

Summaries of the single contributions

1.1 Terrorism and peace (Hans-Joachim Gießmann)

The problem of terrorism is at present the main issue discussed both in threat scenarios and in security policy programmes and planning at the global, regional, and national level. There is a widely-held conviction that the most effective way of responding to terrorist violence is the use of counter-violence. The last three years of military action against terrorism do not confirm this assumption. Terrorists do not usually present targets that can be attacked by military means, while the legitimization deficit of military action against stigmatized states and their populations is likely to provide a breeding-ground for further terrorism. It would therefore be preferable to develop non-military strategies and instruments, which can provide for active defence against attacks and structural precautions designed to address the political conditions and problems that produce terrorist violence.

1.2 Weapons of mass destruction: there is no new threat (Harald Müller)

Since September 11, 2001 there have been heated political and public international debates about weapons of mass destruction and their proliferation. The global nonproliferation regimes must carry out their functions effectively. The decisive factor in this regard is the need to improve the integration of developing countries in export control and verification regimes. In fact, the regimes have demonstrated their effectiveness in the case of Iran, but there are loopholes that must be closed to prevent breaches of the rules (e.g. Iraq). In addition, decisions on countermeasures when parties are in breach of treaties must not be taken on an undifferentiated basis. The community of states has in theory a procedure for re-examining the functioning of regimes, which was put into effect in the case of Iraq; it must, however, also take the appropriate action once a decision has been made.

1.3 The threat of disintegrating states: is nation-building the answer? (Hans-Georg Ehrhart)

Since September 11, 2001 at the latest, disintegrating states have been considered a potential threat to international security. Although there was much to criticize about the former regime in Iraq, the threat posed by that country was certainly not that of a disintegrating state. The situation is different in countries whose state structures do not function, where society is fragmented in a variety of ways, and where private self-help as a way of guaranteeing security has undermined or even replaced the state monopoly on the use of force. Such states do not pose an immediate international threat, but they contribute to regional destabilization. Nation-building is, in principle, the correct solution to this problem, but it is difficult for external actors to implement such a policy. What can we learn from the EU's initial experience of using this approach?

2.1 For the sake of peace.....The risks and opportunities of peace processes (Bernhard Moltmann)

Even when the parties involved in prolonged, violent intra-state conflicts are able to agree on a non-violent way of dealing with the issues, this does not mean that peace has come. Once peace processes have begun, they must ensure that weapons are removed from the political sphere, that civilian forms of conflict management are introduced, and that a secure life can be guaranteed. However, dangers loom if international interventions such as the imposition of economic conditionality stand in the way of such measures and if troublemakers undermine change. Strains can also arise as a result of over-hasty democratization processes, frequently promoted from outside, which allow old confrontations to flare up again. Peace processes are successful when, without any reliance on external assistance, they find their way into everyday social life as self-sustaining developments.

2.2 Reconstruction or civil war in Iraq? (Dieter Reinhardt)

The process of establishing new political institutions, repairing the infrastructure, and getting the economy moving in Iraq is being endangered by the increase in violence. Since the end of the war in May 2003, the US occupying administration has been confronted by numerous political, social, and religious conflicts. The over-hasty decision to disband the the Iraqi army, the US army's brutal attacks on civilians, and the slow pace at which the infrastructural repairs are being carried out have led to an intensification of the population's criticisms of the occupying administration. Only when the US administration is prepared to change its policy, and abandons the attempt to exercise complete control over the political and economic process, could a multilateralization of support for Iraq within the framework of new UN Security Council initiatives develop.

2.3 Peace plans and their enemies in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict (Margret Johannsen)

The war of attrition in the Middle East continues at the same level of intensity in spite of the Road Map. The Middle East Quartet's peace plan will fail if its architects wait for the conflict parties to implement the measures they have agreed to – ending the violence, dismantling settlements, and organizing Palestinian elections. The Quartet must specify the essential elements of a solution to the conflict and must lay down binding deadlines. The Geneva Agreement can serve as a model. This notional treaty formulates reasonable compromises within the framework of a two-state solution. At present, though, influential minorities in both societies are blocking the path leading back to the negotiating table. The majorities, which have remained silent up until now, will only regain their faith in the possibility of finding a solution to the conflict, and be able to bring about a change of policy, if the international community does what it should have done long ago: offer them clear, credible, and concrete support.

