US reaches the conclusion that de-escalating regional conflicts, rebuilding failed states and fighting a successful war on terror demands cooperation and decision-making in multilateral forums. Moreover, by reducing the costs for hegemony through burden-sharing it can avoid overstretch (cf. Press-Barnathan 2005, 295).

Regional integration is strengthened in Africa, South America and Asia. The AU reaches its goal of establishing a stand-by force by 2019. The EU and NATO have been investing time and money in helping the AU to develop its military capabilities. Forces that can be deployed fast by air and land have been trained for military humanitarian interventions. There is able leadership at all levels and tactical intelligence collection and dissemination have been considerably improved (cf. Gompert 2006). Confidence is growing in Africa as the conflict resolving mechanisms of the AU have been successful in preventing the outbreak of civil and inter-state wars in the Great Lakes Region. There are still four UN missions (and two EU-led ones) in Africa but the AU is preparing to replace the UN in at least two of these.

In Asia the ASEAN, the ARF and the Shanghai Forum are strengthened. There is still a war on terror. China, Russia and India are all active participants in this war and pledge to stop terrorist organisations from using weak states in Central Asia as their bases. However, in Pakistan an Islamist alliance, the Muttahhida Majlis-e-Amal (MMA), forms part of a coalition government. There are Islamist parties in coalition governments also in Bangladesh and Indonesia. Like in the Middle East and North Africa, reformist Islamist political parties who renounced violence as early as the 1990s are changing Western and Asian images of Islam. American and European politicians have come to the realisation that Islam (like all other world religions) is and always has been open to a multitude of interpretations. The talk of a clash of civilisations is downplayed as it is obvious that ongoing armed conflicts in the world cannot be analysed in such terms. However, the Middle East still requires international presence in order to contain conflicts, rebuild societies and peace. After pressure from the US, Israel has agreed to allow EU peacekeeping forces with UN authorization to monitor the borders between the newly established Palestinian state and Israel. US troops in Iraq have been replaced by peacekeepers and peace builders from Muslim countries under UN flag. The civil war seems to be approaching an end and there is talk of revising the constitution.

The US retains a tangible presence in Central America and in the northern parts of South America but seeks multilateral solutions to illegal migration and drugs trafficking through organisations like the Organisation of American States (OAS). Mercosur continues to grow stronger and continues to rival NAFTA. Conflicts arise in several South American countries over the use and ownership of natural resources but there are no outside military interventions.

A modestly reformed United Nations is the hub around which the RSCs revolve. Cooperation between the UN and various regional organisations is developed. The responsibility to protect is an established norm. All humanitarian interventions are to be authorized by an expanded Security Council (that makes decisions on such issues by qualified majority) but carried out by regional organisations, if necessary supported by a small but efficient multinational UN stand-by force. The Security Council – to a larger extent than before – is able to agree on what course of action to take in different situations including authorizing the use of force (cf. Roberts 1997). There are three new permanent members without vetoes. US-UN relations are improved considerably as coming American presidents realize that "working through the UN can help achieve crucial US objectives" (Weiss 2004, 148).

4.4 Scenarios E and F

Following several failures, either to intervene at all or to intervene in a successful manner, the entire concept of the responsibility to protect is discredited. A new genocide has taken place in Africa but the Security Council was deadlocked. China continues to block interventions in Africa while the US and the UK block them in Central Asia. Since it has proven impossible to reform the UN in any way, shape or form, the Security Council is more of a forum for posturing and rhetoric than for action. Williams and Bellamy who in 2005 used Darfur as an example, consequently turned out to be right when they argued that future humanitarian interventions in Africa were not very likely at all.[20] Buzan and Waever described it as early as 2003 in terms of an increasing tendency to leave Africans to their own devices. In Africa the end of the cold war marked a shift from bipolar intervention to "a near absence of any sustained great power interest or engagement." (Buzan and Waever 2003, 255). Although the African continent is still home to a number of weak and possibly collapsing states the lack of strategic assets and interests in Africa has lead to a decrease in the number of military interventions. After the genocide and the failure of the UN to stop it, the Secretary-General says she has reached an important and course altering conclusion. The very idea of the responsibility to protect is to be abandoned in favour of ideas of more effective conflict prevention, preventive diplomacy and an even more extended system of early warnings.

In the US public opinion and a difficult budget deficit has made the White House embark on a campaign called "America First". People in other parts of the world must learn how to solve their own problems, the US cannot fight fires abroad when water is needed at home says the newly elected President in 2020. Homeland defence and security are still top priorities but American military intervention in the form of bombings and the deployment of troops is no longer considered wise options. European politicians are worried that the US is entering an era of neo-isolationism that will affect also its interest to fight global environmental problems, poverty and aids.

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[20] Williams and Bellamy (2005) agree with Weiss that the sun is setting on the responsibility to protect. How else can it be explained that the NATO and the EU fail to contemplate military intervention in Darfur, which in their opinion represents a "supreme humanitarian emergency" (Williams and Bellamy 2005, 27, 30)?

Military interventions are not the first choices on the Russian and Chinese foreign and security policy menus either. They concentrate on other forms of influencing both neighbours and states in other parts of the world. China continues to establish economic ties with resource rich African countries. In exchange for access to valuable minerals it builds infrastructure and contribute funds to Africa's fight against aids. The EU countries are increasingly dependent on Russia for oil and gas.

Although the EU has improved its military capacity it lacks the political will and public support for interventions. Fortress Europe is now something European politicians proudly and openly refer to. EU member states have harmonised their asylum and migration policies which are very strict. There are "reception camps" in North Africa in which asylum applicants are evaluated and asylum applications processed. More than 95 % of them are rejected. The EU has also developed its own version of the American Patriot Act, increasing the rights of authorities to spy on, interrogate and detain citizens, immigrants and refugees. Sweden has supported this development and even supplied some advanced technologies for monitoring email and cell phone communications. There is a debate in Sweden on returning to and improving the country's territorial defence. Critics cannot understand why as there is no invasion threat but nationalist and populist politicians successfully argue that every country has an army, its own or someone else's.

All over the world norms of state sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence are strengthened. Political leaders agree that intervention is indeed illegal and should be considered as such. The AU declares that a world without chaos is one in which states do not have to fear intervention because they do not comply with norms of good governance or human security. The AU has not been able to develop its military capacity to intervene in cases of ethnic cleansing and genocide. African leaders did appeal for help during the most recent genocide though.

In this scenario regions or RSCs have not become unimportant but economic cooperation is given priority over political and military cooperation. Military intervention – unilateral as well as multilateral – decreases but that does not mean that other forms of intervention do as well. Perceived threats and responsibilities are dealt with in other ways. Governments committing grave human rights abuses are criticised, trade embargos are enforced and countries are isolated much like South Africa was during the era of apartheid.

4.5 Thoughts on the possible combination of scenarios

It is not far-fetched to imagine that unilateral military interventions either remain at status quo (A) or decrease (E) while multilateral interventions increase (D). As discussed in scenario D, multilateralism can increase for a number of reasons. A continuation of the development of regional and global cooperation, integration and institutions could create a climate in which unilateral action is de-legitimized and it becomes more or less natural to face threats and challenges together. On the other hand it is also plausible that multilateral military interventions decrease (F) or remain at status quo (B) while unilateral interventions increase (C) in number. In such a combination the logic of unilateral action as described in scenario C dominates. International law is disregarded; states with the military capacity to intervene in other states do so. Critics may protest verbally but beyond that there is nothing they can do.

Yet another possible combination of scenarios is that unilateral interventions decrease (E) because they are too risky and too costly even for the US and multilateral ones remain at

today's level (B). Such a development might on the one hand indicate a global consensus on when military interventions are legal and legitimate; i.e. when the UN Security Council says they are. However, on the other hand it could also have to do with an increase of operations like the one NATO was engaged in in Kosovo. That is, multilateral military interventions take place without UN Security Council authorization when an organization like NATO decides that they are necessary.

In the last combination I chose to comment on in this brief section, unilateral military interventions remain at today's level (A) while multilateral interventions decrease (F). As discussed in scenario F, the latter could be explained by lack of political will (the Security Council could be blocked, EU member states find it increasingly hard to identify common grounds and make decisions etc.) and public support. The whole idea of intervening by force in other countries has lost its appeal. Those who intervene today continue to do so in the future but not to a greater extent.

5. Conclusions

The scenarios sketched in this paper can be seen as attempts to discuss possible futures of military intervention given a certain development or chain of events. It has been a conscious choice not to comment on the likelihood of any of the scenarios. Instead they can perhaps be used as a means by which to discover signs that we are moving in one or the other direction. However, discussing the future of military intervention in international relations in the year 2006 there seems to be plenty of signs that such interventions, both unilateral and multilateral will continue and even increase in the coming 20 years. This may seem paradoxical since military interventions run contrary to the fundamental principles of state sovereignty and non-intervention. However, this paper has shown that these very principles are being reinterpreted and redefined by important actors in the international system. Although contested the responsibility to protect involves a radically different take on state sovereignty since it emphasizes that military intervention for humanitarian reasons is a moral obligation. In Europe and Africa regional cooperation and integration continues and politicians have set ambitious goals as far as developing military capacity is concerned. New threats have been defined and the concept of security has become wider. Contemporary security strategies include capacity building for coping with international terrorism, the proliferation of WMDs, collapsing states and trafficking. However, in this context I would also point out that it is possible for actors to use the war on terror as pretext in future military interventions for instance in order to secure the supply of oil to Western economies.

As of now multilateralism is running parallel to unilateralism, predominantly American unilateralism. The future, however, is an intriguing puzzle of variables and factors. Signs that may seem obvious today can have changed into something else in just a couple of years' time. What happens for instance if – following an increasing degree of chaos in Iraq and Afghanistan – the American public withdraws its support for the unilateral course; if the US simply cannot afford to intervene everywhere it wants to or risks overstretch; if regional organisations fail to develop their military capacities or fail to drum up public support for such a development? Or, to change focus, what happens if China becomes either more open and liberal or more aggressive, nationalist and authoritarian; and what happens if it develops into a dominant power in Asia, how will it be perceived by its neighbours (cf. Buzan and Waever 2003, 165, 182)?

A final note on Sweden is called for. As discussed in part II, Sweden could well be sending military personnel on EU missions under UN authorization to the Middle East and Africa as peacekeepers in the future. Swedish soldiers could also be engaged in military interventions for humanitarian purposes, defend European strategic interests and participate in operations of a preventive character. On the other hand, if the development of the military capacities of the EU is undermined and if there is a renationalisation of the Union, there could possibly be a return to something more reminiscent of a territorial defence in Sweden. Where Sweden and the Swedish Armed Forces will be in another 20 years depends both on where the EU will be and on where future Swedish politicians and citizens will want Sweden to be. Crucial in this respect is how they perceive and define security, threats and responsibilities.

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Chapter 7

Conflict in Africa and the role of ethnic minorities:

Looking to the future decade of 2017-2027

By Ilaria Bottigliero

1. Introduction

During the last century, Africa suffered disproportionately from violence, armed conflict and serious human rights violations, including genocide. Angola, Burundi, the Central African Republic, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Mozambique, Nigeria, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Sudan and Uganda, are only some examples of countries where systematic and widespread violence has affected millions of people, generated mass movements of refugees and IDPs,[1] destroyed economies and food production, damaged the natural environment and infringed upon the healthy development of society and the enjoyment of human rights, democracy and the rule of law.

What are the reasons for such widespread violence in Africa? The present study looks at conflict in Africa and the role of ethnic minorities, with a focus on what might be the situation in the decade 2017-2027. We approach the issue from the point of view of ethnicity and human rights, from the angle of the role regional and sub-regional organizations could play in preventing conflict and promoting stability in the continent. Our discussion is based on the assumption that it is not the mere presence of two, three or even several ethnic groups in a given area that is in itself capable of generating violence and conflict. History is replete with examples of different peoples coexisting in peace, undisturbed, for long periods of time. Rather, this paper takes the point of view that the lack of protection for minorities, marginalized and vulnerable groups, combined with factors such as foreign domination and power struggles for scarce natural resources, sparks the kind of violence so often resulting in full-scale conflict in African society.

With the help of examples and illustrative cases, we examine the incidence of widespread violence in Africa by highlighting links among unaddressed ethnic claims and weak human rights protection particularly for minorities. Ethnic conflict and violence often involve mass, systematic and widespread human rights and humanitarian law violations, generating severe humanitarian catastrophes that exert a disproportionately high degree of suffering on civilians. These aspects make ethnic conflict quite different from inter state conflicts that do not involve driving forces of racial, religious or ethnic differences, and often more difficult to tackle. The study also considers the role of regional and sub-regional organizations in conflict prevention, peacekeeping and peace building, looking to the decade 2017-2027.

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[1] Among the main African cross-border refugee movements caused by war, Griffiths mentions the following: Ethiopian refugees into Sudan and Kenya; Sudanese into Ethiopia, Kenya and Uganda; Somalis into Kenya and, as boat people, into Yemen across the Gulf of Aden; Chadians into Sudan; Mozambicans into Malawi, Zimbabwe and South Africa, passing under the electrified fence. *See* Ieuan Griffiths, *The Atlas of African Affairs* (1994), p.135.

Finally, we conclude by emphasizing ways in which stronger minority rights guarantees and human rights protection in general could work more effectively to prevent and reduce violence in African societies, with a view to the future.

2. Ethnicity and conflict in Africa

Ethnic conflict is by no means a phenomenon restricted to Africa. To the contrary, ethnic violence and war are found in countries around the globe. Significantly, the word 'ethnic cleansing' was coined to describe some of the atrocities that occurred just over a decade ago in the former Yugoslavia - right in the heart of Europe - where millions of civilians suffered massive and systematic human rights violations such as genocide, rape, forced sterilization, enforced pregnancy, torture, murder, mass deportation, and the destruction and looting of cultural property, for reasons related to their ethnic background.[2]

When we talk about violence in Africa however, many commentators have wondered whether ethnic factors need to be taken into special account. Chabal for example, indicates that violence may be simply a by-product of what he calls "the social and political pangs of development". He argues that one could accept that "all societies have evolved this way" and that violence and conflict are elements of historical progress, state consolidation and the transformation of society. As such, they are both necessary and unavoidable.[3]

Alternatively, he points out that one can discuss violence in Africa starting from the premise that "there are features of the modernization of the African continent that make it prone to a greater degree (and range) of violence than might 'historically' be expected".[4]

Economic and development theories have also contributed much to the debate on the causes of violence in Africa. As for any other conflict however, no matter where hostilies take place, the phenomenon of ethnic violence in Africa cannot be understood without looking at the continent's past and recent history. In particular, the colonial legacy of most African countries is often referred to as one of the main causes of ethnic violence in African countries. During the Berlin Conference of 1884-85 establishing the colonial partition of the African continent, European Powers drew the boundaries of modern Africa with little regard for the continent's physical geography, let alone for the ethnic background and distribution of its indigenous people. Griffiths notes that:

> (T)he use of physical features (river and river basins, 46 per cent) and
> geometric lines (48 per cent) dehumanized the boundaries of Africa. Only
> rarely did they coincide with culture or ethno-linguistic areas. Every boundary
> in Africa cuts through at least one culture area. The Nigeria-Cameroon
> boundary divides fourteen, while the boundaries of Burkina Faso cross twenty-

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[2] *See generally* Ilaria Bottigliero, "Redress and International Criminal Justice in Asia and Europe", *Asia Europe Journal* Vol. 3(4) 2005.

[3] *See* Patrick Chabal, "Violence, Power and Rationality: A Political Analysis of Conflict in Contemporary Africa", in Chabal, Engel and Gentili (eds.), *Is Violence Inevitable in Africa? Theories of Conflict and Approaches to Conflict Prevention* (2005), p. 1.

[4] *Ibid.*

one culture areas. At the micro level such boundaries sometimes divided towns from their hinterlands, villages from their traditional fields; they affect everyday life.[5]

At the time of independence, the great majority of colonial boundaries, although arbitrarily drawn, were left deliberately untouched.[6] This conforms to the international law principle of uti possidetis, according to which borders of newly independent states must follow the old colonial frontiers and cannot be altered by unilateral action. This principle, originated in South America following the collapse of the Spanish colonial Empire, was later embraced by the Organization of African Union in its Resolution on 'Border Disputes among African States', providing that:

> *Considering that border problems constitute a grave and permanent factor of dissension [and] conscious of the existence of extra-African manoeuvres aimed at dividing African states ... all member states pledge themselves to respect the borders existing on their achievement of national independence.*[7]

Overall, colonial powers played a major role in determining the political, ethnic and social balance of countries and territories under their control, often exacerbating pre-existing tensions and paving the way for uncontrolled outbreaks of violence following decolonization. For example, the discriminatory treatment of certain Rwandan ethnic groups under Belgian colonial rule, generated serious unbalances in the country's political setting, eventually paving the way for the 1994 genocide, as discussed later. In post-independence Angola and Mozambique, world superpowers and apartheid regimes engaged in long-lasting proxy wars during the 1980s, using methods such as government destabilization, sponsorship of anti-government rebel groups and deliberate starvation of civilians.[8] Decolonization in itself can also be mentioned as a factor contributing to the outbreak of ethnic conflict in Africa. Horowitz remarks that:

> *(D)ecolonization set in motion a chain reaction, the ultimate impact of which has yet to be felt. The movements that sought independence from the colonial powers were not always wholly representative of all the ethnic groups in their territories. Some groups that were not so well represented attempted, with varying degrees of success, to slow down the march to independence or to gain special concessions or even a separate state. But, with some exceptions, ethnic differences tended to be muted until independence was achieved.*[9]

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[5] See Griffiths, *supra* note 1, p. 68. In another similar instance, artificial boundaries separated the Ewe-speaking people of the Trans-Volta Region of Ghana from the rest of the group, who was left in neighbouring Togo.

[6] With the exception of the Mali / Mauritania border, adjusted in 1963 with a bilateral agreement to take into account the habits of the nomadic tribal people of the Sahara, and the Gambia / Senegal eastern border, adjusted in 1975 by joint agreement to take account of local population needs. *Ibid.*

[7] AHG/Res. 16(I) of 1964. The International Court of Justice upheld the principle of *uti possidetis* in the *Frontier Dispute Case* (Burkina Faso *v.* Mali) of 1986 and later in the *Frontier Dispute Case* (Benin *v.* Niger) of 2002.

[8] *See* Griffiths, *supra* note 1, p. 134-35.

[9] *See* Donald L. Horowitz, *Ethnic Groups in Conflict,* Updated Edition (2000) p. 4. The reluctance, or even open opposition, of minority groups to accept important political achievements of the majority populations is a common phenomenon which can be observed not only in relation to independence movements. For example, many European minorities are criticizing or even openly opposing their countries of residence possible entry into the EU. Just to mention one example, the Kurdish minority in Turkey has strongly opposed Turkish entry into EU accession talks, unless and until Turkey moves forward in providing the minority with greater recognition and legal protection.

Unfortunately, once African countries achieved independence from the colonial powers, ethnic conflict did not come to an end. To the contrary, many groups actually intensified their struggle against newly formed governments. At various stages, they argued that governments in the newly independent states did not represent fairly all ethnic groups in the country. Certain ethnic minorities feared repression and persecution from the new regimes and in some cases, even fought for greater autonomy or outright secession from the State. Post-decolonization movements of this kind fomented civil war and internal strife in many African countries, sometimes for decades after independence. Somalia for example – a country which has been often classified as a 'failed State' – "refused to accept its colonial boundaries [following its] independence, because they excluded a third of Somali speakers".[10] In Sudan, religious and ethnic allegiance generated severe clashes and full scale civil war between the Muslim north and non-Muslim south, recently bringing about one of the worst humanitarian crisis of our times, in the Darfur region, as discussed further below.

3. The degeneration of unaddressed ethnic claims into conflict situations: Three illustrative examples

In this section, we analyze three conflict situations motivated by strong ethnic and religious claims which have not been properly addressed either at local or international levels: Nigeria, Rwanda and Sudan.

