

M A R Y K A L D O R



NEW AND OLD  
**WARS**

ORGANIZED VIOLENCE IN A GLOBAL ERA

**3**<sup>RD</sup> EDITION

# New And Old Wars Organized Violence In A Global Era Third Edition

**James Waller**



### **New And Old Wars Organized Violence In A Global Era Third Edition:**

**New and Old Wars** Mary Kaldor, 2013-04-26 Mary Kaldor's *New and Old Wars* has fundamentally changed the way both scholars and policy makers understand contemporary war and conflict. In the context of globalization, this path-breaking book has shown that what we think of as war—that is to say, war between states in which the aim is to inflict maximum violence—is becoming an anachronism. In its place is a new type of organized violence or new wars, which could be described as a mixture of war, organized crime, and massive violations of human rights. The actors are both global and local, public and private. The wars are fought for particularistic political goals using tactics of terror and destabilization that are theoretically outlawed by the rules of modern warfare. Kaldor's analysis offers a basis for a cosmopolitan political response to these wars in which the monopoly of legitimate organized violence is reconstructed on a transnational basis and international peacekeeping is reconceptualized as cosmopolitan law enforcement. This approach also has implications for the reconstruction of civil society, political institutions, and economic and social relations. This third edition has been fully revised and updated. Kaldor has added an afterword answering the critics of the New Wars argument and in a new chapter Kaldor shows how old war thinking in Afghanistan and Iraq greatly exacerbated what turned out to be in many ways archetypal new wars, characterised by identity politics, a criminalised war economy, and civilians as the main victims. Like its predecessors, the third edition of *New and Old Wars* will be essential reading for students of international relations, politics, and conflict studies, as well as to all those interested in the changing nature and prospect of warfare.

**New and Old Wars** Mary Kaldor, 1999 Since 1989 and the breakup of the Soviet Union, both the threat of nuclear war and the threat of large-scale interstate conventional war have receded. Yet during the 1990s, millions have died in wars in Africa, Eastern Europe, and Asia, and millions more have become refugees from war-torn regions. In this path-breaking book, the author argues that in the context of globalization, what we think of as war—war between states in which the aim is to inflict maximum violence—is becoming an anachronism. In its place is a new type of organized violence, which she calls new wars, a mixture of war, organized crime, and massive violations of human rights. The actors are both global and local, public and private. These wars are fought for particular political goals using tactics of terror and destabilization that are theoretically outlawed by the rules of modern warfare. An informal criminalized economy is built into the functioning of these new wars. The author asserts that political leaders and international institutions have been unable to deal with the spread of these wars mainly because they have not come to terms with their logic: wars are treated either as old wars or as anarchy. Her analysis offers a basis for a cosmopolitan political response to these wars in which the monopoly of legitimate organized violence is reconstructed on a transnational basis and international peacekeeping is reconceptualized as cosmopolitan law enforcement. The author shows how this approach has profound implications for the reconstruction of civil society, political institutions, and economic and social relations.

**Violent Societies**  
C. Steenkamp, 2014-10-15 This book investigates the relationships between political violence, social violence, and economic

violence using examples from South Africa Northern Ireland Lebanon and Syria It examines the cultural impact of war and argues that a culture of violence can explain the high levels of violence which are frequently found in post war societies

