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'New' and 'old' wars – the changing dimensions of warfare

Abstract: The article aims to present the issue of 'old' versus 'new' wars in relation to their specific features. It focuses on the characteristics of both phenomena, as well as providing an analysis of the causes and sources of armed conflicts and their changing dimensions. Methods of waging war have changed along with the political, economic, social and technological developments which have been observed over the years. The very philosophy of war has undergone changes in a similar way. The article aims to identify the direction of changes in the dimensions of war. It also provides an insight into the privatization of warfare and the constantly growing importance of non-state actors in shaping the international order, and therefore their role in post-modern wars.

Key words: war, conflict, state, use of force, crisis, privatization of war

Introduction

As it was noticed by Clausewitz (1968), war has always been a part of human society and indeed still is, despite the many changes that have taken place within societies and political systems, the global balance of power and its meaning, as well as war itself and the way it is conducted. The Cold War was the breaking point at which the understanding of the concept of war was reevaluated. It has shifted the focus from the strictly military aspects towards political and strategic means supported by military potential (Antczak-Barzan, Śliwa, Zaniewski, 2016).

The 'new' war is no longer total war (where range, speed and effectiveness of killing reached its climax), but an asymmetrical conflict of low intensity, frequently evoked by real, imaginary or inspired nationalisms or ethnic, religious and cultural factors. Therefore, we have to deal with the so-called identity wars (Vasquez, 2000) which are associated with ethnicity, culture, values and religion. The objectives of war also seem to have shifted. Previously, war was used for the seizure of territory or the subordination of a native society (ideologically, culturally or regarding religion and values). Then, the aim of the war shifted to focus on destroying the adversary, often without a vision for what was going to come next. Destruction itself became a goal (wars of the 'second wave'). Wars of the 'third wave' are 'precise' and selective. They are designed to destroy targets of a crucial and strategic importance for the country, not only in military and political terms but also in economic terms, while causing the least possible collateral damage. Therefore, 'new' wars are frequently of a local character and are often carried out by non-state actors, but are controlled by larger powers that often sponsor contractors.

In the last twenty years, there has been a wide debate among scholars on how to define post-modern warfare, and if there is justification for using the term 'new war.' What is so different about contemporary wars that there is cause to refer to them as 'new'?

Mary Kaldor (2012) constructs the notion of a 'new war,' which is supposed to stand in opposition to the 'old war. She defines 'old war' in Clausewitz's terms, as a fight between organized armed forces on behalf of states. Therefore, it seems that every conflict which includes entities other than states should be classified as a new war. This article, examining current literature on 'old' and 'new' wars, contributes to the debate on this very issue, providing arguments for and against the 'new war' concept. Thus, the purpose of this article is to identify features which determine its new character or dimension, but also to focus on the question of whether or not they are indeed new. Questions raised in this article concern mainly matters related to the sources of contemporary wars, as well as the reasons why wars begin. It is probably not only a matter of the participants – whether they are state or non-state actors – but also the dimensions of the war and, most importantly, its effects. It is necessary to remember that the current form of war was shaped to a large extent by modern warfare, which spread mass destruction through developing ever more deadly weapons. Very frequently, 'new' wars do not influence the change of state borders, as was usually the case in the past, but have an impact on daily life to a larger extent (the prices of food, fuel, shares at the stock exchange, etc.). Another fairly new phenomenon is the privatization of the use of force. Governments, international organizations, corporations and individuals tend to rely on contractors more and more often. Thus, the second part of this paper will be devoted to the concept of the privatization of war and will try to answer the question of how this notion influences 'new' wars.

Conceptual differences between 'new' and 'old' wars

While Mary Kaldor (2006) claims that there is plenty of evidence provided by the analysis of contemporary warfare to confirm that what is now practiced is indeed 'new war' (she generally bases her argument on the idea of globalization, arguing that war no longer exclusively serves the interests of states but also other actors, and that contemporary war is rather a mixture of war, organized crime and the violation of human rights). This vision is very much shared by Herfried Münkler (2005). Ken Booth, on the other hand, argues that the observation provided by Kaldor is correct as such, but the construct of the 'new war' is inappropriate, as there is not enough evidence to justify calling contemporary warfare 'new' (Booth, 2001) Others, like Bellamy (2007), state that most of the characteristics attributed to 'new' war are in fact well-established, but agree that the novel factor is globalization. This argument is also supported by Martin Shaw (2000), who claims that globalization is the driver for various changes, including the changing character of war. Colin Fleming (2009) claims that there is no need to form opposing camps, but rather combine approaches in order to achieve synergy in the debate.

Mikkel Rasmussen (2006) presents a completely different approach. He argues that the main difference between past and contemporary wars lies in military strategy. In the past, it was guided by what he calls 'threats' – tangible combinations of hostile intentions (ideologies) and capabilities (mainly nuclear weapons). 'Threats' were real and could be eliminated by the application of proper strategy. Nowadays, 'threats' have been replaced by what he calls 'risks;' however, 'challenges' would probably fit here better – projections of potentially bad things that may, or may not, happen in the future. Consequently,

wars are the results of the 'decision superiority' – the ability to manage the 'risk' itself. In other words, as summarized by Bellamy (2007, p. 703), "the main aim of military strategy for risk-conscious societies [is] the protection of the capability to make decisions to manage risk."

Mary Kaldor (2013, p. 2–3) argues that new wars are characterized by four main features: the type of actors involved (various combinations of state and non-state actors, not just the regular armed forces of states), their goals (identity politics, defined as "the claim to power on the basis of a particular identity" (Kaldor, 2012, p. 7)), the methods employed (guerrilla warfare (Smith, 2003)[1] and terrorism, civilian targets) and the way they are financed (plunder, the black market and external assistance; war sustains war as "a war logic is built into the functioning of the economy" (Kaldor, 2012, p. 10)). Peter Layton claims there might be a need for 'transnational' to be added to the four characteristics (Layton, 2015). A similar approach to Kaldor's is supported by Donald Snow. He points to the lack of clear strategies or even tactics amongst irregular forces lacking discipline (Snow, 1996).

