

military capabilities or alliances almost inevitably increased the insecurity of other states.¹ The "national" or state-based conception of security fostered an unprecedented accumulation of weapons, both nuclear and conventional, and provided the rationale for treating national military expenditures as distinct from (and enjoying priority over) other domestic spending, and for emphasizing the rights of the state above the rights of its citizens. The state needed to be "secured" before other societal goals could be pursued. At the same time, the decolonization of much of the Third World provided an expanded forum for the East-West rivalry, and more than 20 million people died in regional conflicts that often assumed the character of proxy wars for the superpowers.

The end of the Cold War did not eliminate the problems of the old security system. The more cooperative climate engendered a number of peace settlements, notably in Central America, the Middle East and Southern Africa, but many conflicts have continued from the Cold War to the post-Cold War era. From Figure 2.1, we can see that there were 39 major conflicts worldwide in 1994, including 25 that began before the fall of the Berlin Wall.² Many of these conflicts are fed by weapons, especially small arms, that were stockpiled by superpower client states during the Cold War, or that entered circulation from surplus stocks created by treaties to end the Cold War.

There are additional security challenges that have emerged or heightened in the post-Cold War world. The interstate conflicts that dominated Cold War security concerns has given way to internal conflicts affecting most continents. While the 1990 invasion of Kuwait by Iraq is an indication that the new strategic environment is unlikely to be free from interstate conflict, it is apparent that trans-border (but not interstate) or civil wars are likely to represent the foremost security challenge. Because these wars have dramatic, even genocidal, effects on populations without necessarily posing a threat to neighbouring states, new measures to maintain international peace and security are called for. As the Commission on Global Governance noted:

in many countries the security of people has been violated on a horrendous scale without any external aggression or external threat to territorial integrity or state sovereignty. To confine the concept of security exclusively to the protection of states is to ignore the interests of people who form the citizens of a state and in whose name sovereignty is exercised.³

Ethnic, religious or political rivalries fuel current conflicts but they typically have roots in poor or declining social, economic and political conditions that are gaining recognition as part of the security agenda. With many developing nations facing deteriorating living standards, a North-South fault line may replace the East-West divide unless these conditions are more adequately addressed. The government statement, *Canada in the World*, summarized these new security challenges as follows:

¹ See Robert Jervis, "Cooperation under the Security Dilemma," *World Politics*, 30:2 (January 1978), 167-214.

² Project Ploughshares, *Ploughshares Monitor* (March 1995). See also Project Ploughshares, *Armed Conflicts Report 1995* (Waterloo), June 1995. See also "Major Armed Conflicts in 1993," in Stockholm International Peace Research, *Yearbook 1994* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 86-96.

³ Report of the Commission on Global Governance, *Our Global Neighbourhood* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 81.