

The 'New Wars' Model.

The 'New Wars' Model was created by Mary Kaldor to discuss the way modern day conflict has evolved across the world since the end of the twentieth century.¹ Kaldor argues that 'a new type of organized violence developed, especially in Africa and Eastern Europe',² due in part to the rise of globalization,³ after the end of the Cold War.⁴ She goes on to argue that, although there are similarities in how wars are conducted now in comparison to wars of the past, it is important to understand the differences when pushing for policy that can efficiently respond to wars of the modern day.⁵

Kaldor's research stemmed from her own first-hand experiences in Eastern Europe, specifically her visits to Azerbaijan and her observations of the former Yugoslavia. From there she participated in a research project to study what she referred to as 'the new type of wars',⁶ learning that what her colleagues had observed from conflict in Africa, seemed to share similarities with what was occurring in Eastern Europe, and that it could potentially relate to wars happening in other places, such as South Asia, as well.⁷

Kaldor discusses that the term 'war' cannot solely define this new form of violence:

The new wars involve a blurring of the distinctions between war (usually defined as violence between states or organized political groups for political motives), organized crime (violence undertaken by privately organized groups for private purposes, usually financial gain) and large-scale violations of human rights (violence undertaken by states or politically organized groups against individuals).⁸

It is in part each of these aspects and how they overlap with each other that differentiates new wars from old wars. Although there are three main arguments that Kaldor makes when describing the attributes of new wars.

The first of Kaldor's main arguments is that new wars involve an array of state and non-state actors primarily engaging in intrastate conflict, rather than the traditional idea of interstate wars.⁹ Unlike that of old wars which mainly involved the regular armed forces of a state fighting against members of another sovereign state, new

¹ Mary, Kaldor, *New and old wars: organized violence in a global era*, (Polity Press, 2013), p. 1.

² Ibid., p. 1.

³ Ibid., pp. 4-5.

⁴ Ibid., p. 4.

⁵ Ibid., p. 3.

⁶ Ibid., p.1.

⁷ Ibid., p. 1.

⁸ Ibid., p 2.

⁹ Edward, Newman, 'The 'New Wars' Debate: A Historical Perspective is Needed', *Security Dialogue*, 35 (SAGE Publications, 2004), p. 174.

wars commonly see involvement from mercenaries, warlords, paramilitaries, and other parastate actors.¹⁰

The second of Kaldor's arguments focuses on how 'Old wars were fought for geo-political interest or for ideology'¹¹, while 'New wars are fought in the name of identity',¹² or in other words, identity politics. Instead of gaining power through military advance, the goal of identity politics is political control within the state itself.¹³ This can be done through controlling the population, using techniques such as mass displacement to remove identities that don't align with those conducting the violence.¹⁴

Kaldor's third argument is that new wars are financed differently than wars of the past. In this era, weakened states can gain stability through 'the new globalized war economy'¹⁵ providing an incentive for violence to continue. Compared to wars of the past, new wars are not mainly financed through state taxation and instead use predatory practices to achieve financial backing.¹⁶ These practices can include the use of looting, pillaging, kidnapping¹⁷, and the "Taxation' of humanitarian aid'.¹⁸

Kaldor's 'New wars' Model is a part of a larger discussion about the evolution of armed conflict and how it manifests in the modern era. Other scholars who have contributed to the discussion include Chris Gray and Edward Rice.¹⁹

Chris Gray's 'Postmodern Wars' focuses on the technological advancements of war, most notably the type of weapons used during the Vietnam war and since then. He argues that these conflicts depend on international tension and the global arms race to exist, while avoiding conflict between major powers.²⁰

Edward Rice's 'Wars of the Third Kind', investigates the intrastate conflict of the postcolonial world since the end of World War 2. He argues that within 'rural third world states'²¹ it is more likely for 'Wars of the Third Kind' to emerge, amongst radicalized ideas and Guerilla warfare.²²

Despite both scholars focusing on different aspects of the debate, their contributions display that Kaldor is not the only person to have discussed how war has evolved

¹⁰ Mary, Kaldor, 'In Defence of New Wars', *Stability: International Journal of Security and Development*, 2 (Bradford: Ubiquity Press, 2013), p. 2.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 2.

¹² Ibid., p. 2.

¹³ Ibid., p. 2.

¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 2-3.

¹⁵ Kaldor, *New and Old Wars*, p. 10.

¹⁶ Kaldor, *Stability*, p. 3.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 3.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 3.

¹⁹ Errol, Henderson and J. David, Singer, "New Wars" and Rumors of "New Wars", *International Interactions*, (2002), pp. 165-190.

²⁰ Chris, Gray, cited in, Henderson and Singer, *International Interactions*, p. 168.

²¹ Edward, Rice, cited in, Henderson and Singer, *International Interactions*, pp. 168-169.

²² Edward, Rice, cited in, Henderson and Singer, *International Interactions*, pp. 168-169.

beyond its traditional definition, and that there is merit in studying how warfare is conducted in the modern era.

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