

IREb1007

INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

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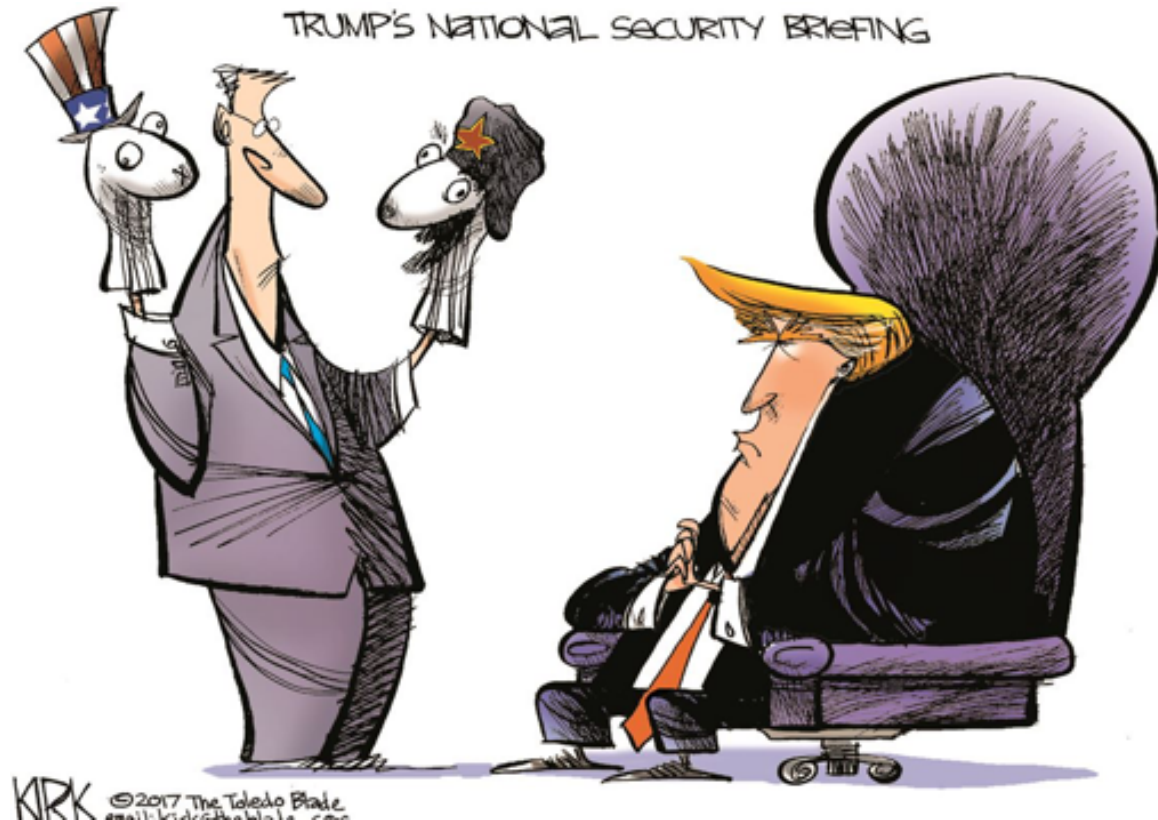
Fall 2020-2021

Session 9: National Security I

On the Agenda for Today

2

- **National Security**
 - Introduction
 - Defining National Security
 - Realism & National Security
 - Security Studies & National Security
 - 21st century national security environment
- **Deterrence**
 - Definition
 - Direct vs. Extended Deterrence



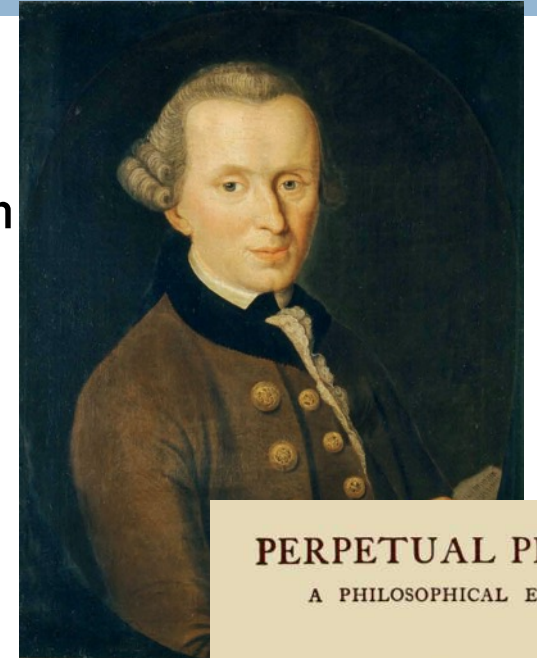
Introduction

- **Modern** concepts of **national security** arose in the 17th century during the Thirty Years War in Europe and the Civil War in England
- **Pre-Westphalia** international system: The **Holy Roman Empire** governed the affairs of states led by emperors, popes, kings, and princes
- Post-Westphalia (1648): The idea of the **nation-state**:
 - International system based on the **equilibrium** of **nation-states** dedicated to **national sovereignty** + **self-defence**



Introduction

- Kant: **Secular** idea of a universal principle
 - “Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch” (1795): The system of nation-states should be replaced by a **new enlightened world order**
 - Nation-states should **subordinate national interests** to the **common good** and be ruled by **international law**
- **Supranational institutions** governing international affairs (UN)
- Relevant to the **definition of national security**
 - American **liberal internationalists** vs. **realists**



PERPETUAL PEACE
A PHILOSOPHICAL ESSAY

BY
IMMANUEL KANT
1795

TRANSLATED WITH INTRODUCTION
AND NOTES BY
M. CAMPBELL SMITH, M.A.

WITH A PREFACE BY PROFESSOR LATTA

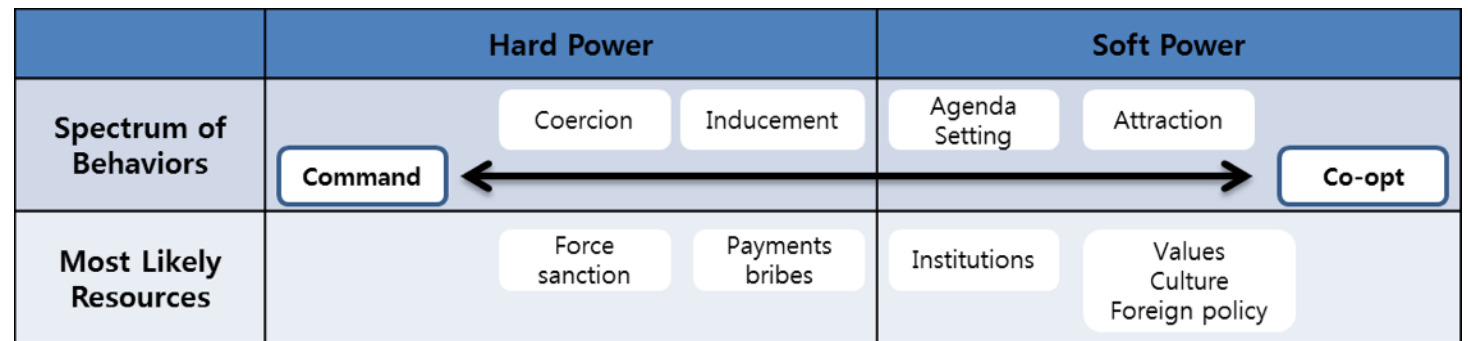
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Defining National Security

Defining Central Concepts =>

- **Power:** Nation's possession of **control** of its **sovereignty** + the extent to which **outside forces** can harm it (limited)
 - **Hard power:** largely military, is about control
 - **Soft power:** mainly about influence, persuasion by nonviolent means

- **Instruments of power** exist along a **spectrum**



- **Variables of power:** Military strength, economic capacity, the will of the government + people to use power, the degree to which legitimacy affects how power is used

Defining National Security

Defining Central Concepts =>

- **Military Strength:** Military **capacity** + **capabilities** of the armed forces
 - Dynamic rather than static
- **Force:** The use of **military/law enforcement capacity** to achieve a goal
 - Actual use of strength \neq strength/power per se
 - **Applied** instrument of **coercion**
- **National Defence:** The ability of the armed forces to defend the sovereignty of the nation & the lives of its people
 - Post 9/11: **Homeland Security** as an **element of national defence**

Homeland Security:

The usage of domestic + military instruments to defend the nation from terrorist/other attacks, both inside & outside the country

Defining National Security

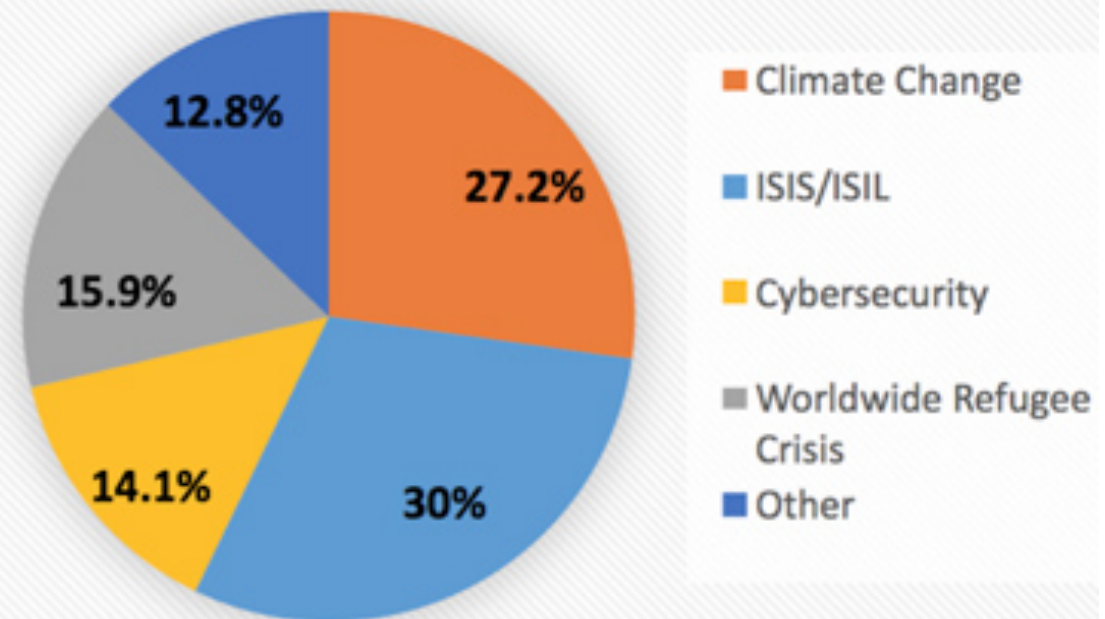
- **Crucial** concept for foreign policy, but **lacks universal definition**
- **Traditional meaning** => **Protecting & securing** the **physical survival** of the **state** form external (usually military) threats (e.g. foreign invasion)
 - The **protection** of a **nation** from **attack/external danger** by holding adequate **armed forces** + **guarding state secrets**
- **Contemporary meaning** => **National security** covers **domestic** issues + **foreign** relations
 - Terrorism, homeland security ...



National Security

- National Security **expanded** to include political stability, the environment, etc. rather than only **military** aspects
 - **Holistic, multi aspect** understanding
- **Threats to national security** are derived from:
 - **External sources** (military invasion)
 - **Internal sources** (socio-political instability, economic disparity, persistent environmental degradation ...)

What do you think is the most pressing national security issue facing the next President?



National Security



National Security Strategy (NSS) =>

- **Arrangements** of a state **for dealing** with national security issues
- The overall **vision** of a state's national security **goals** + most appropriate **means** to achieve them
- **US NSS** includes four pillars:
 - Protect the American People, the Homeland & Way of Life
 - Promote American Prosperity
 - Preserve Peace through Strength
 - Advance American Influence



NATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGY

of the United States of America

DECEMBER 2017



■ Borders of National Security

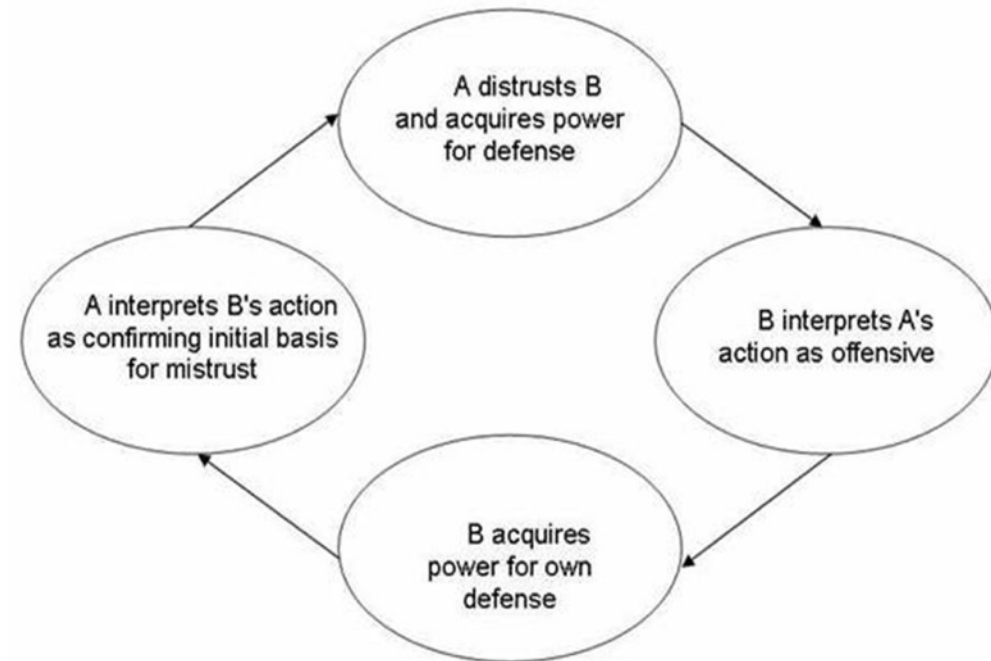
**ONLINE
PRIVACY**

VS

**NATIONAL
SECURITY**

Realism & National Security

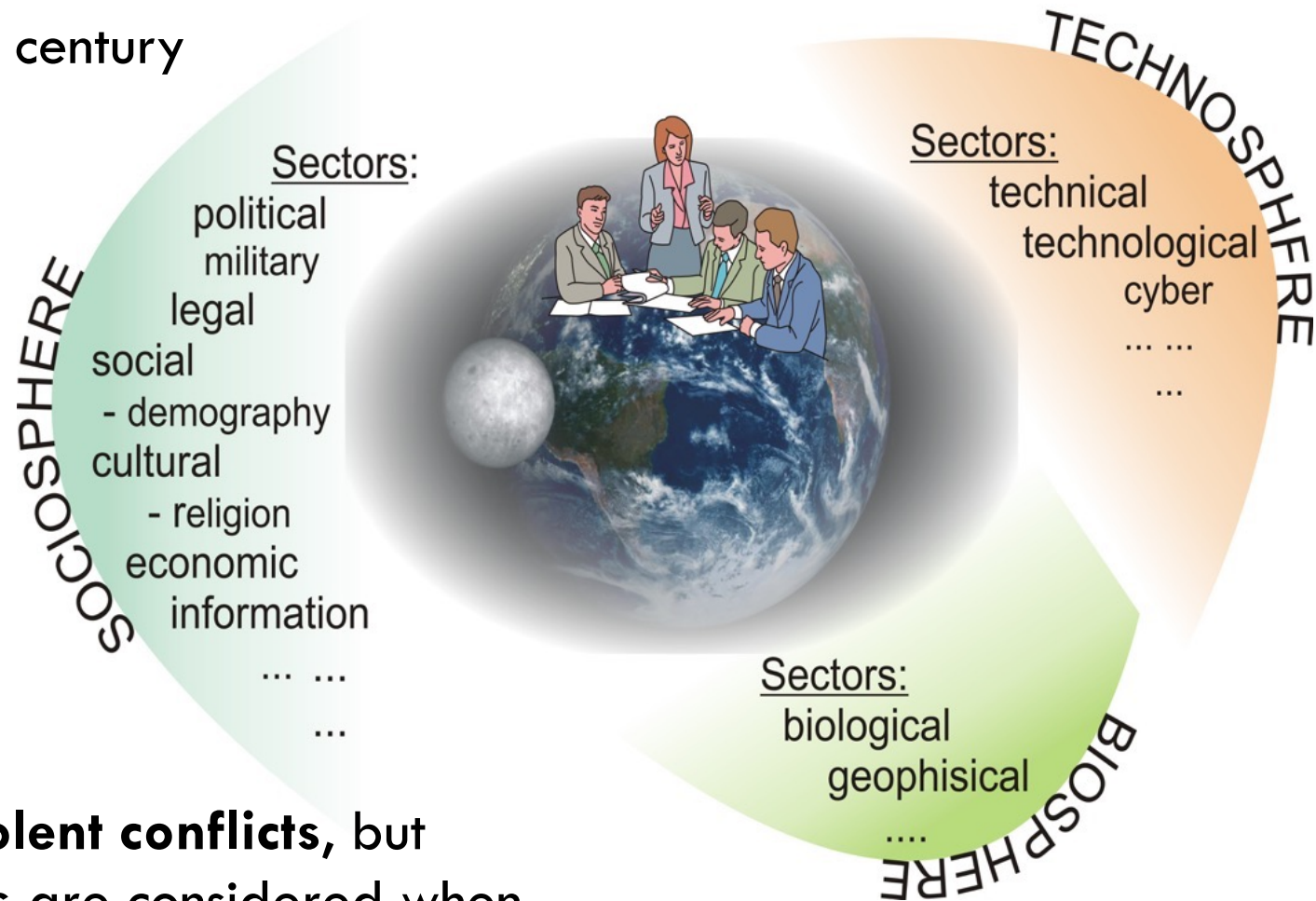
- Realists: The fundamental **national interest** of all states is **national security**-
 - **Statism**: States as central actors; security is a basic motive of their foreign policy
 - **Survival**: Force is a legitimate instrument of statecraft
 - **Self-help**: A state must take appropriate steps to ensure its survival
- The Security Dilemma/Spiral: Efforts to build **defensive capabilities** in one state may be perceived as a threat to **others** => makes them build their own defenses => May be threatening to the original state



21st Century National Security Environment

14

- Increasingly **difficult** to discuss 21st century **security challenges** in **traditional categories**:
 - Internal/external
- **Trend: Traditional => Global**
 - Sociosphere
 - Technosphere
 - Biosphere
- **Holistic approach** => Not only **violent conflicts**, but **human & structural security issues** are considered when developing a national security strategy



Deterrence



Deterrence

16



Deterrence

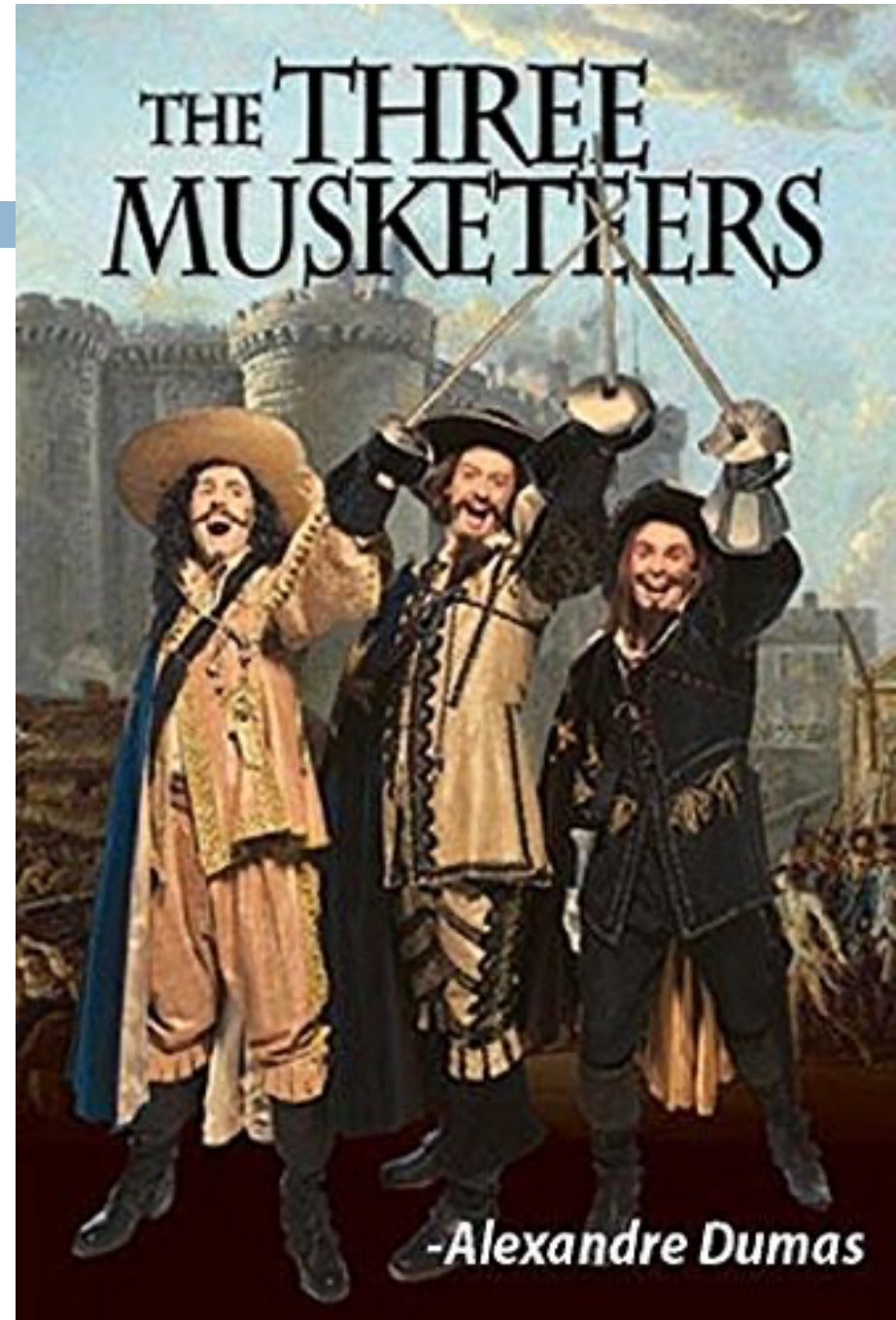
- The **effort** by **one actor** to **persuade** another actor to **refrain from** some unwanted **actions**, by convincing them that the **costs will exceed the rewards** of the act
- IR => A **strategy/theory/effort** under which **one power**, uses the **threat of reprisal effectively**, so to preclude an attack from an adversary power
- **Contemporary challenge of effective deterrence**, due to:
 - Many potential adversaries are **significantly** more **capable** than they were in the past
 - The **risks** of fighting a **major war** are more **significant** than ever



Deterrence

Deterrence and Nuclear Weapons =>

- Deterrence has largely been applied to the basic strategy of the **nuclear powers** + major **security alliance systems**
 - The possession of **nuclear weapons** will **prevent attacks** against the possessor
- NATO (1949): Article V => **Collective Security**
 - **US Nuclear Umbrella**



Deterrence

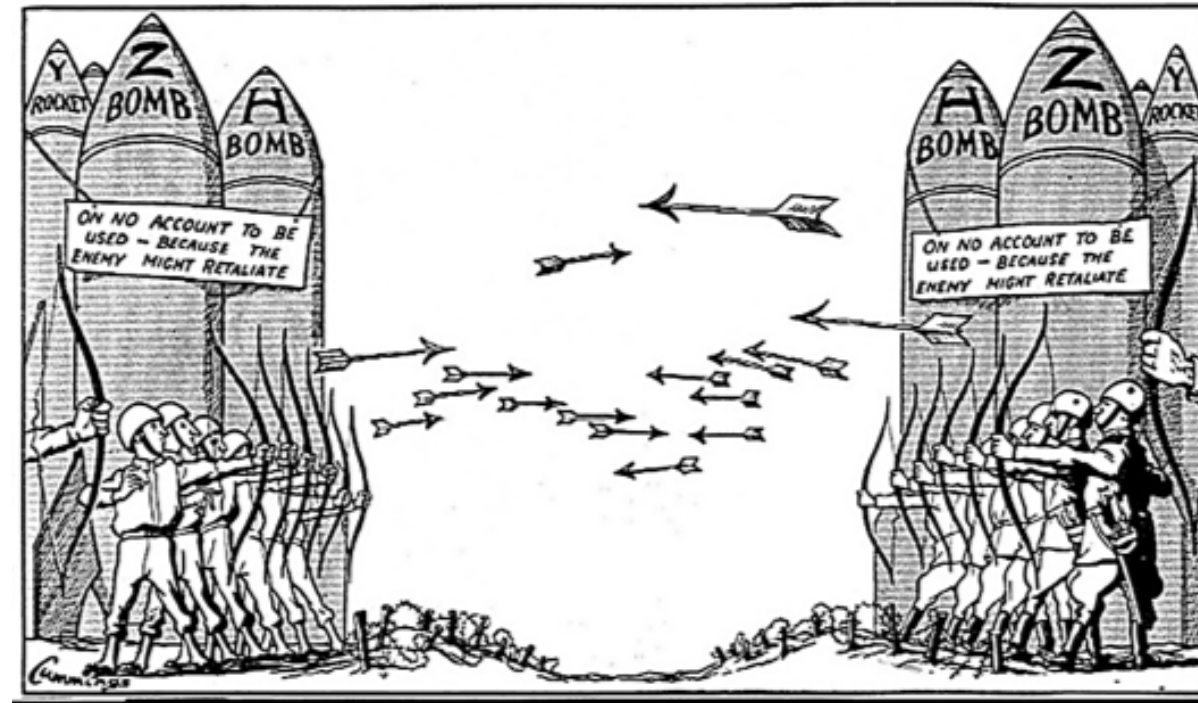
Denial Versus Punishment =>

- **Deterrence by denial** strategies seek to deter an action by making it **infeasible/unlikely to succeed**, thus denying a potential aggressor confidence in attaining its objectives
 - Application of an intention + effort to defend some commitment
- **Deterrence by punishment** threatens severe penalties if an attack occurs
 - threats of wider punishment that would raise the cost of an attack
- **Denial strategies** are inherently more **reliable** than **punishment** strategies



Direct vs. Extended Deterrence

- **Direct Deterrence** => Efforts by a state to prevent attacks on **its own territory**
- **Extended deterrence** => Efforts meant to discourage attacks on **third parties** (allies)
- **Extended deterrence** is more challenging than direct deterrence
 - (Military) **Operational reasons**
 - **Credibility**
- Reinforcing extended deterrence: convincing a potential aggressor that the distant defender will **definitely respond** to an attack of an ally
 - Not easy...



Extended Deterrence

- A state rarely commits to an **'Automatic response'**, and even the most powerful treaty commitments generally contain some degree of leeway
 - Article 5 of the **North Atlantic Treaty** =>

Calls on parties to take “forthwith, individually and in concert with the other Parties, such action as it deems necessary, including the use of armed force, to restore and maintain the security of the North Atlantic area”

- **Compromise** between the **European** allies, which opted for an **automatic response** in the event of aggression, and the **U.S. Congress**, which wanted to **preserve its war powers**

Extended Deterrence

- **Deterrent threats may be costly** to make due to the **implied commitment** involved
 - **Monetary + diplomatic**



- **Defenders must balance:**

- **National interests** at stake in a potential contingency
- The **costs + risks** of being very **explicit** about their response
- The **dangers of aggression** if they do NOT make explicit threats



General vs. Immediate Deterrence

- Deterrence policies can be employed in two overlapping **time periods**:
 - **General Deterrence**: The ongoing effort to prevent unwanted actions over the long term + in non-crisis situations
 - **Immediate Deterrence**: Short-term/urgent attempts to prevent an imminent attack, mostly during a crisis
- **General deterrence** is easier than immediate deterrence
- **Immediate deterrence** during a crisis can be especially **challenging** because the aggressor may have become very **committed** to action
- Consequently, **general deterrence** is also meant to **reduce the need for immediate deterrence** by creating ingrained dissuasion effects

Next Session...

24

- **Failed/Fragile States**
- **Terrorism**
- **Counter terrorism**



Thank You For Your Attention!

Questions?