**Journal of Medieval Military History** John France, Kelly DeVries, Clifford J. Rogers, 2016-10-20 This volume focuses on the idea of proxy actors and irregular forces in medieval warfare with contributions on the military role of non noble combatants Muslim responses to the Crusades and foreign fights in North African states and Byzantium (In)Security: Identifying the Invisible Disruptors of Security Gitanjali Adlakha-Hutcheon, Candyce Kelshall, 2024-10-12 What does it take to disrupt security How does one disrupt the invisibility of insecurity How does one make the invisible factors that define and impact security visible For a start by giving voice to the unheard and the marginalized engaging non traditional understandings of security that might bring to light the cracks in our current security infrastructure and expose the insecurities that are hidden in plain sight These voices include generational geographic cultural ethnic and gender based perspectives of insecurity which are ignored or simply cannot be heard by traditional notions of security Presently there is a lack of understanding of the language of nuanced hate being whispered from the ground that inform civil discord These call for new intrastate actions that need to be taken to make communities safer and building layers of protective resilience into the continuing existence of the state Unresolved grievances lay the foundation for insecurity and instability for the future at a time when states need cohesiveness more than ever and there are significant invisible insecurities external to the state that need to be revealed The tapestry of interrelationships that enable security within a state requires equity access and agency among communities If we are to achieve this we must learn to see the invisible listen to the unheard and move beyond our static conceptions of security In so doing we build more resilient societies in the face of a dynamic threat environment and ensure the peaceful continued existence of states This book is a sounding board for positive disruption a source for alternative theories tools and models to aid mitigation of the whispered threats and the soft violence which accompanies chauvinism of any one way of being In this edited book the multiplicity of factors that impact security is explored through new lenses to glean insights such that we are better equipped to prevent harm and protect our security **New Pandemics, Old Politics** Alex de Waal, 2021-03-31 New Pandemics Old Politics explores how the modern world adopted a martial script to deal with epidemic disease threats and how this has failed repeatedly Europe first declared war on cholera in the 19th century It didn't defeat the disease but it served purposes of state and empire In 1918 influenza emerged from a real war and swept the world unchecked by either policy or medicine Forty years ago AIDS challenged the confidence of medical science AIDS is still with us but we have learned to live with it chiefly because of community activism and emancipatory politics Today public health experts and political leaders who failed to listen to them agree on one thing that we must fight Covid 19 There's a consensus that we should target individual pathogens and suppress them rather than address the reasons why our societies are so vulnerable Arguing that this consensus is mistaken Alex de Waal makes the case

for a new democratic public health for the Anthropocene

### **The End of Empires and a World Remade** Martin

Thomas, 2024-03-19 A capacious history of decolonization from the decline of empires to the era of globalization Empires until recently were everywhere They shaped borders stirred conflicts and set the terms of international politics With the collapse of empire came a fundamental reorganization of our world Decolonization unfolded across territories as well as within them Its struggles became internationalized and transnational as much global campaigns of moral disarmament against colonial injustice as local contests of arms In this expansive history Martin Thomas tells the story of decolonization and its intrinsic link to globalization He traces the connections between these two transformative processes the end of formal empire and the acceleration of global integration market reorganization cultural exchange and migration The End of Empires and a World Remade shows how profoundly decolonization shaped the process of globalization in the wake of empire collapse In the second half of the twentieth century decolonization catalyzed new international coalitions it triggered partitions and wars and it reshaped North South dynamics Globalization promised the decolonized greater access to essential resources to wider networks of influence and to worldwide audiences but its neoliberal variant has reinforced economic inequalities and imperial forms of political and cultural influences In surveying these two codependent histories across the world from Latin America to Asia Thomas explains why the deck was so heavily stacked against newly independent nations Decolonization stands alongside the great world wars as the most transformative event of twentieth century history In The End of Empires and a World Remade Thomas offers a masterful analysis of the greatest process of state making and empire unmaking in modern history

International Security Studies Peter Hough, Andrew Moran, Bruce Pilbeam, 2025-08-11 Fully revised to incorporate recent developments this third edition of International Security Studies provides students with a comprehensive and accessible textbook on security with a particular emphasis on the use of case studies to illustrate theoretical debates In addition to presenting the major theoretical perspectives the book examines a range of important and controversial topics in covering both traditional military and non military security issues such as nuclear proliferation humanitarian intervention food security and environmental security Unlike most standard textbooks the volume also offers a wide range of case studies including chapters on the US China the Middle East Russia East Africa and the Arctic providing detailed analyses of important global security issues and the application of theoretical debates to major contemporary issues The 36 chapters contain pedagogical features such as textboxes summary points and recommended further reading and are divided into five thematic sections Conceptual and theoretical Military security Non military security Institutions and security Case studies This textbook will be essential reading for all students of security studies and highly recommended for students of critical security studies human security peace and conflict studies foreign policy and International Relations in general

Killing for Show Julian Stallabrass, 2020-10-30 See firsthand how war photography is used to sway public opinion In the autumn of 2014 the Royal Air Force released blurry video of a missile blowing up a pick up truck which may have had a weapon attached to

