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Barry Buzan and Lene Hansen

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## THE EVOLUTION OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY STUDIES

International Security Studies (ISS) has changed and diversified in many ways since 1945. This book provides the first intellectual history of the development of the subject in that period. It explains how ISS evolved from an initial concern with the strategic consequences of superpower rivalry and nuclear weapons, to its current diversity in which environmental, economic, human and other securities sit alongside military security, and in which approaches ranging from traditional Realist analysis to Feminism and Post-colonialism are in play. It sets out the driving forces that shaped debates in ISS, shows what makes ISS a single conversation across its diversity, and gives an authoritative account of debates on all the main topics within ISS. This is an unparalleled survey of the literature and institutions of ISS that will be an invaluable guide for all students and scholars of ISS, whether traditionalist, 'new agenda' or critical.

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## FOREWORD

There is a long as well as a short story as to why we wrote this book. The short story begins in 2005 when Lucy Robinson at SAGE asked Barry Buzan whether he would be interested in editing a four-volume reader on International Security. Barry thought it a nice idea to add Lene Hansen to the project, thereby bringing in someone with both a different perspective and a closer eye on the Poststructuralist–Feminist–Critical scene. The discussions and readings that went into selecting the articles for that reader, spanning Wolfers and Kennan from the 1940s and 1950s to recent Post-colonial and Feminist analyses of the Global War on Terrorism, led us to believe there was a book to be done on the evolution of International Security Studies (ISS) as an academic field. In the process of re-reading, we were struck by Nye and Lynn-Jones's (1988) observation that the intellectual history of ISS was yet to be written, and even more struck by another twenty years of silence on the subject. A sceptical reader might of course think that this indicates the futility, impossibility or lack of audience for such a project, but we beg to differ. We think that an intellectual history, and an account of how different perspectives play into each other, evolve and battle, is a useful thing to have. Historical context is always good, and allows ISS to enter the pantheon of related academic enterprises like Political Theory, Political Science and International Relations (IR) that do have such self-understanding. An intellectual and sociology of science history can provide those in ISS with a better sense of where they and others came from, why they might differ and about what, and which points of contestation do in fact tie the field together.

One difficulty with such a project, and a possible explanation of why ISS has not had an intellectual history, is that its sense of disciplinary identity is contested, making how to define what falls into ISS and what does not a political – and politicised – question. This issue of delineation takes us into the longer story to this book. Barry Buzan has worked for nearly forty years on security, from the heyday of traditionalist Strategic Studies

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over the burgeoning turns to the widening and deepening of security in the 1980s to contemporary securitisation debates. Lene Hansen came to ISS in the early 1990s, reading Walker before Waltz and Der Derian rather than Deutsch. Clearly, for someone who picked up our CVs an immediate difference in starting point and positioning in relation to traditionalist versus widening/deepening debates would spring to mind. What we had in common however was a long connection, starting at the Copenhagen Peace Research Institute (COPRI) in 1991, with the Copenhagen School – Barry as a founding figure, Lene as a boundary-testing critic. We shared intellectual links through Ole Wæver, also then at COPRI, and an interest in the concepts and ways in which different perspectives could come to understand and recognise each other. All this of course makes us part of the story that we tell, and places us more on the European side of what is mainly an Atlantic story. Although we have aimed for a full and balanced account, a version of this book written from within the US mainstream ISS community might well reflect somewhat different priorities and perspectives. And since we come from the middle and radical end of the ISS spectrum, a version written by a traditionalist or a rational-choicer would also reflect different priorities and perspectives. Self-involvement also opens up the embarrassing contradiction that what qualifies us to tell the story also threatens our detachment from it. Readers will have to judge for themselves how well (or not) we dealt with this.

Our hunch is that the duration, immensity and diversity of the ISS archive, especially when casting the inclusion net widely, which we have deliberately done, mean that coming to grips with ISS requires the memory, perspective (and stamina!) of more than one person. Our age difference has helped us not only to understand the perspectives of different generations, but also to think about how one communicates the historical context of a particular literature as well as its contemporary relevance. One aim of our project was to counteract the illusion that there is a clear ‘before and after 1990’ structure to ISS, with everything changing as a result of the Cold War ending and widening approaches suddenly appearing. For new entrants into ISS it is quite easy to get the impression that nothing much before 1990 matters now. We hope to show that ISS has significant coherence not just across the many approaches that now define it, but also across time. One needs a sense of the whole story in order to understand both the structure and significance of what ISS looks like now.

