

To what extent does security play a role in governing the relations between states?

Student number:

Political Science

Final exam

BSc in International Business and Politics

Copenhagen Business School

Pages: 8 (12 including bibliography and front page)

Characters: 20833

Reference system: APA 7th edition

December 22th, 2021

Globalization has dwindled the size of our world. Technological advances have made it possible to reach the other side of the planet within a day physically and within the blink of an eye digitally. The increased range of each nation has generated both opportunities and security threats. Increasing security and stability in a modern world requires multilateral agreements on how to behave in the international sphere regarding a wide variety of matters to promote and maintain peace. Liberal internationalism emerged in the aftermath of the second world war and furnished a framework for interpreting a complex world and making it more secure. According to neoliberals, the solution to establishing peace relies on interdependence through dense interactions. This assignment will argue that security increasingly dictates the governing of relations between states because security is more easily obtained through cooperation in a globalized world. The neoliberalist approach will be presented in eight supporting paragraphs, and specific security issues, and multilateral methods to cope with them in the mutual interest of states, will be scrutinized. Furthermore, four opposing arguments addressing a wide variety of concerns regarding participating in international cooperation to achieve absolute gains will be fended off subsequently.

This article is informed by neoliberalism. Neoliberalism has intellectual roots in liberalist thinkers such as Grotius, Bentham, and Kant. Neoliberalism has an optimistic and faithful view of human nature. Neoliberalist thinkers such as Joseph Nye and Robert Keohane considers conflict avoidable through international cooperation; “Information-rich institutions that reduce uncertainty may make agreement possible in future crisis”(Keohane, 2005 p.247). Neoliberalism highlights the importance of institutions as they facilitate an arena where both sides of a conflict can expound information and make conflict less likely through complete information and diplomacy. Neoliberals are optimistic about the restraints states can impose on one another, e.g. sanctions or collective retaliation, which will make states improbable of acting as an aggressor. Neoliberalist acknowledges the presence of conflict in the world but believes in the reason in the state of nature; “States are able to work together to mitigate the effects of anarchy, produce mutual gains, and avoid shared harm”(Jervis, 1999 p.45)”. Neoliberalism was created on the foundation of liberalism, and its most influential figures are characters as Joseph Nye and Robert Keohane. John Burton created a metaphor for the liberal point of view towards world politics. He explained the world as a compound cobb-web on dense interactions and economic interdependence that eradicates the enticement of waging war against each other by creating economic and legal reliance on one another simultaneously (Brown, 2001, p.9).

Economically speaking, security plays a massive part in governing the relations between states. Supranational trade organizations such as the WTO was launched to regulate the trade flows between countries, which has amplified both in intensity and extensity, meaning that both the number of flows and actors have enlarged. The WTO ensures that countries do not swerve from specific standards and can act as a negotiator in settling financial disputes between countries. A country such as China joined the WTO in 2001 and experienced considerable growth between 2002-2007 due to that decision. The entry to WTO lifted the annual growth by 2.4% (CHING et al., 2011). The western countries benefitted from the conditions of implementing China into the WTO as well. A degree of privatization and opening of the Chinese economy opened an excellent market for trade and provided new opportunities for both supply and demand. Furthermore, the conditions for China to enter the WTO forces them to honour the agreements made - if they do not live up to detailed standards, the other countries could now punish them financially by imposing sanctions on some aspects of the Chinese economy. Creating peace by promoting trade follows the notion of commercial peace theory. The EU successfully acted according to this thesis by forcing Iran to negotiate when the EU imposed sanctions to prevent Iran from developing its nuclear program, thereby promoting collective security (Crozet et al., 2021 p.4)