3.1 Nigeria: A long history of unresolved ethnic claims

Nigeria is Africa's most populous country. Its vast oil resources also make it one of the richer African countries. Nigeria is "the largest oil producer in Africa and the fifth-largest oil producer within the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC)".[11] After having attained the status of the largest African economy in 1980, at present, Nigeria's economy ranks at number four after South Africa, Algeria and Egypt. In terms of population, languages and religion, Nigeria is a highly diversified country. As many as 395 languages are spoken in the country. Nigeria is inhabited by three very powerful regionally dominant ethnic groups: the Hausa in the north, the Yoruba in the south-west and the Igbo (or Ibo) in the south-east. As for religion, the north is predominantly Muslim, while the south has large clusters of Christian populations. Notwithstanding its large resources and oil revenues, the Niger Delta population continues to be mostly excluded from oil-generated wealth. Exploitation of Nigeria's oil reserves in many cases has left large areas of the Delta unusable for farming or other activities, due to oil-related pollution and environmental disasters. The State of the World's Minorities remarks that:

> (T)he Nigerian Federal Government has invested little of [the oil] resources in the Niger Delta, where the oil-producing communities reside. Poverty in this area is widespread. Roads are in a constant state of disrepair; power outages are frequent; the water available is of poor quality and is often contaminated; schools are almost non-existent; and state-run hospitals and clinics are under-equipped or short-staffed, or both.[12]

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[10] See Griffiths, supra note 1, p. 134.
[11] See Richard Green (ed.), State of the World's Minorities 2006, Minority Rights Group International (2005), p. 60.
[12] Ibid.

Nigeria presents a good example showing how weak minority protection and lack of economic, social and cultural rights guarantees in a highly diversified country, combined with a long history of political repression, can contribute to violence, ethnic conflict and civil war. Since Nigeria reached independence from British colonial rule in 1960, the country has been the scene of countless coups d'état, bringing to power one military government after the other. Overall, Nigeria has been subject to military rule for most of its post-independence life. In 1963, a highly controversial census system exacerbated ethnic tensions,[13] which eventually culminated in a full-scale bloody civil war, with the temporary secession of three Ibo-dominated Eastern states to form the Republic of Biafra, from 1967-1970. In 1966, just prior to Biafra's secession, some one million Ibo refugees settled in the Eastern Region and expelled non-Ibos, following the massacre of thousands of Ibo people by the majority Hausa, who resented their relative prosperity. The Biafra conflict involved serious humanitarian law violations against civilians, such as for example Nigeria's refusal to allow ICRC flights passage to bring food and humanitarian aid to Biafra, leaving millions of people to face starvation, in 1969. As in many other African conflicts, Biafra's bid to secede became an occasion for foreign powers to get involved in the conflict, arguably prolonging the humanitarian disaster. Griffiths for example maintains that:

> *After an initial Ibo advance through the Mid-West region had been repulsed, the military outcome was never in doubt. The tragedy was that the federal forces were unable to end the affair quickly because outside powers, including France, Portugal and South Africa, sustained Biafra until it dwindled to not much more than a single airstrip. Thousands of innocent civilians died and many more suffered severely from a war that lasted two and a half years.*[14]

Over the decades, various Nigerian military governments suppressed the political opposition, limited civil and political rights, and systematically abused minorities. Just to mention some examples, in January 1983, Alhaji Shehu Shagari's Government, backed militarily by Lieutenant-General Olusegun Obasanjo, carried out a harsh expulsion policy involving over one million foreigners, mostly Ghanaians, claiming that "they had overstayed their visas and were taking jobs from Nigerians".[15] Although the move was strongly condemned abroad, it proved highly popular in Nigeria. The execution of Ken Saro-Wiwa in 1995 can also be considered as one of the more blatant episodes of political suppression in Nigeria. Saro-Wiwa - a writer and campaigner against oil industry damage to his Ogoni homeland - was sentenced to death following a trial which fell far short of minimum fair trial standards. In protest, the European Union imposed sanctions against Nigeria for a period of 3 years. The Commonwealth also suspended the country's membership for 3 years.

In 1999, the country returned to civilian rule following parliamentary and presidential elections. Olusegun Obasanjo was sworn in as president, ascending to power for the second time in Nigeria's history. He was eventually re-elected in the 2003 presidential elections, gaining a majority of over 60%, although EU observers reported serious electoral irregularities. It was hoped that the long awaited return to democracy would improve

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[13] The 1963 census set Nigeria's total population at 55.6 million, a figure indicating a statistically unlikely leap from the 31.6 million of the 1952-53 census. Also, the 1963 census revealed a number of anomalies from region to region, especially in the south-east, where a comparison between the 1953 and the 1963 data indicates that some non-urban local government areas (LGAs) increased their population at a rate of almost 13% per year, while other neighbouring areas experienced a growth rate of only 0.5% per year. *See* the US Federal Research Division of the Library of Congress, Country Studies/Area Handbook Series at http://countrystudies.us/nigeria/35.htm

[14] *See* Griffiths, *supra* note 1, pp. 89-90.

[15] *See* BBC News at http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/country_profiles/1067695.stm.

protection of human rights and minorities throughout the country, add support to peace-building processes and pave the way for restoration of the rule of law. Unfortunately however, religious and ethnic violence actually surged since democracy was restored. Among other reasons, this situation could be related to the fact that with the installation of democracy did not come proper institutionalized human rights guarantees or an effective minority protection policy. In this context, extreme fringes of religious and ethnic groups begun to express their claims in an increasingly violent way, thus raising the incidence of ethnic-related violence and religious turmoil in the country, as highlighted next.[16]

Since the adoption of Sharia Law by several northern States in 2000, religious violence between Muslims and Christians has resulted in hundreds of civilian deaths.[17] The BBC reports that in 2001 alone, tribal war in Benue state (eastern-central Nigeria) displaced thousands of people and prompted the Government to send in the army to control the fighting. Violations however, did not come only from the belligerent factions. Army soldiers have been accused of killing over 200 unarmed civilians, apparently in retaliation for the abduction and murder of 19 soldiers.[18] Ethnic violence grew to even more dangerous levels in 2002-2003. In February 2002, some 100 persons were killed in Lagos during clashes between Hausas from the mainly-Islamic north and ethnic Yorubas from the predominantly-Christian southwest. Once again, ethnic and religious violence generated thousands of IDPs. In the meantime, retired army officers attempted to reinstall military rule. In August 2003, ethnic violence broke out between Ijaw and Itsekiri people in the Lower Niger delta town of Warri, killing about 100 people and injuring 1,000. In May 2004, the country declared a state of emergency in the central Plateau State, after Christian militia killed over 200 Muslims in Yelwa, and revenge attacks were launched by Muslim youths in Kano. Ethnic and religious motivated violence was continuing at the time of writing, with some 100 persons estimated to be killed in February 2006 during violent clashes between Muslim towns in the north and the southern city of Onitsha.

Nigeria's biggest challenge for the future is to remain unified in the face of increasing ethnic and religious disputes. Nigeria risks again falling into a protracted civil war if human rights protection and minority guarantees are not better addressed both at domestic and regional levels.

3.2 Rwanda: How unaddressed ethnic claims and differential treatment can lead to genocide

Rwanda is perhaps the most striking example of how long-term discrimination on the basis of ethnic status can lead to conflict, genocide and massive destruction. The 1994 genocide was by no means the first episode of ethnic violence in the country. Since 1959, Rwanda has been the theatre of an escalating series of massacres and widespread violence targeting the Tutsi minority, in particular in the years 1963, 1966, 1973, 1990, 1991, 1992 and 1993.[19] Without

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[16] All facts and examples cited below are from BBC News "Chronology of Key Events in Nigeria" at http://news.bbc.co.uk/ 2/hi/africa/country_profiles/1067695.stm

[17] Some of the clashes were prompted by an Islamic court in Northern Nigeria which sentenced to death by stoning a woman found guilty of adultery. The sentence was later reversed by an Appeal court in 2002. The planning of Miss World beauty pageant in Kaduna in December 2002 triggered further clashes between religious groups. More than 200 people died in four days of clashes between Muslims and Christians. The event was eventually relocated to Britain.

[18] *See* BBC News at http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/country_profiles/1067695.stm.

[19] For a very detailed and precise account and analysis of the Rwanda crisis, *see* Lyal S. Sunga, "The Commission of Experts on Rwanda and the creation of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda / A note",

entering into the details of recurrent violence in Rwanda, it is interesting to recall some crucial elements of Rwanda's history which make evident the connection between ethnic discrimination and the outbreak of conflict.

Rwanda is a multi-ethnic country, where Tutsi, Hutu and other groups have coexisted for centuries. Prior to the 1994 genocide, the Tutsi group formed around 14% of Rwanda's population, Hutus accounted for 84%, and other groups, including the Twa minority, composed the remaining 2%. Hutu and Twa are indigenous populations to the country, while the Tutsi minority migrated into Rwanda in the 1300s. In the 1600s Tutsi King Ruganzu Ndori subdued central Rwanda and the outlying Hutu areas, and in the late 1800s Tutsi King Kigeri Rwabugiri established a unified state with a centralized military structure. Sunga notes that:

> *Ethnic hostility between [Hutu and Tutsi] was not particularly pronounced before the onset of the colonial era; wars were fought for other reasons. Indeed, a clear-cut distinction between the two main groups on a 'racial' basis is probably even untenable. For several centuries, the two groups shared the same religion, spoke a common language and lived in the same area. Moreover, intermarriage is not uncommon in Rwanda.[20]*

Although the two groups seem to coexist peacefully for centuries, historically the Tutsi population had better access to privileges, education, wealth and power, while Hutus and Twa suffered from discrimination and marginalization in all fields of civil society. Socio-economic differentials between ethnic groups became even more prominent under German rule and Belgian colonial domination.[21] Both European powers ruled the country by exercising indirect control over the Tutsi political elite, but it was under Belgium's rule that the ethnic distinction between Hutu and Tutsi became part of official policy. In 1933-34, Belgium introduced mandatory identity cards for each Rwandan citizen indicating the person's ethnic origin - something similar to apartheid South Africa's identity card system. Tordoff comments that:

> *In Belgium-ruled Rwanda of the 1950s, people of poor background and the exploited ones were immediately classified as 'Hutus', while richer, cattle-owners were classified as 'Tutsi', sometimes independently from their real ethnic origins.[22]*

Discrimination against the majority population and lack of opportunities built-up tension in society. In 1957, the Hutu majority formed its own political party and issued a manifesto calling for change in Rwanda's power structure and demanding adequate political representation. The Government's lack of response to Hutu's claims eventually led to ethnic violence, culminating in the 1959 forced exile of tens of thousands of Tutsi people – including Tutsi King Kigeri V – in Uganda. Soon after, Rwanda was proclaimed a Republic (1961) and in 1962 the country gained independence under its first Hutu President, Grégoire Kayibanda. Ethnic violence and civil war however, did not come to an end. Violence spilled over borders into Burundi, Uganda and later also into Zaire (now Democratic Republic of Congo),

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16 (No. 1-3) *Human Rights Law Journal* (1995). By the same author, *see also* "The First Indictments of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda", 18 (No. 9-12) *Human Rights Law Journal* (1997).

[20] *See* Sunga, "The First Indictments of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda", *ibid.* p. 329.

[21] In 1890, Rwanda became part of German East Africa. In 1916 the country was occupied by Belgian forces with approval from the League of Nations in 1923, when Belgium was granted the mandate to govern Ruanda-Urundi. In 1946, Ruanda-Urundi became a UN Trust Territory governed by Belgium, until its independence in 1962, when Ruanda-Urundi separated into Rwanda and Burundi over of tribal differences.

[22] *See* William Tordoff, *Government and Politics in Africa* (1993), p. 87.

generating mass refugee flows and causing the deaths of thousands of civilians even before the 1994 genocide. In April 1994, violence escalated to the level of genocide - 100 days of intentional and planned violence where up to a million people were killed, mostly of Tutsi origin, but also moderate Hutus.[23]

Even after the Rwandan civil war and the horrific genocide came to an end in mid-July 1994, ethnic conflict continued throughout the region. Rwandan troops regularly attacked Hutu-militia dominated camps based in the DRC, on grounds that they posed a threat to Rwanda's security. In 1997, Rwandan and Ugandan-backed rebels deposed Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko, replacing him with Laurent Kabila.[24] Rwanda finally withdrew its troops from the DRC in 2002, on condition that the DRC's Government would disarm Hutu militia based on border camps. The DRC's failure to respect the agreement however, prompted fresh Rwanda's interventions into the DRC and exacerbated ethnic tensions between Congolese of Hutu origins and Congolese of other ethnic groups.[25]

Rwanda continues to struggle with difficult ethnicity issues and the legacy of civil war and genocide.[26] Since 2003, Rwanda has been governed by President Paul Kagame, who had led the Rwandan Patriotic Front to victory in the civil war stopping the genocide in 1994. The Government has taken a number of important initiatives to reduce ethnic violence in society, such as the drafting of a new constitution banning incitement to ethnic hatred (2003), and the grouping of Rwanda's twelve provinces into five entities, aimed at reducing ethnic divisions and creating ethnically-diverse administrative areas (2006).[27] Many questions however, still remain unaddressed. Among them, issues of justice and redress for genocide victims, Rwanda's prisons massive overcrowding[28] and the inability of the UN-sponsored International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda to prosecute more than a few individuals for the 1994 genocide.[29] Finally, it must be noted that ethnic Tutsis currently occupy the more prominent

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[23] *See* the UN *Report on the Situation of Human Rights in Rwanda*, UN doc. E/CN.4/1995/7 of 28 June 1994 at para. 24.

[24] One year later however, Rwanda and Uganda rebels turned against Kabila because of what was considered his failure to expel extremist Hutu militias from camps neighboring Rwanda. In March 2005, the main Hutu rebel group, Forces Démocratiques de Libération du Ruanda (FDLR), announced its intention to end armed struggle, which was conducted mainly from the DRC. Many of FDLR members have been accused of taking part in the 1994 genocide.

[25] At present, it is estimated that there remain some 20,000 Hutu rebels in the DRC, while another 4,000 have voluntarily disarmed. Importantly, the DRC's new Constitution of May 2005 "recognizes as citizens all ethnic groups at independence in 1960", thus granting expressly the right of citizenship of ethnic Tutsis. *See State of the World's Minorities*, *supra* note 11 p. 53.

[26] For example, in June 2004 former President Pasteur Bizimungu was sentenced to 15 years in jail for embezzlement, inciting violence and associating with criminals.

[27] Province de l'Est, Province de l'Ouest, Province du Nord, Province du Sud, and Ville de Kigali. *See* MINALOC, Rwanda's Ministry of Local Government, Community Development and Social Affairs at http://www.minaloc.gov.rw/index.html.

[28] It must be mentioned however, that since 2003, the Government decided to release some 36,000 prisoners, most of whom had confessed to involvement in the 1994 genocide. The Government has been promoting alternative forms of justice, in particular traditional community courts called 'Gacaca'. Under the Government's plan, such courts can try alleged criminals whose involvement in the genocide has been "slightly less serious" according to the Prosecutor's classification. *See* the Rwandan Government official website at http://www.gov.rw/. In addition, the Gacaca courts have the advantage of involving the community in trial and sentencing process, in a way that fosters reconciliation in society.

[29] For the year 2006-2007, the UN General Assembly allocated to the ICTR a total budget of US$269,758,400 gross (US$246,890,000 net) and authorized 1,042 posts. The Tribunal employs staff of more than 85 nationalities. At the time of writing, the ICTR had completed 21 cases, 7 cases were on appeal, 25 cases were in progress, 13 persons were awaiting trial, and 18 accused were at large. *See* the ICTR website at http://69.94.11.53/.

positions in the Government, economy and civil society, which could possibly give rise to fresh resentment from Hutus.

3.3 Sudan

Sudan - the largest country in Africa - is another emblematic example of how ethnic tensions can degenerate into conflict, causing massive suffering to the civilian population. In this section, we highlight the ethnic composition of the country and the interaction among various groups. AU intervention in the Darfur crisis will be discussed in the next section on the role of regional and sub-regional organizations in preventing ethnic violence in Africa.

Jan Egeland, UN Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs and Emergency Relief Coordinator, described the current situation in Darfur as "a man-made catastrophe of an unprecedented scale" for which there seems to be little hope for an immediate solution. The UN High Commissioner for Refugees, Antonio Guterres, noted how instability in Darfur was rapidly spreading across borders into Chad and the Central African Republic, thus threatening regional peace and security.[30] In the case of Sudan, the local Government has ignored long-standing claims for greater autonomy and political participation from the country's ethnic and minority groups. Over the decades, Sudan's Government has accorded scant regard for minority rights and has routinely repressed or openly persecuted the political opposition. For its own part, the international community has been slow to intervene in the region, even in the face of blatant human rights violations against the civilian population in Darfur, mainly because of the Security Council's inability to firmly condemn Sudan's tolerance for – if not full-fledged involvement in – such violations.[31]

It is not only difficult, but also inherently controversial to estimate with precision the country's ethnic groups. For the sake of our discussion however, one can reasonably assess that the country is composed of at least 19 main ethnic groups and over 600 subgroups, speaking as many as 134 languages and over 400 dialects.[32] Arabic is the official language. Other prominent languages are Dinka, Nubian languages, Beja, Zande and English. Islam - predominantly Sunni - is the official religion and Christianity is a minority religion. The main groups inhabiting the country are the following: Arabs 21 million (55%); Dinka 3 million (8%); Nuba 2.1 million (6%); Nuer 1.4 million (4%); Fur 1 million (2.7%); Zande 660,000 (1.8%); Shilluk 600,000 (1.6%); Bari 480,000 (1.3%) and Nubians 200,000 (0.5%). Other groups amount to some 6.3 million, or 17% of the population. In terms of geographic distribution, broadly speaking, Muslim Arabs are settled typically in the northern and central two-thirds of the country, while non-Muslim groups such as Dinka, Nuer, and Zande inhabit the south.

From 1899 to 1955, Sudan was under British colonial domination with Egyptian involvement. The country gained independence in 1956. Soon after independence, Sudan embarked on a long period of civil war and ethnic violence, which was concentrated mainly in the south. There, the Anya Nya movement fought for independence until 1972, when the troubled area

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[30] *See* BBC News of 16 September 2006.

[31] As regards the possibility of Security Council mandated intervention in Darfur, China and Russia continue to block any such action, perhaps to protect their political and economic interests in the country.

[32] This number includes 'Arabs' as an 'ethnic group', although there is much debate as to whether 'Arabs' should be defined as an ethnic group as such. Our discussion does not wish to enter into this debate and the mention of Arabs as an ethnic group is not intended to take any particular side in the debate. All data in this section is from *Encyclopedia Britannica* at http://www.britannica.com and *Encyclopedia of the Orient* at http://lexicorient.com/e.o/sudan_4.htm, unless otherwise specified.

was eventually granted the status of 'self-governing region'. Reaching a certain degree of autonomy however, did not prevent fresh outbreaks of civil war in the mainly black African Christian southern provinces. In 1983, governmental forces clashed with the Sudan People's Liberation Movement led by former army colonel John Garang. In the same year, President Numayri introduced Sharia Law as the official law of the country, a move which intensified the violence even further, especially in the predominantly non-Muslim south. Under Garang's leadership and with the support of Ethiopia, Libya, Israel and Cuba, the south underwent a series of rebellions, eventually forcing the abandonment of work on oil fields.[33]

Following a number of military coups d'état, Omar al-Bashir took power in June 1989 by overthrowing Prime Minister Sadiq al-Mahdi's elected Government. Immediately after, he dissolved the Parliament, banned political parties and controlled a puppet civilian Government through its Revolutionary Command Council for National Salvation – a small group of Muslim faith. Eventually, Omar al-Bashir was elected president in 1996 and re-elected in 2000 in elections criticized by many as fraudulent. Meanwhile, the country continued to struggle on with ethnic and religious violence, famine and generalized poverty, despite large income from sales of oil. The Government continued to show great intolerance towards opposition members, ethnic minority dissent and in general, anybody disagreeing from mainstream positions. It is well-known that 'dissidents' have been subject to arbitrary arrest, torture in detention, and extrajudicial executions. For example, in February 2001 Islamist leader Hassan al-Turabi was arrested just after his party, the Islamist Popular National Congress party, signed a memorandum of understanding with the southern rebel Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA). In April - May of the same year, several members of Turabi's party were also arrested, including Ali Ahmed El-Bashir, who eventually died from wounds sustained while being arrested.