2.4 The end of the antiterrorist honeymoon? Putinism and its ambivalent consequences (Hans-Joachim Spanger)

The West's "strategic partnership" with Russia is being put to the test. Despite increased stability and reliable cooperation in the struggle against terrorism, Moscow is increasingly attracting the displeasure of its western partners. Although Russia has in recent years prospered economically, the country's democratic development has unmistakable shortcomings. Putinism as a system amounts to a rather authoritarian version of democracy. Yet, as far as the CIS and the "frozen" conflicts on its southern periphery are concerned Russia has followed a course of pragmatic self-restraint. The CIS has seen grand plans replaced by gradual integration on the basis of economic strength. In relation to the conflicts in the south, Russia has so far opted for the precarious status quo in preference to the risks involved in attempts to find far-reaching solutions.

2.5 How safe is the Silk Road? Threats to stability in Central Asia (Andrea Berg, Anna Kreikemeyer, and Delia Rahmonova-Schwarz)

Stability is at stake in the Central Asian states. The armed clashes that occurred in Uzbekistan at the end of March 2004 were evidence of a number of dangers: the growing authoritarianism of the rulers, repressive human rights policies, socio-economic crises in countries with few raw materials of their own, widespread corruption, crime, unemployment and poverty, education systems in decline, a rising level of migration by people in search of work, unsolved conflicts over borders and resources, and an ongoing drug trade. As in other Islamic regions of the world suffering from crises, there is a danger that militant Islamic extremists will provide an outlet for discontent caused by social problems. The stationing in the region of troops belonging to the anti-terror coalition strengthens the autocratic regimes; Europe's policy towards Central Asia should return to political cooperation and conflict prevention.

2.6 Bolivia: the crisis of a peace model (Jonas Wolff)

In October 2003, social unrest in Bolivia led to around 60 deaths and the resignation of the government. Since the beginning of 2000 there has been an escalation of social conflict in this South American country, which was for many years considered a model of peace in the middle of a crisis-ridden region. One reason for the current wave of protests is the policy of coca eradication, which is being energetically promoted by the USA. The other reason is the failure of neoliberal reforms, which have not led to any poverty reduction while having in fact intensified social inequality. However, it is a step towards democratization – the growing mobilization and organization of the indigenous majority of the population– that represents a serious challenge to the Bolivian political system.

2.7 No peace in Sri Lanka? (Mirjam Weiberg)

The conflict parties in civil wars are often unable to escape from the spiral of violence by relying on their own efforts. 20 years after the outbreak of the civil war in Sri Lanka, there is still no peace in the country. Attempts to find a settlement have repeatedly failed because of the ways in which the conflict parties manoeuvre in order to consolidate their own power, and their exclusivist identities. After September 11, 2001, international actors intensified their efforts to work towards a settlement. Under the present prime minister Wickremasinghe and with the help of Norwegian mediators, it proved possible for the first time to reach agreement on a lasting ceasefire. However, external parties cannot hope to exert much influence on the conflict. The internal logics of action and the models of interpretation which have so far made agreement impossible are not susceptible to outside influence and remain the Achilles heel of peace.

3.1 The EU as a peace force? The new security strategy and arms control (Corinna Hauswedell and Herbert Wulf)

With the drawing up of a new security policy strategy (the Solana paper) and the results of the debate about its constitution, the EU is attempting for the first time to position itself as a global actor by distancing itself from US policy (to a certain degree), and despite differing national views within Europe. However, the picture is a contradictory one. While the programmatic documents despite their inconsistencies in the options for action stress non-military strategies of crisis prevention, the development of the armed forces, arms cooperation, and planning for joint command structures point towards new military capacities and options for deployments in international crises. Disarmament and arms control thus become secondary issues. The EU's new parameters of security policy – threat analyses, strategies, instruments – are not compatible with the model of a civil power.

3.2 Peace through war: the Bush revolution and American democracy (Katja Rüb and Jürgen Wilzewski)

The Bush administration has placed preemption at the centre of its world order policy concept, and has carried out this policy on its own in Iraq. Thinking in terms of power politics and an idealistic impulse have here set the pattern for a “missionary realism” which openly puts the case for the renaissance of war as a tool of the USA's global policy. How is American democracy reacting to the Bush revolution? It is clear that in terms of the process of societal negotiation of the Bush doctrine, there is increasing scepticism both in American public opinion and in Congress. Only a narrow majority of the population still considers President Bush to be trustworthy. In Congress, too, there is growing criticism of the costs of the aftermath of the Iraq war and of the way the US security bureaucracy works. It is clear that Bush is increasingly being placed on the defensive.

