International Security and Cybersecurity II

Dr Christian Bühlmann

Présentation du cours

- Ce cours a pour objectif de présenter
  - les composantes centrales de la sécurité internationale ainsi que
  - les principes fondamentaux des études de sécurité.
- On identifiera quelques approches d'analyse ainsi que les menaces et dangers auxquels les États font face.

Présentation du cours

- On analysera les organisations et les acteurs de la sécurité internationale et leur influence sur les thèmes centraux de cet objet d'étude.

- Les évolutions récentes des notions qui fondent la sécurité internationale seront également discutés.

- On prendra également en compte l'influence du cyber espace sur la sécurité et le recours à ce nouveau milieu comme domaine de conflictualité.

Recap - Key Notions
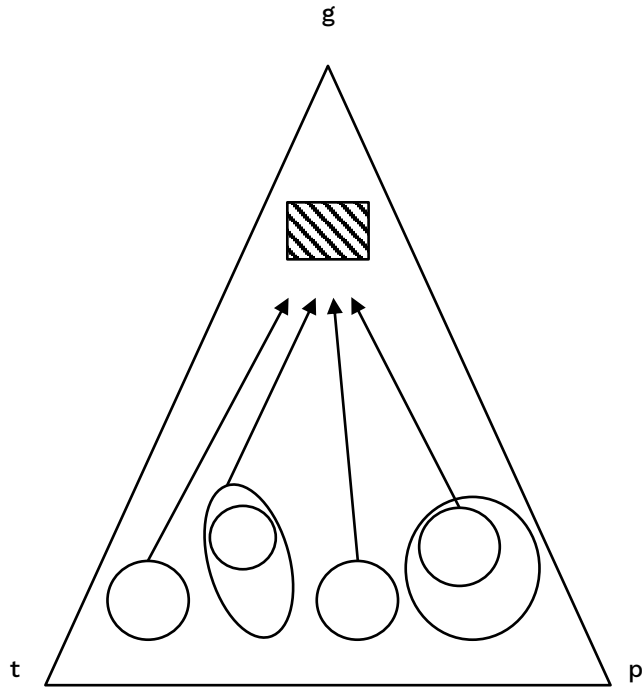
Main Actors – States

Main Actors – IOs and NSA

Conclusions

Key Notions

- (Preparation for) War and State Making
- Security – An Essentially Contested Concept
- Strategy

Processus de monopolisation

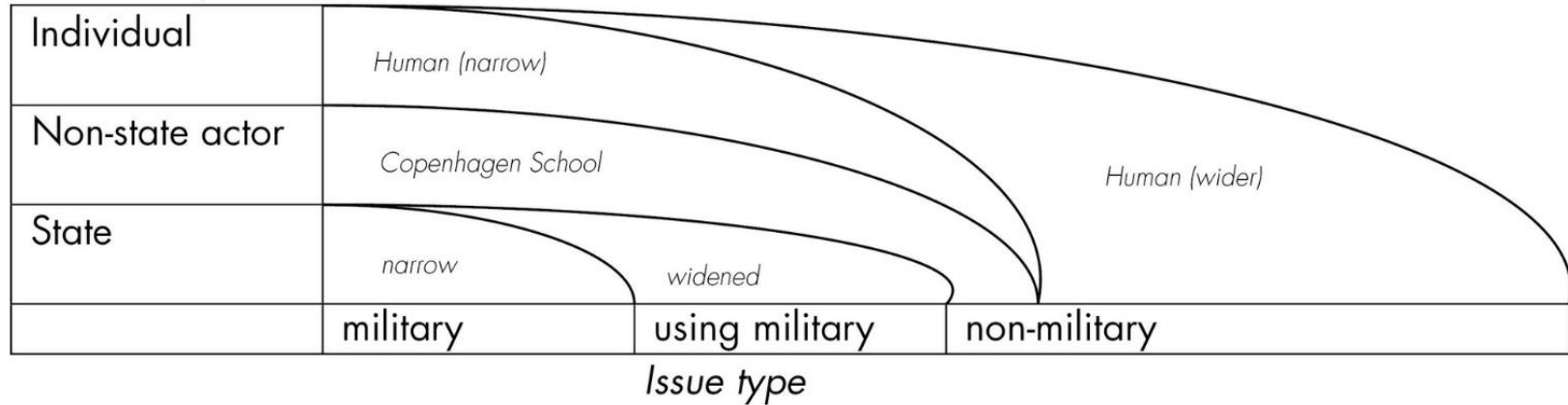**Processus de monopolisation (XVIe – XXe siècle)**
Désarmement des concurrents, taxation et création d'une bureaucratie
Légende : g – gouvernement ; t – territoire ; p - populations
D'après Wicht (2007, 31)

Wicht, B. (2007). "Strategie/Doktrin - Quelles réponses aux défis stratégiques contemporains (I) -- Une grille d'analyse." *Military Power Revue*(1): 12-30.

