

LOSING CONTROL

GLOBAL SECURITY IN THE
TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

THIRD EDITION

Paul Rogers

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To Zoë Frances

... it was a dangerous world and we knew exactly who the 'they' were. It was us versus them and we knew exactly who they were. Today we're not so sure who the 'they' are, but we know they're there.

George W. Bush
January 2000

Introduction to the First Edition

It has been a delight to work at Bradford University's Department of Peace Studies for the past 20 years, not least because of the hundreds of people who have come to study there from all over the world, many of whom have first-hand experience of the disastrous effects of war and are personally committed to the peaceful resolution of conflict. This book is the product, in part, of innumerable discussions and arguments with past and present students.

Similarly, there have been many opportunities to share views with development and peace activists at meetings in many parts of Britain and abroad, often organised by local UNA, Quaker, WDM, Oxfam or CND groups. Some of these ideas have also been explored at meetings of the Development Studies Association and the British International Studies Association, at several defence colleges in Britain, Belgium and Germany, at conferences in Bangladesh, Iran, India, Morocco and South Africa, and with successive groups of students at the Universitat Jaume I at Castellon in Spain. In all cases, though, the responsibility for the end result must be entirely my own.

Some parts of the book have arisen from other pieces of work. Chapter 2, on the lessons of the Cold War, has been developed from a chapter in *Deconstructing and Reconstructing the Cold War*, edited by Alan Dobson, that was originally written for a seminar involving staff and students of the Politics Department at the University of Wales, Swansea. Chapter 3 has been condensed and updated from a research report produced for the British American Security Information Council in 1996, in which the co-authors were Simon Whitby and Stephen Young.

The material on economic targeting by paramilitary groups stems from a detailed study of the strategy of the Provisional IRA published from the Department of Peace Studies in 1996. That study was greatly aided by discussions with James O'Connell, Michael Mullan, Michael Page, Redmond Mullins, Malcolm Dando and Simon Whitby. Jenny Pearce was helpful in providing me with material on developments in Latin America.

More generally, I am indebted to Malcolm Dando, co-author of *A Violent Peace* (1992), one of our earlier attempts to get to grips with post-Cold War trends in international security, and to Geoff and Kath Tansey, co-editors of *A World Divided* (1994). Malcolm Dando and his associates, Graham Pearson, Simon Whitby and Jez Littlewood, have done extraordinary work on the problems of biological weapons and their control, and my knowledge of the Iraqi BW programme and its wider implications stems directly from their work.

I owe a special debt to Simon Whitby, who helped me as a research assistant when I was Head of Department at Peace Studies for several years in the mid-1990s, helping to dig out all kinds of resources and ideas, and able to track down the most obscure topics. I also owe a debt to Roger van Zwanenberg and the staff at Pluto Press for taking the risk of publishing a book which, whatever else it is, does not follow the current mainstream in the study of international security. Finally, I would like to thank all my fellow members of staff in Peace Studies – collectively the most committed, stimulating and knowledgeable group of academics I have ever met.

Paul Rogers
March 2000

Introduction to the Second Edition

One of the main arguments discussed in the first edition of this book was that wealthy industrialised states had an innate vulnerability to paramilitary action against their centres of power and influence. A number of examples were discussed to illustrate this contention, including the use of economic targeting by Provisional IRA paramilitaries during the early and mid-1990s in Britain, and actions against US interests, both in the Middle East and in the United States itself. In particular, the book examined the bombing of the World Trade Center in New York in 1993, and discussed the likely consequences had the attack succeeded.

Partly in response to such vulnerabilities, it was suggested that the belief that Western states could maintain control of a fractious and unstable international system would eventually prove to be wrong, and that, ultimately, it would be necessary to put far greater emphasis on responding to the root causes of potential future conflict. These, it was argued, included the rapidly increasing socio-economic divide between a wealthy elite of around 1 billion people, and a marginalised but increasingly knowledgeable majority of 5 billion people. They also included the effects of environmental constraints, especially in relation to the potential for resource conflict and the effects of climate change.

In this second edition of *Losing Control*, the arguments and analysis are presented as before but extended to cover the traumatic events of 2001 and their aftermath. The first edition had ended on a hopeful note – that it would be possible for the Western security paradigm to be reconsidered in order to address the fundamental problems likely to lead to a more insecure and volatile world. At the time of writing, it would seem that the atrocities of 11 September are having the opposite effect.

