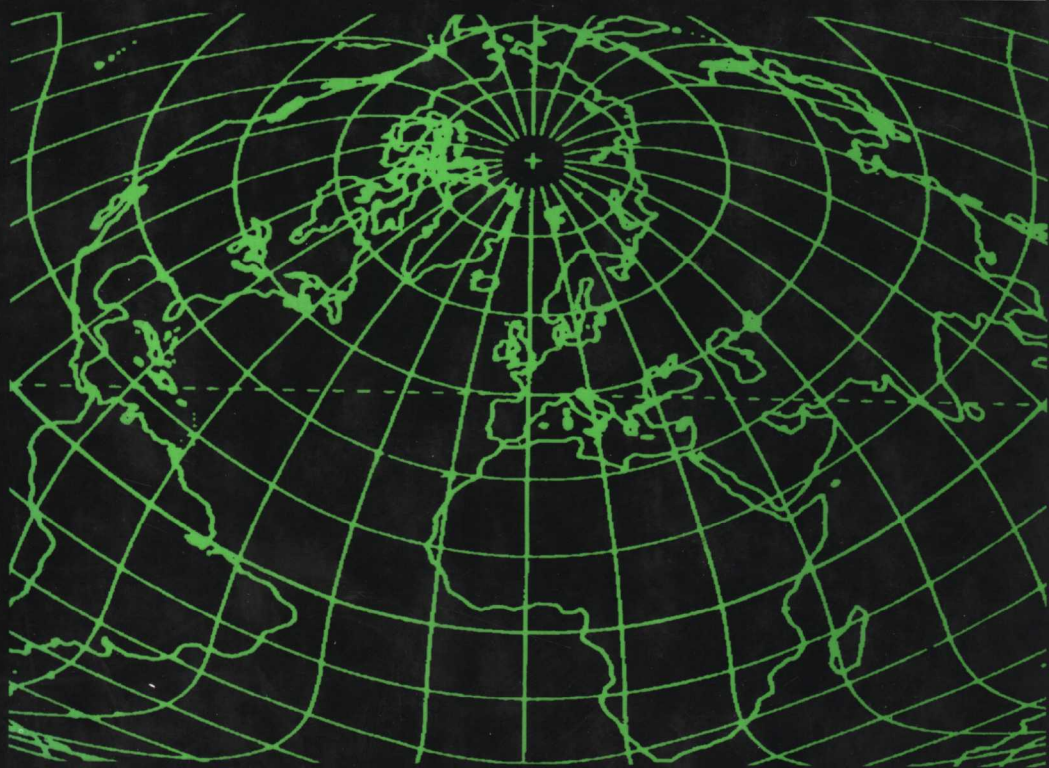


SECOND EDITION

WORLD SECURITY

CHALLENGES FOR A NEW CENTURY



Michael T. Klare
Daniel C. Thomas

World Security

**CHALLENGES FOR A
NEW CENTURY**

SECOND EDITION

*A Project of the Five College Program
in Peace and World Security Studies*

Michael T. Klare

HAMPSHIRE COLLEGE

Daniel C. Thomas

CORNELL UNIVERSITY

**ST. MARTIN'S PRESS
NEW YORK**

Senior editor: Don Reisman
Manager, publishing services: Emily Berleth
Project management: Omega Publishing Services, Inc.
Art director: Sheree Goodman
Cover design: Glen Ruga/Visual Communications

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 92-62747

Copyright © 1994 by St. Martin's Press, Inc.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted by any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise, except as may be expressly permitted by the applicable copyright statutes or in writing by the Publisher.

Manufactured in the United States of America.

87654

fedcba

For information, write:
St. Martin's Press, Inc.
175 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10010

ISBN: 0-312-08584-2 (paper)
0-312-10265-8 (cloth)

Acknowledgments

It is a violation of the law to reproduce these selections by any means whatsoever without the written permission of the copyright holder.

