

Rosenau terms "explosive sub-groupism".<sup>39</sup> It has already spurred the revival of what can be called civilizational studies that may be further unearthing anti-globalization movements and ideas.<sup>40</sup>

The final substantial contribution of the post-internationalist and critical schools to the evolution of thinking on multilateralism has to do with the focus on the advent of transnational issues: e.g. environmental pollution, global warming, currency crises, the drug trade, human rights degradation, terrorism, AIDS epidemic, refugee flows, gender inequality. These issues, by their very nature, all impel cooperation on a transnational scale, since they cannot be resolved by individual states acting alone or bilaterally (in the majority of cases). Many of these issues have been pushed onto the global agenda by multi-centric actors. The impact of this on multilateralism is that the state-centric multilateral institutions have had to find ways of embracing the input of NGOs and other civil societal actors who formerly would not have been accepted as players on the international stage. The alternative of not embracing these entities could be the development of other multilateral arrangements that by-pass the existing multilateral bodies.

The Cold War structure has essentially crumbled. Not only is the WARSAW Pact history, all of its members are participating in NATO to one degree or another through the Partnership for Peace (PFP) Programme. The USSR was broken up into 15 states, most of them wary of Russia. As Donald Snow notes:

Because international relations generally, and national security policy, specifically, were dominated for over forty years by the Cold War, the end of that competition left a notable void that has affected both policymakers and analysts.<sup>41</sup>

The national security problem which was so clear in the minds of Canadian foreign and defence policymakers during the Cold War era became ostensibly blurred in the immediate post-Cold War period.

The end of the Cold War was also accompanied by a collapse in the intellectual framework that had long dominated thinking about national security policy in Canada. The consensus over the nature of the threat and the strategy for dealing with that threat, which were to a large degree developed in the United States, was also broken down. The main threat had disappeared and there was no real threat to replace it. The threat ended at a time of growing concerns in many of the Western industrial countries, including Canada, with domestic economic problems, e.g. the need for deficit reduction and the impact of this on welfare and social programmes. Nuclear weapons lost some of their salience and the nature of power was undergoing change. In addition, the very conception of what constituted security became contestable.

### **The Expanded Security Debate**

Efforts to rethink security have often been met with resistance from those who hold a traditional understanding of security, or with an attempt to foreclose debate on the issue. Yet, it is clear that given the contemporary period of turbulence and transition we are in serious need of a new understanding of security; one that would be reflective of the ways in which this term is used today -- i.e. a more broadly constructed conception of the term.

In the absence of a consensus over what such a conception of security should be, and in an