Security (1)

Referent object / Issue type diagram showing Narrow, Copenhagen School, Human (narrow), Human (wider) conceptions across Individual, Non-state actor, State referent objects and military, using military, non-military issue types.

Narrow, wide and deep conceptions of security

Hough, P. (2023. 10)

Security (2) Definitions

— « measures the absence of threats to acquired values, in a subjective sense, the absence of fear that such values will be attacked » (Wolfers 1952, 485).

— « a low probability of damage to acquired values » (Baldwin 1997, 13).

— « the pursuit of freedom from threat » (Buzan, 2007) in Battistella (2019, 557).

Wolfers, A. (1952). ""National Security" as an Ambiguous Symbol." *Political Science Quarterly* 67(4): 481-502.
Baldwin, D. A. (1995). "Security studies and the end of the cold war." *World Politics* 48(1): 117-141.
Buzan, B. (2007). *People, States and Fear : an Agenda for International Security Studies in the Post-Cold War Era.*
Battistella, D., et al. (2019). *Théories des relations internationales*. Paris, Presses de Sciences Po.

Security (3) Questions

« Security for whom? »

States

Non State Actors

Individuals

« Security for which values? »

State Survival

National independence

Territorial integrity

Well-being

Cultural Identity

Fundamental freedoms

« From what threats? »

Military

Military means

Non-military

« How much security? »

« By what means? »

« At what cost? »

« In what time period? »

(Baldwin 1997)

Baldwin, D. A. (1995). "Security studies and the end of the cold war." *World Politics* 48(1): 117-141.
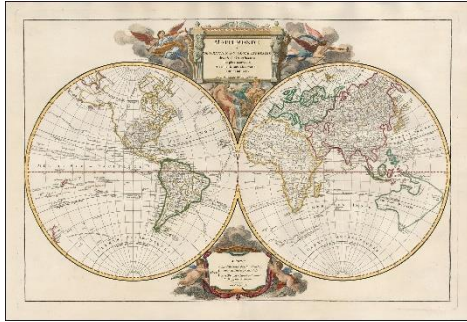
Copenhagen School

- Less focalisation on major states, also on groups; Role of norms
- More dimensions of security, e.g.
  - Political
  - Economic
  - Environmental
  - Societal
- Securitisation

Human Security

- Freedom from fear, from want (PNUD 1994)
- Even more forms of security
  - Economic
  - Food
  - Sanitary
  - Personal
  - Community
- State is still the major referent for security

Levels of Analysis in IR

System Level

State Level

Individual Level

Analytical Frameworks

Intérests
«Realism»

Réalisme structurel

1. L'État souverain est l'acteur central du système international.

2. Le système international a une nature anarchique ; l'absence d'une autorité supérieure capable d'imposer la loi conduit les États à développer leur puissance.

3. L'intérêt ultime de l'État est sa survie.

4. Les États ne peuvent compter que sur eux-mêmes : « Self-help is necessarily the principle of action » (Waltz, 1979, 111).

Waltz, K. N. (1979). *Theory of International Politics*. Reading, Mass, Addison-Wesley Pub. Co.

Security Dilemma

Dans un système international anarchique, les États se sentent menacés par l'augmentation des capacités de militaires d'un autre État, ce qui conduit à une escalade des acquisitions militaires et à une réduction de la sécurité globale(Jervis 1978, 169–170, Herz 1950).

Jervis, R. (1978). "Cooperation Under the Security Dilemma." *World Politics* 30(2): 167-214.
Herz, J. H. (1950). "Idealist Internationalism and the Security Dilemma." *World Politics* 2(2): 157-180.

Analytical Frameworks

Institutions
«Liberalism»

Liberalism

- Democracies do not go to war with each other.