An earlier version of Jessica Tuchman Mathews's chapter, "The Environment and International Security," appeared in *Foreign Affairs*, Spring 1989, Volume 68, Issue 2. Copyright 1989 by the Council on Foreign Affairs, Inc.

Portions of Thomas Homer-Dixon's chapter, "Environmental Scarcity and Intergroup Conflict," originally appeared in Thomas F. Homer-Dixon's "On the Threshold: Environmental Changes as Causes of Acute Conflict," *International Security*, Volume 16, Number 2 (Fall 1991), pp. 76-116. Reprinted by permission of the MIT Press.

Preface

We began work on the first edition of *World Security* in 1989, when it first became evident that the world was entering a period of systemic transformation. Our goal then was to provide college students and general readers with an introduction to what we believed would be the critical world security problems of the 1990s. Fortunately, we were able to revise the manuscript in late 1990, enabling us to refer to such key developments as the fall of the Berlin Wall and the onset of the Persian Gulf conflict. Nevertheless, earth-shattering events have continued to occur at breathtaking speed, and so, even as the first edition began to appear in bookstores, we knew that we would want to start work on a new edition—one that would be better positioned to analyze the sweeping changes of the post-Cold War era. This book is the result of that endeavor.

In preparing the second edition of *World Security*, we sought to go beyond a mere updating of the essays in the first edition—we sought to illuminate the emerging contours of the post-Cold War world and to consider how the global changes now under way will affect world security in the twenty-first century. Thus, we decided to delete some essays from the first edition on topics that we no longer consider crucial (for example, the U.S.-Soviet military competition in space), and to add new chapters on themes that now appear more pressing (such as regional conflict, violence against women, and global demographic change). The result, then, is an entirely new book—one that should remain salient for years to come.

Although the book is composed of a series of separate essays by different authors, it is designed as a comprehensive overview of the world security *problématique* of the 1990s. Thus, we begin with four essays (those by Seyom Brown, Daniel Nelson, Terry Karl and Philippe Schmitter, and Michael McFaul) on the broad political and social contours of the emerging international system. We then cover what we see as the critical world security issues of the post-Cold War era: nuclear proliferation, conventional arms trafficking, ethnic and regional conflict, Third World militarism, international human rights, violence against women, environmental degradation, demographic change, persistent underdevelopment, and world hunger.

In discussing these perils, each author was asked to provide a status report on the problem as it exists today, to speculate on the likely evolution of the problem in the years ahead, and to offer concrete suggestions for how these problems might be resolved or ameliorated by the international community. Not all of the resulting essays fit this model exactly, but they all provide the reader with a rigorous introduction to one of the critical world security issues of the post-Cold War era.

All of our authors naturally harbor their own views on the status of these various issues, and on how they can best be addressed; all of us, however, share a belief in the need for *global solutions* to what we see as *global problems*. This insistence on a globalist approach to the solution of international problems is encapsulated in the term *world security*, meaning the safety and well-being of all the world's nations and peoples. While we recognize that many people will continue to look to the nation-state to provide security against global perils, we believe that such nation-level efforts will not succeed unless supplemented by cooperative action at the international level. For this reason, we conclude the book with a discussion by Robert Johansen on the types of norms, treaties, and institutions that will be needed to devise and implement a cooperative agenda for the pursuit of world security in the twenty-first century.

By looking forward to the next century, we also hope to stimulate readers to devise new and innovative solutions to world problems. As suggested by the book's subtitle, "Challenges for a New Century," we expect that all of the perils addressed in this book will persist in some form well into the twenty-first century. We thus see a need both for the continuous improvement of remedies already at our disposal and for the development of new solutions. Some of this work can be done by the leaders and scholars of today, but much will of necessity be passed on to the leaders and scholars of tomorrow. It is our fervent hope that the student readers of this book will be ready to accept this challenge when they assume positions of responsibility in the years ahead.