Striving for a more democratic international community and embracing values such as universal human rights and free trade makes it more implausible to be engaging in warfare. The democratic peace theory has its foundation on Immanuel Kant's thesis on perpetual peace from 1795 and is based on the contemporary interpretation by Michael Doyle. The vital point of the democratic peace theory is that democracies tend not to fight each other. If countries share the same values and cultural norms, they are less likely to ignite a conflict. Consequently, the international community is therefore interested in persuading the illiberal states' domestic forms of governance to become more democratic with the sole purpose of acquiring more security internationally. Having a separation of powers helps impede the decision of going to war by securing a decision process. E.g., in France, the government must bring a war decision up for a vote in the parliament, honouring article 35 in the constitution (*The Constitution of the Fifth Republic*, 2021) Furthermore, the democratic leader is reliant on domestic support, given that society will pay with both taxes and casualties. Democracies incline to rely on diplomacy and negotiations before considering military inactions (Parmar, 2013 p. 233). Since the end of the cold war, there have been an increase in democracies (Wessel, 2020) and

less warfare worldwide (Wessel, 2020) which is why influencing other countries to become more democratic is a security question in the international community.

Engaging in international cooperation against criminality and terror can be beneficial for all parts of an agreement. States frequently share information on potential threats such as potential radical extremists; in the summer of 2018, for instance, “Dutch General Intelligence and Security Service and various international partners resulted in the arrest of three suspected terrorists planning an attack in France”. (Tuinier, 2021). Furthermore, multilateral umbrella organizations such as Interpol promotes a common stance against organized crime, which has increasingly gone global; “Today, the ‘Ndrangheta is considered (..) present on every world continent” (INTERPOL, 2020)A specific issue could be drug trafficking, which frequently includes production in South America and distribution throughout the U.S. or Europe. Therefore, Interpol initiated a multilateral action against the ‘Ndrangheta. As Interpol put it: “We need a global approach to combat a worldwide threat. With INTERPOL, we have promoted a targeted project that will help eradicate the ‘Ndrangheta”(INTERPOL, 2020). Globalization has made it more accessible for criminals and terrorists to coordinate across borders. Being able to hold criminals accountable for their actions regardless of their geographic position and be unable to escape police custody by fleeing to the neighbouring country, international cooperation promotes domestic security.

Through coalitions of international character, states can eliminate hazards to the health of their population. Most remarkably is the eradication of smallpox by the WHO (Henderson, 2011). Through an ambitious vaccination program and the participation of more than 50 countries, the WHO managed to exterminate a virus that had haunted the world since the “dawn of written history” (Henderson, 2011). Despite the vaccine-program being of the time of the cold war, even the U.S. and the USSR were able to cooperate to stimulate their mutual interests. A contemporaneous example of international cooperation is the handling of the concurrent covid-19 pandemic. Particularly in the European Union, multilateral approaches have taken place. A collective response was critical to successfully contain the virus with initiatives like the corona passport (European Commission, 2021). An immediate collective response in the European Union has ensured that different states, to a certain degree, have not been hit asymmetrically and have provided financial aid to businesses and sectors affected by the contagious virus (European Council, 2021). Being a part of the international community has proven to be a good idea for Italy, which

lacked the capabilities to deal with the pandemic and requested aid from other European countries (Foreign Ministry of Denmark, 2020). Pandemics surmount boundaries and travel and moves unnoticed between different countries. How other countries decide to manage a baleful health threat immensely dictates the relations between states.

Another global security concern is the increasing impact of climate change. The emission of fossil fuels affects all regions of the world, regardless of who is responsible for the pollution. Therefore, there is an urgent need for a united response to cope with the difficulties of temperature rises accompanies. Some countries, e.g., Norway, would receive relative gains for a temperature increase; their savings for heating would exceed their costs for cooling, and one could claim that they would have no incentive to limit their emission of greenhouse gasses (Seljom et al., 2011). Furthermore, Norway has an economy highly reliant on the exportation of oil. However, other parts of the world, particularly in the global south, will be severely negatively affected by increased temperatures. It could lead to water scarcity and uncontrollable flows of climate refugees (Gosling & Arnell, 2013 p.374). Moreover, the increasing temperatures could harm the production of certain imported goods. Therefore, Norway is participating in global operations and is a part of the Paris agreement to reduce its carbon footprint to achieve absolute gains instead of relative (United Nations, 2021b). Nevertheless, of course, developing countries have no room for adapting to green energy in their process of catching up with the western countries, and the developing countries have therefore been compensated financially as well as the UN advocates for full technological transparency (United Nations, 2021) to ensure a harmony of interests.