3.3 Is Iran playing with nuclear fire? The need for a regional solution (Götz Neuneck)

American policy in the Middle East has Iran, a member of the “axis of evil” and a possible future nuclear weapon state, in its sights. Tehran is planning to commission nuclear plants which can produce both civil nuclear fuel and weapons-grade material. The IAEA is currently inspecting the infrastructure that has been set up, and trying to establish whether there has been a breach of the Nonproliferation Treaty. The Iranian nuclear programme is not yet sufficiently advanced to constitute an acute threat to neighbouring states. One way of trying to find a political solution to the security problems of the region, which cut across each other in a number of different ways, would be the setting up of a zone free of weapons of mass destruction. Iran, Libya, and Iraq could be the first candidates for such a zone.

3.4 Obstacles to modernization in the Arab countries: a genuine change of policy is needed (Bruno Schoch)

Western public opinion is gradually coming to realize that there is a connection between *jihad* terrorists and the societies from which they come. Two recent UNDP reports have analysed the developmental problems of the Arab countries and identified three main reasons for their failure to modernise: the absence of political rights, discrimination against women, and serious shortcomings in the education systems. Political repression strengthens militant Islamic currents. But the West has contributed to this situation with its longstanding policy of stability at all costs, conditioned by thirst for oil. It remains to be seen whether the Iraq war and the announced democratization lead to a real change of policy. In any event, Europe shares with the USA a vital interest in the stabilization and democratization of the whole Middle East region.

3.5 Human security – more than a slogan? (Michael Brzoska)

The discussion about the concept of human security has been advanced by two recent reports. However, there is no agreement on the scope of the concept. In *Human Security Now*, a wide spectrum of threats is set out, whereas in the *Human Security Report* it is described as violence between human beings. Both reports focus on the individual as the object of policy-making, on the demand for a human right to security, and on a strongly empirical-descriptive depiction of insecurity. Although these concepts are convincing in normative and empirical terms, they have analytic weaknesses. The close interrelations between peace-, military-, and development policy are of most relevance for policy-makers. From this, consequences for budget allocations and also for options involving military intervention in other states can be drawn. .

3.6 Gender perspectives in peace consolidation: Afghanistan and Iraq (Renée Ernst and Simone Wisotzki)

The incorporation of the gender perspective in post-war situations offers ways of developing peace strategies, but it also – as one would expect - gives rise to conflict potential. The examples of Afghanistan and Iraq show the extent to which women's participation in the reconstruction process remains dependent on the arbitrary acts of men. Even so, in both countries efforts to enshrine equality for women in the constitution have been successful. The constantly growing number of local women's organizations is receiving valuable support from the internationally organized women's movement, and also from a donor community that is becoming increasingly conscious of gender issues. In order to prevent fundamentalist groups gaining the upper hand (once again), the international community of states has a duty to make the realization of women's rights as human rights one of the conditions attached to the aid it grants.

3.7 The right of children to demobilization and reintegration (Vera Chrobok)

The reintegration of former combatants is an important element in attempts to secure a lasting peace. However, children and youths who have actively taken part in armed conflicts are largely excluded from demobilization and reintegration programs set up in the course of post-war reconstruction. The main reasons for the failure of efforts to enforce international standards designed to protect and support minors during and after conflicts are the lack of a political will to act on the part of the international community of states, and the absence of any preparedness to cooperate on the part of the conflict parties.

3.8 Crisis prevention in a violent world: what can the struggle against poverty contribute? (Bettina Führmann)

There is a complex interrelationship between poverty and violent conflicts. On the one hand, violent conflicts and civil wars cause massive economic, social, and psychic disruption and hence give rise to impoverishment; at the same time, poverty in combination with other factors has a variety of destabilizing effects. Poverty prevents the construction of stable institutions designed for non-violent conflict management, and the inequalities of poor societies hold a good deal of potential for conflict which often leads to the use of violence. In view of these interconnections, the struggle against poverty can also contribute to crisis prevention, but it can only do this if it involves measures and instruments which are employed in a way that is sensitive to the specific conflict situation and takes this into account.