- Democracies have little inclination to go to war with other types of political regime.

- "The possibility of creating a lasting state of peace despite the anarchy that governs international relations and international security"

Deschaux-Dutard (2018).

Deschaux-Dutard, D. (2018). *Introduction à la sécurité internationale*. FONTAINE, Presses universitaires de Grenoble.

Analytical Frameworks

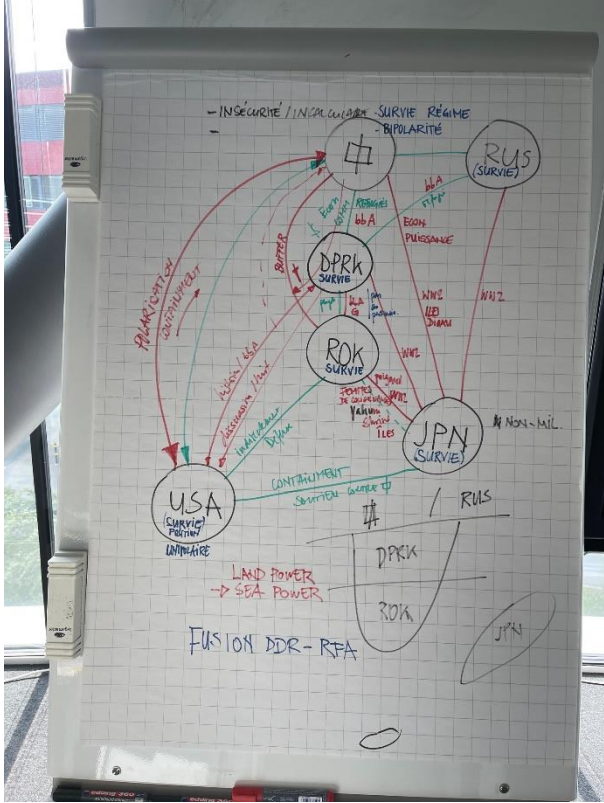**Ideas and Culture**
«Constructivism»

Constructivism

"Anarchy Is What States Make of It"

- The structures of human association are determined primarily by shared ideas rather than material forces.

- The identities and interests of purposive actors are constructed by these shared ideas rather than given by nature.

Wendt (1992)

Wendt, A. (1992). "Anarchy is what States Make of it: The Social Construction of Power Politics." *International Organization* 46(2): 391-425.

Exercise

Recap - Key Notions

Main Actors – States

Main Actors – IOs and NSA

Conclusions

Security Threats

TABLE 1.5 Security threats

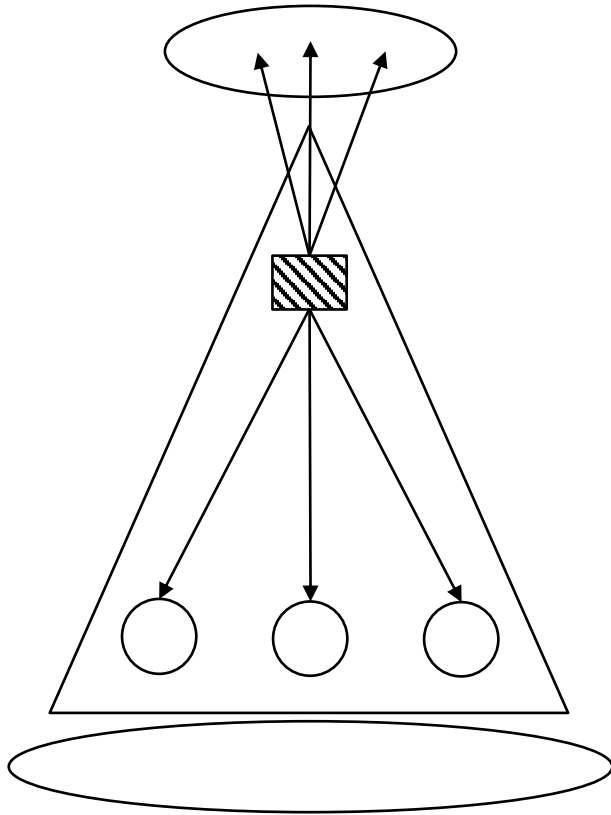| Threats	The threatened			
	Individuals	*Societal groups*	*Government*	*The world*
Individuals	crime, 'hate crimes'	'hate crimes'		
Societal groups	'hate crimes'	genocide	civil war	
Government	human rights abuses	genocide, politicide	war, economic sanctions	nuclear war
Global structures	poverty, industrial accidents, pollution	global warming	global warming	
Non-human	disease, natural disasters			asteroid/comet collision