An international currency such as the euro provides financial security within the region. A common currency provides quite a few benefits for the member states. Principally, the eurozone secures price stability, reduces transaction costs, and simplifies both goods and labour movements within the union (Juneja, 2017) Furthermore, it creates a more attractive region to place investments in due to the non-fluctuating exchange rate in the market, which maintains foreign investors' confidence (Tavlas, 2004). The euro symbolizes European unity and collectively forms a trading bloc more competitive with NAFTA than the individual economies would have been. Furthermore, the eurozone provides a financial safety net for the weaker European economies such as Greece, which were near bankruptcy in 2010 (Schneider & Slantchev, 2018). Having a common currency makes the economies of the euro-countries closely interdependent. To avoid a destabilization of the

currency, being a member was therefore a bail-out ticket for Greece from bankruptcy. If the other countries had had a laissez-faire approach, the Greek economy could have potentially shattered the euro's credibility. Therefore, a bail-out was in the mutual interest and an absolute gain. Having a credible valuta backed by strong economies prevents inflation and less competitiveness, such as what Turkey is encountering now (Faiola, 2021).

It is convenient for states to amalgamate in a security arrangement to prevent war and ensure domestic security. If the security of one is the concern of all, the states can add the military capacities of the allies to their total tally, thus accumulating military capacity. The UN is an intergovernmental organization with supranational elements. The UN was created after the second world war to avoid other destructive behaviour. By signing the UN Charter article 51, member states commit to going to war only after consulting the Security Council (United Nations, 2021) Furthermore, the UN charter protects territorial integrity, and it is therefore in the interests of states to indulge in international cooperation to guarantee their domestic territorial security. A successful interference took place in Kuwait in 1991, where the five permanent security council members agreed to strike back and reverse the Iraqi aggressors (Krause & Ronzitti, 2012) To participate in an international system enhances the security of each member state and provides stabilization of the international system. The supranational element of the General Assembly promotes humanitarian security in restraining how states are allowed to conduct war (*jus in Bello*) and territorial security, given that the UN only allows countries to go to war for a just cause (*jus ad Bellum*).

Kenneth Waltz argued that multipolar systems are more complicated than bipolar ones, given that “uncertainties about the comparative capabilities of states multiply as numbers grow, and because estimates of the cohesiveness and strength of coalitions are hard to make” (Waltz, 2000), implying that a multipolar world would be more unsafe. However, the security council has provided the superpowers to veto and keeping each other in check. The international laws, especially regarding trade, make it undesirable to deviate from the mutual interests in fear of economic sanctions and being condemned by the international society. As Barry Buzan argues: “all the great powers fear both war and economic breakdown and have a commitment to maintaining world trade” (Buzan, 2011). Furthermore, there is undeniable that there has been no third world war in the current system, while we were inches from an unleash of nuclear weapons during the cold war. Even though there are tensions between the great powers, they acknowledge that the opportunity costs of

entering an armed conflict exceed the gains. It is, therefore, in their mutual interest to maintain peace. The security council and the general assembly provides states a forum to express their perspectives regarding various matters. Additionally, the multipolar system creates an opportunity for countries not to be excessively interdependent on another country regarding trade and security.

Brexit advocates argued that being a part of the EU was simply an expense, that could be better spent on human security, specifically the NHS (Fetzer, 2019 p. 3454). The distrust in the implementation of the monetary policy due the eurozone debt crisis (Carl et al., 2019 p.298) was another factor contributing to Brexit. However, the U.K is now witnessing the complications of not being a part of the trade union. The implications of leaving the union have specifically meant a supply chain disruption. The burden of increased paperwork has had severe implications for the conveyance of goods. In this recent fall, there was a shortage of lorry drivers, which meant that the suppliers could not face the quantity demanded by the British people (Plummer, 2021). In combination with the current pandemic, Brexit has created a perfect storm for the British economy. Therefore, the actual impact of Brexit is difficult to prove yet. Nevertheless, predictions from the University of Groningen suggests that the only compensation for the exit of the union is a trade agreement with the EU (Brakman et al., 2018 p.3).

