

Summaries

1.1. Between a model democracy and a collapsed state: Iraq at a crossroads (Henner Fürtig)

The January elections have at least kept open the options for Iraq's future development, where the process of political reconstruction is only making slow progress and is accompanied by continual violence. There is a wide range of possible prospects: a) the success of democratic renewal, b) a return to the predominance of a religious group– this time the Shiites, c) civil war, d) “a war between cultures“. The latter would make Iraq the main battlefield for those for whom the “war between civilisations” (between “Islam” and “the West”) is not only taking place in books but also in reality. This variant in conjunction with civil war would be the most serious consequence. It would increase the probability of the collapse of the state and would pose grave dangers for security and stability in the region.

1.2. Light at the end of the tunnel? New movement in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict (Margret Johannsen)

Palestinian elections are opening up the opportunity for the resumption of the state project involving all the relevant social forces. The Sharon government can scarcely refuse to negotiate if the new leadership presents itself as being trustworthy. The proposed withdrawal from Gaza can then be interpreted as the beginning of the end of the occupation. Whether this interpretation will become reality against the background of continuing Israeli expansion on the West Bank depends largely on how much energy the US and the EU are willing to invest in order to uphold the prospect of the two-state solution. Should the de-escalation of the current conflict not be clearly linked to this solution, the Palestinians will once again be faced with the decision of whether they want to liberate themselves from foreign domination by means of civil disobedience or by violent means.

1.3. Will Israel pass the acid test? The settlers and the proposed withdrawal from Gaza (Claudia Baumgart)

The occupation of Palestinian territory since the Six Day War in 1967 represents a central obstacle to solving the conflict in the Middle East. Moreover, Israel has been pursuing a systematic settlement policy in the occupied territories since the 1970s at the latest. Now the Sharon government is planning to withdraw from the Gaza Strip. Whilst the majority of the population is in favour of the withdrawal, the radicalised minority of national-religious settlers is putting up strong resistance. Road blocks, demonstrations or the blatant appeal to soldiers to refuse orders to forcibly evacuate the settlers are fuelling fears of a civil war. Despite its unilateral nature, the withdrawal could promote a new peace process should it prove possible to keep the radical minority in check.

1.4. Afghanistan's difficult road to stabilisation (Florian Kühn)

The Afghan constitution and the presidential elections have been celebrated as successes and have pushed the consequences of the two-pronged military-political strategy into the background. Whereas in the north of the country the ISAF peace mission is contributing towards political and economic stability, the south is not making progress as the peace process there is being repeatedly undermined by tactical alliances with the warlords in the fight against terrorism. In addition, the drug-based economy is becoming an urgent problem. The peace mission and the new Afghan government need more powers in order to correct these mistaken processes in the field of development policy. The international community must maintain its commitment since the political co-ordination of the rebuilding measures is of supreme importance.

1.5. At a dead end: "Normalisation" or war in Chechnya? (Ursel Schlichting)

Moscow's second war against Chechnya is officially considered over. The increasing number of attacks, both in the renegade republic itself and in the rest of Russia, and the continuing gun battles between Russian soldiers and rebels show, however, that the conflict is far from being solved and, what is more, cannot be solved by military means. In particular, the civilian population in Chechnya is still subjected to the most massive violations of human rights. As neighbouring republics also become increasingly involved in the hostilities, there are still no initiatives to settle the conflict by political means. Western states, and Germany in particular, are called upon to make use of their close and friendly relations with Russia to help work towards peaceful solutions, and specifically to use their influence to put an end to the violations of human rights.

1.6. De-escalation efforts by international stakeholders in Kosovo and Macedonia (Sabine Klotz/Merle Vetterlein)

Although there are many differences between Kosovo and Macedonia as regards their history, their political and economic situation and, not least, the involvement of international organisations, there are also key commonalities. In both cases, the de-escalation measures introduced by the UN, the EU and the OSCE are often poorly adapted to the prevailing situation. For example, strategies in the field of education and economic policy reveal shortcomings compared with other policy areas and these are having a negative effect, particularly on interethnic relations. International civil interventions must be made more coherent so that they can meet the specific requirements of the situation in the long term. This requires a revision of the strategies for conflict solution pursued to date.