Hough, P. (2023. 20-21)

L'État

- L'État demeure l'acteur central des relations internationals (Système Westphalien)
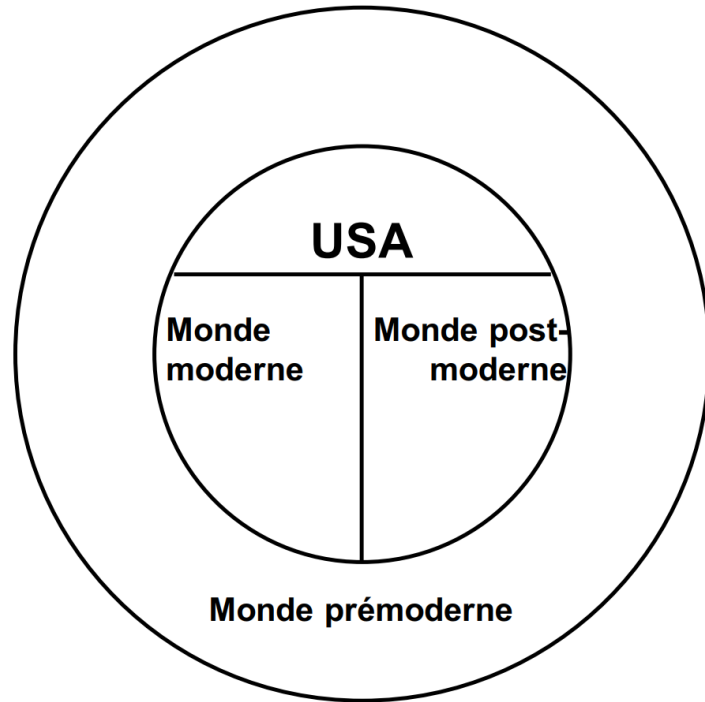- Affaiblissement de l'État
- Plusieurs degrés d'étatisation (Cooper)

Processus de reféodalisation

Processus de reféodalisation (depuis la fin du XXe siècle)
Réarmement des concurrents, Fuite de la souveraineté vers le niveau supra-étatique.
Source: Wicht (2007, 31)

p

Fragilité de certains États: catégories

Bühlmann (2012, 247) sur la base de Cooper (1996, 2003)

Bühlmann, C. (2012). "Le concept d'asymétrie: une plus-value pour comprendre les conflits modernes ?" *Stratégique* 100-101(2(2-3)): 229-268.
Cooper, R. (2003). *The Breaking of Nations: Order and Chaos in the Twenty-first Century*. London, Atlantic Books.

La puissance

The "ability to affect others to get the outcomes one wants" (Nye 2009, 61)

Hard Power	Soft Power

Nye, J. S., 2009. *Understanding International Conflicts*. 7. ed. New York: Pearson.

Les instruments de puissance de l'État
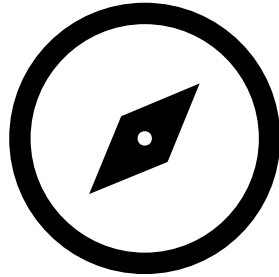
D

I

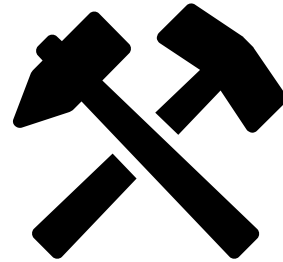**M**

E

Stratégie

END   WAY   MEANS

"Strategy = Ends + Ways + Means. [...] To ensure national security, the three "legs" of military strategy must not only exist, they must be balanced."
(Lykke 2001, 179–183)

Lykke, J., Arthur F. (2001). "Toward an Understanding of Military Strategy" *U.S. Army War College Guide to Strategy.*
J. R. Cerami and J. F. Holcomb, Jr. Ft. Belvoir, Defense Technical Information Center: 179-185.