Our thanks to Lucy Robinson for suggesting the idea that led to this book and to John Haslam at Cambridge University Press for taking on the



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book project and being tolerant of its ever-lengthening word count and timetable. Thanks also to Mathias Lydholm Rasmussen, Anne Kathrine Mikkelsen Nyborg and Ian Siperco for research assistance; and to Maria-Lara Martin at the International Studies Association (ISA) Headquarters in Tucson, Arizona, for going through the files and sending us their material on the Peace Studies Section of the ISA. Many people have offered comments along the way and our appreciation goes to the audience at the ISA's annual convention in San Diego in 2006, particularly our discussant Michael C. Williams; the IR Group in the Department of Political Science, University of Copenhagen; the audience at the European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR) Standing Group on International Relations conference in Turin in 2007, particularly Francesco Ragazzi, who was the discussant; and to the three reviewers for Cambridge University Press, particularly for the suggestion that we look more closely at financing and the institutional side of ISS. Pinar Bilgin, Lene Cividanes, Lawrence Freedman, Matti Jutila, Sanne Brasch Kristensen, Jeppe Müllich, Nini Nielsen, Karen Lund Petersen, Mikkel Vedby Rasmussen, Christine Sylvester, Ole Wæver, Håkan Wiberg and Michael C. Williams did us the great favour of reading and commenting on the whole penultimate draft, and Anders Wivel did the same for particular chapters. These comments were extremely helpful to us in shaping the final manuscript. Finally, we wish to thank the Department of Political Science and the Centre for Advanced Security Theory (CAST) at the University of Copenhagen for funding most of the research assistance and multiple trips between Copenhagen and London, and the LSE for funding the rest of the research assistance.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ABM	Anti-Ballistic Missile
ACDA	Arms Control and Disarmament Agency
AFK	Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Friedens- und Konfliktforschung
ARF	ASEAN Regional Forum
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
BMD	Ballistic Missile Defence
CAC	Council for Arms Control
CAST	Centre for Advanced Security Theory
CDSS	Centre for Defence and Strategic Studies
CEE	Central and Eastern Europe
CESS	Centre for European Security Studies
CFE	Conventional Armed Forces in Europe
CHALLENGE	Changing Landscape of European Liberty and Security
CND	Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament
CNS	Center for Nonproliferation Studies
COPRI	Copenhagen Peace Research Institute
CPREA	Canadian Peace Research and Education Association
CSIS	Center for Strategic and International Studies
CSS	Critical Security Studies
ECPR	European Consortium for Political Research
ED	Extended deterrence
END	European Nuclear Disarmament
ESRC	Economic and Social Research Council
EU	European Union
EUISS	European Union Institute for Security Studies
FRY	Former Republic of Yugoslavia
FSU	Former Soviet Union
GIPRI	Geneva International Peace Research Institute
GWoT	Global War on Terrorism
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency
IDSA	Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses
IDSS	Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

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IFSH	Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at Hamburg University
IISS	International Institute for Strategic Studies
INF	Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces
IPE	International Political Economy
IPRA	International Peace Research Association
IPSHU	Institute for Peace Science Hiroshima University
IR	International Relations
ISA	International Studies Association
ISS	International Security Studies
<i>JPR</i>	<i>Journal of Peace Research</i>
LNW	Limited nuclear war
LSE	London School of Economics and Political Science
MAD	Mutually Assured Destruction
MIC	Military–industrial complex
MTCR	Missile Technology Control Regime
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO	Non-government organisation
NNWS	Non-nuclear weapon states
NoD	Non-offensive defence
NORDSAM	Nordic Cooperation Committee for International Politics
NPT	Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty
NUPI	Norsk Utenrikspolitisk Institutt/Norwegian Institute of International Affairs
NWFZ	Nuclear weapon free zone
NWS	Nuclear weapon states
OSCE	Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe
PADRIGU	Department for Peace and Development Research, University of Gothenburg
PfP	Partnership for Peace
PRIF	Peace Research Institute Frankfurt
PRIME	Peace Research Institute in the Middle East
PRIO	International Peace Research Institute, Oslo
RAND	Research and Development (non-profit think-tank that grew out of the United States Army Air Forces)
RAWA	Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan
RMA	Revolution in Military Affairs
RSCT	Regional security complex theory
RUSI	Royal United Services Institute
SALT	Strategic Arms Limitation Talks
SDI	Strategic Defense Initiative
SIPRI	Stockholm International Peace Research Institute

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SORT	Strategic Offensive Reductions Treaty
SSRC	Social Science Research Council
START	Strategic Arms Reduction Talks
TAPRI	Tampere Peace Research Institute
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNIDIR	United Nations Institute of Disarmament Research
UNPROFOR	United Nations Protection Force
USIP	United States Institute of Peace
WIIS	Women in International Security
WMD	Weapons of mass destruction

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