Van Creveld (2007) on the other hand supports the theory of the decline of the modern state, with its military instrument being largely archaic. He describes the changing context of war within the critical framework of Clausewitzian theory. He believes that the conventional, interstate kind of war will no longer exist in the future, since it is becoming more and more counterproductive. Despite perceiving new trends in war, Rupert Smith (2005) seems to still support the Clausewiztian war triad. He, however, builds the concept of war amongst the people, claiming concurrently that the aims for which people fight are changing. As recognized by Alexander McKenzie, Smith contends that hard, normally territorial, objectives associated with total war have been replaced with 'softer,' more malleable objectives consistent with limited war (McKenzie, 2011). Hugh Smith (2005) follows a similar path, demonstrating that, while the social, economic and political context of war might have changed, the fundamentals of war itself remain.

Increasingly, wars are not fought between countries but between societies, and, consequently, the warring parties are non-state entities (Smith, 2005); the adversary is difficult to define (it is sometimes changeable). For these reasons, the objectives of wars are different – less concrete, oriented at achieving long-term goals or as a response to the position of a given entity, or are designed to affect its course of action. The aims of war are often complicated, even blurred, and lead to lengthy negotiations after the ceasefire (as is the case for military operations conducted by the United Nations, NATO, the EU or an *ad hoc* coalition). "For a new war among societies paradigm, it is common to create the output conditions" (Smith, 2005, p. 323) and not to reach the final settlement of a typical victory (it is rather about the possibility of imposing or dictating conditions after the armed conflict ends (Table 1)). 'New wars,' according to Wojciech Kostecki (2012, p. 120) "are conducted for particular purposes, often with the use of instruments of terror and violation of the conventions of war, frequently to meet the needs of informal criminal groups." This statement points to a very different kind of war, i.e. acts of terrorism and the fight against them, as well as the elimination of terrorist groups' leaders. In this respect, it seems that the global war against terrorism justifies the use of force,

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[1] This argument is also supported by Michael Smith (2003).

which has not been recognized by international law so far (Alston, 2008). All of the above are also connected with the time of conflict resolution: wars are no longer subject to time limits. They can occur with varying intensity over time, and neither do they have a clearly defined beginning (declaration of war) nor an end (e.g. the war in Ukraine and the Middle Eastern conflicts, but also the war on terrorism). Mary Kaldor and Christine Chinkin (2013) also point out that "new wars are largely fought by men in the name of a political identity that usually has a significant gender dimension […] The construction of masculinity in new wars, in contrast to the heroic warrior of 'old wars,' is much more contradictory and insecure."

Table 1

'Old' and 'new' wars

Criterion	'Old' wars	'New' wars
Actors	– countries; – national armies and block alliances; – clear differentiation between public and private parties	– non-state actors; – paramilitary troops, criminals or mercenaries; – blurred differentiation between public and private parties
Motives	– political; – territorial defense	– religious; – material
Way of waging war	– large scale and high intensity military operations	– low scale and intensity operations; – humanitarian interventions; – crisis management
Aims	– realization of national and state interests; – geopolitical motives	– control over the states and resources; – identity construction; – ethnic exclusion
Structure of the army	– hierarchical command; – importance of battles; – large numbers of troops; – losses of soldiers	– dispersion; – violence directed at civilians; – use of light weapons; – civilian casualties
External support	– alliances; – super powers	– diaspora; – transnational mafia; – mercenaries; – intervention forces

Source: J. Czaputowicz, *Bezpieczeństwo międzynarodowe. Współczesne koncepcje*, PWN, Warsaw 2012, p. 61.

The clash of civilizations – whether for cultural reasons (as perceived by Huntington), or religious, ethnic, racial, or economic and technical ones (according to Toffler's idea) – will cause considerable differences in the concept of war. Different countries or non-state actors will approach them in accordance with their own level of development and understanding of military strategy. This means that the old ways and tools of warfare will remain in use, but more often than not they will be accompanied by new, postmodern ones, hence the war will become a 'hybrid' war. This diversity will necessitate specialization among countries, as is the case with the production of various goods. No state will be able to independently master all the strategies, techniques and tools of warfare of the new type. Therefore, alliances are becoming increasingly important (including *ad hoc* alliances to perform a spe-

cific task or achieve a particular objective) as well as the use of the idea of pooling and sharing and 'smart' defense.[2]

Moreover, 'new' wars of the future will gain a fourth dimension, namely space,[3] which is why they will be characterized by an additional element – lack of contact between the adversaries and the area of the possible attack (there is a huge number and variety of possibilities). New weapons will no longer be just automatic, but robotic, so they will become smart and to some extent autonomous weapons, capable of learning based on experience and thus of making their own decisions, however abstract this may sound. Interestingly, however, 'new' wars will be more frequently confronted with more 'traditional' and simpler means (tools) such as improvised explosive devices (IEDs), which will be used by societies at the lower level of technological development without sufficient financial resources to purchase smart weapons. Consequently, the strategies and tactics of war will also change. Strategy will be based mainly on knowledge, not on military advantage based on having a larger army or greater number of weapons. This will result in less direct participation of soldiers in the fight. This trend is also expressed in the professionalization of the armed forces and reductions in the number of troops in the most developed countries. Just as commanders withdrew from active participation in battle in the past, fewer and fewer soldiers will be directly involved on the battlefields of the future. They will be replaced by robots controlled by soldiers. Thus, knowledge will become the main focus of rivalries between powers, as it will be used to construct new weapons, and it will also be the object of competition (or even war) in itself. Similarly to society's evolution from the information society towards the knowledge society, the same progress will happen in the case of war.