The African Commission on Human and People's Rights, discussed more in detail below, heard a number of cases against the Sudanese Government concerning allegations of discriminatory treatment and persecution of Sudanese Christian minorities as well as of other non-Muslim groups. The Government was accused, inter alia, of persecuting non-Muslims to make them convert to Islam. The Commission received allegations that Christian minorities in Sudan:

> (D)o not have the right to preach or build their Churches; there are restrictions on freedom of expression in the national press. Members of the Christian clergy are harassed; Christians are subjected to arbitrary arrests, expulsions and denial of access to work and food aid.[34]

The Commission also registered allegations referring to:

> (T)he oppression of Christian civilians and religious leaders and the expulsion of missionaries. It is alleged that non-Muslims suffer persecution in the form of denial of work, food aid and education. A serious allegation is that of unequal food distribution in prisons, subjecting Christian prisoners to blackmail in order obtain food. These attacks on individuals on account of their religious persuasion considerably restrict their ability to practice freely the religion to which they subscribe.[35]

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[33] John Garang eventually became vice president of Sudan. In August 2005, he was killed in a plane crash, sparking fresh violence in Khartoum between southern Sudanese and northern Arabs.
[34] *See Amnesty International and Others* v. *Sudan*, African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights, Comm. No. 48/90, 50/91, 52/91, 89/93 (1999) at para. 74.
[35] *Ibid.* at para. 76.

In light of these and other allegations, in 1999 the Commission found the Government in breach of Article 8 and other provisions of the Charter on Human and People's Rights, because the Government had not "responded in any convincing manner" to the allegations made against it. With respect to religious freedom, in the same communication the Commission also expressed the view that:

> *When Sudanese tribunals apply Sharia, they must do so in accordance with the other obligations undertaken by the State of Sudan. ... Also, it is fundamentally unjust that religious laws should be applied against non-adherents of the religion. Tribunals that apply only Sharia are thus not competent to judge non-Muslims, and everyone should have the right to be tried by a secular court if they wish.*[36]

Going back to the conflict situation, the year 2002 saw a breakthrough in the conflict, with the signature of the Machakos Protocol between the Government and SPLA, marking the end of the 19-year long civil war. Under the Protocol, the Government accepted autonomy for the south for the period of six years, after which a referendum would be held on the self-determination of the region. For their part, the southern rebels accepted the application of Sharia law in the north.[37] Hostilities did not come to an end, however. In February 2003, rebels in the southwestern region of Darfur revolted against the Government, on grounds that Khartoum had been neglecting the region. In particular, Fur, Zaghawa and Massalit groups – traditionally sedentary tribes – were trying to put an end to "the region's chronic economic and political marginalization" and to the long-lasting campaign to "clear civilians from areas considered disloyal".[38] The ethnic cleansing campaign was carried out by the 'Janjaweed' militia, with the alleged support of the Sudanese Government. Attacks against governmental military installations triggered one of the worse humanitarian crisis of our times, which remains largely unaddressed. In a nutshell, in January 2004 Government forces entered the Darfur region, forcing over a million persons to leave their homes and find refuge both within the country and in neighboring Chad.[39] At the same time, pro-Government Arab Janjaweed militias started to carry out widespread and systematic human rights violations against non-Arab Darfur civilians. Although falling short of classifying such violations as 'genocide', the United Nations-sponsored International Commission of Inquiry on Darfur established that both the Government of Sudan and the Janjaweed militia were responsible for "serious violations of international human rights and humanitarian law [which] may amount to crimes against humanity". In particular, the Commission found that governmental forces and militias conducted "indiscriminate attacks, including killing of civilians, torture, enforced disappearances, destruction of villages, rape and other forms of sexual violence, pillaging and forced displacement, throughout Darfur". The Commission further confirmed that:

> *In addition to the large scale attacks, many people have been arrested and detained, and many have been held incommunicado for prolonged periods and tortured. The vast majority of the victims of all of these violations have been*

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[36] *Ibid.* at para. 73.

[37] The terms of this agreement were basically restated in the December 2004 peace accords between northern and southern forces in Sudan.

[38] *See State of the World's Minorities, supra* note 11, p. 62.

[39] According to United Nations estimates there were 1.65 million internally displaced persons in Darfur, and more than 200,000 refugees from Darfur in neighbouring Chad. *See* the Report of 25 January 2005 of the International Commission of Inquiry on Darfur to the United Nations Secretary-General, pursuant to Security Council Resolution 1564 of 18 September 2004, p. 3.

from the Fur, Zaghawa, Massalit, Jebel, Aranga and other so-called 'African' tribes.[40]

Significantly, ethnic and religious-based violence between the Arab-dominated north and the Black south are not recent phenomena. In the late 1980s for example, tens of thousands of Dinka people – a minority group inhabiting the south Sudanese province of Bhar Al Ghazal – were forced to flee their land because of brutal attacks from Arab horsemen, also called 'Muraheleen'. The group, once wealthy cattle owners and now living in extreme poverty, eventually resettled in a camp bordering the village of Muhajaria, which has become one of the most unstable areas in the Darfur conflict.

One can mention also that the Darfur conflict is not the only ethnic problem in Sudan. Looking ahead at future decades, the situation of ethnic Beja rebels located in eastern Sudan, if ignored, could easily deteriorate into violence and rebellion in the region. Like the rebels in southwestern Darfur, ethnic Beja have also complained of being marginalized by the central Government, which they argue, has not been paying adequate attention to their claims for greater autonomy and minority rights protection. If left unchecked, this situation could eventually also deteriorate and trigger serious violence if not full-scale civil war.

4. Present and future role of regional and sub-regional organizations in preventing ethnic violence in Africa

In the early decolonization period, many newly independent African countries engaged in efforts to establish regional groupings, organizations, or even in some cases, political unions with other countries.[41] This was done mostly in an attempt to boost the political power of particular countries both within the continent and abroad, and also to ease relationships among neighboring countries whose frontiers were artificially imposed by colonial powers. A number of African leaders of the time however, strongly criticized movements for sub-regional cohesion, on grounds that they could hinder efforts to unite the continent. Some leaders, such as President Nkrumah of Ghana, argued that sub-regional blocs could work counterproductively in a way that maintains political and economic dependence on former colonial powers.[42] Overall, supporters of pan-Africanism preferred to endorse the formation of the OAU, which was finally established in 1963, rather than to stand for sub-regional organizations.[43]

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[40] *Ibid.*

[41] Tordoff cites as examples the union of Ghana and British Togoland in 1957, Italian and British Somaliland in 1960, Southern Cameroon and the Republic of Cameroon in 1961, Tanganyika and Zanzibar in 1964, Senegal and Zambia in 1981, the Ghana-Guinea-Mali Union in 1958, the Central African Federation in 1953, the Greater Maghreb, and the United Arab Republic in 1958, among others. *See* Tordoff, *supra* note 22, pp. 221.

[42] *Ibid.*

[43] One can mention also the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) as a regional organization with competence over the whole continent.

4.1 The AU

On 25 May 2004 – Africa Day – the African Union officially launched the Peace and Security Council, the Organization's body with competence over the promotion of peace, stability and security in the continent.[44] Since its inception, the promotion of peace, security and stability of the continent has been one of the focuses of the African Union, together with, inter alia, the promotion of "democratic principles and institutions, popular participation and good governance" and of "human and peoples' rights in accordance with the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights and other relevant human rights instruments".[45] Like the UN Security Council, the AU's Peace and Security Council is mandated to play a stronger and more defined role in maintaining peace, security and stability in Africa, especially in the years to come. Among its functions, the Council has competence to "anticipate and prevent conflicts". Where conflicts have occurred, the Peace and Security Council also has the responsibility to "undertake peace-making and peace-building functions for the resolution of these conflicts; promote and implement peace-building and post-conflict reconstruction activities to consolidate peace and prevent the resurgence of violence".[46]

Importantly, AU members have recognized that maintenance of peace and security in the continent cannot be separated from the "observance of human rights and the rule of law, as well as the implementation of post-conflict recovery programmes and sustainable development policies".[47] This connection is most evident in some of the current African conflicts, such as in the Darfur case, where violence has a strong ethnic character and human rights violations have been rampant. Lack of protection for minority groups in Darfur has ignited a humanitarian catastrophe of huge dimensions, which the intervention of AU troops has not been unable to tackle so far, mostly because of political considerations. In September 2006, the AU actually threatened to leave Darfur and to hand over the mandate to 17,000 UN peacekeepers, after the Sudanese Government insisted that AU troops leave the country.[48]

At the same time however, the Government of Sudan strongly rejected any UN presence in Darfur, prompting serious concerns that African Union's pull-out leaves a vacuum which could risk fresh offensives targeting civilians.[49] In an interview with the BBC, AU deputy chairperson Patrick Mazimhaka declared that "even if more money were forthcoming, political considerations made it difficult to stay longer".[50]

Such 'political considerations' may be linked to Sudan's overall negative position on the presence of international forces in the region, but also to the ambiguous role the Arab League

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[44] The Council was established in accordance with the Protocol Relating to the Peace and Security Council (PSC) of the African Union, *adopted* by the 1st Ordinary Session of the Assembly of the African Union in Durban on 9 July 2002, *entered into force* on 26 December 2003.

[45] *See* 'The Objectives of the African Union' at www.africa-union.org.

[46] *See* Article 3 on the Objectives of the Council.

[47] *See* the Preamble to the Protocol.

[48] On 21 September 2006 however, BBC News reported that the African Union will extend the mandate of its peacekeeping force in Darfur until the end of the year - a move which has been apparently welcomed by the Sudanese Government. The AU force is supposed to be strengthened by troops from African countries, logistical support from the UN and financial help from the Arab League.

[49] The UN has expressed alarm at Sudan's proposal to replace international peacekeepers in Darfur with its own force of 10,000 soldiers. For its part, Sudan's President Omar al-Bashir considered the call for a UN force as "part of a comprehensive conspiracy for confiscating the country's sovereignty". *See* BBC News 'Africa Union 'will quit Darfur'', 5 September 2006 at http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/2/hi/africa/5314544.stm.

[50] Other reasons are the weak mandate of the force and the fact that it is under-resourced and understaffed, with a contingent of only 7,000 operating in an area the size of France. *Ibid.*

played in the resolution of the conflict. At the end of September 2006, the Arab League decided to lend some financial assistance to AU troops to extend their mandate in Darfur. All through the duration of the conflict however, the Arab League has remained either virtually silent over the atrocities committed by the Sudanese Government in Darfur, or it has sided openly with the Government against an international presence in the country.[51]

In 2004 for example, the Arab League openly declared its opposition to any form of sanction against the Sudanese Government or UN military intervention in Darfur, preferring to back the Government in its purported efforts to disarm Arab militia and punish human rights violators without external help. More recently, on the occasion of its annual meeting held in Khartoum in March 2006 , the Arab League failed to adopt a resolution calling for Sudan to approve the deployment of UN peacekeepers to replace the African Union force in Darfur, should the AU decide to leave. Apparently, only Egypt and Arab League Secretary General Amr Moussa backed full implementation of the UN Security Council resolution on Darfur, while other League members still supported Sudan's position.[52] Meanwhile, UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan has warned Sudan that "it will bear responsibility for any worsening of the humanitarian crisis in Darfur" if it keeps on resisting a UN peacekeeping mission there, which would put at risk assistance for around 3 million people.[53] Unfortunately, at the time of writing, there seemed to be little hope for a speedy solution of the Darfur crisis.

4.2 Sub-regional organizations: focus on ECOWAS

Even after the establishment of the AU, sub-regional groups and organizations continued to proliferate in Africa, especially in the field of economic cooperation. Many of these organizations owe their success to the fact that they were set up with the specific aim to reach a particular purpose, rather than a global political agenda. At present, the main sub-regional organizations operating in Africa are the following: the Arab Maghreb Union (AMU), the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), the Community of Sahel-Saharan States (CEN-SAD), the East African Community (EAC), the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS), the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), and the Southern African Development Community (SADC). Although none of these organizations has a specific mandate in conflict prevention or human rights protection, some of them have been very active in these areas and have played a very important role in Africa's politics. The AU, in some cases, either delegated or 'tolerated' sub-regional institutions, such as ECOWAS, SADC and IGAD, to address conflict situations. Van Walraven considers that this approach could "in principle improve Africa's decision-making record in conflict interventions, since these institutions have fewer participating States and usually a relatively powerful regional actor in their midst".[54]

In the following discussion, we take the example of ECOWAS to show how a sub-regional organization can contribute to conflict resolution and human rights protection. Established in

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[51] In 2004, the Arab League dispatched its own Commission of Inquiry to Darfur. Despite the fact that the Commission condemned "massive violations of human rights" by pro-government militias, the Arab League reportedly downplayed the Commission's findings following active protest by Sudan. *See* Human Rights Watch, "Arab League Should Back U.N. Protection Force in Darfur" at http://hrw.org/english/docs/2006/03/28/sudan13067.htm.

[52] *See* "Rifts emerge over Darfur at Arab summit", Sudan Tribune of 28 March 2006.

[53] *See* BBC News of 5 September 2006.

[54] *See* Klaas v Walraven, "Empirical Perspectives on Conflict Resolution", in Chabal et al. (eds), *supra* note 3, p. 85.

1975 with the adoption of the Treaty of Lagos,[55] ECOWAS groups together 16 countries from West Africa.[56] According to its constituent treaty, the Community's aims are:

> *To promote co-operation and integration, leading to the establishment of an economic union in West Africa in order to raise the living standards of its peoples, and to maintain and enhance economic stability, foster relations among Member States and contribute to the progress and development of the African* Continent.

To achieve these objectives, the ECOWAS has competence over a wide range of issues, including "food, agriculture and natural resources, industry, transport and communications, energy, trade, money and finance, taxation, economic reform policies, human resources, education, information, culture, science, technology, services, health, tourism and legal matters".[57]

ECOWAS strategies are not very much different from those the EEC (European Economic Community) adopted at its early stages of operation, in particular the establishment of a free trade area among members, where persons, goods, services and capital would be free to circulate, without custom duties and tariff barriers, or restrictions to the right of residence. Under the Cotonou Treaty, this would eventually lead to the "establishment of an economic union through the adoption of common policies in the economic, financial social and cultural sectors, and the creation of a monetary union".[58]

It is quite clear from ECOWAS' original aim and objectives that the enhancement of human rights in the region was not one of the main reasons for its establishment. The Cotonou Treaty mentions human rights only occasionally and in very general terms, for example in its preamble and in Article 4 on Fundamental Principles, where the High Contracting Parties declare their adherence to the principle of "recognition promotion and protection of human and peoples' rights in accordance with the provisions of the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights". Article 56(2) on Political Affairs further provides a broad obligation "to co-operate for the purpose of realizing the objectives of [the African Charter on Human and People's Rights, the Protocol on Non-Aggression and the Protocol on Mutual Assistance on Defense]", but only limited to countries that are parties to these instruments.

The situation is quite different however, as concerns conflict prevention and resolution - areas in which the organization grew to establish important policies and practices based on a general mandate within the Cotonou Treaty. Under the Treaty, every ECOWAS Member State agrees to refrain from aggression against another Member State, to maintain regional peace, stability and security through the promotion and strengthening of good neighbourliness, and to engage in peaceful settlement of disputes and active co-operation for the promotion of a peaceful environment.[59]

Article 58 on Regional Security provides for Member States to "work to safeguard and consolidate relations conducive to the maintenance of peace, stability and security within the

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[55] The Treaty of Lagos, *adopted* on 28 May 1975, was eventually revised by the Treaty of Cotonou, *adopted* on 24 July 1993.

[56] The following countries are members of ECOWAS: Benin, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Côte D'Ivoire, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone and Togo.

[57] *See* the Treaty of Cotonou.

[58] *Ibid.*

[59] *Ibid.*, at Article 4.

region", by "establishing and strengthening appropriate mechanisms for the timely prevention and resolution of intra-State and inter-State conflicts". Member States owe practical obligations to this effect, as defined in the Protocol Relating to the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peacekeeping and Security.[60]

These include, for example, the maintenance of periodic and regular consultations among national border administration authorities; the establishment of local or national joint commissions to examine problems between neighbouring States; and the employment of methods of peaceful settlement of disputes such as good offices, conciliation, and meditation. In addition, Member States also agreed to "establish a regional peace and security observation system and peace-keeping forces where appropriate" and to provide, "where necessary and at the request of Member States, assistance to Member States for the observation of democratic elections".[61]

In practice, ECOWAS has used its peacekeeping capacities several times, with various results. One can mention the case of Liberia, for example, where a long and bloody civil war, much like the conflicts we have described earlier in our discussion, has been the outcome of unresolved ethnic claims and unaddressed minority concerns. Liberia – the only country in Africa not to have been colonized over the centuries – was founded as an independent state in 1847, after a tormented history of slave trade and exploitation. Despite independence, the country remained largely under US control, both politically and economically. Politically, "a small élite of westernized descendants of freed slaves"[62] settled in and around Monrovia (the True Whig Party), guaranteed Liberia a rather stable government until the 1980s. Stability was achieved at a high price, however. The restricted Government élite not only exercised tight control over the various tribal groups of the interior, but did not make sufficient effort to integrate indigenous groups into mainstream Government institutions. Economically, the True Whig Party basically left the country in the hands of US multinational corporations, which plundered Liberia of its raw materials reserves, mostly rubber and iron, in exchange of benefits to the ruling party. It was against this background of rampant corruption and exploitation, as well as marginalization of a major part of the population, that civil war broke out.

In 1990, ECOWAS began to deploy Nigerian peacekeepers to Liberia to suppress hostilities when the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL), led by Charles Taylor, rose against Samuel Doe's Government. Master-Sergeant Doe himself came to power in 1980 with a coup d'état in which Doe's rebels assassinated President Tolbert and started a long and bloody purge of his supporters and Government members. In this case, ECOWAS' peacekeepers failed to broker a peace in the country. Griffiths recalls that "in the confusion of a Monrovia occupied by four armies, led by Doe, Taylor, Johnson and ECOWAS, Doe fell into rebel hands and was killed".[63]

Even worse, by 1992, peacekeepers became involved in active fighting against the NPFL. Once the NPFL started launching heavy assaults against peacekeepers in Monrovia, ECOWAS started bombing NPFL positions outside the capital and pushing the NPFL back into the countryside. Despite the presence of peacekeepers and the establishment of an interim

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[60] Protocol relating to the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peacekeeping and Security, *signed* in Lome on 10 December 1999.
[61] *Ibid.*
[62] *See* Griffiths, *supra* note 1, p. 98.
[63] *Ibid.* p. 99.

Government under ECOWAS protection, the Government did not find support from tribal leaders. The country remained torn by both underlying and open ethnic violence and tribal divisions for over a decade, causing the death of several thousand people. Huge numbers of refugees fled into Sierra Leone and Ivory Coast, generating a major humanitarian crisis. In 2003, ECOWAS agreed to provide some 1,000 - 1,500 peacekeepers, in a new attempt to curb rebels' activities for the control of Monrovia.

Sierra Leone is another example of a troubled area where ECOWAS intervened to try to bring peace amongst ethnic violence. Civil war in Sierra Leone begun in 1991, when former army corporal Foday Sankoh and his Revolutionary United Front (RUF) began campaigning against President Momoh and capturing towns bordering Liberia. In February 1998, following the imposition of UN Security Council sanctions against the country, ECOWAS deployed Nigeria-led peacekeeping troops (ECOMOG) to Sierra Leone, in an attempt to curb the civil war. Initially, peacekeepers were able to drive the rebels out of Freetown. In January 1999 however, rebels supporting Sankoh were able to seize parts of Freetown from ECOMOG and eventually drove the peacekeeping contingent out of the capital, after weeks of heavy fighting which left behind 5,000 dead and a devastated city. Throughout the year, ECOMOG troops stationed outside the capital continued to suffer from rebel attacks. Clear breaches of regional peace and security finally prompted the United Nations to deploy a peacekeeping mission starting from November / December 1999.[64]

Despite the uneven outcome of its missions, ECOWAS has demonstrated good political leadership at times and greater capacity, even if limited, to intervene than the AU which so far has failed to act effectively in sub-regional conflicts. ECOWAS peacekeeping operations however, have attracted much criticism. One recurrent source of concern has been the background of the peacekeepers – mostly if not all of Nigerian nationality – and the leading role of Nigeria in ECOWAS peacekeeping missions.[65]

Over time, the dominant position of Nigeria within the organization has put into question the overall independence of ECOWAS peacekeeping missions. Some have regarded ECOWAS missions more as an involvement of Nigeria into other countries' conflicts, rather than a truly independent effort at keeping the peace. Moreover, Nigeria remains in a dominant position within ECOWAS. At present, Nigeria not only provides for one-third of ECOWAS' budget, but it also accounts for some 60% of its trade and two thirds of its GNP, which means that ECOWAS is greatly dependent on Nigeria for the survival of its own operations.

