The Security Dilemma

Fear, Cooperation and Trust in World Politics

SUB Hamburg

Ken Booth and Nicholas J. Wheeler
Contents

Foreword by John H. Herz viii
Preface xi
List of Abbreviations xiv

Introduction: What is the Security Dilemma? 1
   The quintessential dilemma 1
   Dilemmas within a dilemma 3
   Predicaments and paradoxes 6
   Logics of insecurity 10

Part I Anarchy

1 Uncertainty 21
   John Herz and the invention of the security dilemma 21
   Herbert Butterfield and ‘Hobbesian fear’ 26
   Interpreting Nazi Germany 30
   John Mearsheimer and the certainty of uncertainty 34
   Uncertainty: past, present and future 38

2 Weapons 42
   Weapons as ambiguous symbols 42
   Robert Jervis and the spiral and deterrence models 45
   ‘They have nothing to fear from us’ 51
   Threat assessment 58

3 Fear 62
   ‘The dog that did not bark’ 62
   ‘We must fear them because of who they are’ 65
   ‘In violence we forget who we are’ 70
   ‘Fear itself’ 78

Part II Society

4 Norms 83
   The live-and-let-live logic of anarchy 83
   Security regimes against anarchy 87
Reconstructing anarchy 93  
Society in anarchy 96  
Rationalism, responsibility and reassurance 104  

5 Regimes 107  
The Concert of Europe 107  
US–Soviet détente in the 1970s 114  
The nuclear non-proliferation regime 123  
The fragility of international cooperation 131  

6 Cooperation 137  
Common security versus national defence 137  
Non-provocative defence and security in Europe 141  
The great mitigation: Gorbachev, Reagan and the end of the  
Cold War 145  
Common security in Europe after the Cold War 158  
Modalities of mitigation 165  

Part III Community  

7 Reform 173  
Towards an ‘organized common peace’ 173  
A ‘working peace system’ 177  
Security as ‘undisturbed social life’ 182  
A ‘laboratory atop a vast graveyard’ 190  
Trust in international reform? 197  

8 Transformation 201  
The end of the states system 202  
The end of war 205  
The end of history 209  
The end of capitalism 212  
The end of patriarchy 216  
The end of government 221  
Trust in structural change? 225  

9 Trust 228  
The promise of trust 229  
The properties of trust 234  
Elusive trust: the Oslo Accords 245  
Trust and transcendence 251
## Part IV  The Future

10  The Security Dilemma in the Twenty First Century  261

  John Herz, the security dilemma and survival research  261
  An idea whose time has come  265
  The new age of uncertainty  268
  Logics and the future  276

11  Beyond the Security Dilemma  294

Notes  300

References  309

Index  353