When considering the issue of the causes of war, there may be many ways to approach the issue. System theories are based on the interaction of structures of the international system. The reasons for war are also believed to be determined at the state level (regime, national sentiments, etc.), or to be an effect of the decision-making process (organizational and bureaucratic mechanisms in crisis situations, military doctrines, etc.). There are also mono-cause theories that explain the sources of wars with one basic reason (Czaputowicz, 2012).

There are many sources of war-like conflicts in the 21st century's security environment, the most important (constituting the most powerful challenge, and often also a threat) being: international conflicts (connected with the balance of power, disputes, etc.) (Czaputowicz, 2012); internal conflicts (civil wars, nationalist and ethnic conflicts); systemic issues (weakness of the state apparatus or regime, failing states, political conflicts); ideological and religious conflicts (including the politicization of religion and its incorporation into political strategy, ideological wars of a missionary character (Kosta, 2011)); economic conflicts (decreasing supplies of natural resources – oil, gas, water); social issues (social pressure, high birthrate, decreasing resources, poverty, pollution); socio-economic issues (social stratification, lack of will to assimilate (diasporas), life in closed ghettos intensifying social dissatisfaction, lack of prospects for development).

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[2] These are the ideas respectively of the European Union (within the European Defense Agency) and NATO.

[3] G. Friedman (2009) projected the movement of the battlefield into space in 2009, which would make it easier to develop the concept of the Network Centric Warfare (NCW).

Conflict-generating factors and those which increase the possibility of the outbreak of war are, however, a separate issue, and these can be: territorial disputes; alliances and military groupings; rivalries and recurring disputes, geopolitical and historical factors; escalation of crises; distribution of capabilities (power) (Vazquez, 2000); states' ambitions (Kosta, 2011) (nations, societies, certain groups) caused by historical factors – the return to a historical powerful status by a state whose 'rightful' position in the international arena has been weakened; weak and failed states; poorly developed civil societies; globalization and the results of colonial heritage (Dannereuther, 2007; Kaldor 2006); sudden and violent changes of government/system, inappropriate interpretations of the motives for action of the (potential) adversary and/or lack of research in this field (Kosta, 2011).

Political and economic factors contributing to the emergence of conflicts that could lead to war are illustrated in Table 2. There is a clear correlation between political and economic motives, which are related in such a way that the existence of the former may intensify the occurrence of the latter, and vice versa. Political instability of the state is often connected with economic weakness and social unrest.

Table 2

Political and economic variables related to the emergence of conflicts

Economic variables related to the emergence of conflicts	Assumption (hypothesis)
Decline/stagnation of income *per capita*	Failure of the social covenant, dissatisfaction of individuals, lack of stimulation of development (personal motives)
Horizontal inequalities	Differences between groups (group motives)
Vertical inequalities	Social stratification, failure of the social covenant (individual and group motives)
High levels of poverty	SAB, social maladjustment, rivalry, envy (individual and group motives)
Limited state revenues and social spending	Little support from the state, failed states
Wealth of natural resources	Support for only one industry, sense of social injustice
Political factors related to the emergence of conflicts	
History of the conflict	The memory of the source of a conflict becoming a motivating factor for the establishment of a new one
State spending being a small part of the national income	Weak countries
Unequal access to power between groups	Horizontal inequalities, social dissatisfaction arising from these inequalities, fight for power
Indirect political system	Inability to negotiate change or suppress violence

Source: own elaboration based on: F. Stewart, G. Brown, *Motivations for conflict*, in: eds. C. Crocker, F. Hampson, P. Aall, *Leashing the Dogs of War. Conflict Management in a Divided World*, United States Institute of Peace Press, Washington 2007, p. 229.

Countries undergoing constitutional transitions are more vulnerable to internal perturbations and the possible emergence of conflict or even war. This is due to nationalisms, the central government growing weak (Mansfield, Snyder, 2007), as well as social discontent due to the temporary (or not) reduction in living standards, the need to adapt to the new reality (reforms in the political, economic and social sphere), and the possibility of short-term enhancement of various kinds of social problems.

Certainly, the stimuli that increase the possibility of the outbreak of war in the 21st century include environmental factors, natural resources (mainly oil, gas and water) and migration of people on a massive scale. Asymmetric threats such as terrorism and un-even distribution of power (capabilities) are becoming more of a challenge in the 21st century, with the problems associated with the proliferation of weapons of mass destruc-tion and their means of delivery. As already mentioned, currently there are more wars of an internal or ethnic character than between states. Non-state actors have begun to play an increasingly important role and the boundary between the state and the private sphere of war has blurred, as has the line between the interstate and 'domestic' war (Münkler, 2010). "Warfare is no longer a typical conflict between countries, but a civil war, insurrection and terrorism" (Levy, 2007, p. 19). Thus, a shift has occurred from symmetrical conflicts to those of an asymmetric character, and the number of non-state actors has increased, as well as their role in and influence on the formation of a new kind of warfare (military power was previously identified with the state apparatus; now, non-state actors, financed from different sources (legal or – usually – otherwise) are able to gather weapons and organize themselves into groups of a military nature). Undoubtedly, non-state actors have participated in wars in the past, but to a lesser extent and within a much more limited range of forms. Currently, we have to deal with various groupings, often of an informal character, and certainly devoid of the 'statehood:' guerrilla troops, criminal gangs, mercenaries and contractors (often foreign), irregular forces based on clans and other ancestral groupings, paramilitary organizations created by local leaders (so-called warlords), terrorist groups (Baylis, Wirtz, Gray, Cohen, 2016), militia forces and third countries' special forces sent to perform a specific mission (covert actions). These groups base their existence on the "armament production of private companies and independent private funding operating locally or globally. In this case, funds for war may come from robbery and theft, kidnapping for ransom, extortion, weapon and drug smuggling, human trafficking, money laundering, foreign aid and abused humanitarian aid, as well as from payments and donations from private individuals" (Baylis, Wirtz, Gray, Cohen, 2016, p. 66) (the schema for the flow of funds is presented in Figure 1).