Stratégie militaire

D

I

M END WAY MEANS (Military) Strategy

E
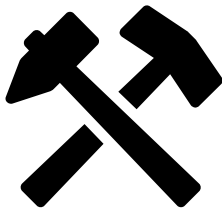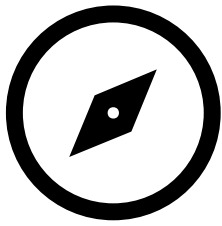
Grande Stratégie

(Grand) Strategy

END   WAY   MEANS

D
I
M
E

Stratégie

« L'essence de la stratégie gît dans le jeu abstrait qui résulte ... de l'opposition de deux volontés. C'est l'art qui permet, indépendamment de toute technique, de dominer les problèmes que pose en soi tout duel, pour permettre justement d'employer les techniques avec le maximum d'efficacité.

C'est donc ... l'art de la dialectique des volontés employant la force pour résoudre leur conflit.»

(Beaufre 1962, 420)

Beaufre, A. (1962). "Vue d'ensemble de la stratégie." *Politique étrangère*: 417-446.

Synthèse

- Permanence de l'État
- Puissance
- Instruments de puissance
- Stratégie

Recap - Key Notions

Main Actors – States

Main Actors – IOs and NSA

Conclusions

La sécurité collective I: la SDN

«*Les Membres de la Société s'engagent à respecter et à maintenir contre toute agression extérieure l'intégrité territoriale et l'indépendance politique présente de tous les Membres de la Société. En cas d'agression, de menace ou de danger d'agression, le Conseil avise aux moyens d'assurer l'exécution de cette obligation*».

Pacte de la Société des Nations, article 10.

Le multilatéralisme

« Un projet politique pris en charge par une institution internationale ».

Il intègre une dimension normative:

- **Non-discrimination,**
- **Indivisibilité**
- **Réciprocité.**

Deschaux-Dutard (2018).

Deschaux-Dutard, D. (2018). *Introduction à la sécurité internationale*. FONTAINE, Presses universitaires de Grenoble.

La sécurité collective II: l'ONU

«*Les Membres de la Société s'engagent à respecter et à maintenir contre toute agression extérieure l'intégrité territoriale et l'indépendance politique présente de tous les Membres de la Société. En cas d'agression, de menace ou de danger d'agression, le Conseil avise aux moyens d'assurer l'exécution de cette obligation*».

Pacte de la Société des Nations, article 10.

Le multilatéralisme sous l'angle des cadres théoriques

Réalisme

"The False Promise of International Institutions" (Mearsheimer 1994–1995)

- SdN + Bosnia (1990)
- "Misplaced reliance on institutional solutions is likely to lead to more failures in the future"

Libéralisme

- Créer de la certitude et péréniser la cooperation

Constructivistes

- Lieu de socialisation également

ONU et les organisations régionales

- **CHAPITRE VIII : ACCORDS RÉGIONAUX**

Présentations

- ONU
- OSCE
- ASEAN
- OTAN
- SCO
- UA

Comparing dominant actors

		Use of force	Non-proliferation WMD	Terrorism
FIGOs	*Universal*	Very high	Very high	High
	Regional	High	Medium	Very high
IIGOs		Medium	Medium	High
Courts & Tribunals		Medium	Low	Low
NSAs	*NGOs*	High	Medium	Low
	MNCs	Medium	High	Low

(SANCHEZ COBALEDA 2020) SANCHEZ COBALEDA, A. (2020). "Who does what? The glo

Recap - Key Notions

Main Actors – States

Main Actors – IOs and NSA

Conclusions

Limits

A short guide to the Middle East

From Mr KN Al-Sabah.

Sir, Iran is backing Assad. Gulf states are against Assad!

Assad is against Muslim Brotherhood. Muslim Brotherhood and Obama are against General Sisi.

But Gulf states are pro-Sisi! Which means they are against Muslim Brotherhood!

Iran is pro-Hamas, but Hamas is backing Muslim Brotherhood!

Obama is backing Muslim Brotherhood, yet Hamas is against the US!

Gulf states are pro-US. But Turkey is with Gulf states against Assad; yet Turkey is pro-Muslim Brotherhood against General Sisi. And General Sisi is being backed by the Gulf states!

Welcome to the Middle East and have a nice day.

KN Al-Sabah,
London EC4, UK

A short guide to the Middle East

From Mr KN Al-Sabah.

