Summaries

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1.1. What is new about international terrorism? (Lothar Brock and Bruno Schoch)

If one does not treat terrorism as an anthropological category, it must be seen as emerging from a societal context. A terrorist act on a scale involving mass destruction was something new. Another new element was the religious-sectarian motivation of those who carried out the attack, which is not present in acts of political-instrumental terror; this made it easier for them to absolutize the enemy and to unleash violence. Additional factors were the global network in which the perpetrators were organized, the fact that they acted on a transnational basis, and their capacity to attack the power centre of the demonized enemy from within. Even so, terrorist networks such as al-Qaida cannot function without any territorial basis whatsoever, and this is where military measures can be taken against them. However, this is not sufficient; state building and, to an even greater extent, the democratization of Arab societies are urgently needed.

1.2. September 11 on television: the interpretation of the terrorist attacks as war (Christoph Weller)

The television pictures of the September 11 terrorist attacks could not have acquired their political significance without linguistic interpretation. The decisive factor was the initial interpretation of the events provided by television reports. An analysis of live broadcasts by the German channels ARD, ZDF, and RTL, each of which lasted for a number of hours, shows that journalists and experts resorted immediately to the idea of war, a model of interpretation with which they were familiar. The interpretation of the attacks as war was then taken up in the statement made by Bundeskanzler Gerhard Schröder, and so given greater authority. This model of interpretation made a significant contribution to the public discussion of the possibility of retaliatory strikes and to the fact that there was widespread support for the military measures subsequently taken.

1.3. The sources of terrorism: comments on the causes, recruitment conditions, and effectiveness of political violence (Jochen Hippler)

Terrorism is a form of political action that arises from political and social conditions and in its turn seeks to influence those conditions. Among the sources of terrorism are an atmosphere of hopelessness and loss of faith in the future, unresolved regional conflicts with a particular symbolic force, a dramatic divergence between political legitimation and societal reality, and the impossibility of peaceful forms of opposition as a result of repressive regimes. When all these factors come together, conditions exist in which terrorism and other forms of political violence can be politically effective beyond the immediate circle of supporters of a particular cause. Religious factors can be significant for the motivation of the perpetrators and the mobilization of political support.

1.4. Are states losing control of their weapons of war? The dangers of nuclear terrorism (Annette Schaper)

Nuclear weapons in the hands of terrorists are a nightmare that no longer seems as un-likely as it did before September 11. Nowadays the principles according to which nuclear weapons function are well known. Experts could construct a detonator for an explosive device within a few years, and once they had the nuclear material they could quickly put together a nuclear device. It has been proven beyond doubt that Bin Laden tried to get hold of nuclear material. Radiological weapons are an alternative to nuclear devices: they are less difficult to manufacture and can cause radioactive contamination. In order to re-duce these risks, it is necessary to devote more effort to combating the causes of nuclear smuggling and improving the transparency of existing stocks.

1.5. Are states losing control over their weapons of war? The problem of biological weapons (Alexander Kelle and Kathryn Nixdorf)

The anthrax spores sent through the mail in the USA have focused attention on the dangers of biological weapons of mass destruction in the most alarming manner. This contribution examines these events and places them in the wider context of the dangers posed by bio-logical weapons. It also considers the value of arms control in efforts to deal with these dangers. A critical analysis is offered of both the unsuccessful negotiations on a Verifi-cation Protocol for the Biological Weapons Convention and the results of the Fifth Re-view Conference on the Convention which took place at the end of 2001. Many attempts to analyse this problem confine themselves to the risk of bioterrorism; this contribution looks at different aspects of the loss of state control.

1.6. New wars? New warriors? (Klaus Jürgen Gantzel)

In recent years, and especially since the violent disintegration of Yugoslavia, a number of dramatic accounts of wars have been published which claim to have identified new forms of war and which predict that the future of war will be very different from its past. This contribution uses representative examples from this literature to criticize the inadequate historical perspective of this alarmist pessimism. Even the terrorist attacks of September 11 2001 did not mark the beginning of a period of "new" wars. One aspect of many recent and current wars in the Third World that can be seen as partly new, and which deserves close attention, is the way in which war economies are taking root. But when one goes beyond this element, the suspicion arises that at least some of the new literature on war is intended to give substance to vague feelings of threat and to support questionable political interests.