Most researchers look for the sources of war in the struggle for power, anarchy and diversity or changes in the state's capabilities – political, military, and economic (Senese, Vasquez, 2008, p. 8). It is also correlated with the question of the impact of the foreign policy of one country on other countries' behavior (Senese, Vasquez, 2008, p. 9). Until now, wars have mostly involved occupying a specific territory and defending it (the is-sues of human territoriality[4]). That is why war was and still is a demonstration of power and a fight for international position. Currently, it does not necessarily have to be linked directly to the occupation of a certain territory, but is rather used to gain the influence and ability to shape or enforce certain behaviors by specific international actors. The stron-ger side is always supported by military power; it is worth considering what military capabilities mean nowadays. Unquestionably, methods and means of warfare, as well as ways in which force may be used, are different, while their determinants depend largely on strategic culture, capabilities, type of crisis, internal and external circumstances and conditions of the security environment. 'New' wars do not necessarily have to involve

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[4] To read more on this concept see J. Vasquez, M. Henehan (2011).

the direct use of military force. The use of non-military means (those of a political, economic or social character) or non-destructive weapons will often achieve similar results without the use of conventional weapons and incurring large numbers of casualties (losses). Such measures are often used in asymmetric conflicts against weak or failed states (weak state apparatus, heterogeneous society, weak armed forces, social stratification, unstable political system, etc.).
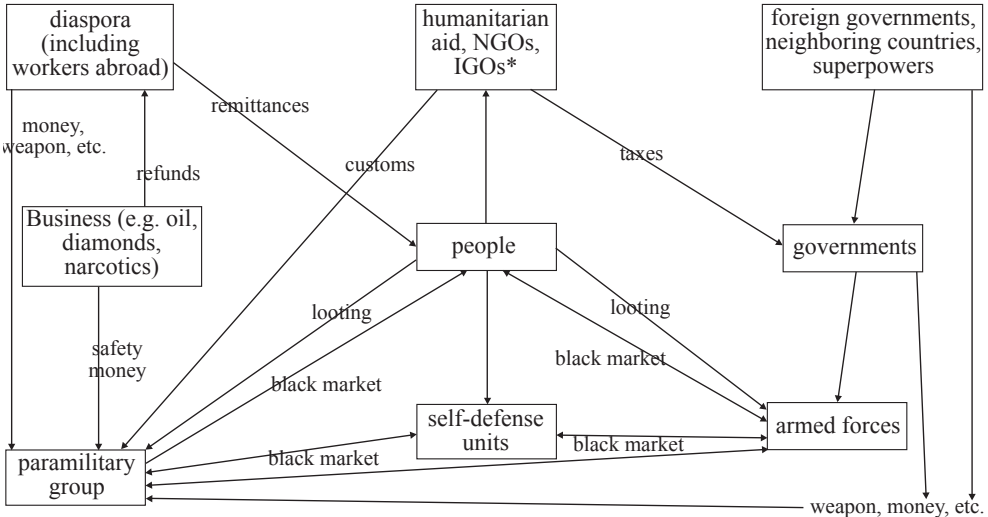
* NGOs – non-governmental organizations
  IGOs – intergovernmental organizations

Figure 1. Sources of financing 'new' wars

Source: M. Kaldor, *New and Old Wars. Organized Violence in a Global Era*, Polity Press, Cambridge 2006, p. 111.

'New,' post-modern, post-technological, hybrid wars, however this phenomenon *in statu nascendi* is to be called, it has characteristics of both 'old' wars and the 'novelty value' to which this article is devoted. The most important is the role of societies and individuals during wars or conflicts. If reality has left international law far behind, the question arises of how to legitimize the use of force in the 21st century, and how the international community can (or should) react. Another issue is the dissimilarity between 'classical' and 'new' wars, which is linked to their 'domestication.' Clausewitz's classic triad of state, armed forces and society (nation) is becoming less and less applicable in the description of war. More often, we are dealing with groups (minorities) using mercenary or guerrilla troops, which are not related to the armed forces of the state. More often it is the case that war does not occur between nations (states), but rather between groups that seek to achieve specific objectives, which are often difficult to define. Moreover, armed aggression is not directed against the state, but at a certain idea, religion, system or values, etc. In the past, war served to subordinate a territory and incorporate it into another state's structures. Today, the answer to the question of why we need war can be extremely complicated and the factors causing war are very intricate. 'New' wars

often involve, directly or, as is more often the case, indirectly, various forces and resources based on a number of international interconnections. It is also becoming a kind of philosophy, a way of life and doing 'politics' for specific groups (mainly terrorists), who see it as the only possible means to express their opinions or beliefs, and the sole way to achieve their goals. On the other hand, depending on the strategic culture and understanding of the use of force, war remains a useful political tool for some actors in the international arena.

Conflicts of an ethnic nature (on any grounds: religious, cultural, social, national or mixed) are often a mask for other (real) reasons or purposes, but are nonetheless presented as symbolic struggles to the societies involved (propaganda) and the international community (legitimacy for violence and the use of force). The real reasons often lie elsewhere and can be of an economic, ecological, ideological (including fanaticism) nature, or refer to the particular interests of certain groups of people. Therefore, not only are the strategies, circumstances and very philosophy of war new, but so are its causes. Identity is also of great importance in 'new' wars, which is unfortunately often misunderstood and related to culture, ethnicity, religion or systems of values (the idea of enforcing certain principles). Thus, when analyzed from this perspective, 'new' wars resemble a medieval crusade. Hence, another question arises of whether these are indeed new wars, or if the story has come full circle and returned to its origins.