At every stage in the production of this book, we relied on the advice and assistance of others—far more than we can thank properly here. Most important, of course, are the twenty-two individuals who wrote or coauthored the essays that appear in the book. All of these people are very busy, with multiple demands on their time, and we are truly grateful that they agreed to contribute an essay to this volume. We are confident that their efforts will be rewarded through the constructive impact of this book on its readers.

Next, we wish to express our appreciation for the advice and assistance provided by our colleagues and coworkers at the Five Colleges. Particular recognition is due to the Steering Committee of the Five College Program in Peace and World Security Studies (PAWSS), under whose auspices this volume was produced: Pavel Machala, William Taubman, and Ronald Tiersky of Amherst College; Elizabeth Hartmann and Allan Krass of Hampshire College; Asoka Bondarage and Vincent Ferraro of Mount Holyoke College; Deborah Lubar, Thomas Riddell, and Susan Peterson of Smith College; and James Der Derian, Eric Einhorn, George Levinger, and Mary Wilson of the University of Massachusetts. Special thanks are also due to Adi Bemak and Linda Harris of the PAWSS staff, and to Lorna Peterson and her colleagues at the Five College Center. Without the help and guidance of these people, we could never have completed a project as complex and demanding as this volume.

Daniel Thomas also wishes to acknowledge the helpful suggestions of his colleagues at Cornell University's Peace Studies Program and Stanford University's Center for International Security and Arms Control, where he resided during the editing of this book.

As with the first edition, we received outstanding cooperation from the fine people at St. Martin's Press, and we wish to acknowledge their support. For offering comments to St. Martin's about the book in its various stages of development, we wish to thank Simon Duke, Pennsylvania State University; Roger Hamburg, Indiana University—South Bend; Bradley S. Klein, Trinity College; Philip A. Schrodt, The University of Kansas; and Mohamed M. Wader, Portland State University.

Finally, and most important, we wish to thank our editor, Don Reisman, and his associate, Frances Jones, for their critical role in bringing this project to fruition.

Michael T. Klare and Daniel C. Thomas
Amherst, Mass.

Contents

Introduction: Thinking about World Security 1

1 / World Interests and the Changing Dimensions of
Security SEYOM BROWN 10

2 / Great Powers and World Peace
DANIEL N. NELSON 27

3 / Democratization around the Globe: Opportunities and
Risks TERRY LYNN KARL AND PHILLIPE C. SCHMITTER 43

4 / The Dynamics of Revolutionary Change in Russia and
the Former Soviet Union MICHAEL McFAUL 63

5 / The Second Nuclear Era: Nuclear Weapons in a
Transformed World ALLAN S. KRASS 85

6 / Nuclear Proliferation and Nonproliferation Policy in
the 1990s ZACHARY S. DAVIS 106

7 / Adding Fuel to the Fires: The Conventional Arms
Trade in the 1990s MICHAEL T. KLARE 134

8 / Regional Conflicts in the Post-Cold War Era:
Causes, Dynamics, and Modes of Resolution
LOUIS KRIESBERG 155

9 / Ethnic and Nationalist Conflict
DONALD L. HOROWITZ 175

10 / Maintaining International Peace and Security: UN
Peacekeeping and Peacemaking MARGARET P. KARNS
AND KAREN A. MINGST 188

11 / Demilitarizing the Third World NICOLE BALL 216

12 / International Human Rights after the Cold War	
JACK DONNELLY	236
13 / Global Violence against Women: The Challenge to Human Rights and Development	CHARLOTTE BUNCH AND ROXANNA CARRILLO
	256
14 / The Environment and International Security	
JESSICA TUCHMAN MATHEWS	274
15 / Environmental Scarcity and Intergroup Conflict	
THOMAS HOMER-DIXON	290
16 / Demographic Change and Ecological Insecurity	
DENNIS PIRAGES	314
17 / Global Debt and Third World Development	
VINCENT FERRARO AND MELISSA ROSSER	332
18 / World Hunger: A Scarcity of Food or a Scarcity of Democracy?	JOSEPH COLLINS
	356
19 / Building World Security: The Need for Strengthened International Institutions	ROBERT C. JOHANSEN
	372
Index	398
About the Contributors	406

Introduction: Thinking about World Security

Three and one-half years after the fall of the Berlin Wall, the new security challenges of the post-Cold War era are gradually coming into focus. As Warren Christopher remarked upon his appointment as secretary of state, the United States and the world face a diverse, and often unfamiliar, set of security concerns:

While the risk of nuclear threat has diminished, the new era has produced a new set of dangers—ethnic and religious conflicts threaten to ignite widespread hostilities in Central and Eastern Europe. Weapons of mass destruction may reach the hands of untested and unstable powers, and new threats spring from old rivalries in the Middle East, in Europe, and in Asia. At the same time, we face a world where borders matter less and less, a world that demands we join with other nations to face challenges that range from overpopulation to AIDS, to the very destruction of our planet's life support system.¹

Other recent surveys of the global security environment, including the declaration of the United Nation's first-ever summit of the heads of the member states of the Security Council, have identified a similar range of global problems.²

In order to respond appropriately to these new security challenges, we must do more than add new issues to the global agenda: we must change how we *think* about the nature and pursuit of security. Fortunately, this reconceptualization is already underway: citizens and policymakers alike are beginning to question whether traditional concepts of national interests and national security are appropriate to the political, economic, technological, and environmental challenges of the twenty-first century.

This book is designed to contribute to this discussion by introducing the concept of "world security" and the global agenda that springs from it. Our purpose in articulating a *world security* concept is not to suggest that citizens or policymakers should (or will) cease to be concerned about the security of their own country. We do hope, however, to stimulate a fundamental rethinking of the nature and the goals of human security, involving a recognition of the need to link national security to the well-being of the world at large. Other contributors to this volume may not accept every proposition advanced in this essay, and they often differ with one

another on key points of policy. Taken together, however, their essays provide a comprehensive introduction to “world security” thinking.

In this essay, we draw an especially sharp distinction between the concept of “national security” and that of “world security.” Before discussing these individual concepts, however, we must clarify the nature of security concepts in general. Such concepts are neither causal theories—that is, theories that seek to explain particular outcomes in terms of particular causes—nor statements of fact. Although they rely on theoretical premises, and reflect observations of empirical facts, such concepts function as general organizing principles that policymakers and citizens rely upon to evaluate global trends. As such, a concept of security—whether national or world—cannot be disproven; it can only be adopted or rejected depending upon its analytical usefulness and its consistency with one’s own normative or theoretical inclinations.

Moreover, the fact that two people profess adherence to a particular security concept does not necessarily mean that they will always agree on what course of action is appropriate in dealing with a specific challenge. Rather, a security concept provides a *framework* in which particular issues can be considered, and particular outcomes debated; it cannot, however, determine the outcome of any policy debate or the appropriate response to a given problem.

This having been said, we can proceed to a comparison of the national security and world security concepts. This comparison will focus in particular on the two concepts’ different assumptions about the nature of international politics, the sources of insecurity, the role of unilateral versus cooperative remedies, and the ultimate standards by which security is assessed.

Starting at a theoretical level, the national security concept is heavily influenced by “Realist” theories of international relations—theories that emphasize the absence of world government and the relative distribution of power among states as the primary determinants of state behavior.³ According to the Realists, international cooperation is impeded by states’ need to prioritize self-interest when it conflicts with a larger collective interest. Second, foreign military attack is seen as posing a constant and overriding threat to the physical survival of states and their populations. Third, the security of national societies is considered to be segregatable, and thus achievable by unilateral means; in other words, one state may be secure while its neighbors or rivals are insecure. As a result, a state’s security is thought to reflect the balance of power among rival states, and it is assumed therefore that the surest method for a state to achieve security in this context is to maximize its unilateral military capabilities. Effective management of the balance of power, including the ability to threaten the use of military force, is thus the hallmark of national security strategy.⁴