ECOWAS peacekeepers also came under scrutiny for their behavior during both the Liberia and Sierra Leone missions, where they were accused of having committed serious violations of human rights and humanitarian law. At one point, Human Rights Watch remarked that "ECOWAS must commit itself to ensuring its troops are adequately trained and able to meet their obligations under human rights and humanitarian law and to investigate and prosecute any officers or soldiers implicated in abuses".[66] In particular, Human Rights Watch reported that ECOMOG troops in Liberia:

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[64] The UN peacekeeping mission also came under heavy attack from rebel forces. Several hundred UN troops were 'abducted' and eventually British contingents were called in to solve the situation.
[65] Nigeria was the main sponsor and contributor to the ECOWAS military force in Liberia, although peacekeepers of other nationalities were also in the contingent.
[66] "ECOWAS: Troops to Liberia Must Respect Human Rights", Letter to President John Kufuor from Human Rights Watch, 18 July 2003, at http://www.hrw.org/press/2003/07/liberia071803-ltr.htm

(B)ecame complicit in serious abuses through its alliance with abusive warring factions, and ... were responsible for extensive looting, harassment and arbitrary detention of civilians. ECOMOG forces also violated international humanitarian law by conducting indiscriminate air strikes against civilians and civilian objects, including violations of medical neutrality.[67]

In Sierra Leone, ECOMOG troops were accused of similar abuses, including summary executions of suspected rebels or collaborators, use of child soldiers, indiscriminate bombings against civilians, violation of medical neutrality, and sexual exploitation of women and solicitation of child prostitutes.[68]

5. Making minority guarantees and human rights protection a priority target for Africa by 2017-2027

Ethnic conflict in Africa cannot be prevented without a concerted and serious effort at implementing minority guarantees and ensuring human rights protection at all levels. This cannot be achieved overnight. African organizations and African countries need to make serious efforts to address root causes of ethnic violence, to grant protection to more vulnerable groups and to redress marginalization and discrimination in economic, political participation and decision-making. Looking ahead at the decade 2017-2027, we highlight next some specific points where improvement is needed. Many African countries have included in their Constitutions provisions for the enjoyment of basic human rights, or even guarantees for minority groups.[69]

In terms of implementation however, there is still a long way to go. At the local level, implementation and enforcement of human rights standards have been often delayed because of tension, violence, poverty, lack of training, inadequate infrastructures and inadequate budget allocations. In most African countries, human rights are not yet part of an integral strategy to prevent ethnic violence and promote the rule of law in society. African organizations seem to have concentrated their efforts mainly on peacekeeping and peace enforcement operations, rather than on addressing root causes of ethnic violence, for example by integrating human rights perspectives into conflict prevention strategies. Even then, political considerations and power struggles have often affected, if not undermined, pan-African and sub-regional efforts at conflict prevention and resolution. A slightly better situation is found in the field of human rights education, especially within peace building programmes in countries affected by widespread and systematic human rights violations, as in Rwanda for example. These limited initiatives however, have been mainly sponsored by international organizations and international NGOs, rather than by grassroots groups and local organizations. By 2017-2027, it is also to be hoped that the African Court on Human Rights, which became operational in 2004, will move ahead at full steam.[70]

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[67] *Ibid.*

[68] *Ibid.*

[69] *See generally*, Christof Heyns (ed.), *Human Rights Law in Africa* (1996).

[70] The African Court on Human Rights was established under the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Establishment of an African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights, *adopted* by the 34th Ordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and of Government of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) on 9 June 1998, in Ouagadougou (Burkina Faso), *entered into force* in 2004. On the African Court and Commission *see generally* Ilaria Bottigliero, *Redress for Victims of Crimes under International Law* (2004), pp. 128.

The Court is expected to strengthen human rights enforcement in Africa. Unfortunately, the African (Banjul) Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights, 1981[71] – currently the main instrument for the promotion and protection of human rights in Africa – does not protect expressly the rights of minorities, except for the Charter's general mention of 'ethnic groups' and 'peoples' in relation to non-discrimination.[72] Similarly, the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights[73] – the only quasi-judicial regional human rights institution in Africa prior to the Court's establishment – has also a limited mandate of a general character and it has dealt with minority issues only occasionally. Broadly speaking, this is due to the fact that the African Commission was originally set up mainly to receive inter-State complaints from Governments and that, according to the Charter, communications from individuals, groups of individuals and NGOs can be considered only following strict scrutiny from the Commission (Article 55), which in practice has ruled many such communications inadmissible.

As far as minorities are concerned, the Commission has reached important conclusions only in a few instances, notably in a series of cases concerning the treatment of minorities in Mauritania, in the case of the Ogoni people in Nigeria, in a case concerning Zambia, and the case of discrimination against Christian minorities in Sudan situation discussed above.

The Mauritania cases (1986-1992) referred to the Government's discriminatory treatment of some of the country's ethnic groups, including Moors, Soninke, Wolofs, Hal-Pulaar and Haratines, with respect to alleged violations of the right not to be enslaved.[74] As for Nigeria, the Commission took an important decision on the impact of oil exploration in Ogoniland, finding Nigeria in violation of the African Charter's provisions on equality of rights, the right to life, the right to property, the right to health, the right to family life, peoples' right to the free disposal of wealth and natural resources and the right to a healthy environment.[75] The decision was prompted by communications alleging that Nigeria:

> (D)irectly participated in air, water and soil contamination of oil-producing lands, thereby endangering the health of the Ogoni People; failed to protect the Ogoni from harm caused by the Nigerian National Petroleum Company (NNPC) Shell Consortium and instead used its security forces to facilitate the

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[71] African [Banjul] Charter on Human and People's Rights, *adopted* by the Assembly of Heads of States and Government of the Organization of African Unity on 27 June 1981, *entered into force* on 21 October 1986. By March 2000, all fifty-three Member States of the OAU had ratified the Charter.

[72] *See* Articles 2 and 19 respectively. Article 2 provides that "Every individual shall be entitled to the enjoyment of the rights and freedoms recognized and guaranteed in the present Charter without distinction of any kind such as race, ethnic group, colour, sex, language, religion, political or any other opinion, national and social origin, fortune, birth or other status". Article 19 provides that "All peoples shall be equal; they shall enjoy the same respect and shall have the same rights. Nothing shall justify the domination of a people by another". For a detailed commentary on these Articles and in general on the treatment of minorities under the African Charter, *see* Fatsah Ouguergouz, *The African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights: A Comprehensive Agenda for Human Dignity and Sustainable Democracy in Africa* (2003) at Chapters III and IV.

[73] The Commission was established under Article 30 of the African Charter to implement Charter-protected rights.

[74] *See State of the World's Minorities*, *supra* note 11, p. 45.

[75] *See* the African Commission on Human and People's Rights Decision on Communication 155/96, submitted by the Social and Economic Rights Action Centre (SERAC) and the Centre for Economic and Social Rights in Nigeria (CESR).

> *damage; and failed to provide or permit studies of potential or actual environmental and health risks caused by the oil operations.*[76]

In Zambia, the Commission condemned the 1992 mass expulsion of over 500 West Africans as a violation of the right not to be discriminated against, because of what was seen as the Government's discriminatory treatment in selecting foreign nationals to be expelled on the basis of their ethnic background. In 1998, the Commission also considered as discriminatory the Government's requirement to "prove that both ... parents are Zambian by birth or descent" for persons wishing to raise a complaint against the Office of the President.[77]

The Commission's powers in terms of independent scope of action however, remain rather weak, and its ability to act ultimately depends upon prior authorization of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government. For example, in the event of a communication alleging serious or massive human rights violations, the Commission can only draw the attention of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government to the particular situation and, at the request of the Assembly, undertake an 'in-depth study' followed by a report with its findings and recommendations.[78] In practice, so far the protective mechanisms of the African Commission have failed not only to prevent or halt crimes under international law in the region, but also to provide effective redress to the victims of such crimes. One may wish to consider that both in 1991 and 1994, the African Commission drew the attention of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government to massive and serious human rights violations in Rwanda and Burundi, but no measure was ever taken to halt the violations or to prevent them from worsening. This situation reinforces the urgent need for the African Court on Human Rights to work at its best. Under the Court's system, States Parties, the Commission, African intergovernmental organizations as well as individuals and NGOs can access the contentious jurisdiction of the Court.[79] In addition, in grave and urgent cases, the African Court is empowered to adopt provisional measures necessary to avoid irreparable harm to persons.

In conclusion, it is to be expected that regional and sub-regional organizations will continue to be instrumental in keeping ethnic violence under control in Africa. It remains fundamental however, that those who are supposed to keep the peace are properly trained in the laws of war, maintain their independent role and abide by international law.

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[76] *See* summary of the decision in 'Front Line: Defenders of Human Rights Defenders', at http://www.frontlinedefenders.org/manuals/155.

[77] *See State of the World's Minorities*, *supra* note 11, p. 46.

[78] It must be noted however, that, beginning from the mid-1990s, the African Commission initiated a number of *in situ* investigations and fact-finding missions in response to individual communications, including in Mauritania, Nigeria, Sudan and Senegal. *See* Chidi Anselm Odinkalu, "The Individual Complaints Procedures of the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights: A Preliminary Assessment", *Transnational Law and Contemporary Problems*, Vol. 8, No. 359 (1998), p. 365.

[79] Article 5 however, provides the Court with the discretionary power to entitle individuals and NGOs to access its jurisdiction. In addition, individuals and NGOs can only access the Court's jurisdiction where the State Party has made a special declaration under Article 34(6) to this effect.

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Chapter 8

Waste and used nuclear fuel: Conflict aspects and risks

By Daniel K. Jonsson and Sven Lohmander

1. Introduction

In the era of globalization trends, technology and knowledge – but also waste and pollution – is spread across the globe, not least between the OECD world and developing countries.[1] The rapid development that is taking place in certain regions does entail some problems, but at the same time also immense possibilities in terms of increasing the standard of living. In many countries corruption, ill-health and Western neo colonialism stand in the way of positive change. The country that in the recent years has displayed the largest economic growth is China, a success that has been achieved at the price of extensive environmental pollution. Furthermore, it has become clear that the economic development in China not automatically has contributed to democratization or increased respect for human rights. An open question today is how fast, in what way, and to what extent other parts of the world, not least Africa, will be affected by globalization. Current prognoses suggest an increasingly differentiated Africa, with a wide gap between winners and losers. Future consequences of AIDS/HIV, the occurrence of armed conflict and the sometimes rather iniquitous manner in which multinational corporations conduct business in Africa are key factors in the development of the continent as a whole.[2]

Globalization, increased trade and economic growth entail environmental effects. This means that the developing countries to some extent now face problems similar to those previously encountered by the industrialized countries. A strong desire for economic development based on material growth causes environmental concerns to be neglected or completely disregarded (which the development of the industrialized world in the twentieth century clearly has shown). Besides the developing countries' own industrialization process, waste dumping by the industrialized world constitutes a significant problem, not least considering the immense amounts of electronic waste that is produced nowadays. Much of this waste is incinerated, which causes the release of hazardous substances. The actual environmental problems are not however the central theme of this report, but rather to what extent they directly or indirectly (e.g. due to health effects) give rise to conflict or where perilous waste is used as means in a conflict.

Besides problems associated with increasing volumes of conventional waste, nuclear waste in the form of spent nuclear fuel or other radioactive waste constitutes a special dilemma. Also

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[1] The terms "industrialized countries" and "developing countries" are in the process of becoming outdated, according to development researchers. This partly due to the fact that contemporary development in a context of globalization rarely is a national phenomenon, partly because the distinction between rich and poor countries cannot be made as clearly today as for example in the 1970s. Basically, the distinct post war clusters of industrialized and developed countries can be said to have been replaced by a string of pearls, where different countries are individually situated on the development curve. The term "countries in transition", which usually is applied to post-communism Eastern European countries, is therefore now also being used to denote developing countries in the southern hemisphere. For the case of simplicity, however, the terms "developing and industrialized countries" or "the OECD world" will henceforth be used in this report.
[2] National Intelligence Council 2004.

the dissemination of nuclear waste and knowledge to non-government actors poses a problem as it entails an increased risk of radiological weapons being used.

Various injustices (actual or subjectively experienced) as well as the classical resource and geopolitical reasons for conflict, including ideological and religious incompatibilities, have been the cause of conflict throughout history. Poverty and economic oppression or discrimination and persecution due to religion or ethnicity are typical examples. A cause of conflict that has received considerable attention in the past years has bearing on the term *environmental justice*, or rather lack thereof. Environmental justice essentially means that the classic justice and solidarity concept (in which the social and economic dimensions predominate) has been supplemented with an environmental dimension. From a global perspective the concept of environmental justice is closely connected to the management of waste, whether it is household garbage, toxic materials, industrial waste, or nuclear fuel.

The present report begins with a general background on the topics of nuclear waste and other ground waste (air and water pollution is covered elsewhere). Also the connection between waste and environmental justice is discussed. As a complement to this general background three fictive scenarios have been devised that present plausible chains of events in a ten year perspective. These scenarios are not to be considered prognoses, but rather means for elucidating the different approaches. They are thus primarily intended as food for thought.

2. Nuclear power and nuclear waste

The world today has almost 450 nuclear power plants in 31 countries.[3] There are plans for a large number of new nuclear power plants in East Asia, many of which are already under construction. The Western world including Eastern Europe, on the other hand, is struggling with problems associated with nuclear phase-out, or alternatively investigating the possibilities for the future development of a new generation of economically viable nuclear power plants. The economic conditions for an expansion of nuclear power are at present generally too meagre[4], but a future shortage of oil – in combination with the issue of climate change – may possibly push up the price of energy to levels that make an expansion of nuclear power profitable even in parts of the world that already has established electricity supply systems.

The immediate problems of nuclear power are partly the controlled deposition of spent nuclear fuel, partly the risk of reactor meltdown. Also there is the risk of nuclear fuel and other radioactive material and/or knowledge reaching non-government actors whose main objective is the manufacture of weapons.

The nuclear waste contains a number of different radioactive substances, plutonium among others. The waste consists partly of high-active material, which will remain life-threatening for tenths of thousands of years, and partly of larger quantities of low- and medium-active material, whose perilous activity attenuates faster, within a few thousand years. In some cases nuclear waste and worn out reactors have not been disposed of appropriately, e.g. the dumping of large amounts of civil and military nuclear waste in Barents Sea by the Soviet

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[3] Schneider & Froggatt (2004), International Nuclear Safety Center (2006).

[4] This depends among other things on how future world market prices of uranium ore and prognoses on future capital costs. For the individual country this depends mainly on the competitive situation on the electricity market and the willingness of the government to share the economic risks with the building industry and electricity suppliers.

Union. High-active waste from the British nuclear power plant Sellafield has also been dumped in the area.[5]

The problem with controlled deposition, through encapsulation and ultimate disposal deep below ground level, is that even the most ostensibly solid bed-rock will budge eventually. Therefore it is difficult to eliminate the risk of dispersion and diffusion of perilous material in the ten-thousand-year perspective. It is unsure whether the transmutation technology, which still is in the research stage and in theory would allow a significant reduction of the perilous ness of nuclear waste, will ever be applied in practice. The method is marred by a number of flaws, e.g. massive radiation during the actual transmutation process.[6]

Spent nuclear fuel enriches itself (see factual aside on the nuclear fuel cycle), but the process is relatively slow. Ultimate radioactive waste disposal sites may therefore in some distant future become interesting sources of radioactive material

> **The nuclear fuel cycle**
> Waste from the early stages of the nuclear fuel cycle typically emits alpha radiation (helium cores) from the extraction of uranium. This radiation has a short reach and will only become problematic with extensive contamination. The uranium is extracted and passes through a number of conversion stages (oxidation, fluorination) in order for the desired isotope, uranium-235, to be enriched from 0.7 to about 5 percent of the levels needed for the fuel rods used in nuclear power plants. The principal by-product of enrichment is material containing the undesirable isotope uranium-238 – which however can be used to reduce the concentration of highly enriched uranium from dismantled nuclear weapons for later use as reactor fuel. The later part of the nuclear fuel cycle, which mainly consists of spent fuel rods, contains high-active fission products (e.g. plutonium) that emit beta and gamma radiation. The latter in particular is has a considerably longer reach and is more difficult to screen, and therefore more perilous, compared to alpha radiation. This plutonium is a mix of the isotopes Pu-239 (suitable for nuclear weapons) and Pu-240 (an undesirable component that is highly radioactive). These two isotopes are difficult to separate. The waste further contains a wealth of radioactive substances that however are relatively short-lived compared to Pu-239.

for the manufacture of nuclear weapons. As for the more immediate problems associated with controlled deposition, it seems reasonable to assume that the nuclear power nations are awaiting each others actions. No nation has of yet finished constructing any ultimate radioactive waste disposal facility. In Sweden suitable areas are being investigated, but no decision has been reached – in the meantime the SKB's (Swedish Nuclear fuel management Ltd.) central intermediate storage facility for spent nuclear fuel in Oskarshamn. In the United States test drilling and projecting is underway for Yucca Mountain in Nevada[7], whereas Russia uses intermediate storage of varying quality.[8] On one hand most nuclear nations are more or less oriented towards taking care of their own nuclear waste. This would entail several smaller controlled deposition facilities spread across the world, alternatively that the nuclear fuel remains in the intermediate storages where it is kept today. On the other hand there are ongoing international talks on the possibilities of building one or a few large-scale ultimate disposal facilities. Among others Russia has expressed willingness to build and manage such a facility in Siberia. Both varieties are associated with various risks, both

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[5] This remains a serious environmental liability even though decontamination work, primarily by Norway and the United States, was initiated directly after the end of the cold war. The decontamination work is expected to continue for another couple of decades. See also Bergman & Baklanov (1998). Dumping by the Soviet Union has also taken place in the Pacific Ocean and the Sea of Japan (Bae, 2005). American dumping has also previously occurred in the Pacific Ocean off the coast of Mexico (Betancourt, 1998).

[6] For more information on transmutation, see Nuclear Energy Agency 2006.

[7] This may also come to incorporate plutonium from dismantled nuclear weapons (GAO 2005).

[8] There are Russian intermediate storage facilities similar to those in Sweden (often constructed with foreign aid) while some spent fuel is dry-stored in military warehouses or simply remains in worn-out reactors in ships and submarines that are dilapidating various harbours on the Kola Peninsula.

concerning the actual storage and transports to the storage site, which are discussed further in later sections.[9]

2.1 Consequences and health risks associated to radiation

Radioactive radiation can be emitted from natural and artificial sources. Among the former the most common source is radon in certain types of bed-rock, but also cosmic and solar radiation contributes to some extent. Some artificial radiation affects humans directly, primarily in the health care sector. Besides x-ray radiation, caesium and cobalt are common sources. Some radiation effect is also the result of radioactive contamination where the victim ingests the actual radiation source. Examples include tobacco (which may contain polonium), fossil fuels and various construction materials (which may contain radon, among other things).

The connection between exposure to ionizing radiation and the development of cancer, particularly leukaemia and cancer of the thyroid is mostly based on studies of people exposed to high doses of radiation similar to those in Hiroshima, Nagasaki and Chernobyl. That there is a connection between high levels of radiation and the development of cancer is beyond doubt. Ionizing radiation affects all living tissue, partly by damaging the tissue directly, and partly by creating free radicals that destroy adjacent cells, causing damaging (genetic) changes.

> **Radiation doses**
> Radiation is often measured with dosimeters and is expressed in the unit roentgen/hour (R/h). 500 R during the course of five hours is considered an acute lethal exposure. The world average dose of radiation from natural sources amounts to 3,6 mSv/year (Sv, Sievert, is a unit that measures biological influence of radiation), 80 percent of which comes from natural radiation. The remaining 20 percent comes mainly from medical x-ray radiation. The effects of background radiation varies considerably from place to place, from 1,5 mSv/year up to over 100 mSv/year. Anything below 10 mSv is generally considered "low dosage radiation". In some areas of Iran however people are exposed to natural doses of 260 mSv/year without apparent damage. As means of comparison it can be mentioned that those who fought the fire after the Chernobyl catastrophe were exposed to as much as 20 000 R/h. These persons received a dose of between 700 and 13 400 mSv and thus were subject to acute radiation damage. Twenty percent have died from their injuries so far. Also, the incidence of childhood cancer is disproportionately large in the area around Chernobyl.