As we move well into 2002, some six months after the attacks in New York and Washington, the actions of the United States indicate an utterly firm commitment to regaining, and then maintaining, control. This will probably involve a series of military responses that go well beyond attempting to dismantle the al-Qaida network that is believed to be respon-

sible for the attacks. In parallel with the war in Afghanistan, a network of bases has been established across Central Asia, US troops are aiding counter-insurgency operations in the Philippines, and there is to be a substantial increase in aid to the Colombian government in its actions against leftist insurgents.

There are indications of possible counter-terrorist action in Somalia and Yemen, and even of substantial military action against the Saddam Hussein regime in Iraq. The US defence budget is set to rise rapidly in the coming years, President Bush talks of an 'axis of evil' encompassing Iran and well as Iraq and North Korea. At the same time, issues of international development and global environmental management recede rapidly into the background.

This approach, so typical of the existing security paradigm, is causing increasing concern among politicians in Europe, and is almost totally at variance with opinion in the 'majority world' of the South. Even so, it appears that, in the United States, the effect of the attacks last September has been to massively re-inforce old ideas of security, to the extent that any alternatives are not remotely worthy of consideration.

This is a core issue in any analysis of trends in international security over the next decade or more, and one small attempt to address these issues is the second edition of this book. The text, as originally published two years ago, is therefore updated with an extensive additional chapter that seeks to discuss and analyse the early effects and significance of the US response to 11 September.

In doing so, I have been greatly helped by discussions and arguments with staff and students in the Peace Studies Department at Bradford University, especially in the form of a series of open meetings that have taken place in recent months. In addition, I have had the very valuable discipline, over the past six months, of writing a weekly analysis of the developing 'war on terror' for the Open Democracy website. I have also had the good fortune to take part in meetings in Germany, the United States, and Costa Rica, although I take sole responsibility for the views expressed here.

One of the most frequently asked questions in recent months is: did the world really change on 11 September 2001? One answer, developed from the analysis in the first edition of this book, is that those traumatic events served primarily to accelerate trends that were already under way, trends that do truly represent a change in the world order. That this change remains unrecognised, and that we persist in the old paradigm, is one of the most fundamental issues that faces us. The sooner this is recognised, the better for all of us.

Paul Rogers
March 2002

Introduction to the Third Edition

When the first edition of *Losing Control* was written at the end of the 1990s, many questions were being raised over the negative consequences of globalisation, and there was a slowly increasing interest in climate change and other problems of environmental limitations on human activity. The Cold War era was long gone and the main security issues related to conflicts in the Balkans, the Caucasus and the Great Lakes region of Central Africa. There was some interest in the phenomenon of irregular or asymmetric warfare but there was a confidence among western security analysts that the military power of the United States and its closest allies would be sufficient to maintain order in a rather fragile and unpredictable world.

Losing Control argued that this was a deeply flawed outlook and that a combination of a deepening global socio-economic divide and environmental constraints would result in conflicts that could not be controlled by traditional military approaches. Industrial societies were vulnerable to irregular warfare as technical and other advances made it easier for 'the weak to take up arms against the strong' (p. 61).

That analysis proved appallingly accurate just 18 months later, with the 9/11 attacks in New York and Washington. The destruction of the World Trade Center killed thousands, but the attack on the Pentagon was even more significant – a group of paramilitaries armed only with parcel knives were able to strike the military headquarters of the world's most powerful state. A second edition of *Losing Control* therefore added a chapter, written early in 2002, that sought to bring the analysis up to date while attempting to predict the course of action as the 'war on terror' took shape. It concluded that the immediate effect of 9/11 was to harden the 'control paradigm' which was rooted in the belief that military force was the necessary response, not least because it was essential to regain control of the New American Century.

The chapter was deeply critical of this approach and argued that it risked the onset of a never-ending war, extending beyond Afghanistan

to Iraq. The one possibility might be that as the futility was demonstrated there might be an opportunity to challenge the discredited but dominant security paradigm. What happened in the next decade would 'prove pivotal in determining the degree of international instability that could prevail for much of the new century' (p. 150). In the event, the United States and its coalition partners did indeed embark on that world-wide 'war on terror' in a determination to regain control, an exercise that has proved just as futile as predicted, with the war now moving towards its second decade.

This new edition looks back on the past decade and adds two further chapters. The first examines the wars in Afghanistan and Iran and the increasing violence in western Pakistan. It argues that the war on terror has been hugely costly in human terms and has been deeply counter-productive for the United States and its closest coalition partners. Because of this failure, there is now an opportunity to dispute the basic premise of the control paradigm and promote, with some vigour, many of the alternative approaches to international security proposed when *Losing Control* was first written.