To the extent that security analysts have attempted to incorporate other issues, such as economics or the environment, under the rubric of “national security,” they have generally had to depart from these core assumptions.⁵

Such departures are required because, when dealing with issues such as ozone depletion or resource degradation, attempts to maximize one's own welfare without regard for others tends to impede rather than to facilitate the pursuit of appropriate solutions. The resulting interest in nurturing "positive-sum" political dynamics—that is, behavior that is intended to result in gain to many parties—represents less a modification of the traditional concept of national security than tentative steps toward an alternative security approach.

In the final years of the Cold War era, as the imminent threat of nuclear war receded and new issues come to the fore, some independent scholars and political figures began to articulate aspects of what we call here the "world security" paradigm. Particularly noteworthy were international commission reports on the global political economy chaired by former German Chancellor Willy Brandt,⁶ on the global arms race chaired by former Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme,⁷ and on the global environment chaired by Norwegian Prime Minister Gro Bruntland.⁸ At the same time, grassroots movements from around the world added their voices to the mounting dissatisfaction with the national security paradigm and the policy priorities it engendered.⁹

As implied above, the world security concept is inspired by recognition of a range of new perils that transcend national borders and exceed the reactive capabilities of nation-states. It is informed theoretically by a range of theories that emphasize the growth of global interdependence and the possibility of international cooperation.¹⁰ These theories view world politics not as a historically frozen realm of power-hungry states, but rather as a dynamic process of interaction among individuals, groups, states, and international institutions, all of which are capable of adapting their sense of self-interest in response to new information and changing circumstances.

Continuing competition between states may be likely, as the Realists suggest, but adaptation and cooperation in pursuit of joint gains *are* possible. This process is evident, for example, in the concerted international response to the depletion of ozone in the global atmosphere. The theoretical challenge, then, is to provide evidence for a reconceptualization of human security interests and to identify the political and institutional mechanisms that permit expanded cooperation.

The first departure of world security from the national security concept is the recognition that security is often interdependent, and thus not sustainable through unilateral means. In fact, measures taken by one state in pursuit of its own security interests often decrease the security of others.¹¹ For instance, the buildup of nuclear weapons—however justified by principles of "deterrence"—is inevitably viewed as threatening by rival states, leading them to adopt reciprocal measures that in turn appear threatening to the first state. Instead of interpreting this "security dilemma" as an obstacle to cooperation, however, the world security perspective sees it as the reason to develop adaptive strategies, such as arms reduction and the defensive

restructuring of forces, aimed at promoting a more fundamental commonality of interests.¹²

This commonality of interests is even more evident in nonmilitary areas—and especially in the economic and environmental areas—where adverse trends in one state quickly spill across national boundaries. From the nuclear fallout that encircled the globe after the Chernobyl meltdown in 1986 to the global warming that increasingly threatens the earth's ecosystem, and from the destabilization of national currencies induced by transnational capital flows to the global recession that follows depressed demand in major markets, the most serious challenges to security in today's world are not contained within the boundaries of individual states.

Interdependence does not automatically abolish competitive politics among states—in some cases it may even increase competition—but the intermingling of our fates limits the options available to policymakers and provides real incentives for cooperation in the pursuit of security. As President Bill Clinton suggested in his 1993 Inaugural Address: "There is no longer division between what is foreign and what is domestic—the world economy, the world environment, the world AIDS crisis, the world arms race—they affect us all."¹³ In this context, as the Brandt, Palme, and Brundtland Commissions first argued, the surest route to security for one nation is pursuing security for all nations.

As we have seen, the world security concept is also distinguished by the belief that security involves more than protection against military attack. Indeed, for the nations of the industrialized "North," the risk of such attack has greatly diminished due to the existence of vast nuclear arsenals, the interconnectedness of economies and societies, and the relative robustness of regional institutions.¹⁴ On the other hand, ecological, economic, and demographic trends pose serious challenges to these countries. And even in the less-developed "South," where the threat of armed conflict remains significant, nonmilitary trends pose equal or greater threats to people's security. In most cases, states are proving less and less capable of meeting these diverse challenges.

We thus conclude that human security cannot be measured by comparing states' relative preparation for war. Instead, the world security approach assesses existing security conditions and proposed remedies in terms of such criteria as the promotion of human rights and the protection of the global environment.¹⁵ States sometimes promote and sometimes deny these values, but national sovereignty is not assumed to be a reliable surrogate or guarantee of security. When human rights and the environment are protected, people's lives and identities are likely to be secure; where they are not protected, people are not secure, regardless of the military capacity of the state under which they live.

As indicated, every contributor to this volume does not necessarily share this understanding of the world security paradigm. Taken together, however,

the collection of essays reflects the range of issues and the globalist approach that we have associated with the world security perspective.

The first two chapters in the volume explore some of these larger themes of human security and international politics in general terms.

In "World Interests and the Changing Dimensions of Security," Seyom Brown explores the widening gap between the structures of governance inherited from the Cold War era and the challenges we face in the world of today. Brown identifies a set of "world interests" as a basis for assessing policy alternatives, and concludes with suggestions for institutional measures that the international community could take to increase accountability among member states.

Daniel Nelson's essay, "Great Powers and World Peace," addresses the problems created by relying on the military capacities of states as the principal basis of world order. He also identifies the negative regional consequences that could follow from a more assertive international role for the German and Japanese militaries, and calls instead for the great powers to develop collective mechanisms for conflict prevention.

The next two chapters address processes of democratization whose outcome will shape the character of world politics and the likelihood of international cooperation well into the next century.

Terry Karl and Philippe Schmitter begin their essay on "Democratization around the Globe" by placing the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe in the context of the global struggle for democratization seen worldwide since the mid-1970s. They discuss the serious problems involved in consolidating the new democracies of Latin America, Asia, Africa, and Eastern Europe, and consider the international implications—including intensified intergroup tension and the destabilization of borders—that often accompany a lessening of repression.

Michael McFaul explores the processes, problems, and implications of democratization in Russia. In particular, he discusses the difficulty of attempting to consolidate political democracy while privatizing and revitalizing a stalled economy. He then identifies several possible outcomes of the present struggle in Russia, and considers their implications for Russia's relations with the other former Soviet republics, with the West, and with the world at large.

The next three chapters address security threats arising from the global abundance of armaments, both nuclear and conventional.

In "The Second Nuclear Era," Allan Krass considers one of the most significant and dangerous legacies of the Cold War: the existence of tens of thousands of nuclear weapons in the stockpiles of the United States and the successor states of the Soviet Union. He begins by questioning the logic for maintaining such weapons in U.S. arsenals, and argues for a substantial reduction in their number. Krass also examines the immense technical problems that must be overcome in dealing with all of the nuclear weapons that are slated for destruction (especially those in Russian hands).

Zachary Davis then addresses the problems arising from the spread of nuclear weapons to the Third World, and analyzes the effectiveness of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT) in light of recent revelations concerning Iraq's secret weapons program. Davis also discusses the proliferation problems arising from the dissolution of the Soviet Union, and evaluates the various measures being considered for reinforcement of the existing nonproliferation regime.

In "Adding Fuel to the Fires," Michael Klare examines the international trade in nonnuclear, "conventional" weapons. He argues that such trafficking is likely to increase in the post-Cold War era, thereby intensifying local arms races and increasing the destructiveness and duration of regional wars. Klare concludes with a discussion of proposals for international control of the arms trade.

These three essays are followed by six chapters on problems of war, militarization, international peacekeeping, and human rights.

In "Regional Conflicts in the Post-Cold War Era," Louis Kriesberg analyzes the nature and dynamics of regional wars, and discusses the various strategies that have been developed to prevent, control, and resolve such conflicts. While insisting that prevention is the best response to this problem, he shows that a variety of creative peacemaking techniques have been devised in recent years to resolve existing conflicts with a minimum of bloodshed.

Donald Horowitz then examines one of the most widespread, and often intractable, sources of political disintegration and violence in the contemporary world: ethnic conflict. Ranging broadly over many cases, he argues that ethnic and nationalist conflicts have very diverse causes, take many different forms, and thus pose a very significant challenge to the international community.

In the post-Cold War world, the United Nations is increasingly called upon to prevent or resolve regional conflicts of all sorts. Margaret Karns and Karen Mingst's essay on international peacekeeping shows how the world body has adapted itself to changing demands and opportunities over time, but argues that its effectiveness depends upon the political and financial capital that the leading states alone can provide. Continued innovation and expansion of the UN's peacemaking capabilities is possible, they conclude, but will require unprecedented political support.

In the next chapter, Nicole Ball analyzes the historical roots and distinctive character of militarization in the Third World. She shows that the growth of Third World military forces is rarely a response to external military threats but more often a product of internal political considerations (particularly the efforts of ruling elites to preserve their power and prerogatives in the face of popular discontent). Ball concludes with a discussion of various methods for promoting the demilitarization of Third World societies.

Closely related to problems of militarization and democratization is that of the protection of human rights. In "International Human Rights after the

Cold War,” Jack Donnelly traces the evolution of international concern about human rights since 1945 and identifies the most pressing human rights issues of the present era. He discusses the spread of rights-protective regimes in recent years, but warns that the present wave of democratization is unleashing passions often incompatible with the protection of human rights.

In “Global Violence against Women,” Charlotte Bunch and Roxanna Carrillo argue that traditional concepts of human rights fail to acknowledge the degree to which women around the world are subjected to violence and discrimination solely on the basis of their gender. Showing that patterns of gender violence and exploitation are entrenched everywhere, they argue for the expansion of human rights concepts that would include greater protection for women against—and thereby allow for greater participation by women in—the process of development.

The next five chapters focus on related problems of the environment, population growth, underdevelopment, and world hunger.

In “The Environment and International Security,” Jessica Mathews argues that existing concepts of national and international security must be modified in light of the growing evidence of severe environmental threats to human survival. She shows that a combination of population growth, resource depletion, and human-induced changes in the global ecosphere could combine in catastrophic fashion. Only by developing common, multilateral responses to these problems, Mathews argues, can world leaders successfully avert such disasters.

Thomas Homer-Dixon carries this analysis further in his discussion of the relationship between environmental decline and intergroup conflict. By examining a number of illustrative case studies, he shows that environmental decline is already affecting world security by degrading the habitability of certain areas and forcing the people who live there to migrate to other areas—often provoking conflict in the process.

A related set of problems is considered by Dennis Pirages in his essay “Demographic Change and Ecological Insecurity.” Arguing that population growth and persistent poverty in resource-poor areas of the Third World are fueling increased migration to already overpopulated cities in the South and to unwelcoming states in the North, Pirages suggests that demographic pressures are likely to prove a major source of intergroup conflict in the decades ahead.

Vincent Ferraro and Melissa Rosser address the Third World debt crisis—another problem that affects the living conditions of hundreds of millions of people worldwide, yet defies solution by individual states. After evaluating the origins of the Third World’s massive debt, Ferraro and Rosser explain how this debt is breeding instability in Third World states and hindering economic expansion in the world at large. The only economically and politically viable solution, they conclude, is one that takes account of the welfare of weak Third World states and their populations.

Finally, in his chapter on world hunger, Joseph Collins shows how many of the developments noted earlier—environmental decline, persistent underdevelopment, undemocratic political systems, and population growth—are combining to deprive adequate foodstuffs to the hundreds of millions of humans who are suffering from hunger and malnutrition. Collins argues that hunger can be overcome if political and economic power is distributed more equitably and thus poor people are better able to command the resources needed for their survival.