The forms of cancer that can develop in as a result of ionizing radiation is not however different from those caused by for example smoking. Therefore it is difficult to determine the effects of low doses of radiation. Studies of persons who continuously are subject to moderately elevated levels of radiation compared to the natural background radiation have shown mixed results, but the conclusion still is that these persons have a slightly elevated risk of developing leukaemia and other forms of cancer.

2.2 Radioactive weapons for non-government actors

Radioactive weapons refer to either nuclear weapons with a nuclear explosion as a primary effect, or radiological weapons (so-called dirty bombs) in which radioactive material is spread with the help of conventional explosives. This will be summarized in this section, following a brief discussion on the transportation of spent nuclear fuel as a risk factor that is intimately connected to how the nuclear fuel will come to be ultimately disposed of in the future. The possibilities of non-government actors to procure nuclear waste in the future may namely in

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[9] For more information on the Russian proposition for central storage, see e.g. Dawson & Darst (2005).

part depend on the manner in which the slowly decaying hazardous material is handled. As mentioned in the previous section either smaller national disposal sites or large centralized deposition facilities may come into question. It is reasonable to assume that the security conditions will vary between different smaller facilities – thus the storing in itself constitutes a risk associated with this alternative. A large-scale controlled deposition facility in for example Siberia should be more secure, but on the other hand this would require longer and more extensive transportation of nuclear waste, which is constitutes a risk in itself. There is for example the consideration that possible future land-based transportation of spent nuclear fuel from the EU to the eastern parts of Russia to some extent will limit the insight and influence of the European countries over safety issues and the management of nuclear fuel in general. The transportation of hazardous waste over several borders is an intricate issue in itself. The fact that the transports probably will have to pass through areas that at least today can be considered politically unstable brings further doubt to the issue.[10]

The most critical phase in the development of nuclear weapons (with a principal nuclear explosion) by non-government actors is to procure fissile material.[11] In order to single-handedly be able to produce highly enriched uranium one needs advanced equipment and a high level of technical competence. The use of plutonium in a nuclear explosive requires a considerably more sophisticated charging construction than if uranium is used. Therefore it is likely that non-government actors primarily will be interested in the latter component.

To acquire unrefined material from the various successive processes of the nuclear fuel-cycle, i.e. nuclear waste, from a nuclear power plant is considerably easier than procuring enriched material. The handling and enrichment of unrefined material does require various specialist competences as well, but is still easier to work with than raw material.

Normally a nuclear charge can be detected from a distance of a few meters with the use of a dosimeter or spectrometer. In general a primitive nuclear explosive should be easier to detect than an advanced nuclear

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Enrichment, blast output & bursting strength

The degree of enrichment of uranium isotope U-235 must exceed 20% in order to produce a nuclear explosion. As comparison it can be mentioned that the level of enrichment is about 5% in nuclear power plant fuel, and exceeds 90% in advanced nuclear weapons. The degree of enrichment also determines the amount of material necessary for the nuclear charge – The higher the level of enrichment the lower the critical mass. The simple construction of a primitive nuclear charge is not as reliable as a more advanced nuclear weapon at the initiation of the charge. The explosion output therefore can not be reliably predicted. A strength of 1-10 kt is generally considered realistic for primitive nuclear charges – i.e. with a bursting strength equivalent to 1-10 kt of trinitrotoluene. As means for comparison it can be mentioned that the Hiroshima bomb had a 15 kt uranium charge with a 1,4% blast output. The immediate impact of a nuclear detonation in the interval 1-10 kt is mainly in the form of initial radiation. A charge strength of 1 kt gives a danger zone with a radius of about a half kilometre, within which almost everyone will die, even those in basements. With a charge strength of 10 kt the corresponding range is just over a kilometre. The slightly delayed effects of radioactive fallout require a ground level explosion in order to become significant. The fallout area is determined primarily by wind direction and force and the size of the charge, but with the charge sizes discussed here significant fallout can be expected within 50 km from the blast point in the direction of the wind.

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[10] For more on risks associated with this issue, see Kingsley (2004), Sattler (2004), Darst & Dawson (2006).

[11] These possibilities are at present difficult to determine, but from a security policy perspective focus is aimed primarily at Russian, North Korean and Pakistani storehouses of fissile material. See also Arbman et al. (2002).

weapon. The situation is complicated however and depends on a number of factors, e.g. the capacity of the material (usually wolfram) used to shield the fission material in the bomb.

Radiological weapons, i.e. conventional bombs containing radioactive material, can be constructed using slightly enriched material or spent nuclear waste, or a medical radiation source taken from a hospital (e.g. caesium based). The damage proportions in reality are negligible compared to real nuclear explosives, but the psychological impact is likely to be considerable since radioactive radiation is spread. Building a radiological bomb is relatively simple, but inflicting extensive damage is more difficult. The particle size that yields optimal dispersion should be around 2 micrometers, which requires a well balanced explosive charge. A charge that is too small will yield a very limited spread of the radioactive material. An excessively large charge will cause the material to blow away and disperse too much.

3. Other waste

Waste (other than nuclear waste) can be divided into the categories consumption waste, production waste and toxic waste. Consumption waste can in turn be divided into household waste, non-sector-specific waste, construction and demolition waste, organic waste, sludge from sewage works, and scrap metal. Another example/manner of classification is household waste, industrial waste, construction and demolition waste, and compost and digested sludge.[12]

Basically all kinds of waste can contribute to environmental and health effects. Overtly innocuous organic waste that is managed inappropriately can cause contamination or become a contagion exposure hazard. This brief orientation focuses on directly perilous materials and waste with potentially major damaging effects. Also less hazardous waste (e.g. some metal alloys) will macerate with time and may release toxic substances when it decomposes. Pollution, soil destruction, and health effects caused by for example industrial chemicals, heavy metals, petroleum products, solvents and pesticides are problematic in large parts of the world, Sweden included.

> **Waste in Sweden**
> The annual production of waste in Sweden is approximately 90 Mt, of which the mining industry generates about 50 Mt and the manufacturing industry around 20 Mt. Household waste makes up just over 4 Mt, sludge from effluent treatment about 1 Mt. Construction and demolition activity generates close to 10 Mt. The characteristics of industrial waste depend on the specific business, but the industries' consumption waste consists primarily of packaging. Household waste consists primarily of organic material, but also packaging, textiles, scrap metal, etc. The health and environmentally hazardous waste originates primarily from the processing industry. Also some waste from hospitals is classified as hazardous. In Sweden the annual amount of environmentally hazardous waste is estimated at around 700 000 tons. (Data from 2002: Naturvårdsverket 2005)

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[12] For general information on waste and waste management, see Naturvårdsverket 2005: Sveriges avfallsplan, Johansson (1997), Avfallsforskningsrådet (1995), Naturvårdsverket (1996). Transportation and management of hazardous waste is regulated by the so-called Basel Convention (see further section 3.2).

3.1 Health risks

Heavy metals such as mercury, cadmium, arsenic and lead are immediate health hazards. Many of these compounds accumulate over time in living tissue. The problem is that the high-density metal is chemically similar to naturally constituent and beneficial metals, such as calcium, and is assimilated as substitute and eventually interferes with the functioning of the tissue. Some organ-metallic compounds are considerably more damaging to living organisms than the isolated individual elements. One example is the methyl- and diethyl mercury that was used as pesticide in Swedish agriculture during the post-war period.

Anywhere where metals are extracted or processed, metalliferous dust particles are spread in the air. Rust formation and other forms of corrosion cause the spreading of metal to continue even after the products are no longer in use, unless they are recycled. Also the combustion of fossil fuels, bio fuel, or waste causes the release of heavy metals into the atmosphere. The largest fallout of airborne metal particles typically takes place in the vicinity of mines, smelting plants, and major metal industries. Many of the particles are however small enough to travel long distances in the wind. Mercury, which primarily appears in gas form in the atmosphere, has particularly propitious qualities for wide dispersal.

Heavy metal poisoning causes neurological problems as well as liver and kidney damage. Overt physiological symptoms include diarrhoea, vomiting and weight loss. Heavy metal poisoning is particularly serious in children, as this may result in learning disabilities and problems with reproduction later in life.

When it comes to the category other industrial chemicals there are, besides an unfavourable influence on the ecosystem as a whole, a large number of associated health risks. Various types of pesticides and impregnating agents are more or less carcinogenic. Exposure to some pesticides like PCB is associated with liver poisoning. DDT is banned in the OECD world but is still used to fight malaria mosquitoes in other parts of the world. The risks associated with DDT are still debated, but the substance is suspected to affect the reproductive ability of humans, among other things.

Long-term exposure to solvents like benzene and toluene increases the risk of leukaemia. Many chlorinated solvents, e.g. trichloroethylene, are damaging both to liver and kidneys. The extent to which these substances disperse in soil and groundwater is an intricate issue. Their affinity for binding to soil particles however is limited.[13]

In general there is a spectrum of different health consequences associated with industrial chemicals – from headaches, fatigue, allergies and

> **Heavy metal contamination in Sweden**
> Most of the metal that through the years has been emitted into the air remains in the ground where it has fallen down. Not least lead binds very effectively in the top soil. Even though the lead fallout now has decreased in Sweden, levels remain highly elevated in the ground. Also significant levels of mercury are stored in the soil. Eventually this mercury will leak out from the ground layers to nearby lakes and streams, where it can be taken up by fish and other living organisms. Especially in the coastal areas of Norrland the fish of prey have elevated levels of mercury. Other high-density metals, e.g. cadmium, are also relatively mobile in the soil, and become even more fickle if the pH-value decreases. Soil acidification thus entails a risk of elevating levels of cadmium in nearby water. The fact that people are at risk of being exposed to increasing amounts of cadmium is also in part a consequence of the element being a constituent contamination in inorganic fertilizer. Cadmium levels have thereby gradually increased not only in the tilled soil, but in grains and other crops as well.

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[13] See e.g. Edlund et al. (2004).

neurological problems to mortality at high dosages. They also affect the environment, not least agriculture through lesser yields. Secondary effects cause erosion. While some chemicals have a long degradation process, others rapidly begin disseminating hazardous and tenacious decay products.

To sum up, the environmental and health effects of for example dioxins and high-density metals are well known. Also the use of new chemicals and materials in industrial manufacturing is problematic since future effects are unknown. Even though the substances themselves appear harmless they may later break down and transform into environmentally hazardous and health-impairing compounds. Further they may due to chemical similarities react analogously to known toxic substances. The electronics and information technology industries in particular use a number of new compounds whose effects on the environment and human health may become a future concern (e.g. bromated flame arresting agents). The so-called principle of caution (in this context) states that substances whose long-term effects are uncertain should not be used at all.

3.2 Export and dumping of waste

The problems associated with waste management are to some extent decreasing in the Western world, a consequence of a significant part of the waste being exported to or dumped in developing countries like Nigeria, India and China.[14] This is true for all kinds of waste, e.g. unsorted household waste, plastic (not least from the soft drink industry), refrigerators, and agricultural waste. This is not a new phenomenon, but the amounts are increasing due to the growing industries of electronics and informational technology. The large quantities of electronic waste furthermore contain new perilous compounds. Every year between 20 and 50 million tons electronic waste is produced in the world. Just in the United States it is estimated that more than 100 million computers, screens and television sets are discarded annually, most of which wind up in developing countries. For example Nigeria every month receives about 400 000 used computers and screens. Some can be recycled directly or following reparations, but at least half are incinerated which causes the release of substances that are damaging to health and environment. Similar activities take place in China and India, although there some of the metals are recycled (the remainder of the waste however is incinerated there as well). This results in the dispersion of large amounts of environmental toxins, such as lead, cadmium, dioxins and bromated flame arresting agents.[15]

> **Bromated flame arresting agents**
> Bromated flame arresting agents (BF) is a term covering several groups of bromine-containing organic compounds that all are used or their fire-resistant qualities in electronic appliances (printed circuit cards, casings for electronic devices, cables), textiles, plastic and upholstery. Approximately 25% of the flame arresting agents that are produced in the world annually (more than a half million tons) are bromated. Due to environmental leakage a number of BFs are found as contaminants in water, sediments and animals (mainly aquatic). Some BFs are found in animal foods, and fatty fish (e.g. salmon, herring and trout) in particular can contain elevated levels. The knowledge of the health effects of bromated flame arresting agents is very limited, and studies are needed on the neurotoxic and hormonal effects. Long-term exposure in animal experiments has shown effects on liver, thyroid gland, reproduction, fetus development, and allergies.

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[14] Basel Action Network (2005).

[15] More on bromated flame arresting agents: Institute of environmental health medicine, Karolinska Institutet: www.imm.ki.se, and the National Swedish Food Administration: www.livsmedelsverket.se.

The Basel Convention from the late 1980s roughly forbids the dumping by industrialized countries of environmentally hazardous waste in developed countries. The convention is of central importance for this issue, but has not yet been ratified by the United States.

The trade in waste is an intricate billion dollar industry where the incentives to manage the domestic waste responsibly unfortunately are much too weak.[16] The transfer of directly or potentially perilous waste from the industrialized world to the developing countries is a complex and multifaceted problem. On one hand there are people, governments and companies on both sides that make money off the export of waste. On the other hand, the reuse or recycling of for example electronic equipment can hardly per se be considered problematic or unethical – compared to for example the illegal dumping of obviously toxic chemicals. When it comes to information technology waste the actual core problems are indirect – i.e. the effects of discarded material and incineration fallout. This type of export is accepted by the authorities in for example Nigeria, which by instantly accessing yesterday's electronic devices shortcuts into the IT-society. In five years the number of cellular phones in Nigeria has increased from close to zero to 10 million, and the number of internet users today is two million.[17] This development is of course not only the result of the export of used Western electronics, but of an actual improved prosperity in Nigeria as well.

When the authorities of industrialized and developing countries reach an agreement in the issue of waste export/dumping, environmental and health concerns are generally not prioritized, especially since the negative consequences typically are delayed or affect mainly those less well off. In the short term it is a win-win situation, but in a longer perspective it may – regardless of the obvious environmental and health problems – also entail new problems from a security policy perspective.

The Basel convention

"When the demands for environmental protection were tightened in the Western world in the 1980s the costs of managing hazardous waste in an acceptable manner rose (i.e. waste that is toxic, explosive, corrosive, flammable, environmentally dangerous or pathogenic). "Waste traders" began offering their services of shipping hazardous waste cheaply to developing countries and countries in Easter Europe, where there were not enough resources or knowledge to manage the waste appropriately in terms of environment and human health. When this became known internationally demands were made for an international agreement to put an end to the trade. The fundamental principles of the convention is that transportation of hazardous waste across borders should be reduced to a minimum and that the waste should be managed appropriately, as close to the source (of production) as possible, and that there from the start should be an ambition to limit the production of hazardous waste as much as possible. The countries (the parties of the convention) should strive to control cross-border transportation of hazardous waste, monitor and prevent illegal trade in waste, give aid to the environmentally sound management of hazardous waste, promote cooperation and develop technical guidelines for handling hazardous waste."

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[16] Brikell (2000), Cassing & Kuhn (2003).
[17] Basel Action Network (2005).

4. Discussion: Waste, conflict, and environmental justice

Waste and waste management as a cause for future conflict must be analyzed from a wide perspective. The waste problem will merely constitute a subset of the global environmental resource-related problems that will affect the world in the 21st century. Others include agricultural production power (climate change, desertification, soil contamination), access to protein (depletion of the oceans), working population (demographics, environment-related illness, HIV/AIDS), struggle for natural resources (potable water, oil, fertile soil), migration and refugee currents – in particular the opportunities for living, working, and trading in coastal regions (climate change and rising of the sea level).

Where and how the world's high-active nuclear waste will be deposited is yet another problematic issue which by a combination of perilous ness and durability creates a dilemma of proportions comprising everything from current health, environmental and terror risks to moral obligations toward distant future generations.

Lack of environmental justice is a source of conflict that is of relevance in this context. The term originates from the United States and can be interpreted as a merging of the strivings for ecological sustainability and social justice. Whereas the concept of sustainability focuses on the supporting capacity of nature and the distribution of resources between generations, the discrepancy between those who generate the environmental problems and those who are subject to the effects is a core concern of environmental justice – with an emphasis on the distribution of resources and environmental risks *within* the present generation.[18]

> **The Environmental justice movement**
> The environmental justice movement was initiated in the 1980s and has since the 1990s also come to influence politics, particularly in the United States and Great Britain. A case that has received a lot of attention is the 1982 conflict surrounding the localization of a dumpsite for hazardous PCB-waste in Warren County, North Carolina, which is a predominately black, low-income community. Large-scale demonstrations, civil unrest, and mass arrests caught drew considerable attention. Subsequently, a number of American investigations and case studies have shown that people of low income and non-European descent are subject to more serious environmental risks compared to white people with high incomes. In 1994 the Clinton administration issued a decree stating that all federal agencies must evaluate their activities in terms of environmental justice. In 2003 the Blair government put forward environmental justice as a key concept that should be considered in all exercise of public authority with environmental relevance in Great Britain.

The discussions on environmental justice in Europe and the United States[19] have two general themes; the problems associated with an uneven distribution of environmental risks[20], and the possibilities of participating in or influencing the processes where decisions concerning the environment are made. From an international perspective the first aspect is becoming increasingly important – decisions are often made on a national or local level, while the environmental effects follow the dispersion patterns of globalization. The concept of environmental justice has not yet had any major impact in Swedish politics, but is becoming increasingly significant when it comes to environmentally relevant interfaces between industrialized and developing

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[18] More on the concept of environmental justice in general: Gleeson & Low (2003), Bullard (2005). The American report *Toxic Wastes and Race in the United States* by the Commission for Racial Justice (1987) was influential in the initiation of the environmental justice movement.

[19] See e.g. Rhodes (2005).

[20] E.g. Mennis & Jordan (2005).

countries, for example the export of waste or dumping which was discussed in the previous section. Here the Basel convention mentioned earlier plays an important role.[21]

In some senses the term environmental justice is related to the concept of human rights, which makes it relevant in the context of conflict. Oppression and social evils are known causes for conflict. The right to live and work in a non-toxic environment however is not recognized to the same extent. On the other hand it should be kept in mind that whereas the classic causes for conflict – e.g. the struggle for natural resources – always have been a part of human history, the manmade environmental problems of global proportions that we see today are a relatively modern phenomenon. There is much to suggest that the number of environment-related conflicts will increase in the future. These types of conflict may however also be associated with the classic causes for conflict. It all really only depends on how you define resources – just as fertile soil, mineral deposits and oil are considered self-evident natural resources, perhaps so should a non-toxic, or non-health hazardous, immediate environment. Furthermore, the issues are closely related – the use of natural resources, e.g. oil, typically entails negative environmental effects.

The term environmental justice is closely connected to the management of waste, whether it is household garbage, toxic materials, industrial waste or nuclear fuel.[22] With the improved standards of living in previously developing countries brought about by globalization, environmental and health consciousness is likely to increase – as will likely the awareness that the material wealth of the industrialized countries indirectly causes serious environmental problems in the developing countries. The future development of economic growth, increasing environmental problems and improved welfare for some can realistically be considered a transient phenomenon of friction between interests, people, states and regions. There will be winners and losers on all levels, which in itself is a cause for conflict. The future environmental effects will affect some people, states and regions more than others. An aspect of relevance for conflict that is emphasized in this context is the environmental justice balance, i.e. to what extent those responsible for producing environmental and health risks make others subject to these. Concern is therefore not only on the relationship between the presently industrialized and developing worlds, but also on potential conflicts between states in the presently developing world, between states and ethnic groups, and between ethnic groups whose living conditions change.

Sweden could at policy level possibly contribute to improved safety by counteracting environmental injustices in various contexts, e.g. trade, foreign aid and EU-politics. For Swedish authority personnel involved in international interventions this means being aware of local problems and environmental injustices, and taking care not to aggravate these or contribute to the creation of new ones.[23]

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[21] See e.g. Chukwumerije (2006).

[22] E.g. Fan 2006, Davies 2006, Iles (2004), Holifield (2004).

[23] The FOI-report *Miljökonsekvenser av krig och konflikter* (Waleij et al. 2006) gives useful background information on cases of peace-keeping interventions following armed conflict.

5. Scenarios

5.1 Assaults on nuclear waste transports

The purpose of this scenario is to illustrate yet another risk associated with high-active nuclear waste, in addition to the commented risks that are connected to the actual controlled deposition and use of nuclear waste in various weapon constructions. The transportation of nuclear waste constitutes a risk factor in which complete safety never can be achieved.