The second chapter goes back to the original analysis and updates it. Over the past ten years, the wealth/poverty divide has widened, and environmental constraints have become far more widely recognised – indeed the issue of climate change has risen up the security agenda with quite remarkable speed. Furthermore, the sudden and severe economic downturn that started in 2007 helps to confirm the argument that the globalised free market is deeply flawed. Thus, this new edition reinforces the argument that the world's elite cannot maintain control and that a far more emancipatory and sustainable approach to global security has to be developed. The first decade of the twenty-first century may have been a lost opportunity, but the manner in which it has demonstrated the futility of 'old thinking' at least makes it possible that the second decade could hold the prospect of real progress.

Paul Rogers
June 2009

Abbreviations

ABL	Airborne Laser
ABMT	Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty
ACC	Air Combat Command
ALCM	Air-Launched Cruise Missile
ATACMS	Army Tactical Missile System
BTWC	Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention
CAL	Capital Account Liberalisation
CALCM	Conventional Air-Launched Cruise Missile
CENTCOM	Central Command
CND	Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament
CPA	Coalition Provisional Authority
CTBT	Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty
CWC	Chemical Weapons Convention
DEATAC	Directed Energy Applications for Tactical Air Combat
DfID	Department for International Development
EU	European Union
FCO	Foreign and Commonwealth Office
GSD	Global Social Democracy
IBC	Iraq Body Count
ICBM	Intercontinental Ballistic Missile
ILO	International Labour Office
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INF	Intermediate Nuclear Force
IPPC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
LOW	Launch on Warning
LTTE	Liberation Tigers of Tamil Elam
LUA	Launch under Attack
MAI	Multilateral Agreement on Investment
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MIRV	Multiple Independently-targetable Re-entry Vehicle
M-X	Missile-experimental
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Area
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation

NPT	Non-Proliferation Treaty
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
OPEC	Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries
OSCE	Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe
PACAF	Pacific Air Force
RoK	Republic of Korea
SAC	Strategic Air Command
SALT	Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty
SAS	Special Air Service
SBL	Space-Based Laser
SDI	Strategic Defence Initiative
SEAL	Sea-Air-Land
SHAPE	Supreme Headquarters, Allied Powers Europe
SIOP	Single Integrated Operational Plan
SLBM	Submarine-Launched Ballistic Missile
START	Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty
THAAD	Theatre High-Altitude Area Defence
TMD	Theatre Missile Defence
TNC	Trans-National Corporation
TNF	Theatre Nuclear Forces
UAV	Unmanned Aerial Vehicle
UCAV	Unmanned Combat Aerial Vehicle
UNA	United Nations Association
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNSCOM	United Nations Special Commission on Iraq
USAF	United States Air Force
USSOCOM	United States Special Operations Command
WCMD	Wind-Corrected Munitions Dispenser
WTO	World Trade Organisation
ZNLA	Zapatista National Liberation Army

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A Violent Peace

A few years ago a conference took place in Dhaka on the links between environmental degradation and poverty, organised by a Bangladeshi NGO and financed by the World Bank. It brought together experts from many parts of the world and, as is usually the case with such meetings, it was held in an international hotel. This particular well-appointed hotel had been built in a secluded part of the city a few years before, but the explosive growth of Dhaka meant that it was now surrounded by a large shanty town crowded with people who had come in from the countryside in search of work.

The poverty was extreme, with little fresh water, open sewers, rats everywhere and many of the squatter huts liable to repeated flooding during the monsoons. In the midst of this was the hotel, with its carefully tended tropical gardens, large swimming pool, sun-loungers, sauna and fitness centre. The whole complex was surrounded by a high fence and barbed wire, with just one entrance, protected by armed guards. Conference delegates came in from the airport in taxis or hotel bus, stayed there for the duration of the conference, earnestly discussing poverty, and then departed.

No disrespect is intended towards the World Bank, at least on this occasion. The Bangladeshi organisers did their best to bring the conference down to earth, with some hard-hitting papers from local researchers who worked among the shanty dwellers. Moreover, several of the participants from Bangladesh and overseas argued forcibly and effectively that the problems of poverty within the country stemmed far more from its debt burden and perennial trade difficulties than from internal corruption and mismanagement, serious though that was. After all, East Bengal in the eighteenth century had been one of the most successful economies in Asia, before the East India Company got to work on it. There was certainly no little irony in discussing poverty in such surroundings, but the circumstances of that hotel could be repeated throughout the world.

