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## Review

"A timely and important book. Putting the so-called revolution in military affairs firmly to one side, Mary Kaldor has provided us with a window into the future of war."

Martin van Creveld, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

"If you don't read Mary Kaldor's New and Old Wars, you won't understand the world of violence we live in. And you will miss the only way out: the perspective of a cosmopolitan realpolitik that Kaldor opens up and paints in detail in her highly sophisticated and original analysis. Now revised and updated, it is the classical book on new wars."

Ulrich Beck, University of Munich

"More than any other book, the third edition of Mary Kaldor's brilliantly sustained enquiry into 'new wars' helps us grasp the complex terrain of political violence since the end of the Cold War. The richness and clarity of the overall presentation greatly strengthens Kaldor's stature as one of the most consistently imaginative and conceptually creative thinkers of our time on the central issues of global affairs."

Richard Falk, Princeton University

## About the Author

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# **NEW AND OLD WARS: ORGANISED VIOLENCE IN A GLOBAL ERA BY MARY KALDOR PDF**

Mary Kaldor's *New and Old Wars* has fundamentally changed the way both scholars and policy-makers understand contemporary war and conflict. In the context of globalization, this path-breaking book has shown that what we think of as war - that is to say, war between states in which the aim is to inflict maximum violence - is becoming an anachronism. In its place is a new type of organized violence or 'new wars', which could be described as a mixture of war, organized crime and massive violations of human rights. The actors are both global and local, public and private. The wars are fought for particularistic political goals using tactics of terror and destabilization that are theoretically outlawed by the rules of modern warfare.

Kaldor's analysis offers a basis for a cosmopolitan political response to these wars, in which the monopoly of legitimate organized violence is reconstructed on a transnational basis and international peacekeeping is reconceptualized as cosmopolitan law enforcement. This approach also has implications for the reconstruction of civil society, political institutions, and economic and social relations.

This third edition has been fully revised and updated. Kaldor has added an afterword answering the critics of the New Wars argument and, in a new chapter, Kaldor shows how old war thinking in Afghanistan and Iraq greatly exacerbated what turned out to be, in many ways, archetypal new wars - characterised by identity politics, a criminalised war economy and civilians as the main victims.

Like its predecessors, the third edition of *New and Old Wars* will be essential reading for students of international relations, politics and conflict studies as well as to all those interested in the changing nature and prospect of warfare.

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It's not possible to make sense of the War on Terror and other so-called low intensity conflicts going on around the world without the analysis given in "New and Old Wars". It provides two key insights. First, the primary participants in these conflicts, with the exception of the Western powers, do not involve nation-states, and so the types of military and political resolution that the people of the USA are accustomed to are not possible, and second, civilians are the primary and intended victims and casualties of the fighting; civilian casualties are not just an unfortunate or collateral by-product. They can be combatants as well as victims: at what point does a jihadi sympathizer change from being an "innocent" civilian to a terrorist? Clearly, the current media treatment of "civilian" casualties needs refinement. The current non-differentiated approach is not especially helpful.

Insight into the ends, if they can be called that, of these conflicts is also clarified as essentially the exercise of power, or at least the attempt to, by those marginalized from the technologically advanced, capitalistic, liberal democracy global mainstream on the basis of ethnicity or religion. This can explain a lot, the role of terrorism and atrocity, for example, and carries the implication that a war may not be the means to a political end, but rather the end in itself.

A question that the book leaves open is whether identity-based conflict and the resulting ethnic cleansing can be reversed once it is established. If not, Iraq and Syria as they were heretofore known are not recoverable.

"New and Old Wars" contains unsettling implications for the USA. Policy makers of both the left and right don't seem to be able to grasp that they are not dealing with nation-states in these conflicts, with the result that the military and political approaches to them are in most cases exercises in futility. Another is whether it is possible that the growing disparity in wealth will create an environment in which "new wars" are endemic, and a constant supply of marginalized youth to fight them.

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What a good, honest, conscientious voice... The ONLY bad thing about the book is that everything she is warning about is already on its way to being true and there is no sign anyone in the wealthy countries understands, or cares. But I am very glad I read this book. For one thing, it gives a very solid basic understanding of the Bosnian War.

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