The year is 2016. The global energy supply faces increasingly difficult challenges. The maximum global oil production capacity was already reached five years ago. This despite technological improvements to optimize extraction and the fact that non-conventional oils are being exploited (e.g. tar sand and oil shale). As a consequence there has been an increase in the production of natural gas, but the relations between the EU and Russia – where much of the natural gas is found – is strained. The collaboration between the EU and Russia in establishing a large-scale controlled deposition facility for spent nuclear fuel in Siberia is put on ice, partly due to differing views on necessary safety procedures and partly because the possibilities of the EU to influence the project diminished with the worsening of relations that followed the energy crisis of 2011. Russia's development towards an open democracy is stalled and the military has gained power. There has been an ongoing debate within the EU the last few years concerning the risks associated with being dependent on Russian natural gas. The issue of secure energy is prioritized within the EU, which has contributed to major investments in energy conservation (to reduce total energy expenditure) and renewable energy sources (to reduce the amount of fossil fuels from the Middle East and Russia). Already in connection with the energy crisis five years ago the decision was also made to cancel the earlier decision to phase out nuclear power in Germany. Other countries in the EU with energy productions largely based on fossil fuels have followed suit. The decision was also influenced by the increasingly dramatic weather conditions of the last few years, a phenomenon that is ascribed to the intensified greenhouse effect.

Since the discontinuation of the controlled deposition collaboration with Russia, the nuclear countries of the EU have chosen different strategies. The problem of controlled deposition must be solved and the transmutation technology that seemed promising at the beginning of the century is still not functioning satisfactorily. Some countries are building their own facilities – e.g. Germany, which already in 2011 began the construction of a deep underground deposition storage in Niedersachsen – while others still are hoping for an EU-collective ultimate disposal site (among others various places in Sweden have been discussed, for example in Östhammar municipality).

At the same time the situation in the Middle East has worsened. Both the United States and the European Union have troops in Iraq and Saudi Arabia. Several selective air raids against Iranian power plants were made by the United States in 2008 to prevent any possible development of nuclear weapons, which is why major troop mobilizations have been deemed necessary to maintain the relative stability that has been achieved in Iraq in recent years. There is also a pronounced interest in protecting the local oil extraction plants from terrorist attacks. Further, the climate change has entailed a shortage of water and more or less collapsed agriculture in large parts of the region. People migrate to the cities, where the social conditions continuously worsen. This adds heavily to the immigration pressure on Europe. Even though the ageing Europe is in need of labour, the social acceptance of the increased immigration is in decline. More or less explicitly xenophobic political forces have made their

way to several European parliaments. There is a common conception among immigrants from the Middle East that the real interests of EU in the region actually are oil and cheap labour, rather than contributing to democratization. Ethnic violence and conflict (although of the less serious kind) have become commonplace in a segregated Europe. Furthermore, there have been several acts of terror in recent years – while the recruitment basis of terrorist groups has grown.

A Sunday in June 2016 Germany initiates the process of controlled deposition of nuclear waste. A first step is the transportation of an amount of high-active waste from the nuclear power plant in Emsland close to the Dutch border to the ultimate disposal site in Niedersachsen. A military escort is responsible for the transport which covers a stretch of 300 kilometres. Even though the transport has been planned with the highest level of secrecy, the transportation vehicles are attacked with rocket launchers a couple of kilometres after the passage of Osnabrück. The level of radiation from the shattered vehicle is measured at 2000 R/h, which requires an immediate evacuation of the incident site. The high radiation doses make sanitation impossible. A specialist force pours concrete over the disaster site with the help of helicopters and radio-controlled robots. Despite requisite shielding, personnel must be changed every hour due to the strong radiation. Meanwhile people are evacuated from within a radius of 50 kilometres. Osnabrück becomes a ghost town.

The investigations that follow reveal that the perpetrator was a German citizen that belonged to a previously unknown terrorist group composed of second generation immigrants. Internal investigations reveal that one of the staff responsible for the planning of the transportation had disclosed details because his family was threatened.

This turn of events shows that there always are risks associated with nuclear power and nuclear waste. Not only accidents, controlled deposition and weapons construction constitute elements of risk, but transportation as well. As discussed previously, future controlled deposition may take place either in smaller national ultimate disposal sites or in large centralized facilities, possibly in Russia or the EU. Regardless, there will be transportation of high-active nuclear waste. From a safety perspective it may come to a weighing of the risks associated with a large number of storage facilities and intermediate storage sites and those associated with extensive transportation.

5.2 Environmental damage in border areas

The purpose of this scenario is to illustrate the environmental side effects of rapid economic development. Profit interests are weighed against concern for environment and health, which may lead to situations of conflict between governments, authorities, companies, and environmental organizations. In regions where states develop at different paces there is a greater risk of /inter-state conflict.

Nigeria has in the past decade (up until now, year 2016) made large profits on the export of oil and natural gas, primarily to the United States. Even though the deposits are found at sea and for a long time were exported in the form of raw product, the past decade has seen the development of a significant domestic refining industry co-owned by state-owned companies together with multinational oil companies. This has been followed by the establishment of other large-scale chemical staple industries as well, partly with help from American aid (similar to the manner in which China aided Sudan just after the turn of the century). Also the processing of metals and the manufacture of inorganic fertilizer are important sectors. By-

products from desulphurized oil are used in the manufacture of semi finished products, mainly sulphuric acid. This product, together with lead from the manufacture of metal, is used in the production of lead accumulators. Nigeria has the largest population in Africa, and its development is comparable only to that of China five to ten years ago. Export income contributes to new investments in industry, transportation networks and urbanization. Large sections of the population have been able to improve their standard of living. Also, the country has seen a decrease in corruption.

Nigeria has become an industrialized nation, but still has the overt/pronounced ambition of expanding its IT-penetration and, following India's example, becoming Africa's leading IT-nation. The dumping of mainly American outmoded yet fully functional computers and cellular phones has been of considerable help. These however came with large amounts of useless electronics attached which have been incinerated and through the years have spread tons of high-density metals and carcinogenic compounds in the area. Many of the domestic industries have sprung up in the south-eastern part of Nigeria, along the coast and the border to Cameroon – which has not enjoyed the same economic boost/upsurge, yet is affected by the environmental toxins that spread across the border. Petroleum products and acids are a growing problem, and signs of acidification are evident in the area, but the greatest apprehensions concern high-density metals, particularly lead and cadmium. Fertilizers rich in cadmium constitute a significant problem as these cheap, locally produced inorganic fertilizers are heavily used in agriculture. Also worrying levels of lead have been confirmed in the ground on both sides of the border. Lead binds well in the topsoil and thus can be expected to remain there for a long time.

In Nigeria there is a tendency to ignore the problems – nothing is allowed to threaten the economic growth. In Cameroon on the other hand, extensive investigations supported by Greenpeace and environmental justice organizations in the United States and Great Britain are made, primarily of children's health. There is evidently a heavy increase in nervous problems, learning disabilities, diarrhoea, and sleep disturbances. Protests towards Nigeria's growth policies are voiced around the world, but the governments of both the USA and most of the EU remain passive due to economic interests in the country. The situation gets heated, however, when activists sabotage a refinery in Nigeria, causing a costly production standstill. Nigeria threatens to establish a safety zone by occupying border areas in Cameroon. Since several years the EU has agreed on a policy to intervene early in conflicts in order to avoid escalation. Therefore, the African Union (AU) is offered immediate assistance by peace-keeping military units. The offer is accepted. At the same time negotiations commence between AU, Nigeria, and Cameroon concerning the possibilities of limiting or depolluting discharges, and giving some monetary compensation to those affected in Cameroon. An agreement is reached, and the conflict subsides. One part of the agreement states that Nigeria will contribute to Cameroon's development by supporting its industrialization process, which gives reason to expect further pollution. Furthermore the Nigerian regime ignores the environmental damage and health effects that by this time have been confirmed in the own population – it becomes clear that the agreement is pragmatic in nature and that the pollution in the area is likely to become worse in the future.

The approach in this scenario to a certain extent is an extrapolation the current environmental situation in Nigeria, i.e. the discharge of environmental toxins associated with among other things the incineration of waste has overtly negative consequences. Besides the human ill-health that is the concrete conflict-triggering factor of this scenario, ecological collapse in certain areas, death of fish, etc., are other plausible outcomes that can lead to similar conflicts.

5.3 Waste problems during international interventions

The point of this scenario is that factors other than those typically considered can be of significance during military interventions. The latter include actual physical antagonistic threats, but also health risks associated with the supply of drinking water, infectious disease, etc. That the own waste management can become a problem is not as obvious.

In 2012, following a few years of relative stability, fighting flares up again. Various clan groups fight each other, and the African Union has requested military peace-keeping assistance from the EU. Among others Nordic Battle group is engaged, and is on location after a month of preparations. Part of the preparations for the intervention concerns personnel health risks. Military intelligence has made a thorough mapping of the area, but to a lesser extent considered the risks that the own waste management may entail. The preparations have mainly focused on purely physical risks (terrorism, assaults, mines, etc), and non-antagonistic factors like the supply of drinking water, infectious disease (primarily malaria), and the occurrence of toxins and ground pollution in the area. The waste generated by the Nordic contingent is deposited a few hundred meters from the camp and is regularly (once every second month) transported away for incineration. The simple deposition site consists of a natural declivity located a couple of hundred meters from a river, a distance deemed sufficient. Water from the river is used as drinking water by the local population miles down river. Slacked lime and rat poison is used to secure the sanitary conditions at the provisional dump site.

Seven weeks into the intervention, when the pile of garbage is at its largest, there is a sudden nighttime storm with hurricane wind force measured in the squalls. There are major problems in the camp, and the following morning it is noted that the mountain of garbage has spread over a very large area, extending down to the river. The cleanup work is thorough, but a few days later it is clear that cholera and salmonella bacteria as well as various parasites have spread in the river water together with dead rats. This does not actually constitute any major problem for the Nordic contingent, which has supple access to antibiotics, vaccines, and purified water. However, after another few days several people in the local population have fallen ill and died, and local warlords blame the Nordic visitors for the problems. This creates an extended recruitment basis for soldiers, but now with a specific grudge against the European intruders. A number of assaults and raids against the camp prompt the EU to evacuate the whole contingent, as there is a considerable risk of undue losses. Thus, the EU intervention has failed.

When planning an international military intervention, the fighting efficiency of the unit, logistics, and health risks in the area are normally of primary concern. Naturally, other factors of significance for completing the mission are considered as well, for example local knowledge (e.g. with regards to climate, geography, social conditions and culture). Secondary problems such as the own waste management easily become an area of peripheral concern, even though they may turn out to be crucial to the outcome of the operation. The scenario shows that there was some knowledge of the risks associated with waste management (e.g. the presence of rats), but an unanticipated weather phenomenon lead to disaster. A flood, known to occur in Somalia, could have had similar consequences. Contrary to the previous scenario, which is based on a simple trend extrapolation, the objective of this scenario is to illustrate how less predictable and unexpected chains of events can lead to serious problems.

6. Summary

In this chapter waste and waste management are discussed from a risk and conflict perspective. Waste in this case refers mainly to ground pollution, although the delimitation towards air and water can be difficult to determine. The management of nuclear waste involves partly the controlled deposition of large quantities of spent nuclear fuel from nuclear power plants and associated risks, and partly the illegal distribution of radioactive material destined for use in the manufacture of various weapons. The constantly increasing amount of nuclear waste in combination with the globalization process, which makes material and knowledge more easily accessible for various actors, constitutes a future challenge. A risk that receives special emphasis is the transport of nuclear waste. Industrial waste such as heavy metals and various petroleum products constitute an increasingly serious problem in many developing countries. Increased economic growth means higher material turnover, and profit interests get are prioritized over safety and environmental issues. Thus environmental issues as well as the competition for natural resources may become a source of future conflict, especially in border areas. Population growth in combination with a higher standard of living will also entail a significant increase in the amount of household waste in developing countries, which is further augmented by export – or dumping – of waste by industrialized countries. This concerns all types of waste, but used electronics compose a new and rapidly growing problem. Some can still be used (and therefore are welcome), but much is incinerated and causes serious pollution and dispersion of carcinogenic substances. Waste export is regulated by the so-called Basel Convention, which however has not been ratified by all industrialized countries. Global policy issues of this sort are pursued by the environmental equity movement, which is established in the West (mainly in the United States and Great Britain). Other than in connection with export or dumping of waste, industrialized countries can cause problems for developing countries during international military operations where inadequate waste management results in extensive local contamination, which can be a motive for conflict. As far as Sweden is concerned, this could be of interest for among others Nordic Battle group.

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Part V

The Result of the Triangulation

Chapter 9:
Strategic developments in the global context
By Johan Askerlund, Håkan Edström, Göran Kindvall & Åke Wiss

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Strategic developments in the global context

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1. Introduction

Within the framework of the EU's long term capacity and capability development (EU LTV) an analysis of the surrounding world was presented in the spring of 2006 as a foundation for the EU's long-term capability development beyond the *Headline Goal* 2010 (HG 2010). As commissioned by EDA, the result of this work has been compiled by the *The Institute for Security Studies* (ISS) within the framework of LTV Strand 1 *(Global Context)*. The report has been used in the work on LTV Strand 2 (*Military Environment).*

A comparison of ISS' analysis of the surrounding world and the report the Swedish Armed Forces published in December 2005[1] shows that the differences between the reports are mainly methodological in nature. Even if there are certain slight differences in the emphasis placed on different trends the similar view of developments in the wider world is that, as far as Sweden is concerned, it is possible to give fairly wide consideration to the strategic or operative conclusions that emerge from EU's capability and capacity development process.

As a starting point the description of the global developments of the wider world considers three different explanatory perspectives. This does not mean that the three perspectives employed here are the only ones that can be applied. Additional perspectives, such as one that focuses on the state, would certainly be able to contribute to increased understanding of the whole.

To begin with a description is given here of the possibilities of development in a 10 – 20 year perspective linked to political, economic, military, societal and ecological security. After that a description is given of the actors that are estimated, in this time perspective, to have global interests and the capability of influence. These actors are the EU, the USA, NATO, the UN, Russia, China and India.[2] Finally, the possibilities for regional development are described.[3]

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[1] Swedish Armed Forces communication 15 December 2005, H/S 23 383:82128, *Conflict types underlying ongoing analysis within perspective planning.*

[2] Regarding the definition of global actors see, for example, Buzan, B. & Waever, O. (2003) *Regions and Powers – The Structure of International Security*, Cambridge, University Press. The limitation made here is that of the Armed Forces.

[3] The development in Northern Europe, especially the increasing strategic importance of the Baltic Sea and the Barents Sea region, will have an increasing impact on Swedish security. For further discussion on this issue, see *Försvarsmakten som säkerhetspolitiskt instrument del 2 – Konsekvenser av olika militärstrategiska inriktningar. Rapport från perspektivplaneringen 2007*, Stockholm 2007, p. 27ff.

2. Thematic development possibilities[4]

Globalisation, expressed among other things as the global flow of information and the intertwined global economy, is considered to constitute an all-embracing mega trend which in a 10 – 20- year perspective is estimated to overshadow all other development possibilities and thus influence political as well as military, societal and ecological possibilities/trends. A summary of conceivable development possibilities in these thematic areas follows below.

2.1 Political possibilities

As a result of globalisation and general developments it may be presumed that greater demands for political cooperation at the international level will be made in the future. Regional cooperation between states is estimated to increase. Leading large international companies will probably be more and more independent from the nation states and for this reason not capable of being influenced by the decisions of individual countries to the same degree as they are today. This development may result in the companies shaping the politics of weak countries in a decisive way.

The violation of human rights such as genocide and misgovernment resulting in famine and ill-health will be accepted to an increasingly lesser extent by the international community, which will demand action, also by military means, to protect the civilian population in vulnerable areas. The need of humanitarian emergency aid, in some cases administered with the assistance of military personnel, may also become great in certain parts of the world.

At the international level, what is foreseen is greater political awareness, compared with today, of the need to prevent the spread of weapons of mass destruction. What today appear to be a large number of subordinate issues can also be given an important place in the agenda of world affairs and this can result in the dominance of America being questioned to an increased extent. These issues include matters of the environment and climate, international law and the part played by multilateral institutions. The anti-Americanism that is prevalent today is estimated to decrease in intensity when in the future globalisation is assumed to be determined by the west to a decreasing extent. This decrease might depend on how the USA uses its military capability.

2.2 Economic possibilities

The rate of growth of the world economy is predicted to still be high. Integration of states is estimated to create conditions for a vigorous economy and can at the same time provide the cooperating states with increasing international influence. At the same time the economies are judged to become increasingly interlaced, which in stable conditions is strength but in instability can aggravate a crisis.

Many regions and states are judged to be able to take advantage of the positive development of the world economy but this does not apply to all actors. The pace of change in the global economy is rapid and it is judged that the actors that lack access to, or the ability to make use

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[4] The argument is based, *inter alia*, on analysis of sponsored research financed by the Swedish Armed Forces and which FOI has prepared. Examples of these thematic in-depth studies is *Framtida Miljöhot* (Future threats to the environment) by Annika Carlsson-Kanyama and *Ekonomisk utveckling* (Economic Development) by Magnus Kaiser. The argument is based additionally on the Global Context Study for an initial ESDP Long Term Vision (LTV), of the European Union Institute for Security Studies (2006).

of, new technology will fall behind in the overall development. The fields of technology that are held to be those in which most progress will be made in the future are nanotechnology, biotechnology, information technology and technology connected with various materials. The gap between those that are favoured and those that are not favoured by the global economy will probably increase and one of the factors that might determine this is the availability of skilled labour.

Also regions and states that may be regarded as winners in the global system can within their own boundaries contain large areas where weak economic development continues. If the current trends for, among other things, private consumption persist, it is judged that Asia will overtake the West as the centre of the world economy at the end of the period in this perspective. At the same time as developments move to an ever greater extent towards a more integrated world economy there are parallel tendencies at the regional and local levels. At the regional level the creation of regional trade blocks such as the EU and NAFTA is judged to continue and may in some cases be given priority over a unified global trading system. At the local level certain sectors of the economy are judged not to have any connections at all with either global or regional commerce. Three parallel paths of development for the period 2015 – 2025 thus appear to be possible: increased globalisation in the form of ever deeper integration of the global economy, increased regionalisation in the form of several regional trade blocks, and increased local fragmentation.

Ultimately limited access to natural resources may become an even greater cause of conflict than it is at present. For example, the expansion of the world economy is expected to cause the need for energy to increase by 50 percent over the period of this perspective. (time-range of this perspective). This is to be compared with the increase during the years 1980 – 2000 which was 34 percent. The overall energy sources are nevertheless considered sufficient to meet increased needs even if regional conditions might alter compared to today's situation. It is estimated that the need for oil, for instance, will increase considerably, especially in growing economies. The situation for the production of oil may change, however. The Middle East is judged to be the most important region also in the years ahead but it is considered that new regions such as Central Asia, West Africa and South America will increase in relative importance. This means that the oil flows will change. In less developed regions the growing need for energy may be met by increased use of coal. A development of this kind will in all probability have consequences for the environment.

Over the most recent centuries the development of the economy has been characterised by long cyclical fluctuations. Periods of rationalisation have been followed by structural crises which in turn have been followed by periods of transformation. The cycles have had a span of 40 years and if the trend remains unchanged the next structural crisis may come about 2010 and the next transformation period around 2020. Transformation periods in particular are interesting in this context as they are often characterised by conflicts.

2.3 Military possibilities[5]

The assessment is that today's nuclear powers will retain significant arsenals and moreover will continue to attempt to improve the effectiveness, reliability and accuracy of their systems. For instance, it is possible that they will (they might) attempt to improve the

[5] A more developed analysis related to future warfare (operative environment for military efforts, development of military technology etc) is underway and will be contained in the next PERP report.

capability of their systems to penetrate various missile defence systems. This kind of development combined with the development of conventional weapons of considerable power can result in highly effective conventional weapons being used instead. In turn this may result in the lowering of the threshold for what is called *pre-emptive actions*. Certain states, especially in the Middle East and in North East Asia, that do not yet have nuclear arms might attempt to acquire them within the next 10 – 20 years. The spread not only of weapons as such but also of the knowledge of how they are made is judged to reduce considerably the time span between the decision to acquire weapons and the point in time when they will be available.