The book concludes with a chapter on international institution-building by Robert Johansen. Suggesting that existing international institutions are inadequate for overcoming the various world security perils described in the previous chapters, Johansen provides a blueprint for new and strengthened institutions. Johansen also lays out a new international “code of conduct” that must be honored if we are to avert perpetual warfare and ecological disaster in the twenty-first century.

Articulating the outlines of a “world security” perspective is only the start. However much one may hope for a solution to any given problem, the world’s peoples will not soon be organized under a single political authority, nor share a homogenized universal culture. If they are to have any hope of success, proposed remedies to global problems must address the potential for conflict that is inherent in a pluralistic world system.

The essays that follow illustrate the urgency of a new approach to global problems, outline some of the possible courses of action, and assess the difficulties that will be encountered en route. Taken together, they should help students and scholars to begin thinking in terms of world security, and give policymakers at the national and international levels a new perspective on the challenges we face in preparing for the twenty-first century.

Notes

1. As quoted in *The New York Times*, December 23, 1992, pg. A10.
2. For the text of the UN summit declaration, see *The New York Times*, February 1, 1992. See also Paul Kennedy, *Preparing for the Twenty-first Century* (New York: Random House, 1993).
3. On contemporary realist thought, see Kenneth N. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1979); Robert O. Keohane, ed., *Neorealism and Its Critics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986).
4. See Donald M. Snow, *National Security: Enduring Problems in a Changing Defense Environment*, 2d ed., (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991).
5. See Richard H. Ullman, “Redefining Security,” *International Security* 8:1, Summer 1983.
6. Independent Commission on International Development Issues, Willy Brandt, chairman, *North-South: A Programme for Survival* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1980).
7. Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues, Olof Palme, chairman, *Common Security: A Blueprint for Survival* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1982).
8. World Commission on Environment and Development, Gro Harlem Brundtland, chairman, *Our Common Future* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987).
9. For an analysis of the content and significance of these grassroots positions, see R. B. J. Walker, *One World, Many Worlds* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1988).

10. See, for example, Emanuel Adler and Beverly Crawford, eds., *Progress in Postwar International Relations* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991); Robert O. Keohane and Joseph P. Nye, eds., *Transnational Relations and World Politics* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972); Keohane and Nye, *Power and Interdependence*, 2nd ed., (Glencoe, IL: Scott, Foresman Publishers, 1987); Keohane, "Neoliberal Institutionalism: A Perspective on World Politics," in *International Institutions and State Power: Essays in International Relations Theory* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1989); Stephen D. Krasner, ed., *International Regimes* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1983); James R. Rosenau, *Turbulence in World Politics: A Theory of Continuity and Change* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990); and Oran R. Young, *International Cooperation: Building Regimes for Natural Resources and the Environment* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1989).

11. For discussion of how the "security dilemma" hinders cooperation, see John Herz, "Idealist Internationalism and the Security Dilemma," *World Politics* 2, January 1950; and Robert Jervis, "Cooperation under the Security Dilemma," *World Politics* 30:2, January 1978.

12. See Richard Smoke and Andrei Kortunov, eds., *Mutual Security: A New Approach to Soviet-American Relations* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991); and Richard Ned Lebow and Janice Gross Stein, "Beyond Deterrence," *Journal of Social Issues* 43:4, 1987.

13. Quoted in *The Washington Post*, January 21, 1993, p. A26.

14. See James Goldgeier and Michael McFaul, "A Tale of Two Worlds: Core and Periphery in the Post-Cold War Era," *International Organization* 46:2, Spring 1992.

15. For an earlier articulation of this position, see Robert C. Johansen, *The National Interest and the Human Interest: An Analysis of U.S. Foreign Policy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1980).