1.7. Sudan between war and peace (Bernd Ludermann)

One of the great shortcomings of the peace agreement for South Sudan is that it affects the political order of the whole of Sudan although it was only negotiated between the regime in Khartoum and the leading rebel group in the southern region. In 2003, the exclusion of other opposition groups contributed towards the rebellion in Darfur, which was brutally suppressed. The UN Security Council remained inactive here for a long time – partly out of concern about jeopardising the negotiations on South Sudan. Now the community of states must demand the implementation of the South Sudan-Agreement and urge that parties which have been excluded in the past are involved in the process, particularly in drafting a new constitution. As far as Darfur is concerned, the sanctions agreed against war criminals must be enhanced by the speedy expansion of the AU mission and strong pressure must be put on the warring parties to negotiate a political solution.

1.8. State-building in the rainforest: The United Nations in Liberia (Wolf-Christian Paes)

Largely unnoticed by the world public, the United Nations has been attempting to enforce the peace agreement and implement the rebuilding of state structures in West African Liberia since summer 2003. With more than 15,000 soldiers and civil administrators, it is intended to transform the former trouble-spot into a regional anchor of stability within two years. The balance after one and a half years is mixed: Whereas the UN has largely succeeded in disarming the militias and reducing the number of armed clashes, efforts to rebuild state structures have hardly borne any fruit. A mandate which is unclear on this point and an imbalance between military and civil means have meant that the factors which once led to the outbreak of the civil war continue to exist.

1.9. Theft of oil, rebel movements and corruption – The dynamics of conflicts in the Niger Delta as a challenge to de-escalation (Willem Jaspers)

War is not being waged in the Niger Delta region but the struggle over oil has generated complex forms of criminal and political violence which claim hundreds of victims every year. Corruption in the state and regional administrations, indiscriminate business practices on the part of the oil concerns and oil bunkering by militant groups are producing a dynamic conflict which defies the simple de-escalation strategies of the Obasanjo government – as the latest crisis in Port Harcourt has shown. The control of resources requires transparency and must meet the development policy imperatives of a region which is at the same time both rich and poor. Nigeria's government and people also need international help to achieve this. A master plan put forward by the GTZ-IS at the end of 2004 could point in the right direction, provided that it is given additional security policy dimensions and is rooted both locally and regionally.

1.10. Aceh: New hopes of peace following the tidal wave? (Peter Kreuzer)

Despite the tsunami and massive international aid, the chances of a quick peaceful solution to the Aceh conflict are slight. The main obstacles are the semi-criminal nature of the GAM secession movement, the economic and political interests of the Indonesian armed forces and massive opposition at the central political level. Measures must be taken to prevent one or even both of the conflict parties from profiting from the funds currently flowing into Aceh. This would strengthen the existing incentives for both sides to continue the war, whereas a compromise would mean losses for both sides. Furthermore, the GAM must be prevented from manipulating the community of states with its strategy of internationalising the Aceh conflict.

2.1. Overcoming the crisis of weapons of mass destruction: The role of the United Nations (Harald Müller)

Existing international regimes and United Nations procedures for dealing with treaty violations must be strengthened and better co-ordinated in order to tackle the risks of the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. Only the Security Council has the powers to impose military sanctions against offenders. But so far it has never dealt with presumed violations of the Convention on Chemical Weapons or the Convention on Biological Weapons. The examples of North Korea or Iran show just how easy it is for the Permanent Members to prevent the Security Council from becoming active. In analogy to legal procedures, a three-phase system could be introduced for dealing with treaty violations: 1. verification, 2. procedures to ensure that treaties are observed, and 3. compulsory enforcement by the Security Council as a last recourse.

2.2. The non-proliferation regime in a crisis? North Korea, Iran and the United States (Annette Schaper, Hans-Joachim Schmidt)

Two nuclear conflicts have intensified during the past year. North Korea has withdrawn from the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and is not making it clear whether it is really prepared to disarm. Its actual technical capacities remain unknown. The United States is negotiating from a position of superiority and is not disposed to offer anything in return. Other states which fear a nuclear North Korea but are also afraid of nuclear preventive strikes are trying to mediate. Iran is also challenging the world with its uranium processing programme. Here too the United States is pursuing a hard-line policy whilst the Europeans are trying to mediate and offer economic incentives. There are hard-liners in the United States who would prefer a change of regime to a peaceful solution in both countries. The United States is thereby ignoring its own disarmament commitments.

2.3. Disposal of plutonium? (Eric Chauvistré/Christoph Pistner)

World stocks of plutonium pose a grave problem for nuclear non-proliferation. Civil Pu can also be used for the production of nuclear weapons. