

Arbeitspapier zur Tagung:

Globalisierung als Aufgabe

Handlungsmöglichkeiten und Gestaltungsoptionen der Politik

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Ulrich Albrecht

Design and Development of New Political Concepts, Institutions and Instruments for Security and Peace

1. Premises: The changing nature of the state

Before undertaking any specific endeavour with regard to the mandated task it will be necessary to reflect about changes in statehood incurred by ongoing globalization.

The present nation state will not stay on unaffected by globalization. "Debilitating states" provide for, according to Leslie Gelb/Council of Foreign Relations, the main security challenge in the mid-term future. Others speak about "imploding" (Jasjit Singh/Indian National Security Council), "fading" (Hoerber/Piscatori), "failing", "quasi-states" (Jackson) or simply about "non-governable chaotic entities" (Rivero), pointing e.g. at the situation in present Somalia or Campuchea..

These situations represent just one end of a spectrum, which opens between the full-fledged classic nation state and its decay. Most states will be found somewhere in between. Globalization shapes function as well as form of the present state, apparently into a polycentric multi-level model of subnational, national and transnational statehood (Lutz Schrader).

This affects also the one core function of the state, in Weberian terms: the execution of the legitimate use of force. Especially in societies in transition, in Latin America and in Eastern Central Europe, one observes a rush towards the privatization of violence, notable by the emergence of a multitude of private security services and other protection units (data will be presented during the conference).

Taking Hobsbawm's characteristics of the state, only territoriality remains unaffected by globalization. Homogeneity, sovereignty, the mandates to control and to judicate as well as direct rule all change due to voluntary limitations, e.g. by Europeanization, or due to the forces of globalization.

Thus the state has got to step down from notions of absolute responsibilities to intermediary between an array of social and other groupings.

The main recommendation by this presenter is to abstain from concretistic proposals for improving security environments as long as there is no proper understanding of the trajectory statehood is geared to in the phase of massive globalisation. An adequate understanding of the relative position of statecraft with regard to other centers of power, at various levels of statehood, and also with regard to other states or cohorts of states (regional unions) will be mandatory in order to design improvements of the present peace and security situation.

2. Concepts, institutions and instruments for security and peace

The following suggestions can be used, keeping the principal caveat in mind given in the above.

The key notion for state policies in the world of European integration and globalization is not state individualistic conceptualization of options, but rather collective action. The theoretical notion of "collective action" deserves a much more thoroughful consideration than it received in the past. Distributive justice, e.g. in fielding EU regional funds or in collecting the moneys for NATO infrastructure programs, will remain important, but there are more dimensions to this concept. A new theoretical dimension certainly will be collective action by mates which differ greatly in state potential.

The state in its future role as multi-level actor will be well advised to develop the European security structure into a truly collective system, as the ISFH proposal for a European Security Community submits for international security. Walter Stützel, by now secretary of state in the German MoD, once suggested EATO (instead of NATO), a European Atlantic Treaty Organization. Further development of the still nascent OSCE might be directed into such veins.

The actual security problem rests inside present states. Minorities are at risk, they have got to contemplate e.g. secession because debilitating statehood ceases to grant sufficient protection. Diasporas call for new concepts to safeguard their existence. Grand scale migration is another feature of globalization which requires a response.

The basic answer to these challenges by this intervention is reference to non-national solutions. If the Council of Europe were in a position to establish a forum where not only individuals, but ethnic groupings were entitled to submit their collective complaints (with a secure chance to be heard, and the promise of ensuing action), leaving aside the countercharge of interference into domestic affairs, if the Permanent International Court of Justice becomes empowered to take up charges of violations of human rights abuse, then the road towards truly collective and transnational institutions providing for security and peace has indeed been entered.

A conservative response to the challenges of globalization, looking at the state in a static fashion, would distinguish between the means to bulkhead against it, to adaptate to it, or to mould appropriate means to live up to the challenge. Only the latter remedy is acceptable from a peace science point of view.