

Traditional approaches to security in IR

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Outline

- Traditional approaches to security in International Relations.
- Strategic and market approaches to energy security.

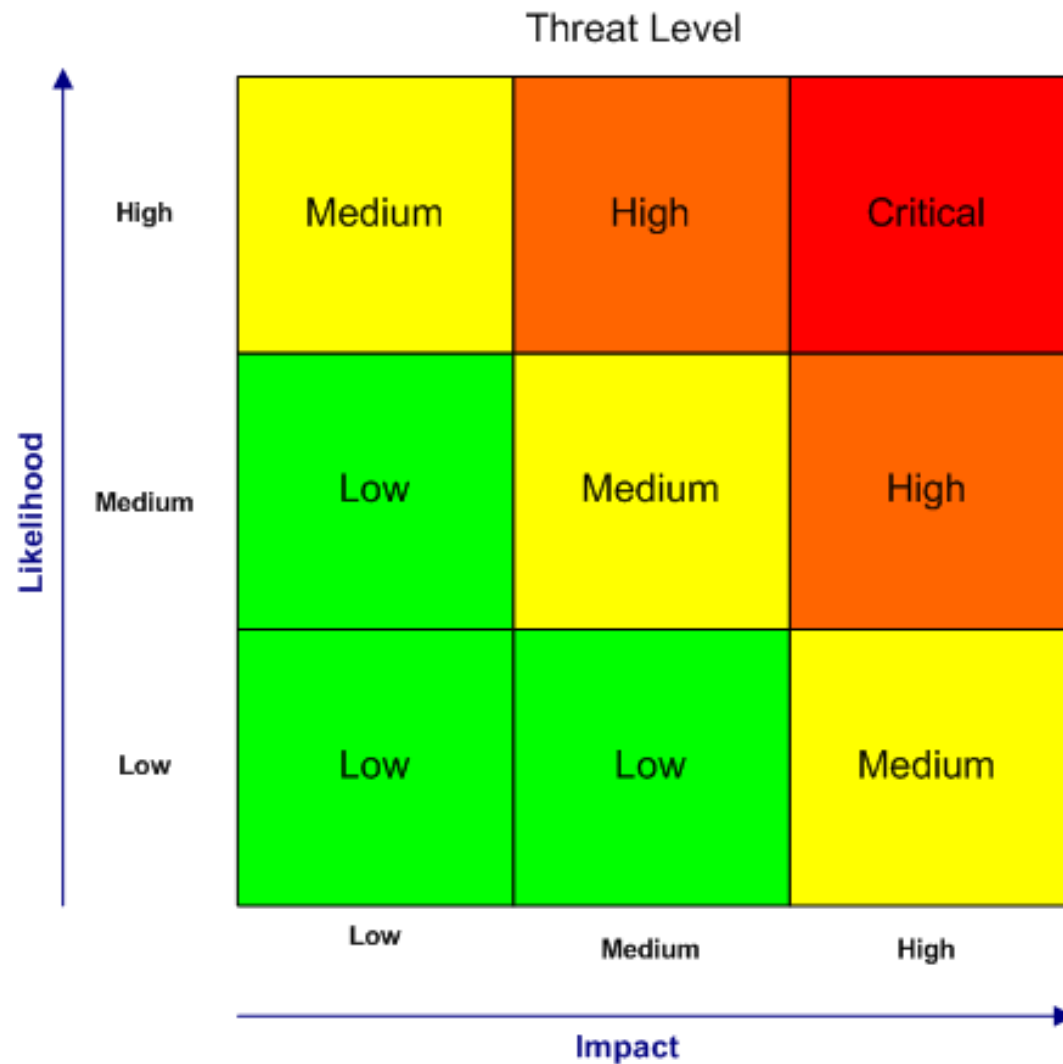
The concept of security

- What is security?
- Whose security we are talking about?
- What counts as a security issue?
- How can security be achieved?

Related concepts

- **Referent object:** an entity which is to be secured.
- **Security actor:** relates to referent object in order to secure or threaten the referent object.
- **Threat:** a source of existing or potential damage or destruction of referent object.
- **Risk:** a likelihood that a particular threat is realized.
- **Impact:** given by extent of a threat and importance of a referent object.