Privatization of war

As stated in the previous part of this paper, 'new' wars are more and more often of a local character and their participants are often non-state actors. This fact is closely linked with the process of the privatization of security and the use of force, which means that states no longer have the monopoly in these areas. Thus, it is worth finding an answer to the question of how this process began and what caused it. There are many theories regarding this issue that in reality was shaped by various factors which coexisted at a particular time, as is often the case.

To begin with, in 2001 the concept of preemptive military measures to avoid war emerged. For the first time, it was defined in the security doctrine of the United States that the extent of involvement of the armed forces in peace-making missions is dependent on US national interests. The idea of a 'unipolar' world emerged at the end of the Cold War, which indirectly led to significant transformations in the global security system, consequently bringing a complete collapse of the inefficient global humanitarian aid system conducted under the auspices of the United Nations. It was replaced by international politico-military activity defined as 'preventive diplomacy' designed to avoid disputes between the parties and their escalation into armed conflicts, or to limit their scope. Early preventive diplomacy seeks to resolve disputes before they escalate into an open armed conflict. In contrast, delayed preventive diplomacy involves undertaking action to limit the scope of those conflicts. Basic forms of preventive diplomacy include: preventive deployment of forces and the establishment of demilitarized zones.

Using the instruments of preventive diplomacy, no source or cause of conflicts was eliminated. On the contrary, forcing Western civilization's influence on other countries

and attempts to disseminate its structures and values led to the rise of fundamentalism, an increased sense of ethno-cultural separateness, and aggressive varieties of nationalism as a product of the 'second wave' (this applies to states which are in the industrialization phase), as well as affecting the emergence of economic and technological issues hidden behind nationalist slogans (this applies to richer regions which want to break away from the poorer parts of the state). To meet the requirements of the changing security environment, the United Nations has had to adapt their apparatus accordingly. Thus, as a part of UN peacekeeping missions, there are three types (generations) of operations. The first is a classic observatory mission. The second generation of peacekeeping operations (starting from the intervention in Somalia in 1992), in addition to the mitigation and resolution of international conflicts, included issues of security guarantee, the establishment of interim administrations, the supervision of disarmament and demobilization of the warring parties, humanitarian actions and protecting and supervising elections. The third generation includes a whole range of crisis management operations: from stabilization through peace-making to the prevention of the recurrence of the conflict. A characteristic feature of these operations is the abandonment of the traditional position of neutrality and committing peace forces to one side of the conflict (to help to protect the victim against the actions of the aggressor). This attitude was a sign of the end of the impartiality of the Blue Berets, and required a clear judgment as to who was the aggressor and who the victim. Moreover, allowing peace operations under the auspices of the United Nations to be conducted by selected regional organizations or states (or coalitions of states) enabled states to use this form of regional stabilization to pursue their own political or economic interests. Consequently, in addition to ethno-cultural sources of conflicts, economic, civilizational and ideological factors have become equally important. A negative consequence of stabilization missions is the emergence of new security threats, such as: taking over power by 'warlords' (leaders of guerrilla groups and criminal gangs, who gained control over the country or part of its territory); 'nationalization' of weapons and slave trafficking (these crimes are committed on a state (government) level, in the case of weak or failing states); mass migration as a consequence of local conflicts; and civilians affected by consequences of the conflict.

Currently, the hotbed of war is undeniably the emergence of threats to the security of civilizations. These were the consequences of the formation of the so-called 'economic, civilizational and ideological circles' of the modern world (Benjamin Barber, Samuel Huntington, Henry Kissinger, Zbigniew Brzezinski, Alvin and Heidi Toffler); they are, however, differently defined by these authors. Samuel Huntington believes that the 'North'–'South' dichotomy is a consequence of the creation of three civilizational circles (Euro-Atlantic, Asian and Islamic), which aim to achieve hegemony. Facing the process of the weakening of Western civilization, the shift of the civilizational center of the world to the East is inevitable (Huntington, 1996). A and H Toffler (1995), in turn, argue that future conflicts will be fought between civilizations, but they perceive this differently than Huntington, i.e. between countries belonging to the third, the second and the first wave (the struggle for dominance and occupation of a particular position in the new balance of power). Benjamin Barber (1996) believes that the processes of globalization will lead in the end to the unification of cultural and civilizational patterns, and future conflicts will take place at the interface of the forces of globalization and societies

supporting them, and those who are in favor of tradition. Henry Kissinger, in turn, as a follower of political realism, thought that military power provided a basic source of supremacy for a state which is a major player in international relations. He was an advocate of power politics and did not attribute any significant international role to small and weak countries. Zbigniew Brzezinski, on the other hand, draws attention to the fact that the attributes of great power (which he considers crucial in international relations) are: economic power, the possession of weapons of mass destruction and 'attractiveness,' as considered by the societies of neighboring countries.

For the above-mentioned reasons, and also because of the ineffectiveness of the UN Security Council's activities, the concept of responsibility to protect (RtoP) was established, which is the responsibility (obligation) to protect the population of a country; so if the state is unable to provide such protection – a third party may intervene. This of course caused further discussions over the legitimacy of these actions (e.g. the intervention in Libya during the Arab Spring). Basically, within the framework of RtoP, there are three types of possible actions: (1) responsibility to prevent, which is an obligation to prevent humanitarian crises; (2) responsibility to react, which is a possible military intervention in connection with the crisis, and (3) responsibility to rebuild, which is the responsibility for reconstruction and reconciliation of societies after an armed conflict ceases, especially if military intervention by a third party took place (Kostecki, 2012, p. 158).