Additionally, the relationship with France has been exacerbated in the previous weeks (Lander & Onishi, 2021). When the UK left the European bloc, they resigned from the EU return policy (Kargupta & McLellan, 2021) The UK faces a challenging economic future and has renounced from collective solutions towards immigration and complicated trade by leaving the European Union.

Marxists such as Immanuel Wallerstein (Baylis et al., 2020 p.120) would argue that international cooperation is solely beneficial for the powerful states, which exploits the weaker states. The developed states manipulate the developing through ideological coercion. There is an asymmetric interdependence between the global south and the western world to some extent. As individuals, every state acts in their own interest. However, this can be mutually beneficial. Unsurprisingly, the developing states are more concerned about social sustainability per Maslow's pyramid of needs. Still, as previously argued, global concerns such as climate- and health threats requires global actions. Therefore, stronger states are interested in cooperation to ensure mutual security. The UNDP funds numerous examples of sustainable growth in Africa, whose most significant contributors are the developed countries (United Nations, 2021). A recent concrete example is the

\$8.5 billion funding of South Africa to transition away from coal (McKenzie & Balkiz, 2021)

Sustainable growth is in the interests of both the receivers and the contributors. The receivers gain human capital and financial security, while the contributors erode the externalities of carbon emission. However, to make sure of actual progress, compromises must be made. The funding countries gain transparency by urging for democratic features, such as free media and political accountability. Transparency in society makes it simpler to monitor if foreign investments and aid are appropriately spent and as effectively as possible (Ghosh & Kharas, 2011 p. 1925)

Critics of neoliberalism would argue Fukuyama the end of history has not been proven right. Francis Fukuyama made a bold statement at the termination of the cold war, arguing that the demise of communism led to the end of ideological evolution and was the ultimate victory of liberalism. However, there have been several points of critique to Fukuyama's thesis. Firstly, China has become more assertive in the international community and secured wealth without permitting freedom. Secondly, the temporary advance of ISIS and the illiberal tide of populism all over the western world have challenged Fukuyama's prediction. In all modesty, Fukuyamas' predictions were a simplification of reality. It is impossible to apply universal principles to a diverse world with divergent understandings of freedom and human rights. However, what most critics fail to acknowledge is that he did, in fact, comment on the third world situation: "Clearly, the vast bulk of the Third World remains very much mired in history and will be a terrain of conflict for many years to come" (Mearsheimer, 2010). As the slow and gradual development of European democracy illustrates, progress takes time. Nonetheless, The Arab Spring is a clear indication of an aspiration and a strive for universal principles (al-Azm, 2011), and the number of both open economies (Grasten, 2021) and democracies have increased rapidly since the end of the cold war, which partially confirms Fukuyama's thesis.

This article has argued that cooperation is mutually beneficial for states to obtain security. Security does, to a great extent, govern the interactions between states in an interconnected world to engulf foreign threats concerning both health and domestic security. Neoliberalism promotes international cooperation and explains how deviating from international expectations or withdrawing from agreements cause difficulties and uncertainty. However, even though neoliberalism has an opportunistic approach to the world, it also has shortcomings. Neoliberalism struggles to incorporate domestic expectations and cannot explain either the Chinese or Russian annexations of

Crimea and Taiwan, which is counterintuitive financially. Neoliberalism provides an idealistic view on being reliant on each other but does not regard how to cope with how excessive interdependence can cause and mutual harm. This is exemplified by the EU being reluctant to impose sanctions on Russia in the aftermath of the annexation of Crimea due to a reliance on Russian gas supply (Casier, 2016). Domestic history and culture need to be considered to understand anti-Americanism bilateral exchanges such as the Cuban doctors-for-support/commodity agreements (Nugent, 2018) A more accurate description of culture compels for a micro theoretical approach to clarify nationalistic pride, some dictators desperate grasp on power and the counterintuitive decisions some countries make. Therefore, neoliberalism is more useable as a framework or, metaphorically speaking, as a pair of glasses to provide a particular way of interpreting an endlessly complex world.

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