3.9 Promoting peace through international law? (Michael Bothe)

After two world wars, the legal prohibition of the use of force has become and remains part of positive international law. It recognizes only two exceptions: self-defence and military operations authorized by the United Nations Security Council. The UN Charter supplements this prohibition of the use of force with a system of collective security. Despite numerous breaches in recent decades and in spite of numerous attempts to find a legal justification for the use of force, the prohibition remains in force in international law. However, the discussion about new threats is introducing into the international debate interpretations of the prohibition and of exceptions to it which may undermine the prohibition itself. War is once again being treated as something acceptable, and there is a danger that the sense of the horror of war, which is the basis of the prohibition, will be lost. It is one of the major societal challenges of our time to preserve the prohibition of the use of force, one of the major cultural achievements of the last century.

4.1 Civil-military intervention: a role for the military in development assistance? (Andreas Heinemann-Grüder and Tobias Pietz)

Since the beginning of the 1990s there has been an increase in military interventions legitimized on humanitarian grounds or in relation to the need for order. In the course of these interventions there has been more interaction between bodies responsible for foreign, security, military, and development policy and relief organizations. Civil-military cooperation in post-conflict situations is an expression of the widely shared insight that security is impossible without development, and sustained development is impossible without security. The assumption that one can in principle distinguish between military and civilian roles in post-conflict situations is an illusion. A weighing-up of the allocation of roles both in terms of competence and dissociation between the two groups of actors suggests that their relationship should be complementary. The primary tasks of the security forces should be to control violence, protect emergency relief operations, and provide logistical support to humanitarian organizations; they should only carry out civilian operations when civilian bodies are unable to do so.

4.2 The postwar period in the Balkans: the role of international peace missions in peace consolidation (Thorsten Stodiek)

In the framework of peace consolidation in the Balkans, a major role is being played by the police components provided by the UN, the OSCE, and recently also by the EU. The spectrum of tasks taken on by the various missions includes the supervision, restructuring, and complete reconstruction of local, multi-ethnic police forces, and extends as far as taking direct responsibility for public order and security. These efforts in the spheres of training and reform have to a considerable extent been successful, but multinational police forces find it much more difficult to carry out tasks belonging to the executive sphere, particularly in the struggle against organized crime. The outbreak of violence in Kosovo in March 2004 showed clearly that police work can only be truly successful when it is accompanied by measures designed to bring about political and economic stabilization.

4.3 Peacemakers or war profiteers: on the role of the private economy in armed conflicts (Wolf-Christian Paes)

Increasing attention is being paid to private businesses as a bridge between regional economies of war and the world markets, due to the fact that the trade in natural resources often plays an important part in the financing of military conflicts. International civil society has reacted to this phenomenon by developing strategies and measures ranging from relatively non-binding codes of behaviour, via sanctions and inspection regimes, to Public Private Partnerships. The goal is to minimize the effects of businesses' actions, which frequently make conflicts worse, and instead to provide impulses which may promote peace. The complex discussion on this question has only just begun and is restricted to a fairly small group of analysts.

4.4 European arms control: a hostage to subregional conflicts? On the ratification of the Adapted CFE Treaty (Hans-Joachim Schmidt and Wolfgang Zellner)

The Adapted CFE Treaty (ACFE), which should meet the requirements of the new security situation in Europe, was signed as long ago as 1999. However, it has not yet entered into force. This is leading to new conflicts, as in March 2004 seven new states, four of which do not belong to the CFE regime, joined NATO. Russia is demanding the speedy ratification of ACFE and the accession of these states. But Moscow has still to comply with its Istanbul commitments: withdraw its troops from Moldavia and regulate its military presence in Georgia. The western states will not ratify ACFE until Russia has fulfilled its obligations. This has not yet happened, because any arrangement for Georgia cannot be separated from the strategic conflict over zones of influence in the Caucasus. What is therefore needed now is that the USA and Russia should reach a compromise over their strategic interests in the Caucasus.

4.5 The privatization of water supplies as a cause of conflict (Ulrich Ratsch)

There are signs that conflicts within societies over the distribution of water are on the increase. Many people suffer from diseases caused by their lack of access to clean drinking water. The privatization of waterworks run by city councils was supposed to improve the water supply and make it possible for sewage disposal systems to be upgraded. So far, what has happened tends rather to confirm the fears of critics who warned that privatization leads to price rises which make it even more difficult for the poor to get access to clean water. This is seen as unjust, and becomes a cause of social conflicts which have already taken a violent form. It is therefore necessary for those involved in development cooperation to propose alternative strategies which can ensure access to fresh water.