Thus, this is one side of the coin; the other is a result of the appearance (or the beginnings) of the phenomenon that Alvin Toffler called the 'third wave.' What is its impact on the shape of a 'new' war and its privatization? Nowadays, states of the third wave no longer attach so much importance to the state as such, hence accept certain prerogatives of the state which have contributed to their independence and sovereignty being made available to private entities, or being 'internationalized.' Therefore, countries of the second and the first wave also benefited from this situation, but in a different way. They fight either for principles, or statehood, but with the tools of the 'new' era, which are quite differently perceived in the third wave countries. The difference lies in the use of other tools and technologies. The states of the third wave use advanced technologies, while others often rely on guerrilla warfare and barbaric methods.

In the case of the countries of the 'third wave,' increased participation of the private sector in tasks (perceived as services) related to security is a new phenomenon. This marks the end of the state monopoly of the use of force, and legitimizes its use by the private sector (contractors). This, in turn, causes many problems. First of all, at the root of these changes, there is the idea of eliminating the state monopoly on power and the use of force. As a consequence of this, the level of control that the state has over the use of force is considerably reduced, which allows force to be directed against the state (not only the state apparatus, traditionally associated with power, but also the economic or social structures of the state). Mutual interdependencies between military and civilian technologies enabled not only economic and technological development in a positive sense, but also created the opportunity for criminals and terrorist groups to gain different kinds of weapons, as well as fanatics or hardline groups that stimulate 'dialogue' only through the use of force and coercion or terror and war. Another problem is the quality of security services provided by private companies, the state control of which is more

limited than in the case of state institutions. There are also limited possibilities for making decisions about changes, improvements or the introduction of new solutions. In the event of a conflict, the state may not have the appropriate instruments to exert pressure on external companies, despite the existence of relevant provisions or agreements. Taking the opportunity, private companies often pursue their own interests, which may not necessarily coincide with the interests of the state, especially in the case of conflict or war. The company's interest is dictated mainly by economic issues, whereas the interest of the state is much more complex.

As Münkler (2010, p. 3) puts it, "regular armies have lost control over the course of war." It is a result of the 'de-statization' or privatization of military force. As Bellamy claims, "one thing that characterizes contemporary war zones from Baghdad to Bunia is the collapse of the state's monopoly of violence. Globalization has made fighting wars cheaper, and created avenues for non-state actors to acquire significant wealth. The retreat of the state that characterizes the era of globalization has also enabled the development of private means of acquiring military force, including the proliferation of private military firms. While in the developed world military privatization might refer to the outsourcing of activities such as logistics, supplies and base security, in the developing world it can mean the outsourcing of war itself, and can fundamentally weaken the state's monopoly of violence" (Bellamy, 2007, p. 704).

The privatization of war, i.e. involving private companies in the 'creation of security,' is not a new phenomenon, but its scale increased roughly from the beginning of the Iraq war (2003). The presence of these companies is obvious, it is a fact; but it is much harder to determine the type of actors present in the private security sector. One possibility is the distinction between private military companies (PMCs), offering strictly military armored services, and private security companies (PSCs) providing services in the field of safety and protection, dealing primarily with defensive actions, aimed at protecting people and property (Holmquist, 2005, p. 5). Other possible criteria for division assume the existence of three types of companies: military provider firms, military consultant firms and military support firms (Holmquist, 2005). Private military companies combine the organizational culture of three types: military, business and non-governmental. Due to this, they are characterized by high variability and flexibility.

This phenomenon lies in the fact that private companies usually operate in weak countries and are commissioned by powerful ones who sponsor them in order to achieve their own ends (and, therefore, they become one of the tools of foreign policy). For weak countries, privatization in the field of security can lead to the expropriation or limitation of essential prerogatives of statehood. In contrast, powerful countries can launch military operations without the need to employ their armed forces (therefore, there is no need for the government to win the support of the public). It also enables enterprises to enter new markets, and consequently, gives them the possibility to make further profits after the conflict ends, in the form of trade with local societies. The above-mentioned cases beg the question of what mandate these companies have, and of how international law on military operations, war and armed conflicts should be applied to them (it seems that international law is inadequate for modern warfare). The transparency of such activities and state control over them also becomes problematic (this is particularly applicable with respect to the war on terrorism). The increase in terrorist threats also indicates the

changing perception of the use of force by the state or contracted military companies (a matter of a change in legal norms and standards of 'normality,' and public acceptance of certain phenomena).

Private military companies also need intelligence and logistical support, which is often impossible for them to acquire independently, and as such they have to use the resources and capabilities of the state. The development of private military enterprises is driven by the growing demand for their services – an increase in the level of instability is forcing entrepreneurs of certain industries (e.g. gas and oil) to hire private companies that will be able to ensure their safety (ordinary security, or 'bodyguard,' companies are insufficient, and there is a need for greater resources and capabilities). Employees of such companies are usually recruited from uniformed formations, primarily the military (Fig. 2).
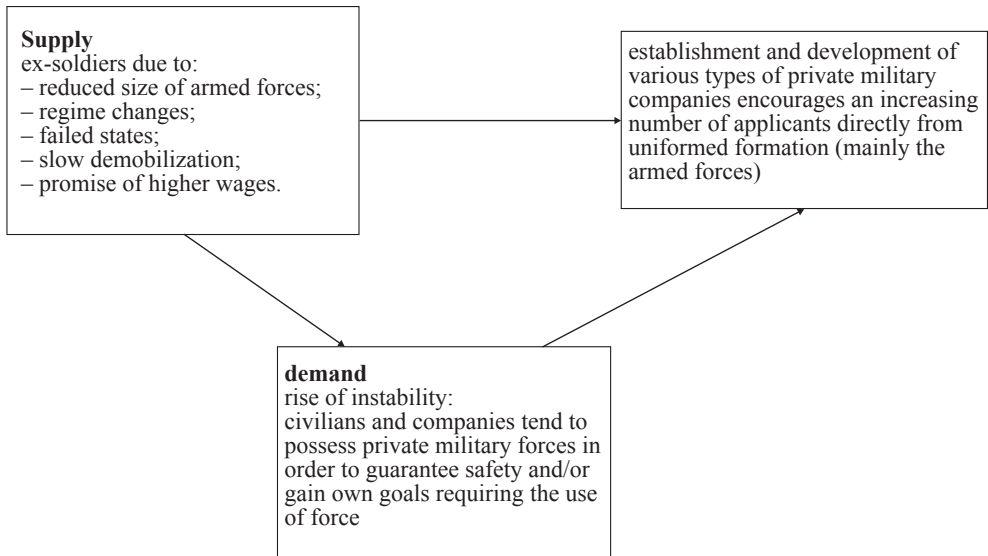
Supply
ex-soldiers due to:
– reduced size of armed forces;
– regime changes;
– failed states;
– slow demobilization;
– promise of higher wages.