Sir, Iran is backing Assad. Gulf states are against Assad!

Assad is against Muslim Brotherhood. Muslim Brotherhood and Obama are against General Sisi.

But Gulf states are pro-Sisi! Which means they are against Muslim Brotherhood!

Iran is pro-Hamas, but Hamas is backing Muslim Brotherhood!

Obama is backing Muslim Brotherhood, yet Hamas is against the US!

Gulf states are pro-US. But Turkey is with Gulf states against Assad; yet Turkey is pro-Muslim Brotherhood against General Sisi. And General Sisi is being backed by the Gulf states!

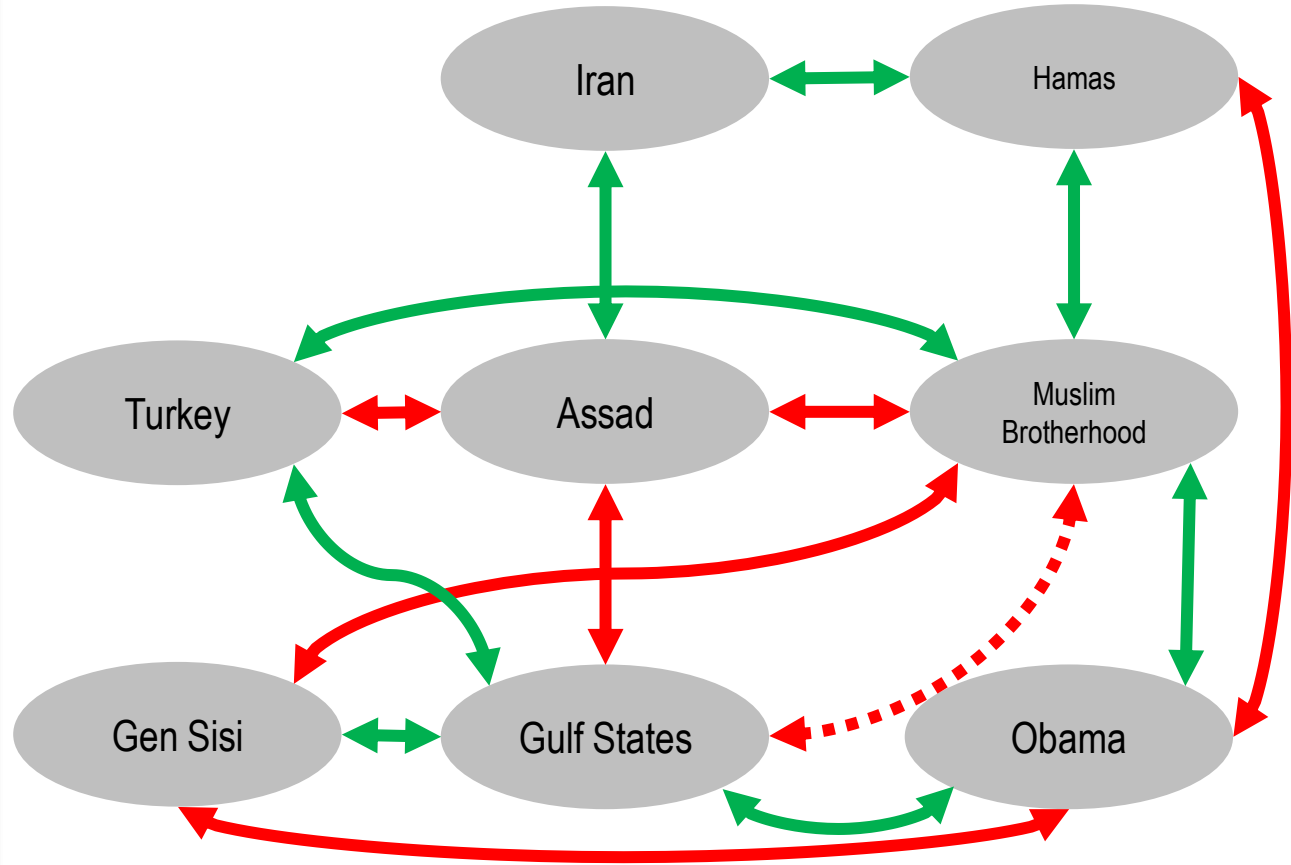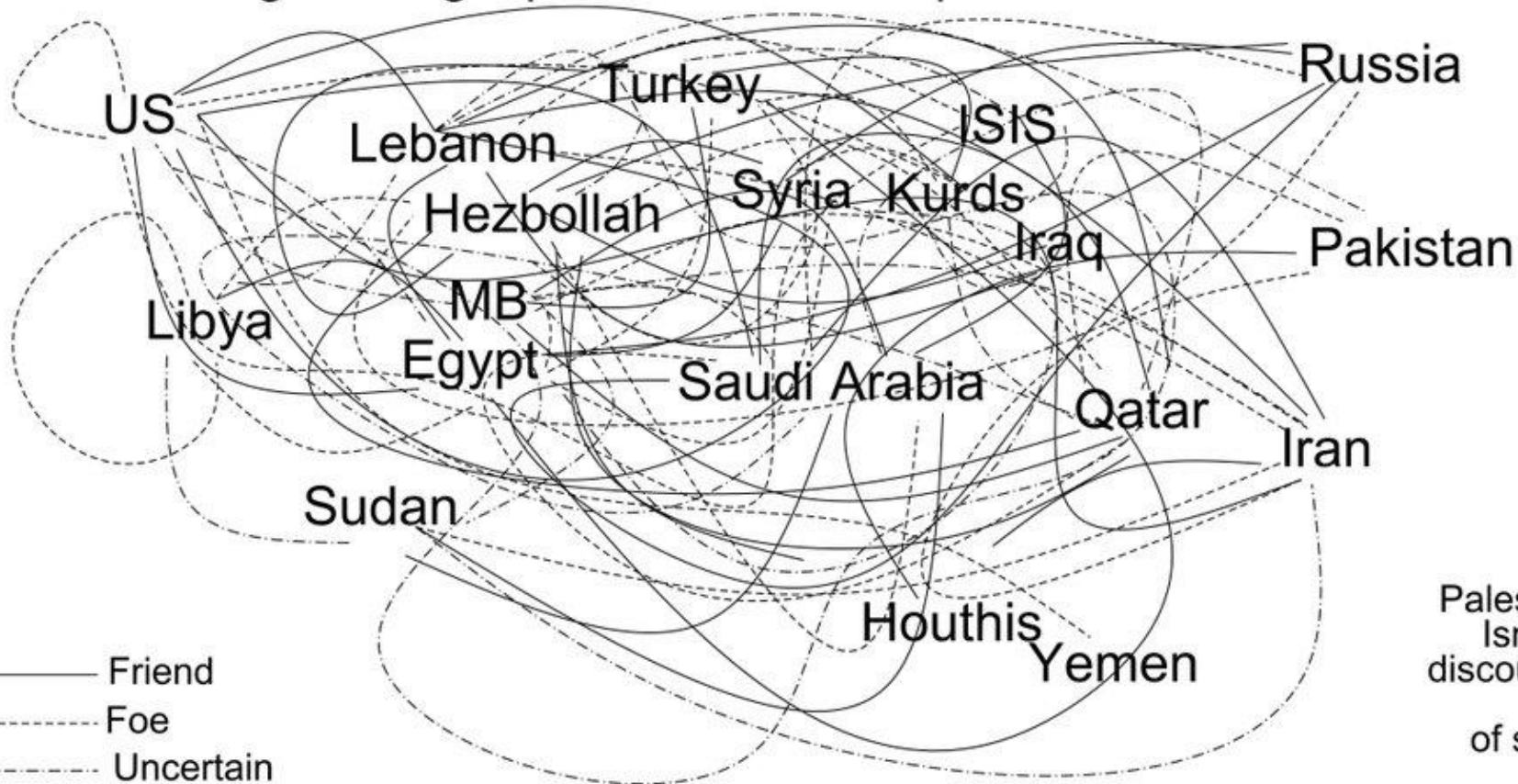Welcome to the Middle East and have a nice day.
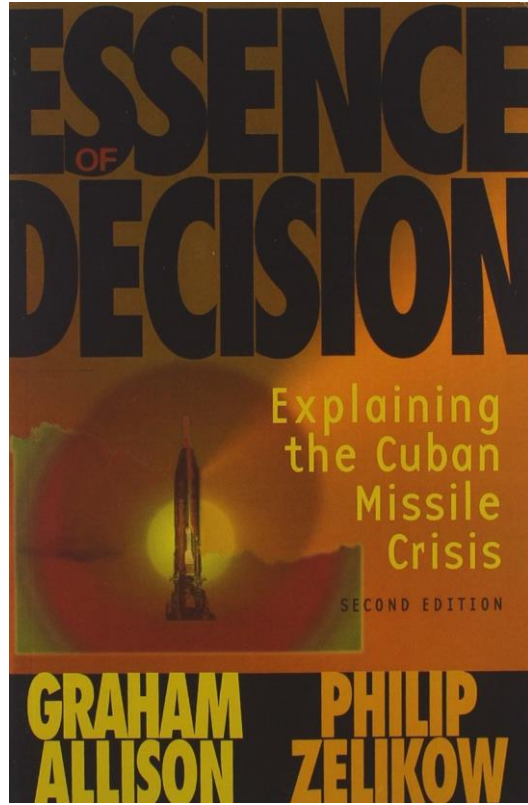
KN Al-Sabah,
London EC4, UK
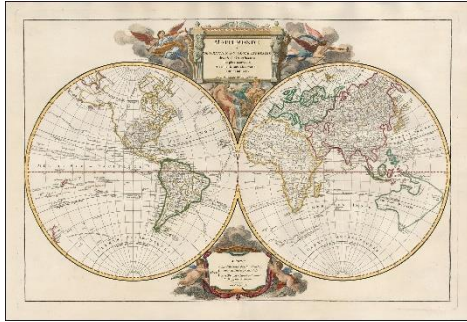
Diagram of geopolitical relationships in the Middle East