4.6 The prisoners of Guantánamo Bay: imprisoned without human rights? (Hans-Michael Empell)

In Guantánamo Bay, the United States detains a number of persons taken prisoner in the course of its military intervention in Afghanistan. The international legal norms determining the standard of treatment which the United States must accord to these prisoners are, on the one hand, the (Third) Geneva Convention on the Treatment of Prisoners of War of 1949, and/or, on the other hand, universally binding rules of customary law relating to the protection of human rights as well as human rights treaties to which the United States is a party, i.e. the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the UN Convention Against Torture. The treatment given to the prisoners violates these rules in many respects. The members of the international community should therefore take appropriate steps to bring the United States to justice before international fora. This could include procedures before human rights bodies as well as an advisory opinion given by the International Court of Justice at the request of the UN General Assembly. The German federal government should join and promote such efforts.

5.1 Defending Germany in the Hindu Kush? German security policy is walking a tightrope (Reinhard Mutz)

There is no longer any dispute between the US and German governments on the questions of when, where, and to what ends it is acceptable to carry out military interventions. Just as other partners of the USA have already done, the German government is, without making much fuss about it, abandoning the peace and security policy it has pursued up until now. It is doing this by accelerating the adaptation of its armed forces to strategic missions which it had up until recently resisted by demonstratively refusing to take part in the war on Iraq. The most recent structural reform carried out in January 2004 completes the process of turning the *Bundeswehr* into an intervention army. The purpose is to make it capable of joint offensive operations in the NRF, NATO's newly created operational unit under American command. The Defence Policy Guidelines published in May 2003 provide the necessary framework for political interpretation by using a concept of "defence" understood so broadly as to be unrecognizable.

5.2 A Headscarf is a headscarf is a headscarf....Unresolved questions of Islam policy in Germany (Sabine Mannitz)

There are more than three million Muslims in Germany, and many of them have been living here for decades. Nevertheless, controversies are sparked off regularly by plans to build mosques, the question of Islamic religious education in schools, or symbols like the Islamic headscarf. Reservations about Islam seem to have increased since September 11, 2001, as they have in other countries of the Western world. The most immediate cause of debate in recent years was the desire of a teacher to wear a headscarf while carrying out her duties. The case led to public discussions about the relationship between Islam and democracy and about the fundamental dilemmas inherent to religious freedom. In Germany, it appears to be more difficult to formulate clear standards than in a secularist country like France. The German way of dealing with these issues is contradictory and gives rise to further problems. However, this particular hesitancy and the tendency to conduct scrupulous examinations of each individual case may be advantageous in the search for peaceable ways to deal with these problems.

5.3 Does early warning matter for the avoidance of war? (Angelika Spelten)

Why does violent conflict frequently escalate even though timely warnings were issued? Whenever this happens, doubts are often expressed about the political will of those responsible. A closer look at the dynamics between early warning and early action shows that there are many obstacles on the path leading from warning signals to the political implementation of appropriate reactions. Contradictory information must be evaluated, plans for alternative courses of action must be drawn up, and the relevant influential actors must be identified and motivated. There has not yet been sufficient reflection on the different steps that have to be taken and the decisionmaking processes required. The shortage of binding reaction mechanisms for processing early warning signals is one of the main causes of failure in this area. The shortcomings identified must be rectified if early warning is to lead to the avoidance of violence.

5.4 A new impetus for conflict management? The German government and NGOs have drawn up ambitious plans (Christoph Weller)

Civil conflict management is attracting increasing attention and becoming more relevant, both in the activities of nongovernmental organizations and in the actions of governments. The German government has recently drawn up an *Action Plan for Civil Conflict Management*, while the NGO network 'Platform for Civil Conflict Management' has published a document which takes stock of societal approaches in the field. Both of these documents emphasize their authors' interest in closer cooperation and the need for coordination and coherence in all measures relating to civil conflict management. However, the implementation of these plans will depend not only on the goodwill of those involved, but also – and crucially – on the preparedness to make the necessary resources available. The German government and parliament must act on the declarations they have made.