establishment and development of various types of private military companies encourages an increasing number of applicants directly from uniformed formation (mainly the armed forces)

demand
rise of instability:
civilians and companies tend to possess private military forces in order to guarantee safety and/or gain own goals requiring the use of force

Figure 2. Dependencies between supply and demand on the military market

Source: Own elaboration based on: K. Carmola, *Private Security Contractors and New Wars: Risk, Law, and Ethics*, Routledge, New York 2010, p. 44.

Problems that may be posed by private military companies are the following (Alexandra, Baker, Caparini, 2008, p. 43):
– opposing interests to those of their employer;
– actions based on principles difficult to verify or control by the employer or public opinion;
– temptation to cut corners, escape from difficult situations or demand higher charges for services;
– growing strength superior to that of the employer, and the subsequent threat;
– in order to pay for mercenary forces, the employer may be forced to give a pledge of its most valuable assets (e.g. access to natural resources);
– actors who can afford mercenaries become stronger;

– weak countries possessing financial resources may become conflict provocateurs by making different interventions through the mercenaries;
– executive power of the country can overcome legislative control through mercenary forces;
– the ability of weak states to ensure internal security may depend on their relations with powerful countries which are eager to pay for contractor services.

This list should also mention the issue of the absence or avoidance of responsibility for actions taken and the consequences they may entail.

Currently, many conflicts (if not the majority) take place with the participation of mercenaries (contractors). Sometimes they carry out regular military operations, or they provide logistical support to the armed forces or perform protective functions (convoys, bases or people). Contractors were present in Georgia (for training the army), Pakistan (fighting Al-Qaeda), Iraq (after the fall of Saddam Husain), Libya (for Gaddafi) and Sierra Leone. The US government's contracts with military companies amount to several billion dollars, while the whole market is worth many times more. Even international organizations (such as the United Nations in Sudan) use private companies. PMCs also support the efforts to combat piracy off the coasts of Somalia, and it is estimated that their share in this area is significant, while their efficiency is thought to be high. Overall, the use of stateless, impersonal in a sense, military forces enables objectives to be achieved when other tools are not available or inconvenient for whatever reason. These solutions often turn out to be cheaper and more effective than other means.

The main difference between the use of force by and towards powerful or weak states (remaining in the so-called political center of the world or in its periphery, respectively) is that the legal regimes of the states of the 'center' use regular armies as a legitimate tool of conducting war, as well as applying provisions of the law of war and the Geneva Conventions. In more ambiguous cases, they use intelligence or special forces. On the periphery, on the other hand, guerrilla forces based on the so-called additional protocols are used, while in situations where there are less clear legal principles, these states use private military enterprises or terrorists (Carmola, 2010, pp. 121–123). Other motives standing behind the hiring of mercenary forces are as follows (Alexandra, Baker, Caparini, 2008, pp. 193–194):
– availability of qualified military personnel;
– excessive burden on the armed forces (their involvement in numerous out-of-area operations);
– contemporary warfare (the demand for a specific type of service; the range of tasks is impossible for the armed forces to carry out);
– demand from weak governments (fear of rebellion or being overthrown, or the desire to replace inefficient, poorly trained and ill-equipped armed forces);
– increased demand for intervention and international assistance in crisis situations (in situations of ethnic cleansing, large numbers of refugees, religious wars, etc., the need to organize rapid interventions arises; the demand for UN peacekeeping operations has always exceeded the capacity of the organization due to shortages of soldiers and, therefore, help or even replacement of international peacekeeping troops by contractors became a necessity);
– increased demand for military involvement in the war against terrorism;

– public opinion;
– the concept of a 'lean' state (some of the prerogatives of the state are transferred to the private sector, leading to the privatization of a growing number of functions which until now have been considered to belong to the state).

It is clear, therefore, what kind of benefits the state can derive from the use of contractors, mainly due to the level of anonymity and lack of consequences (due to the fact that there is no clear relationship between the state and the troops). On the other hand, if profit is the only motivation, it can be expected that in a difficult or crisis situation, privately contracted soldiers will not maintain the same standards of behavior and discipline as regular armed forces (dedication, defending the homeland, patriotism).