Labels: Russia, US, Turkey, ISIS, Lebanon, Syria, Kurds, Hezbollah, Iraq, Pakistan, MB, Libya, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Iran, Sudan, Houthis, Yemen

Legend:
——— Friend
--------- Foe
—·—·—·— Uncertain

Note:
Palestine and Israel were discounted for the sake of simplicity

Institute of Internet Diagrams - karlremarks.com 2016

ESSENCE OF DECISION

Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis

SECOND EDITION

GRAHAM ALLISON   PHILIP ZELIKOW

"The essence of ultimate decision remains impenetrable to the observer - often, indeed, to the decider himself"

John F. Kennedy

Levels of Analysis

System Level

State Level

Individual Level

State-level Frameworks

- Rational Actor Model

- Organisational Process

- Governmental Politics

The "Rational Actor" Model

- Governments are treated as the primary actor.

- The government examines a set of goals, evaluates them according to their utility, then picks the one that has the highest "payoff."

Limits of the "Rational Actor" Model

"It must be noted, however, that an imaginative analyst can construct an account of value-maximizing choice for any action or set of actions performed by a government"
G. Allison

The "Organizational Process" Model

- Faced with a crisis, government leaders and assign tasks according to pre-established organizational lines.

- Because of time and resource limitations, leaders settle on the first proposal ("satisficing")

- Leaders limit **short-term** uncertainty.

- Organizations follow set "repertoires" and procedures when taking actions

- Because of the large resources and time required to plan, leaders are effectively limited to pre-existing plans ("Décisions résevées")

The "Governmental Politics" Model

Politicking and negotiation by its top leaders.

- Leaders differ in how to achieve goals (personal interests and background)
- The leader must gain a consensus with his underlings or risk having his order misunderstood or, in some cases, ignored.
- The lineup of a leader's entourage will have a large effect on the final decision
- Leaders have different levels of power based on charisma, personality, skills of persuasion, and personal ties to decision-makers.
- If a leader is certain enough, they will not seek input from their advisors, but rather, approval.
- If a leader fails to reach a consensus with his inner circle (or, at least, the appearance of a consensus), opponents may take advantage of these disagreements. Therefore, effective leaders must create a consensus.
- Because of the possibilities of miscommunication, different leaders may take actions that the group as a whole would not approve of.

Take away I

- Il est possible de créer une explication crédible de relations étatiques à partir d'une analyse des intérêts potentiels

Take away II

- Rationality is a first order assumption, without need to open the state's black box.
- "Rationality will not save us"
  Robert McNamara
- There is a need to dig deeper in order to understand what is happening, but you need more data. How ?
- Stepping away from the traditional model and exploring alternate viewpoints is useful