Impact-risk matrix



Traditional approaches

- Embedded (mainly) within Realist tradition.

Referent object	National state
Security actor	National state
Threat	Military conflict
Values	Territorial integrity Political sovereignty
Measures	Military build-up Balancing

Realist tradition

- **Hans Morgenthau:** *“National security must be defined as integrity of the national territory and its institutions.”* (1960: 563) ... *“The survival of a political unit, such as a nation, and its identity.”* (1952a: 973)
- **Walter Lippmann:** *“A nation is secure to the extent to which it is not in danger of having to sacrifice core values, if it wishes to avoid war, and is able, if challenged, to maintain them by victory in such a war.”* (1943: 51)
- **Arnold Wolfers:** *“Security, in an objective sense, measures the absence of threats to acquired values, in a subjective sense, the absence of fear that such values will be attacked.”* (1962: 149)

Realist tradition

- **Stephen Walt:** security studies are *“the study of the threat use and control of military force.”* (Lynn-Jones 1991)
- **Kenneth Waltz:** *“In anarchy, security is highest end. Only if survival is assured can states safely seek such other goals ... The first concern of states is not to maximize power but to maintain their positions in the system.”* (1979: 126)
- **International security:** competition for power among states, understood in terms of military capabilities.

Traditional approaches

- Liberal tradition with different accents.

Referent object	National state (Individual)
Security actor	National state
Threat	Military conflict Economic recession
Values	Territorial integrity Economic prosperity
Measures	Collective security institutions Economic integration Democratization

Liberal tradition

- **Ludwig von Mises:** *“Classical liberalism ... aims at a general recognition of the idea of economic freedom. If all peoples become liberal and conceive that economic freedom best serves their own interests, national sovereignty will no longer engender conflict and war. What is needed to make peace durable is neither international treaties ... and organizations like the defunct League of Nations or its successor, the United Nations. If the principle of the market economy is universally accepted, such makeshifts are unnecessary...”* (1949: 686)
- **International security:** by-product of a unrestricted commercial activities among states and individuals.

Liberal tradition

- **Olof Palme:** *“International security must rest on a commitment to joint survival rather than on the threat of mutual destruction.”* (1982: ix)
- **Security regime:** international subsystem governed by principles and norms accepted by all members of the regime regarding restraint on state’s behavior. (Ben-Yehuda & Sandler 2002: 7)
- **International security:** coordination among states to pursue common interests, understood in terms of political, economic, and military capabilities.

Realist vs. liberal tradition

	Realism	Liberalism
Structure of the international system	Material, static, anarchic self-help system	Social, dynamic, governance without government
Conceptions of security	Accumulation of power	Economic and institutional integration
Strategies	Military deterrence Military alliances	Democratization Rule of law
Scope	Military issues only	Multiple issue areas
Internal power structure	Distribution of power	Interdependence
Decision-making	Legitimized by power dominance	Democratically legitimized

Energy security: strategic approach

“War, war never changes.”

- **State-centrism:** state as a key actor.
 - The main goal is **survival**.
 - State interactions governed by **balance of power mechanism**.
 - **Energy commodities** are considered as a **source of power**.
 - Energy comm. might be **causes and means of conflict**.
 - Limited amount of energy comm.: **zero sum game**.
 - Emphasis on **relative gains**.
- Militarization of energy issues (**logic of war**, Ciuta 2010)

Energy security: market approach

“It’s the economy, stupid!”

- **Weakened** state-centrism: plurality of actors (int. organizations, firms)
 - The main goal is **subsistence**.
 - Actors’ interactions governed by **market mechanism**.
 - Energy commodities are considered as **a source of wealth**.
 - Unlimited amount of energy comm.: **non-zero sum game**.
 - Emphasis on **absolute gains**.
- Economization of energy issues (**logic of subsistence**, Ciuta 2010)

Energy security within geopolitics-markets dichotomy

	Strategic	Market
Relative/absolute gains	Relative: limited (scarce) resources	Absolute: unlimited resources
Nature of the “game”	Zero sum: limited (scarce) resources	Non-zero sum: unlimited resources
Cooperation mode	Bilateral relationships	Multilateral relationships International regimes
State-market relationship	State controls the market	Autonomy of the market
Perception of energy commodities	Strategic commodities	Common market commodities