its flatbed This was a lethal form of gesture politics to send a 9 million bomber from Cyprus to Iraq and back burning 35 000 an hour in fuel to launch a smart missile costing 100 000 to destroy a truck or rather to create a video that shows it being destroyed Some lives are ended it is impossible to tell whose so that the government can pretend that it taking effective action by creating a high budget snuff movie This is killing for show Since the Vietnam War the way we see conflict through film photographs and pixels has had a powerful impact on the political fortunes of the campaign and the way that war has been conducted In this fully illustrated and passionately argued account of war imagery Julian Stallabrass tells the story of post war conflict how it was recorded and remembered through its iconic photography The relationship between war and photograph is constantly in transition forming new perspectives provoking new challenges what is allowed to be seen Does an image have the power to change political opinion How are images used to wage war Stallabrass shows how photographs have become a vital weapon in the modern war as propaganda from close quarters fighting to the drone s electronic vision as well as a witness to the barbarity of events such as the My Lai massacre the violent suppression of insurgent Fallujah or the atrocities in Abu Ghraib Through these accounts Stallabrass maps a comprehensive theoretical re evaluation of the relationship between war politics and visual culture Killing for Show offers 190 photographs encompassing photojournalism artists images photographs by soldiers and amateurs and dronesA comprehensive comparison of the role of photography in the Vietnam and Iraq WarsAn explanation of the waning power of iconic images in collective memoryAn analysis of the failure of military PR and the public display of killingA focus on what can and cannot be seen photographed and publishedAn exploration of the power and limits of amateur photographyArguments about how violent images act on democracy This full color book is an essential volume in the history of warfare and photography

*The Routledge Handbook of the Northern Ireland Conflict and Peace* Laura McAtackney, Máirtín Ó Catháin, 2023-11-13 The Routledge Handbook of the Northern Ireland Conflict and Peace is the first multi authored volume to specifically address the many facets of the 30 year Northern Ireland conflict colloquially known as the Troubles and its subsequent peace process This volume is rooted in opening space to address controversial subjects answer key questions and move beyond reductive analysis that reproduces a simplistic two community theses The temporal span of individual chapters can reach back to the formation of the state of Northern Ireland with many starting in the late 1960s to include a range of individuals collectives organisations understandings and events at least up to the Good Friday Belfast Agreement in 1998 This volume has forefronted creative approaches in understanding conflict and allows for analysis and reflection on conflict and peace to continue through to the present day With an extensive introduction preface and 45 individual chapters this volume represents an ambitious expansive interdisciplinary engagement with the North of Ireland through society conflict and peace from a wide range of disciplinary perspectives theoretical frameworks and methodological approaches While allowing for rich historical explorations of high level politics rooted in state documents and archives this volume also allows for the intermingling of different sources that highlight the role of

personal papers memory space materials and experience in understanding the complexities of both Northern Ireland as a people place and political entity

**The Alternatives to War** James Pattison, 2018 This book examines the ethics of the alternatives to war It assesses the moral case for each of the alternative in their own right and provides an overall assessment of the alternatives to war

*Handbook on Global Governance and Regionalism* Jürgen Rüland, Astrid Carrapatoso, 2022-11-18 This Handbook expertly explores the profound transformations in international relations in recent decades Proliferating cross border challenges including global financial crises climate change environmental degradation irregular migration and COVID 19 require governance structures that transcend the nation state and take both global and regional interplay as well as problem solving capacities into account Contributing authors investigate the effectiveness of international cooperation and performance in a diverse range of policy fields

Mexican Drug Violence Teun Voeten, 2020-11-29 Brutally honest a deeply extraordinary and original work SEBASTIAN JUNGER With an estimated 250 000 people killed in 15 years the Mexican drug war is the most violent conflict in the Western world It shows no sign of abating In this book Dr Teun A Voeten analyzes the dynamics of the violence He argues it is a new type of war called hybrid warfare multidimensional elusive and unpredictable fought at different levels with different intensities with multiple goals The war ISIS has declared against the West is another example of hybrid warfare Voeten interprets drug cartels as ultra capitalist predatory corporations thriving in a neoliberal globalized economy They use similar branding and marketing strategies as legitimate business He also looks at the anthropological individual level and explains how people can become killers Voeten compares Mexican sicarios West African child soldiers and Western jihadis and sees the same logic of cruelty that facilitates perpetrating inhumane acts that are in fact very human

The Democratic Republic of the Congo. La République Démocratique du Congo Julien Bobineau, Philipp Gieg, 2016 This interdisciplinary volume brings together English and French language contributions that add to an in depth picture of the Democratic Republic of the Congo s current state of affairs The authors from various academic fields who research and teach at universities in Africa Asia and Europe focus on political and economic perspectives education and civil society health and environment the country s international relations as well as historical foundations They analyse the problems the country is facing but also point out where progress has been made where possibilities lie and how these possibilities can come to fruition