2.1. American global policy after September 11 (Matthias Dembinski)

Even after September 11, the USA has not returned to a multilateralist policy. Instead, the significance of the military instrument in American global policy has increased even further. Transatlantic tensions are therefore inevitable, culminating in different views on the need to subject the use of military force to international law. This is an important

difference, but it should not have too much significance attached to it. American resistance to the idea of placing legal constraints on the USA's power, especially its military power, does not mean that the USA has become unpredictable or that it will be less prepared to take into account the interests of its partners. However, it does mean that the significance of NATO as an instrument of European influence will be reduced.

2.2. Russia and the West: from security risk to security partner (Hans-Joachim Spanger)

The "strategic partnership" between Russia and the West, which was announced some time ago but not put into practice, seems suddenly to have become reality. After a lost decade of confusion in both security policy and policy on global order, the two sides have found a common denominator in the primarily military reaction to what they both perceive to be the threat posed by global terrorism. Nonetheless, this shared position is not entirely secure. In Russia, it rests on a fairly solitary decision taken by the President and made possible by his undiminished popularity. The USA's unilateralism is the best way of providing Moscow's foreign policy elite with ammunition to strengthen their reservations about Putin's policy course.

2.3. After the change of regime in Afghanistan: more regional security and stability in Asia? (Gunter Schubert)

Will the fall of the Taliban regime have a positive effect on regional security and stability in Asia? This contribution concentrates on the analysis of the situation in each of the states of Central Asia, the Kashmir conflict, and the new situation in Northeast and Southeast Asia. The significant increase in the power and influence of the USA makes it unwise to draw any prematurely optimistic conclusions about improvements in regional security on the strength of the new start in Afghan politics and the apparent rapprochement between Washington, Moscow, and Beijing. It would be more realistic to assume that the general geostrategic climate in Asia has not undergone any fundamental change, and that the new presence of the USA will worsen or at least prolong the various local conflicts.

2.4. Muslims in the Common European Home: Central Asian Islam and the OSCE's security policy (Arne C. Seifert)

In view of the fact that there are more than 50 million Muslims living in the Asian OSCE countries, Islam now presents a political challenge of the first order. Neither European security policy nor the western alliance's anti-terror strategy takes sufficient account of this factor. Political Islam needs to be guided away from its negative fixation on the stigma of terrorism and tied into a constructive role in both domestic politics and foreign policy. There is still a chance that an attempt to do this could succeed in the former Soviet republics of Central Asia. Tajikistan can serve as an encouraging example; here, a process of compromise between Islamic and secular forces developed after the end of the bloody civil war.

2.5. The end of a taboo: German foreign policy discovers military force (Reinhard Mutz)

In Afghanistan, German troops are engaged in ground operations in pursuit of the remaining active Taliban forces. In the Gulf NBC defence forces are at the ready, waiting to provide support in the threatened war against Iraq. Both of these deployments have been presented as measures of defence against terrorism. While the intervention in Kosovo was justified as a one-off act of emergency assistance, the Bundeswehr's future combat operations will not be treated as exceptional measures. This is what is meant by the demand for "an end to the taboo concerning the military". The pursuit of national interests and support for the interests of Germany's allies are now recognized as considerations which justify the use of the country's armed forces. By acting in this way, the German government is abandoning the principle laid down in the constitution that war should not be used as an instrument of policy.

2.6. Internal security through control of immigration? (Christina Boswell)

September 11 occurred during a period in which EU immigration policy is changing. Tendencies towards liberalization are encountering resistance from right-wing parties and from large sections of public opinion. The terrorist attacks have strengthened the position of those favouring a restrictive policy, who suggest that there is a causal connection between unrestricted immigration and internal security. But many of the measures that have been proposed are not directed against the causes of the terrorist threat; rather, this threat is being instrumentalized so that steps can be taken against troublesome groups such as asylum seekers. Measures that have been announced to improve the integration of minorities are largely symbolic, and fail to take account of the deeper causes of unsuccessful integration.

2.7. Groping in the dark: the German government gets tough on internal security (Hans J. Gießmann)

In autumn 2001 the German government introduced, hastily and without encountering any appreciable opposition, wide-ranging legal and administrative measures as protection against future terrorist attacks. Some of these measures are reasonable. Others follow the questionable principle of a more stringent security policy based upon suspicion; the most significant of these are computer searches (*Rasterfahndung*) and changes to the criminal law. Equally far-reaching initiatives that would address the root causes of terrorism have either not been taken or have not been implemented consistently. In order to prevent society being split into those who are under suspicion and those who are not, transparent criteria for defence against terrorism need to be developed which will retain their validity in the long term in all areas of policy.

3.1. Should the armed forces be used against terrorism? (Herbert Wulf)

Calls for the use of the armed forces to combat terrorism have become louder. Since terrorists engage in asymmetrical conflict without fronts, in which military strength and modern

weapons systems are of negligible importance, armed forces can only be used success-fully against them in a supporting role. Combating terror is not primarily a military task but something that should be carried out primarily by civil and police forces, especially since the use of the armed forces is legally debatable in a number of respects. In the past, the use of large contingents of armed forces and massive strikes have proved to be largely ineffective, and measures of collective retaliation have been counterproductive and have more often than not had the opposite of the desired effect.

3.2. Is the USA's war against Afghanistan covered by the right to self-defence? (Hans-Michael Empell)

The USA was entitled to make use of its right to self-defence if the September 11 attacks constituted an armed attack that could be attributed to Afghanistan. The USA has not yet presented evidence to prove that al-Qaida was responsible for the attacks. If one assumes that al-Qaida was responsible, international law also requires evidence of Afghanistan's involvement. The Taliban regime had sheltered al-Qaida and had also disregarded UN Security Council resolutions calling on it to cease to provide protection to terrorist groups on its territory. Afghanistan could therefore be considered responsible for the attacks. The goals of destroying al-Qaida and overthrowing the Taliban regime fell within the category of defence.

3.3. From "peace dividend" to "terror dividend"? Economic aspects of new rounds of rearmament (Michael Brzoska)

The US administration is planning increases in its military budget that are reminiscent of levels of spending at the height of the Cold War. At the same time the USA is exerting political pressure on other states to persuade them to increase their military spending as well. An analysis of US procurement planning shows that these high levels of spending are caused neither by the campaign against terrorism nor by radical technological restruc-turing, but by "classical" large-scale projects. One of the most important reasons for this is the situation of the large arms manufacturers. Negative economic effects may follow both in Germany and in the USA as a result of a renewed increase in military spending. The German government should not increase its military expenditure, but should restructure it within the framework of a comprehensive reform of the Bundeswehr.

3.4. The International Criminal Court has arrived – despite the opposition of the USA (Nicole Deitelhoff)

The International Criminal Court (ICC), which will probably begin its work during the course of this year, is intended to mark the end of judicial impunity for international crimes and to establish a global legal order that will contribute to more peace and security. Such an ambitious plan presupposes the cooperation of the community of states. However, the USA, which likes to see itself as the champion of global human rights and justice, has been agitating fiercely against the establishment of the ICC. This attitude is surprising in view of the fact that the USA was the prime mover behind the setting-up of the war crimes tribunals for Yugoslavia and Rwanda. What will be the consequences for the ICC of the USA's opposition?

3.5. Rio + 10 in Johannesburg: does Agenda 21 represent a turning-point in efforts to achieve global sustainable development? (Volker Teichert and Stefan Wilhelmy)

Between 26 August and 4 September 2002, governments and NGOs from the developing and industrialized countries will come together at the World Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg and discuss the global situation. This contribution uses twelve selected indicators to show that, given the premises of sustainability, the condition of the world has not changed significantly for the better since the Rio de Janeiro conference in 1992. The industrialized countries continue to consume too many resources, climatic changes are accelerating, and the planet's ecological balance is becoming increasingly unstable. In the developing countries the population is growing, the burden of providing health care is increasing, and the overexploitation of natural resources continues.

3.6 Civil conflict regulation: concepts, measures, and perspectives (Angelika Spelten and Volker Böge)

There is a danger that the dominant mainstream policy in this period of "war on terror" will involve a return to reactions which are governed by a narrow conception of security. In view of this trend, we should not lose sight of the progress that has been made in recent years in the field of civil conflict regulation. In Germany, crisis prevention is now recognized as a relevant field of political action, and this is reflected in new instruments such as the Civil Peace Service. However, there are still considerable weaknesses when these concepts are put into practice. This becomes clear when one considers the test-case of Afghanistan from the perspective of three neglected fields: the diaspora, women, and reform of the security sector. What is needed is a more coherent combination of individual approaches, projects, and instruments, both in the crisis regions themselves and on the part of actors providing support from the outside.

3.7 Alternatives to the war against terrorism: global governance in peace and security policy (Franz Nuscheler and Christoph Weller)

An analysis of the causes of transnational terrorism, in the form in which it became visible on 11 September 2001, must focus on at least six structural global problems of international politics which combine to furnish a significant part of the background that motivates acts of terrorist violence. Dealing with these structural global problems requires the further development of global institutions in the sense of global governance, especially in the area of peace and security policy. Even though the USA shows no sign at present of being interested in such a culture of multilateral cooperation, it should be the task of the European Union to contribute to a cooperative approach to global problems on the basis of a reordering of transatlantic relations.

4.1. The war between Israel and the Palestinians (Margret Johannsen)

There seems to be no end to the spiral of violence in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Although a majority of the population on both sides is in favour of a negotiated settlement, neither Israelis nor Palestinians at present see any alternative to the use of force. The Israeli military offensive against the Palestinian autonomous areas is intended to make it impossible for the irregular militias to continue their armed struggle for a Palestinian state, but in the besieged cities the effect has been to increase still further the population's hatred of the occupiers. The democratically elected Palestinian President Arafat can only take effective steps to control the groups prepared to use force if he can offer a credible perspective of an end to the occupation.

4.2. The Israeli peace movement and the al-Aqsa intifada (Maren Qualmann)

The Israeli peace movement was one of the prime movers behind the Oslo peace process. However, the movement fell silent when the outbreak of the al-Aqsa intifada in September 2000 interrupted the peace process. Only in February 2001 did the movement find its voice again. The reasons for this period of silence lie in the peace movement's relationship to government policy, to its Palestinian partners in dialogue, and to the rest of the population of Israel. During the last decade a process of political differentiation has occurred within the population of Israel, and this has opened up discussions about issues that are not the immediate concerns of the peace movement. Within the movement, this has led to a number of developments including discussion of new approaches to ending the conflict with the Palestinians.

4.3. A delicate mission for Europe: Macedonia between war and a European future (Wolf-Christian Paes and Peter Schlotter)

When Albanian rebels attacked Macedonian security forces in the spring of 2001, the EU and NATO reacted with an alacrity they had not shown earlier in Bosnia and Kosovo. In the Ohrid Agreement (August 2001) the EU pushed through far-reaching political equality for the Albanian minority; the agreement was backed up by NATO military guarantees. One can justifiably speak of a de facto refoundation of the state. However, the situation in Macedonia remains unstable. Some of the majority community do not support the peace agreement, and there are still Albanian extremists prepared to resort to violence. Having guaranteed the peace treaty, the EU has a special responsibility to provide political and economic support for the consolidation of this multiethnic country. The EU must in particular do its best to ensure that Macedonia has a realistic prospect of becoming a member of the Union.

4.4. From the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to the Confederation of Serbia and Montenegro (Sabine Klotz)

After years of war in and between the republics of the former socialist Yugoslavia, the changes of government in Serbia and in what used to be the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia have led to a relaxation in the situation. With the end of the fighting in southern

Serbia and the introduction of partial autonomy for the Vojvodina, two conflicts within Serbia have been defused. However, uncertainty and insecurity continue to surround the development of the new Confederation of Serbia and Montenegro. In addition, it has not yet been possible to find a long-term answer to the complicated question of the status of Kosovo or modalities for peaceful coexistence between the ethnic groups in Serbia, in such a way as to ensure that all parties will be satisfied with the situation. Furthermore, both the Serbian and the Montenegrin governments are confronted with multiple political, economic, and social problems.

4.5. From weapons to democracy? Problems of the consolidation of peace in Northern Ireland (Corinna Hauswedell)

The IRA has, partly as a consequence of September 11, so far performed two spectacular acts of disarmament which have begun to render its arsenal of weapons unusable. These actions have removed an obstacle that blocked the Northern Irish peace process for a number of years, and the regional government in Belfast has resumed its work. Attention can now be turned to the internal consolidation of peace: to checking the continued violence which stems largely from the "losers" in the Protestant camp, to establishing a shared understanding of security, and to the tasks of democratic participation and reconciliation. This contribution draws up a balance of positive and negative factors operating in this new phase of the Northern Irish peace process.

4.6. "Will swap camel for kalashnikovs" – Reasons for the demand for small arms in the Horn of Africa (Renée Ernst and Kiflemarian Gebre-Wold)

As local conflicts take a violent course more and more frequently, the large numbers of small arms circulating almost unhindered in many regions of the world are a major security risk. The civilian population suffers most of all as a result. This contribution draws on the practical experience of the SALIGAS project in the Horn of Africa, and focuses on the reasons for the demand for small arms. In many cases this is a result of the disintegration of state armed structures in (post-) conflict situations, but it is also often a consequence of nomadic traditions, for example of the need to provide for the protection of one's own water supply and pasture land. The authors present possible scenarios for the control of small arms and explain the roles played by the state and non-state actors involved.