Another issue related in some way to the privatization, or in this case, rather marketization of military force, is the creation of a new service – military protection that can be provided by both private companies and the state (through agreements or alliances). Thus, weaker states will depend on the stronger ones, just as they are already depending on them economically or financially, or with respect to natural resources. The privatization of war means making it more 'civilian,' but also leads to the proliferation of weapons that are beyond the control of the state. This is closely linked with another issue, namely the arms trade, which has been a recognized phenomenon for a long time, but is now taking on a slightly different dimension. Despite the awareness of the dangers associated with arms sales to particular countries or non-state actors, this market is expanding and is not always fully controlled by states. Weapons more and more often end up in the hands of non-state actors. Commercial contracts are concluded bypassing the state level, sometimes in spite of imposed sanctions. For example, in spite of the ongoing crisis in Ukraine, France implemented and had plans to finalize its contract with Russia for the supply of Mistral-class amphibious assault ships. Similarly, the Norwegian Statoil oil company began cooperating with Russian Rosneft on possible oil exploration in the Norwegian part of the Barents Sea, despite sanctions covering Rosneft and its CEO Igor Sechin, and which were supported by Norway. It is also possible to notice an increase in the participation of developing countries in the export and – even more so – import of weapons. According to the SIPRI report for 2015, the top five exporters of weapons include the United States, Russia, Germany, France and China. It is interesting to see that Great Britain is outside of the top five and that China is in it. As for imports, the leading position is held by Saudi Arabia, followed by India, Australia, Egypt, the United Arab Emirates and China.[5]

Conclusions

The analysis presented above shows a slow shift of power from states towards non-state actors, whose role in international politics and security is constantly growing. The slow diffusion of the nation-state is caused by two kinds of contradictory forces: integration and dissolution. As was rightly pointed out by A and H. Toffler (1995, p. 274), "the most dynamic sectors of the new economic order are not of a national character, they are

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[5] Source of data: http://armstrade.sipri.org/armstrade/html/export_toplist.php.

either sub- or supra- or trans-national." On the other hand, there are local dissolutional forces aimed at creating small local communities with high degrees of autonomy. This is mainly due to developmental and financial differences which are presented publicly as defining a separate national, ethnic or religious identity. This in turn has caused the formation of new kinds of conflict and war, in which states are no longer the driving force. Therefore, future decision-makers will not be states, but non-state actors: international corporations guided by self-interest and cooperating with local autonomous authorities. Thus, the concept of war will also be subject to re-evaluation. In the past, it was assumed that the network of interdependencies between countries would cause them to refrain from war. This theory however, proved to be quite incorrect. It turned out that a network of relationships is not equivalent to a network of dependencies, which has indeed been built by some countries. The subjugation of weaker countries will, on the one hand, encourage the conviction amongst stronger states that weaker ones will not turn against them, as this would deprive them of certain resources. On the other hand, weaker states exploited in a modern way may be pushed towards unpredictable actions and use violence. This is why 'new' wars are mainly characterized by the mixture of post-modernity and something which can be called the 'new medieval' – both in the ideology of war and its sources (reasons), the justifications for waging war and the actors involved.

All kinds of divisions – religious, ethnic, racial, cultural, economic or civilizational – constitute a 'new' threat, which is actually, in a way, similar to those which were present in the Middle Ages. Some nations or groups have never lost their deep-rooted hatred towards others, or emerged from the 'dormant' post-colonial era, so the international order resulting from the balance of power seems to be on its way out. Racial and religious hatred is, however, self-reinforcing – hatred breeds hatred and much greater vulnerability to violence, which is enhanced by propaganda on the one hand and the new media of the 21st century on the other. Religion, often of a fundamentalist character, will play an increasingly important role in building a new international order, also by means of war. For pre-modern societies, it constitutes the expression of unity in pursuit of a common goal and the only 'legitimate' purpose – the destruction of Western culture, which is perceived as a threat. Postmodern societies, however, will try to find a 'new path' or answers to questions through religion, or it will provide an escape from a world which is changing too quickly. New religions will reflect the new trends in fashion and society, and could also intensify the effects of new nationalisms and separatist movements (of an ethnic or economic nature), which will sow the seeds of armed conflict and wars.

War, despite changes in the way it is fought, is still one of the basic tools of foreign policy, particularly for (or in relation to) the countries of the 'first' and 'second wave.' By contrast, countries of the 'third wave' will use other methods and tools, or war will move into another dimension (i.e. space). Warfare has exceeded the limits of existing dimensions, forcing each country to adapt or be left behind. These trends are strengthened by revolutionary technologies that widen the gap in terms of capabilities and give the advantage to developed countries which are able to invest in research and development, recognizing the power and inevitability of these threats. This is a major challenge in international relations, as it constitutes a risk to the stability of mutual relationships. Although traditional conventional warfare has been dominated by asymmetric warfare in recent years (e.g. the global war on terrorism), the possibility of conflicts between

countries and alliances has nevertheless not been eliminated. However, the methods and dimensions of war are evolving: the new wave of warfare is not an abstraction, but a real state of affairs; it is not the future, but the present, which states should be prepared for in order not to be dominated and deprived of the possibility to defend themselves effectively against aggression.

Finally, the privatization of warfare will become commonplace. Contractors will be used by weak and strong states, and state and non-state actors, alike. Their technological advancement will be different, as will be the motivation and resources for their employment. Nevertheless, the military arena will no longer be the source of state's power, but will also be accessible to private entities, which seems to be the greatest change, or even revolution, of the 21st century.

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"Stare" i "nowe" wojny – zmieniający się charakter wojny

Streszczenie

Artykuł ma na celu przedstawienie kwestii „starych" i „nowych" wojen w odniesieniu do ich specyficznych cech. Koncentruje się on na charakterystyce obu zjawisk, a także na analizie przyczyn i źródeł konfliktów zbrojnych oraz ich zmieniających się wymiarów. Metody prowadzenia wojny uległy przeobrażeniu wraz z trwającym latami rozwojem politycznym, gospodarczym, społecznym i technologicznym. Sama filozofia wojny uległa zmianom w podobny sposób. Artykuł ma na celu określenie kierunku ewolucji wymiarów wojny. Dostarcza również analizę fenomenu, jakim jest prywatyzacja działań wojennych, a także zwraca uwagę na stale rosnące znaczenie podmiotów niepaństwowych w kształtowaniu porządku międzynarodowego, a tym samym ich rolę w postmodernistycznych wojnach.

Słowa kluczowe: wojna, konflikt, państwo, użycie siły, kryzys, prywatyzacja wojny