During the past 30 years, intercontinental business travel and tourism has increased at a remarkable rate. Many people think nothing of moving

from Rio to Cape Town or from Delhi to Bangkok on business, or visiting the game parks of Zimbabwe, Tanzania and South Africa or the beaches of Goa, Thailand, Kenya and the Gambia. In their travels they live in an almost perpetual cocoon, carefully protected from the real lives of the great majority of the people around them. Tourists will stay in high-rise hotels on spectacular sea-fronts and will travel by coach out to the mountains and game parks. They may well visit the expensive and fashionable down-town shops. These may be only a few blocks from the hotel, but they will not walk there after dark – indeed they will not be encouraged to walk anywhere after dark. They will certainly not see the massive shanty towns that are a feature of so many cities across the world.

The world's elite, numbering many hundreds of millions, is mobile as never before yet travels the world in a perpetual mirage, constantly protected and made comfortable, happily unaware of the real world. Not that such poverty is restricted to the countries of the South. In the last 20 years especially, the rich-poor divide has grown alarmingly in many Northern states, with large districts of many cities just as dangerous as most of Johannesburg, Nairobi or Lagos. Nor is this enduring rich-poor divide restricted to the circumstances of business travellers and tourists – it is demonstrated even more dramatically by the life-styles of the elites. Take, for example, the case of Heritage Park which follows.¹

Closing the castle gates

South Africa, like many countries that have particularly deep divisions of wealth and poverty, has a serious crime problem, especially in the major cities and townships. Many actions of the government may be directed towards improving the basic conditions of the marginalised majority, but it is proving to be an enormous task. Meanwhile, the richer elites of the country, mainly but not all white, take personal security seriously. Many live in gated communities or apartments protected by security guards, deserting the cities for suburban security at the end of each working day.

It is a pattern increasingly common in many parts of the world, but one development in South Africa is perhaps taking this to its logical conclusion. Heritage Park is to be built close to the exclusive Cape settlement of Somerset West, and will be an almost completely self-contained community of the wealthy, surrounded and protected by a formidable electrified fence. When completed, within a decade, the 500-acre site will contain about 2,000 attractive high-cost homes surrounding a 50-acre central park with lakes, forest and bird sanctuary. Waterways, jogging tracks, a horse trail, children's playground, recreation ground, sports field and sports hall will all be within the perimeter fence, as will a church and even a village green. The

community will also have shops, schools, restaurants, a hotel, a theatre, a small business park and light industries.

Entry into Heritage Park will be by permit through one of four security entrances, and it will have its own police force of 40 people primarily to provide protection from outside. Crime is not expected to be a serious problem within the fence, which will be screened by trees and shrubs to make it difficult to see from the inside, though residents can expect fine views of the distant mountains. Heritage Park will be open to all, white, black or coloured, provided they can afford to live there, although the acknowledged reality is that most are expected to be white. Given the availability of education, employment and recreation facilities, it is expected that most residents will spend the great majority of their time within the fence, rarely having to go outside.

Although Heritage Park is proving popular with potential residents, one problem remains. Over 1,000 squatters live alongside the site and legal restrictions mean that they cannot be moved. The developers believe that this problem can be turned to an advantage. They plan to provide the squatters with cheap housing, just outside the electrified perimeter fence. They expect that some will find work inside the fence as shop assistants or maids, entering Heritage Park by day but returning home at night.

Heritage Park is an advanced example of a way of living that has become progressively more common throughout the world. In one sense it is nothing new, in that the richest and most powerful people throughout history have commonly found it necessary to pay particular attention to their own security and that of their possessions. What is more common is the manner in which the security of the richer sectors of society has become such a major phenomenon throughout the world, but especially in those many places where the wealth-poverty divide is particularly marked.

An even more extreme example is found in São Paulo in Brazil, where the richest citizens have taken to the sky for their own safety:

Carjackings, kidnappings of executives and roadside robberies have become a part of the risks of daily life for anyone perceived to have money. So the demand for private helicopters in São Paulo has turned the city into one of the most vibrant markets for helicopter dealers.²

What a difference a day makes

As the castle gates close, almost literally, around the protected residents of Heritage Park, so the richer states of the world try to close their gates to the seekers of a better life, a process which, for politicians, is greatly aided in many countries by the tabloid press. Occasionally, the effects are