A Troubled Sleep James Waller, 2021 Drawing on ethnographic fieldwork comparative research and over 110 hours of face to face interviews with a diverse range of political academic civil society and community actors across Northern Ireland Waller revisits one of the world s most deeply divided societies to analyze Northern Ireland s current vulnerabilities and points of resilience as an allegedly post conflict society

**Maintaining Order, Making Peace** O. Richmond, 2001-12-17 This study explores three generations of approaches to ending conflict and examines how in the context of the failings of the Westphalian international system their peacekeeping mediation and negotiation conflict resolution and peacebuilding approaches as well as UN peace operations

and asks via an empirical and theoretical analysis what role such approaches have played and are playing in replicating an international system prone to intractable forms of conflict

*Serious International Crimes, Human Rights, and Forced Migration* James C. Simeon, 2022-02-10 This volume elucidates and explores the interrelationships and direct causal connection between serious international crimes serious breaches to fundamental human rights and gross affronts to human dignity that lead to mass forced migration Forced migration most often occurs in the context of protracted armed conflict of a noninternational nature where terrorism fierce fighting deep animosity tit for tat retaliation and rapid dominance doctrine all lead to the commission of atrocity crimes Accordingly this volume makes a valuable contribution to the literature and to the cause of trying to resolve mass forced displacement at its root cause to explore the course that it takes and how it might be prevented The collection comprises original research by leading legal scholars and jurists focusing on the three central themes of serious international crimes human rights and forced migration The work also includes a Foreword from Sir Howard Morrison QC former President of the Appeals Division of the International Criminal Court The book will be a valuable resource for students academics researchers and policymakers working in the areas of international law migration human rights and international criminal law

*Public Health, Mental Health, and Mass Atrocity Prevention* Jocelyn Getgen Kestenbaum, Caitlin O. Mahoney, Amy E. Meade, Arlan F. Fuller, 2021-07-29 This multidisciplinary volume considers the role of both public health and mental health policies and practices in the prevention of mass atrocity including war crimes crimes against humanity and genocide The authors address atrocity prevention through the framework of primary pre conflict secondary mid conflict and tertiary post conflict settings They examine the ways in which public health and mental health scholars and practitioners currently orient their research and interventions and the ways in which we can adapt frameworks methods tools and practice toward a more sophisticated and truly interdisciplinary understanding and application of atrocity prevention The book brings together diverse fields of study by global north and global south authors in diverse contexts It culminates in a narrative that demonstrates the state of the current fields on intersecting themes within public health mental health and mass atrocity prevention and the future potential directions in which these intersections could go Such discussions will serve to influence both policy makers and practitioners in these fields toward developing adapting and testing frames and tools for atrocity prevention Multidisciplinary perspectives are represented among editors and authors including law political science international studies public health mental health philosophy clinical psychology social psychology history and peace studies

**Understanding International Conflict Management** Charity Butcher, Maia Carter Hallward, 2019-11-28 This new textbook introduces key mechanisms and issues in international conflict management and engages students with a comprehensive interdisciplinary approach to mitigating managing and transforming international conflicts The volume identifies key historical events and international agreements that have shaped and defined the field of international conflict management as well as key dilemmas facing the field at this juncture The first section



provides an overview of key mechanisms for international conflict management such as negotiation mediation nonviolent resistance peacekeeping peacebuilding transitional justice and reconciliation The second section tackles important cross cutting themes such as technology religion the economy refugees and migration and the role of civil society examining how these issues contribute to international conflicts and how they can be leveraged to help address such conflicts Each chapter includes a brief historical overview of the evolution of the issue or mechanism identifies key theoretical and practical debates and includes case studies discussion questions website links and suggested further reading for further study and engagement By providing a mixture of theory and practical examples this textbook provides students with the necessary background to navigate this interdisciplinary field This volume will be of great interest to students of international conflict management conflict resolution peace studies and international relations in general

### **An Introduction to International Relations**

Richard Devetak, Anthony Burke, Jim George, 2011-10-17 Invaluable to students and those approaching the subject for the first time An Introduction to International Relations Second Edition provides a comprehensive and stimulating introduction to international relations its traditions and its changing nature in an era of globalisation Thoroughly revised and updated it features chapters written by a range of experts from around the world It presents a global perspective on the theories history developments and debates that shape this dynamic discipline and contemporary world politics Now in full colour and accompanied by a password protected companion website featuring additional chapters and case studies this is the indispensable guide to the study of international relations

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