Within the next 15 years no individual country is judged to come even close to being able to challenge the military dominance of the USA from a global perspective. On the other hand it is probable that a number of states will have at their disposal military resources of a kind to permit them, in a regional perspective, to force the USA to pay a high price for military initiatives that these states oppose. If states like Iran and North Korea were to gain access to nuclear weapons this price would increase considerably. This might result in regional forms of the global terror balance which characterised the cold war. The relationship between India and Pakistan has developed to be exactly this and the relationship between Israel and Iran, for instance, might also develop in this direction.

It is just a possibility that various major regional powers, supported possibly by one or more global actors, go together in exploiting a new type of marginal doctrine thinking. It should, for example, be difficult for the USA to handle several regional conflicts simultaneously on its own- there is, after all, a limit to its enormous military resources. As far as the USA is concerned this probably signifies that the transatlantic link will be of fundamental value also in the future. This is valid for Europe as well but is in this case connected with dependence on the leading role of the USA in the development of military capacity.

2.4 Societal possibilities

The world population is expected to have increased to 8 thousand million, which signifies a population increase of 25 percent. At the same time Europe's population is growing ever older and nativity in several countries is falling.

In the future an increasingly large proportion of the world population will probably live in towns and cities. Already today 60 percent of the world population lives in towns and in coastal areas. The urbanisation trend is particularly evident in the third world. The powerful population growth in the urban regions will presumably not be accompanied by the necessary development of infrastructure and the possibilities of seeking a livelihood. The growing cities can develop into ticking social bombs. People will probably not only move to towns and cities but also between regions – for example, due to war – or between different parts of the world – for example, for economic reasons. Through migration different cultures and core values will in future probably meet with greater intensity than they do today, which places new demands on society.

Organised crime is judged in the future to have particularly good prerequisites for developing in states that are rich in natural resources and at the same time undergo significant economic and political changes. Weakness in the country's political, economic and/or legal structures can be exploited by criminal groups. The increasing migration taking place in the world can lead to organised crime being established in countries that previously lacked experience of

this activity that constitutes a threat to security. It is not improbable that different criminal groups form loosely composed alliances. On the other hand at present it is judged to be less probable that organised crime will form strategic and long-term alliances with terrorists. Nevertheless, the existence of connections that allow criminals to exploit religious fundamentalism to guarantee their own future operations is a possibility that cannot be ruled out.

The easily accessible information society unites the world but also creates new possibilities that may be exploited to damage our open society. The impact of mass media is great. What happens in one part of the world can quickly become known in large areas of the rest of the world. Public opinion can react to the flow of news, among other things, by demanding political action in order to, for example, prevent the criminal violation of human rights even if the occurrence takes place on the other side of the globe.

2.5 Ecological possibilities

As said before a number of what seem to be subordinate questions today might acquire a central place in the agenda of global politics in the future. Climatological changes such as global warming or cooling and altered patterns of precipitation can result in changes in living conditions. This can in turn result in an aggravated social situation within a country or region. Certain natural resources risk impoverishment. There can be many reasons for this and they can foment conflicts in varying degrees. The conflicts may be about cultivable soil, fishing waters, rivers for irrigation or rivers for electricity generation. Conflicts of these kinds can to some extent be foreseen.

Natural disasters can result in already scarce resources becoming scarcer. The way in which different states deal with the consequences of disasters is not judged to be something that foments conflicts but is presumed rather to be directed at evacuation, restoration and similar activities.

2.6 Conclusions related to the thematic possibilities

The following conclusions are judged to be the most important ones related to the thematic perspective:

- Economic developments indicate that the ***demand for strategic raw materials***, chiefly energy, might increase significantly.

- Political and societal developments indicate that ***interaction between states and non-state actors*** (enterprises, organisations, terrorist networks etc.) will increase in importance.

- Of the trends in military developments the risk of the ***spread of weapons of mass destruction***, ultimately also to non-state actors and ***American military dominance*** are most prominent.

- The tendencies of ecological developments show that climate changes contributing to ***deteriorated living conditions*** are a growing cause of conflict. The growing shortage of fresh water is judged in certain cases to be a particularly significant and conflict-fomenting factor.

3. Actor- related possibilities of developments[6]

3.1 Developments for individual actors

The **EU** and its member states are striving to increase their capability of preventing and stabilising regional conflicts as well as to promote good forms of governance and the principles upholding states governed by law, among other things, by ongoing allocation of resources to a common efficient military capacity for activities for the promotion of peace. However, it is not uncomplicated to coordinate the endeavours between the various member states. Trade and aid policies will probably also in future be viewed as important tools for the promotion of reforms in the world. The EU is expected to give priority to measures aimed at promoting security in the Middle East, North Africa and Eastern Europe. In addition, there will probably be an endeavour from both leading and smaller states in the EU to maintain a strong transatlantic link.

An important question during the period is Turkey's future connection with Europe. The result of the Turkish membership negotiations can exert considerable influence on the organisation irrespective of the outcome as there is a risk of inner antagonism. At the same time complete integration of Turkey and other potential member states in the Balkans and in Eastern Europe probably places demands for extensive reform of the organisation. There is a risk that a demanding process of enlargement may put a brake on work devoted to otherwise deepening cooperation between member states. Moreover, enlargement signifies that the EU will border on new, in many cases, unstable areas. The structural problems confronting the EU that can be identified are primarily reduced access to labour as a result of an ageing population as well as flaws in the political and socio-economic integration of the member states.

The EU is expected to achieve increased political consolidation in the period. The alternative that the EU becomes weaker with increased regionalisation or a development where the EU stops at the point of being an economic association is also possible.

Despite the fact that the ratification process of "The Treaty for the Establishment of a Constitution for Europe" was abruptly interrupted as a consequence of the French and Dutch referendums and must be seen as a drawback to the deepening of EU's integration the assessment is that this did not have any serious consequences in respect of realpolitik. This is largely explained by the fact that the member states were relatively unanimous during the negotiations about those parts of the constitutional treaty that dealt with the ESPD (European Security and Defence Policy). This unanimity entailed that several of the agreements that were made during these negotiations could be implemented already before ratification of the constitutional treaty had taken place. One of the reasons why this was possible was that several of the agreements were in conformity with the already existent Treaty of Nice.

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[6] The argument is based on an analysis by *inter alia* the French Ministry of Defence (2005) *The 30 Year Perspective Plan*, the European Union (2003) *A Secure Europe in a Better World – European Security Strategy*, the National Intelligence Council (2004) *Mapping the Global Future*, The White House (2003) *US National Security Strategy*, The United Nations (2005) *The Millennium Development Goals Report 2005*, Auswärtiges Amt Deutschlands (2001) *Ursachen von Konflikten und Kriegen im 21. Jahrhundert*, the British Foreign & Commonwealth Office *FCO Strategy*, and the British Ministry of Defence (2003) *Defence White Paper*. The argument is based additionally on analysis of the result of the commissioned research that the Armed Forces have ordered and financed. An example of these actor-related in-depth studies is *EU som krishanteringsaktör* (the EU as a actor in crisis mnagement) by Maria Oredsson, FOI.

An example of this is the European defence Agency, EDA, which was instituted in 2004 and has taken over parts of the responsibility for the military capacity development processes in the EU. Other parts of the constitutional treaty can, however, not be implemented within the framework of the existing treaty, but can nevertheless be said to function *de facto*. An example is the solidarity clause which signifies that if a member state is subjected to a terrorist attack, or suffers a natural catastrophe or a disaster caused by human acts the other member states must come to its assistance. That the solidarity clause functions *de facto* is a discernable fact as the European Council in its declaration of solidarity after the terror attacks in Madrid in 2004 declared that the member countries must support one another in the spirit of the solidarity clause. The work devoted to realising the *Battle Group* concept and the *Long Term Vision* concept are other examples of this. In line with this thinking it is considered particularly important to stress the EU's ongoing endeavour to coordinate military and civilian resources for handling conflicts with an approach based on high effect. Cooperation is thus underway *de facto* although *de jure* it does not take place within a constitutional framework.

Two observable consequences for the ESDP of the fact that the treaty was not ratified are the unchanged pillar structure of the EU and that the proposal for a common"Foreign minister" was not realised. It is judged that the unchanged pillar structure might have the effect of limiting the effectiveness of work in the area of the ESDP and the lack of a common minister of foreign affairs probably impairs the union's possibilities of conveying one single approach to security and defence policy to the citizens of the member states and to the wider world. A concrete example of this is the ambivalent attitude towards China. From the viewpoint of trade policy the EU wishes to be able to export defence materiel to that country but from the viewpoint of security policy, on the other hand, China can become an antagonist, for instance, in the future struggle for energy resources.

During the coming 20-year period NATO will probably undergo both inner and outer changes. These are influenced by several factors. One such a factor is that the EU can take over a part of NATO's earlier responsibility by developing a common security and defence policy, including a common military capability. For this to happen in the near future the coordination of the various EU member states needs to be speeded up. In this respect it is possible that the EU rather than NATO to an increasing extent will be the most important security institution in Europe, even if NATO in all probability also in the future will be the most important military actor. However, it is considered unlikely that the EU will develop its own defence in the foreseeable future. A factor that on the other hand probably does influence NATO's development is the emergence of a new threat picture that includes terrorism and collapsing states. This may entail that NATO acquires, or is forced to assume, a more global role. Increased cooperation between the organisation and Australia is a sign of this. The future of NATO in the very long term is, however, uncertain. Marginalisation as a result of new security structures mainly in Europe as well as a greater role as the most important security instrument for handling global threats are possible paths of development.

The UN is today the most important actor that is able to justify the use of force in an international perspective in gear with world opinion. If the UN is to go on functioning as an organisation a comprehensive reform of the organisation is probably needed. The requirement for consensus for decisions in many of these questions related to change, for example, the removal of the right of veto in the Security Council, may, however, impede the reform of the organisation.

If the UN does not succeed in reforming its institutions there is a great danger that the organisation will be marginalised and chiefly become a forum for discussion without any real possibilities of influencing global developments. The legitimacy of the organisation will presumably be influenced by the extent to which it attains the so-called millennium goals, which include combating poverty and such diseases as HIV and malaria. The necessary conditions for reaching the set goals by 2015 are judged to be dependent on the organisation's internal work with reforms at the same time as this work is judged to be influenced in turn by how well these goals are attained.

The USA is judged during the period to continue to be a dominant political, military and economic factor at the global level. It is judged that there is no reason to presume that the USA will pursue an isolationist policy in future. Both American history and such phenomena as globalisation and the global war against terrorism indicate the opposite. Accordingly, the USA will probably continue in future to be involved in the wider world; above all, it is likely, to combat global activity threatening security, such as terrorism, and to try to retain its influence over world developments and in this respect, not least, over the supply of raw materials. The ultimate goal is presumably to preserve its economic prosperity and freedom of action as a nation. An important means of doing this is to disseminate American political, economic and cultural values to the wider world. The expected prime importance of Asia, and particularly of China and India, as powerful factors influencing the economy and the politics of security, indicates that future American foreign policy to a larger extent than today will be oriented towards this area. The USA's interest in cooperation with several states in Europe, both politically and economically, is, however, expected on the whole to remain unchanged. The relative weight given to different regions in American foreign policy may, however, vary over time.

The dominance of the USA can for a shorter or longer period come to be challenged by events partly in the wider world, partly in the USA. This may coincide with the fact that the USA is committed with military resources in another direction and that public opinion within the country is hesitant about new military involvements. In such a situation it is also possible that the USA will be challenged by other actors, which could create uncertainty regarding American intentions and military capability.

It is possible that competition over energy resources may arise between the USA, still dependent on the import of oil, and China, with ever greater energy needs. This, combined with greater American involvement in Asia, could result in antagonism between the USA and China. The increased interdependence of the American and the Chinese economies, among other things, through Chinese investments in US treasury bills, indicates that in most cases it might be common and mutual interests that will ultimately determine the outcome.

The USA is also expected to continue to allocate large resources to maintaining a strong military capability, even if its orientation may be influenced by the USA's involvement in the wider world. In addition the USA is presumed to maintain a powerful nuclear capability as a deterrent.

Russia is judged to continue to be an important actor in the Euro-Asian arena. Furthermore, it is judged also to continue to play a globally strategic role. This assessment is based on the country's size, its access to natural resources, primarily oil and gas, and the fact that it possesses nuclear weapons. Russia's development is, however, difficult to predict in a long term perspective, in which development towards an authoritarian society steered by a

preoccupation with security as well as a more democratic development are possible alternatives in a 20-year perspective. A disintegrating Russian Federation is a possibility that cannot be dismissed. Russia's ambition is presumably to continue to play a global role in the future. Russia will therefore probably attempt to increase its influence over world politics and not be wary of challenging the USA.

Russia's sphere of interest in respect of the politics of security is judged to continue to be mainly the territory of the former Soviet Union. This is also probably a potential source of antagonism to the EU. A Russian orientation towards cooperation with China can not be ruled out, however, and would signify a global challenge to the USA. In the sphere of foreign policy vicinity to the Caucuses and to Central Asia could cause Russia to suffer recurrent disturbances. This will presumably entail that security and stability in these regions are given high priority by the Russian leaders.

Russia is judged to retain its global nuclear capability. The risk of the spread to third parties of material and knowledge in the CBRN field remains unchanged. Russia's military capability can, in a favourable economic situation and where the military sector is given priority, come to include modern and qualified units. In the event of a less favourable economic development a low level of renewal of the armed forces may be expected. It is considered that an important indicator of the future analysis of Russia is how increased income from oil and gas is being used. Possibly the presidential election to be held in 2008 will be a further pointer to the priority given to the security sector on the one hand and necessary social and economic reforms on the other. The present regime appears to endeavour to give priority to the security sector, including the armed forces, and it has also used the country's energy resources as a means of gaining influence in world politics. There is much to indicate that the incoming regime will continue to pursue the established strategy.

China is becoming an increasingly important global actor. This assessment is based on estimations of the country's expected population and economic development. In future, China's endeavour to become a major power will presumably be reflected in a build-up of its military capability. It is judged that China will develop its military capability by acquiring more effective equipment. The recently commenced space programme with manned space flights is also tangible proof of Chinese ambitions. Politically, the regime is judged in the coming period to go on trying to balance democratic ambitions with the help of economic reforms. China's regional role is judged above all to be influenced by its relations with Japan and Taiwan. The USA is judged to go on being the most important opponent in matters of security politics.

China's development can be influenced negatively by a number of factors. One of these is the county's growing energy needs and its difficulties in satisfying them. This will probably influence the country's geopolitical orientation and actions in the global arena. China's economic development can also be endangered by HIV, corruption, weakness of the financial system, environmental problems, unemployment and social unrest. China's large dependence on exports means that the country will go on being dependent on the wider world and this will influence the country's ambitions and striving after influence in the global arena. If the economic development stagnates demands may be raised for further political reforms.

The danger of social instability exists mainly in west China where parts of the Tibetan and Uigurian population are struggling for independence. Growing differences between various regions and between urban areas and the countryside can result in social unrest and the

internal transfer of population. Rapid economic growth and the demand for the supply of energy has increased the exploitation of natural resources in China which in turn can give rise to shortage of water, air pollution, the ravaging of forests and erosion. This might influence economic growth at a later time. Nationalism is assumed to be still strong in China. Taiwan might continue to be the most important stumbling-block in relations with the west.

India is judged to become an important global actor in the 20-year perspective. This assessment is based, exactly as in the case of China, on estimates of the country's future population and economic development. India is judged to continue to be a well-functioning democracy and market economy in the years ahead. India will presumably look for different partners for cooperation to balance developments in China. The development of its military capability will probably be influenced primarily by its relations with Pakistan and India's ambitions in above all the Asiatic arena but gradually also at the global level.

Despite great economic progress during the period certain Indian regions are expected to be underdeveloped also by 2025. Other possible Indian problems are that the proportion of the population with HIV is expected to increase as well antagonism between different groups in Indian society. India might also encounter resource problems with respect to land, water and energy partly due to strong population growth. This, too, will influence the country's ambitions, first of all in the Asian arena, but later also at the global level.

3.2 Development of relations between certain actors

A new world order with several important actors appears to be emerging. Whereas the previous order was based primarily on an armaments race, related to ideological antagonisms, it appears that the new world order might primarily be based on economic and political competition and on relationships of mutual dependence. The new structure is more diffuse when viewed in a number of power perspectives, mainly in the political, economic and ideological dimensions. This does not mean that the different "poles" in the system have the same relative strength in each single dimension that makes up the system. Instead each actor will use the means at their disposal in each individual situation in order to try to increase their influence. The USA is judged to continue to be the dominant actor in each of these dimensions. To be dominant is however, not the same as being the sole actor, the hegemon. In the political sphere the five permanent members of the UN Security Council may acquire the company of additional states.

Various assessments indicate that China might overtake the USA economically about 2040. Militarily the USA will be the most clearly dominant country at the global level but might be challenged both within individual regions and simultaneously in several regions. The challenges come not only from the other global actors but also from emerging regional major powers and regional associations. It is thus not a matter of a unipolar system other than in a strictly military sense. The military resources of the USA are, when all is said and done, limited. This circumstance can be utilised by one or several actors on the regional plane to "marginalise" the USA's dominance on the global plane. A new form of "marginal doctrine" thus appears to be possible.

The different global actors' mutual relations permit in themselves a large number of possible outcomes. Some possible developments are outlined below.

The EU and The USA are judged to continue in a relation of economic and cultural dependence and cooperation. The EU is expected to strive to attain an effective and balanced partnership with the USA. Part of this is the build-up of its own military capacity. There can be a clash of interests in how the EU and the USA view the role of NATO as a European security instrument. However, for both the USA and the EU the **transatlantic link** is judged to be fundamental also in the future. As far as the USA is concerned, military and political partners for cooperation are becoming increasingly important as it may be presumed that the USA would have difficulties in meeting several regional challenges at the same time. As far as Europe is concerned it is likely that dependence on the American defence industry will remain unaltered. From the perspective of the politics of security the USA's interest in Europe might diminish in favour of Asia. This may entail that the European states to an increasing degree will be thrown upon their own military resources. In addition increased European military capability may come into focus both to vitalise the transatlantic link, *burden-sharing*, and to constitute an alternative to American influence.

Russia will probably be an important regional actor exercising influence on the European continent partly through the country's size and its possession of nuclear weapons. Russia will in all probability remain as an important supplier of energy to the EU. An enlargement of the EU and /or NATO to encompass additional states from the former Soviet Union could potentially result in antagonisms.

Economic dependence between the USA and China is judged to continue to bridge over the opposed political interests that may exist. The Taiwan issue is probably the largest threat but energy policy, too, can result in a clash between the two states.

3.3 Conclusions from the actor-related possibilities.

The following conclusions are regarded as the most significant connected with the actor-related perspective:

- The trend is that relative power strengths in the future global system will be more diffuse. The USA will, nevertheless, be the militarily dominant actor.
- The system might be characterised by economic and political competition and mutual dependencies. Competition in one respect, however, does not rule out cooperation in another.

A shift in the centre of gravity, whereby Asia increases in importance and Europe decreases, is possible. The European states might to an increasing extent be dependent on their own military resources. This would apply even if the transatlantic link continues to be of vital interest to most of those involved.

4. Regional development possibilities[7]

Regional development possibilities can be described both on the basis of the continent to which they belong and how far the regional cooperation has progressed. In the latter perspective a distinction is made between security communities, security regimes and conflict formations.

The regions that have developed most have attained a security community. In these the internal regional conflicts, if they exist at all, are of low intensity. This applies to possible conflicts both within and between states. The regions and the states within them possess the mechanisms required for handling conflicts that might have arisen. As this is done solely by political means the total military capacities of the region can be directed towards conflict handling outside its own complex.

Regions that have developed to become at least a security regime are judged to possess the mechanisms necessary to be able by themselves to handle conflicts within and between states that arise within their own complex. These regions are also judged to have some power to be able to act outside their own complex. Regions that are still conflict formations lack as a rule external power and are virtually wholly focussed on the conflicts within and between states that may arise within their own complex. Today's world can be divided into fully ten regional security complexes. On the African continent **North Africa**, **West Africa** and Southern Africa are judged to be so-called security regimes whereas **Central Africa** and **East Africa** (KF) are judged to be so-called conflict formations.

The American continent is judged to be able to be divided into **Northern America** and Southern America. The northern part is considered to comprise the sub-complexes North America, Central America and the Caribbean (of which the former is seen as being a security community and the latter a security regime). The southern part is considered to comprise the sub-complexes of the Northern Andes and South-Eastern South America, the former a conflict formation and the latter a security community.

The Euro-Asian continent is considered to comprise Western Europe with the sub-complex of the Balkans and *Post-Soviet countries* with the sub-complexes Central Asia, the Caucuses and Eastern Europe. The main part of Western Europe is considered to be a security community whereas the Balkans and Eastern Europe are considered to be security regimes and other parts conflict formations.

West Oceania finally is considered to be a security regime comprising the presumptive sub-complexes Polynesia, Melanesia and Micronesia.

The prerequisites for the different regions to have influence outside their own regions are, of course, associated with economy. Even if the political will exists perhaps the economic

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[7] The theoretical background has been taken from Buzan, B and Weaver, O. (2003) *Regions and Powers - The Structure of International Security*, Cambridge, University Press. The empirical material has primarily been taken from "Länder i Fickformat" (Countries in pocket size) published by the Swedish Institute of International Affairs and the reports on individual countries, startegies for countries and regions and reports on human rights published by the Swedish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The argument is based additionally on analysis of the results of commissioned research ordered and financed by the Armed Forces. Examples of these regional in-depth studies are *Europeiska Unionen och Balkanländerna på 20 års sikt* (*The European Union and the Balkan countries 20 years ahead*) by Niklas Eklund, University of Umeå.

capability does not. On the other hand the home region, although weak in a global context, is perhaps strong in a continental one. In the same way as it is possible to speak of strong and weak states it is thus possible to speak of strong and weak regions.

It should be stressed that regional development is not judged to be linear or deterministic either. Even if developments in many regions around the world today show signs of increased cooperation this may change. Different thematic developments influence from the global actors and, not least, the internal development in the different states may well signify, for example, a return to development centred on the state. Since the division into complexes and sub-complexes is not static the present division will in all probability be different in 10 – 20 years time. What is most likely is that those regions that are now conflict formations will be transformed in one way or another.

4.1 Developments in Asia

Certain of today's regions will be reshaped due to changes at the global level. Among those to which this applies are the two sub-complexes *Central Asia* and *the Caucuses* where, above all, the USA has advanced its position mainly at Russia's expense. In the case of central Asia, China is also involved. The question is whether the global actors will allow these sub-complexes to be broken off the *Post-Soviet States* to approach instead, for example, *South Asia* or the *Middle East.* In the former case consideration should be given, for example, to the growing strength of the regional major power, India.

The conflict formations in *North Eastern Asia* and *South Asia* are judged to consist of states with military capacities which in most cases exceed what the European states and the EU are capable of sending into these regions. At the same time China's and India's capacities entail that these conflict formations are more stable than the formations consisting of weaker states. Despite this, these regions are judged to consist of states that have a will to change the current situation. This may result in extensive inter-state conflicts.

The *Middle East* might be characterised by extensive unemployment as well as ongoing politicised religiosity and weak societal structures. At the same time the region has great natural resources. The importance of the Middle East for the world economy and its considerable potential for conflict in political, social, religious and ethnic respects makes the region an increasingly important factor to consider in the formulation of security policy not only for the USA but also for the EU and China.

The security regime in *Southern East Asia* is judged to be not yet stable. Ethnically heterogeneous states, under pressure from Islam and China, might disintegrate in the next 10-20 years. It is, however, more a question of separatism within states in first of all Indonesia, the Philippines and Burma than of inter-state conflicts. As the strategically highly important seaways between the Indian Ocean and the Pacific cross the region the USA's interests in the area are presumably constant. If Sweden, despite expectations, is involved in some form of large-scale conflict management in one or some of these Asian regions this might take place under US leadership.

4.2 Development in Africa

What may be more relevant as far as Sweden is concerned is the possible transformation of the African complexes. Here the EU might assume the role of leading global actor even if the USA of course has certain interests, not least, economic , connected to strategic raw materials.

China, too, is expected to attempt to move its position forward on this continent whereas Russia is no longer regarded as playing the part this country did in the 70s and 80s. In 10-20 years time it is conceivable that the two complexes *Central Africa* and *East Africa*, if they have not ceased to exist, will at least have been thoroughly transformed. It is considered very doubtful whether *Central Africa* will remain as a complex of its own. Already now there appears to exist fierce lines of conflict in this region principally between the regional major power Nigeria and *West Africa* on the one hand and the regional power South Africa and *Southern Africa* on the other. The states forming part of the central African complex are considered not to have the power to resist penetration from without. Here it is a matter of so-called *hostile take-over*. As regards *East Africa* restructuring appears to be close at hand where the new power centre is formed by Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda. Depending on Egypt's choice of course at least Sudan may become oriented more towards *North Africa*. What may remain are disintegrating states on the Horn.

Also as regards the regions that are considered to be security regimes a transformation may not be ruled out. It is judged that it is still too early to decide the development in *North Africa*. At present the region appears to be aiming at cooperation with the EU. There is a possibility, for example, that *North Africa* might form a super complex with *Western Europe* around the Mediterranean. At present, however, North Africa is judged to be still strongly connected to the development of security politics in the Middle east. This is due, not least, to ethnic and religious circumstances.

It may appear to be bold to point out *West Africa* as being a security regime when the region is suffering from a large number of conflicts within states and between states. Nevertheless, the assessment is that these conflicts will have stabilised and be under control within the next 10-20 years which might entail that the region moves its position forward under Nigeria's leadership. A Muslim-African complex can not be ruled out.

If Central Africa, despite expectations, succeeds in developing into a regional complex it could develop in an area of inter-regional conflict. The same applies to the development of *Southern Africa* under the leadership of South Africa. In this case, too, the expansion of this complex is judged to take place first of all at the expense of *Central Africa*. At the end of the 20-year period it is possible that one or several large inter-regional conflicts might arise in, above all, the central parts of the continent. In this context the vacuum that AIDS leaves behind may be presumed to come into play. One or some of the states, alternatively regions, may quite simply be tempted to fill the vacuum at the expense of one or more disintegrating states.

4.3 Developments in America

The security regimes in the North American complex, that is, the sub-complex *Central America* and the *Caribbean* are judged to remain in the USA's closest sphere of interest. [8] Exactly where the border will be between the "Franglo-American" and the Latin-American spheres will be is, however, difficult to predict. If *Southeast America* continues to develop towards a security community it is likely that the "confrontation line" between the two complexes will be peaceful. However, the fact that Sweden and the EU from the point of view of security policy have an interest this part of the world due to organised crime and the trade in drugs cannot be disregarded. Changes may also occur due to reduced presence of members

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[8] The definition refers to the English –French-Dutch cultural sphere

of the global level. The **Northern Andes** are judged to be a conflict formation where the USA's focus on The *War on terror* instead of the (*War on drugs*) has resulted in the regional major power Brazil and **Southeast South America** having moved their positions forward.

4.4 Developments in Europe

The sub-complex **Eastern Europe** is also faced with a transformation where the choice of path appears to be in the first place between the EU and Russia but the USA with or without NATO can be an attractive alternative, at least in matters purely of defence policy. The transformation of this region might affect Sweden directly. The polarity in the **Balkans** has for centuries balanced between on the one hand the west-oriented, mainly Catholic areas in the north and the pan Slavic orthodox areas in the south. The states in the region have no mechanisms of their own to manage conflicts among themselves, which makes the entire region a conflict formation. However, these states have approached the EU and the mechanisms that the union contributes. Important questions, both for the EU and for the individual candidate country to answer before possible membership is whether membership, is desirable or not and whether it is necessary or not. The development of the Balkans will presumably decide if it is the desirability and/or the necessity that finally results in an enlargement of the union to include this region. A negative development within the EU might in its turn result in an enlargement being neither desirable nor necessary.

The assessment is that Russia's influence on events in the Balkans is already limited today and will diminish increasingly in favour of the EU. Developments in Eastern Europe are, however, not equally unproblematic. Here Russian interests appear to be stronger at the same time as the country has more means at its disposal to guard them. Western Europe's increasing dependence on Russian deliveries of energy is an example of how Eastern Europe might very well be the object of a growing trial of strength between Russia and the EU.

4.5 Developments in Oceania

Oceania, finally, is judged to be in a good position to grow as a complex along a peaceful path. The tensions which exist between the main ethnic groups may be presumed, if the worst come to the worst, to require resources from Australia, New Zealand and perhaps also the USA, which at the same time might be needed in other contexts. As far as Sweden is concerned this can entail increased demands to fill a possible vacuum in EU's immediate surroundings (which, for example, Australian units leave behind in order to fill a need in their own immediate surroundings) at the expense of participation in international global operations.

4.6 Conclusions related to regional possibilities

Parallel with globalisation increased regionalisation is taking place. This may have its origins in religious, ethnic, social, economic and/or geographical conditions. The cooperation established on these foundations might gradually also include security cooperation. The growing feeling of "regional affiliation" means that on the regional plane, too, more "actors" may develop, corresponding to the western European region's EU. The pace of regional development varies greatly, however, around the world and is determined by political, economic and societal factors. The following conclusions are considered to be the most important ones related to the regional perspective:

- Regional associations are judged to go on playing a major role in the 10-20 years ahead. Regional integration is judged to continue on all continents. *Most states could be integrated* in one or several regional associations.

- Regional major powers and/or associations could, in varying degree, *challenge the global actors* at the regional level.

- Today's regional *structures will probably change*. Where this happen complex conflicts can not be ruled out. The danger of this happening is judged to be especially great in central Africa, East Africa and Central Asia.

5. Summary of global tendencies

Globalisation is expected to continue as a mega trend. Various thematic developments entail that security threats are increasingly trans-national in character. This entails that the importance of the geographical dimension (the national territory) decreases. The new world order could be characterised by a diffuse distribution of power where the global *actors* engage in economic and political competition as well as in mutual dependencies. At the same time the non-state actors' role in the global system is judged to increase in importance. *Regional* integration around the world is judged to continue. In varying degree, regions (organisations and/or major powers) will, challenge the global actors in their respective regional context. The regional level may thus increase in importance. The arguments in this chapter lead to the following conclusions:

- The *nation state is challenged* by globalisation and regionalisation as well as by non-state actors' growing influence. It is therefore important that the state defines the interests and goals underlying its security policy.

- Interdependencies may mean that states increasingly seek cooperation in order to promote their interests and goals. This combined with the often trans-national character of future challenges entails additionally increased *focus on common security*. it may be presumed that it will be very difficult for an individual state to safeguard its interests by itself alone in a context where other states are in cooperation.

- The borderlines between the roles of military and other security policy instruments are becoming increasingly indistinct. Globalisation and the trans national character of many phenomena result in several sectors of society being affected by the same security problem. *Security is thus a holistic concept* requiring a multifunctional approach that is also based on high effect. There are no purely military solutions to the crises and conflicts of the future.

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Johan ASKERLUND (Chapter 9) is currently working as an analyst at the unit for Strategic Analysis within the Plans and Policy department of the Supreme Commander's Staff. Since July 2007 he is the manager of the project on long term analysis of the global context within the Swedish Armed Forces. Before that, from 2005 until 2006, he worked at the International Department at the Swedish Armed Force's Headquarters. At Uppsala University Askerlund majored in Russian security and defence policy. He also pursued studies within the area of the development of the European Union.

Ilaria BOTTIGLIERO (Chapter 7) has a Diplôme d'Études Supérieures (The Graduate Institute of International Studies, Geneva), is a PhD in International Law (The Graduate Institute of International Studies, Geneva), and a Lecturer and Researcher at the Raoul Wallenberg Institute of Human Rights and Humanitarian Law in Lund, Sweden where she conducts research and training both locally and abroad. She teaches Humanitarian Law as well as a number of international law courses at the Lund University Faculty of Law. Bottigliero was also Visiting Lecturer at the Riga Graduate School of Law (Latvia) and from 2001 to 2005, she was Lecturer at the Chinese University of Hong Kong and at the University of Hong Kong Faculty of Law. She is the author of two books, "Redress for Victims of Crimes under International Law" (Martinus Nijhoff, 2004) and "120 Million Landmines Deployed Worldwide: Fact or Fiction?" (Pen & Sword Books, 2000) as well as of several scholarly articles and book sections. Bottigliero has actively followed the process of establishment of the International Criminal Court through its various phases. For the past five years she has acted as Independent Expert on Victims' Rights and Women's Issues for 'Forum Asia' and the 'Coalition for the International Criminal Court' (CICC). In this capacity, she has lectured extensively in Europe as well as in Asia.

Håkan EDSTRÖM (Chapter 1 & 9) is a lieutenant colonel in the Swedish Army and holds a PhD in political science from Umeå University. He entered military service in 1982 and ended (temporarily?) his troop career in 1997 as the commanding officer of a signal battalion. From 1997 until 2003 Edström wrote on his doctoral thesis (on strategic doctrinal developments in Sweden, Norway and Finland during the 1990s) and worked as teacher in strategy at the Swedish National Defence College. In 2003 and 2004 (as Chief J5 at the Northern Military Command) he led and participated in several projects related to development of conceptual frameworks and doctrines within the Swedish Armed Forces. Edström was the officer in command of the project on long term analysis of the global context at the unit for Strategic Analysis within the Plans and Policy department of the Supreme Commander's Staff from 2005 until June 2007. He currently works as teacher and researcher at the Norwegian National Defence & Staff College in Oslo. His main academic field is within security politics and strategic studies. Most of his work has been classified for internal use within the government and not official published.

Daniel K. JONSSON (Chapter 8) is Ph.D. in Infrastructure, M.Sc. in Engineering Physics, and Senior Scientist at the Swedish Defence Research Agency. He has wide experience in inter-disciplinary research and future-oriented studies with socio-technical approaches. With the Environmental Strategies Research Group (1998-2000, 2002-2005), which was a co-operation between the Swedish Defence Research Agency, the Royal Institute of Technology and the Systems Ecology division at Stockholm University, he participated in research projects on infra system change, sustainable transport scenarios and strategic environmental assessments. During 2001, Jonsson was an information security consultant at AU-System AB. Today he is a project leader at the Swedish Defence Research Agency, at the division of Defence Analysis, in the area of Energy and Environmental Security. Jonsson also holds a

part-time position at the division of Urban Planning and Environment, at the Royal Institute of Technology.

Göran KINDVALL (Chapter 9) is Licentiate of Engineering in Atomic and Molecular Physics, M.Sc. in Engineering Physics, Senior Defence Analyst and Area Manager Defence at the Swedish Defence Research Agency. He has also studied political science, history of ideas and economic history. He joined FOA (FOI´s predecessor) in 1989 as an operational analyst and has spent several periods in various secondments to staffs within the Swedish Armed Forces HQ. These include the Army Staff, the Long Term Planning Department and the Electronic Warfare section. Kindvall has also been seconded to the Defence Materiel Administration as an operational analyst. His main focuses have been long term planning, technology assessment on tactical and higher levels and exploration of new concepts. He is experienced in areas such as overall study methodology, scenarios, war gaming and problem structuring methods. He is also an experienced project manager. From 2004 to 2007 he was project manager for the FoRMA-project.

Anícia LALÁ (Chapter 3) is currently a PhD student in Peace Studies at the University of Bradford, UK. She was formerly employed by the Ministry of Defence of Mozambique and held a lecturing position in Conflict and Peace Studies at the Higher Institute of International Relations. Subsequently she worked as Deputy Director for Africa at the Global Facilitation Network for Security Sector Reform and has been an active member of the African Security Sector Network. Her main research focus has been on Democratisation and Security Sector Reform in post-armed conflict situations.

Sven F. LOHMANDER (Chapter 8) is PhD in Chemical Engineering and senior scientist at the Swedish Defence Research Agency (FOI) since 2001. He was previously employed at the Swedish Pulp and Paper Research Institute, primarily dealing with flow mechanics. During his time at FOI, he was initially assigned to the Joint Forces Command at the Headquarters, dealing with military command and control. The work included doctrine development, operational planning and C4ISTAR-computer simulations. In time, Lohmander has gradually moved from the military area to activities in the civilian domain. The work in later years includes areas such as energy-, air- and food security.

Sérgio MATE (Chapter 3) is a Mozambican researcher and diplomat, with research and field experience in the areas of peace and development studies with special focus on conflict resolution, post-conflict transition; development co-operation, aid effectiveness. He has served in the Burundi Facilitation team from 1998 to 2000 for the negotiations, which resulted in the Burundi Comprehensive Peace Agreement. He is currently attached to the Mozambican Mission to the European Union in Brussels.

Anders NILSSON (Chapter 3) holds a PhD and is a Senior lecturer and Director of Studies in Peace and Development, Växjö University, Sweden. He has an extensive experience from research fieldwork in war-zones in southern Africa, and consultancies on behalf of international development co-operation organizations. Nilsson´s research focus is the role and function of international development co-operation in conflict resolution processes. His publications and reporting includes *Peace in Our Time* (Padrigu), *Mozambique – the Troubled Transition* (Zed Books) /with Hans Abrahamsson/, as well as co-authored *A Strategic Conflict Analysis for the Great Lakes region* (Sida), and *National Governance and Local Chieftaincy. A Multi-level Power Assessment of Mozambique* (Sida) /with Gunilla Åkeson/.

Ann-Sofi RÖNNBÄCK (Chapter 5) holds a Licentiate in Political Science. She is a Lecture in Political Science and Peace & Conflict Studies at the Department of Political Science, Umeå University. She has made various researches within the field of international political economy, with special focus on the importance of economic development for the risk of violent conflict. Her other research interests are the significance of changes in global economy, global governance within international economic institutions, regional economic co-operation and state-market relations. Rönnbäck's publications are within these areas.

Olof STJERSTRÖM (Chapter 4) holds a Ph D and is a Senior Lecturer at the Department of Social and Economic Geography, Umeå University. His main Research are migration in relation to geographical and social constrains, planning and planning systems, social vulnerability, and political geography. His doctoral thesis concerned migration destinations and the importance of social network. Among his recent publications, which include several books and articles, are "Theory and migration. Towards a framework of migration and human actions. (Cybergeo: Revue européenne de géographie, No 254, 03/02/2004) and " Use of Questionnaires and an Expert Panel to judge environmental consequences of chemical spills for the development of Environment-Accident Index." (Journal of Environmental Management 75 (247-261) 2005).

Malin Eklund WIMELIUS (Chapter 6) holds a Ph. D. in Political Science. She is a Senior Lecturer and teaches Political Science and Peace & Conflict Studies at the Department of Political Science, Umeå University. Her dissertation was an analysis of Islamist ideas on and visions of the Islamic state. Apart from Islamism her research interests also include the spread of and resistance to international norms; the relationship between democracy and freedom of religion; the construction of identities and cultures and their role in conflict. Recent publications include: "Globalization, Europeanization and Administrative Reform" (together with Niklas Eklund) in Eklund, N. and Killian, J (eds.). *Handbook of Administrative Reform: An International Perspective*, New York: Taylor & Francis (to be published in spring 2008); "Islamiska stater" in Hagevi, M. (ed.) *Religion och Politik,* Stockholm: Liber (2005); *On Islamism and modernity – Analysing Islamist ideas on and visions of the Islamic state*, Department of Political Science, Umeå University (2003).

Mike WINNERSTIG (Chapter 2) is a deputy director of research at the Division of Defence Analys, FOI, and also area manager (government offices customers) at the same division. He holds a BA, a licentiate degree and a PhD in political science from Stockholm University. Before joining FOI he worked as a researcher at the department of political science, Stockholm University. He has also been a research fellow at the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard University. In the 1990s, he also worked as a researcher at the Swedish Institute of International Affairs, and held guest research positions at the Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, Germany, and the Centre of Defence Studies, Aberdeen University, Scotland. Winnerstig has published several books and articles primarily in the fields of US security and defence policy, NATO and international relations theory.

Åke WISS (Chapter 9) holds a M.Sc. in physics from the University of Stockholm. He has also studied philosophy at University of Stockholm and theology at University of Uppsala. In 1987 Wiss joined FOA (FOI's predecessor) as an operational analyst, and during the following ten years he seconded to various staffs within the Swedish Armed Forces, including the Headquarters. His main activities have been within the broad areas of long-term planning, force requirements, economic issues, and methodology. Wiss is well experienced in scenario and war gaming methodologies, problem structuring, overall study methodology, modelling

and simulation (M&S), and cost-efficiency analysis. Since 2004 he is the FOI-coordinator for studies about future trends and developments in support for the Swedish Armed Forces long term planning.