

New Security Challenges

Series Editor

George Christou

Department of Politics and International Relations

University of Warwick

Coventry, UK

The last decade has demonstrated that threats to security vary greatly in their causes and manifestations and that they invite interest and demand responses from the social sciences, civil society, and a very broad policy community. In the past, the avoidance of war was the primary objective, but with the end of the Cold War the retention of military defence as the centrepiece of international security agenda became untenable. There has been, therefore, a significant shift in emphasis away from traditional approaches to security to a new agenda that talks of the softer side of security, in terms of human security, economic security, and environmental security. The topical New Security Challenges series reflects this pressing political and research agenda.

More information about this series at
<http://www.palgrave.com/gp/series/14732>

Sarah da Mota

NATO, Civilisation and Individuals

The Unconscious Dimension
of International Security

palgrave
macmillan

Sarah da Mota
Lausanne, Switzerland

New Security Challenges

ISBN 978-3-319-74408-7

ISBN 978-3-319-74409-4 (eBook)

<https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-74409-4>

Library of Congress Control Number: 2018933670

© The Editor(s) (if applicable) and The Author(s) 2018

This work is subject to copyright. All rights are solely and exclusively licensed by the Publisher, whether the whole or part of the material is concerned, specifically the rights of translation, reprinting, reuse of illustrations, recitation, broadcasting, reproduction on microfilms or in any other physical way, and transmission or information storage and retrieval, electronic adaptation, computer software, or by similar or dissimilar methodology now known or hereafter developed.

The use of general descriptive names, registered names, trademarks, service marks, etc. in this publication does not imply, even in the absence of a specific statement, that such names are exempt from the relevant protective laws and regulations and therefore free for general use. The publisher, the authors and the editors are safe to assume that the advice and information in this book are believed to be true and accurate at the date of publication. Neither the publisher nor the authors or the editors give a warranty, express or implied, with respect to the material contained herein or for any errors or omissions that may have been made. The publisher remains neutral with regard to jurisdictional claims in published maps and institutional affiliations.

Cover photo: Georges DIEGUES / Alamy Stock Photo

Printed on acid-free paper

This Palgrave Macmillan imprint is published by Springer Nature

The registered company is Springer International Publishing AG

The registered company address is: Gewerbestrasse 11, 6330 Cham, Switzerland

PREFACE

This monograph is a by-product of my doctoral dissertation. Although its content has been slightly transformed, its general approach and goals have remained the same: to offer a critical analysis of NATO within the field of Security Studies that engages with the connection between civilisation and individuals. Globally, the book provides an alternative reflection on the history of the Atlantic Alliance that is articulated around the psychosocial processes underlying the establishment of prevailing meanings in contemporary international security, that is, prevailing referent objects of security. Deeply inspired by the Braudelian notion of “unconscious history”, it questions to what extent the seemingly natural evolution of NATO’s referent object of security—what it aims at securing—may be framed by unconscious processes. By doing so, this work introduces the epistemological importance of an unconscious dimension to understand meaning formation and behaviour change in international security. In this sense, the role of perceptions, meaning formation, discursive representations and symbols is enhanced.

This research arises from the need to better understand the deepest behavioural and psychosocial implications of civilisation for security, in order to outline a critical view of discursive uses of civilisation by contemporary political actors, especially by NATO. In this context, the unconscious connections between civilisation and security, that is, all that lies silently in the normality of an apparent progressive evolution, allows us to critically challenge the prevailing contemporary assumption that Western security has evolved according to a sense that social relations follow a stable and linear evolution among essentially identical units. To that end, not

only does the book follow a long duration approach that allows for the historicisation and genealogical development of the idea of civilisation that is at the core of the Alliance, as it also interconnects human needs, narratives, and security arrangements throughout its evolution.

In all, the book seeks to contribute to critical security studies with two novel conceptual formulations: the “Civilised Subject of Security” and the “Individualisation of Security”. The Civilised Subject of Security presupposes that the Western civilisation has consisted of a psychosocial process constantly producing civilised and secure subjects around the world. This conceptualisation encloses an unconscious dimension related to the ontological need individuals have for security, which draws on deep psychological and symbolic reasons, and without which they cannot be produced and reproduced as civilised subjects across space and time. Thus, this unconscious dimension of Western civilised subjects has been the thread holding the timeless meanings and perceptions of security that enables the West to dominate international security. The Civilised Subject of Security not only allows drawing the lines upon which to look at civilisation in a deeply critical way, as it also allows coping with the complex relations connecting the individuals’ sense of identity, security perception, and broader social processes.

As for the Individualisation of Security, it is advanced as a transformative process of post-Cold War international security, through which Western civilisation has been upheld and continued in the field of international security. Thus, individual-centred security policies have been enacted as part of the civilising process of non-Western states, because they have sought to instil specific transformations of behaviour and security rationales that aim at producing secure civilised subjects out of the original North-Atlantic area. The Individualisation of Security has indeed produced an international discourse of discipline and normalisation, according to which a conduct that is respectful of individuals should be natural for all states. For these reasons, the Individualisation of Security illustrates the extension of the civilising power through international organisations and, therefore, can be considered as another stage of the civilising process coming from the West. This is supported by a substantial discussion of NATO’s military operations in Bosnia, Kosovo and Afghanistan.

My first acknowledgement goes to André Barrinha, for believing this project was possible, pushing me to go forward with it, and for his overall guidance since the beginning of the writing of the dissertation that originated the book. For all this, he will always have my deepest gratitude.

I can never forget the impact and legacy coming from my Professors at Coimbra, where I spent so many years of my academic life, especially José Manuel Pureza, Daniela Nascimento, Paula Duarte Lopes and Maria Raquel Freire. Their teachings, as much their free spirit, formed and inspired me. I am also grateful for the advice, recommendations, and encouragement of the members of my doctoral jury, who also contributed to this endeavour with their generous enthusiasm.

I would like to thank the two anonymous reviewers at Palgrave Macmillan, whose comments on the earlier drafts of the book allowed me to redirect and focus my theoretical reflection onto a much more comprehensible approach. I am also grateful to Sarah Roughley and the whole editorial team at Palgrave Macmillan for their support throughout the process.

Finally, I am profoundly indebted to João, my partner in life, for his unconditional and untiring support, encouragement, and motivation, which really was most of the fuel I needed to complete this book. Family has my gratitude for constant love and patience.

Lausanne, Switzerland

Sarah da Mota

CONTENTS

1	Seeking Alternative Connections Between Civilisation and Security	1
2	IR's Disciplinary Connections with Western Civilisation	33
3	Individualising Civilisation: The Civilised Subject of Security	45
4	Standards of Civilisation: Architecting Security, Order, and Hierarchy	69
5	NATO's Deep Origins (1939–1949): Unbreaking the Civilised Habitus?	81
6	NATO's Cold War Evolution: Civilisation from Referent Object to Standard	119
7	Post-Cold War NATO: New Ways and Reasons for Coexistence	143
8	The Individualisation of Security: A New Architecture for International Security	163

9	The Individualisation of Security Within NATO	185
10	Conclusion	231
	Index	239

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BH	Bosnia-Herzegovina
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CEE	Central and East European
DoD	US Department of Defense
EU	European Union
IFOR	Implementation Force
IR	International Relations
KFOR	Kosovo Force
KLA	Kosovo Liberation Army
MAP	Membership Action Plan
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
OAF	Operation Allied Force
OEF	Operation Enduring Freedom
PfP	Partnership for Peace
PSYOP	Psychological Operations
R2P	Responsibility to Protect
SFOR	Stabilisation Force
SG	Secretary General
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNPROFOR	United Nations Protection Force
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
USA/US	United States of America
USSR	Soviet Union
WWI	First World War
WWII	Second World War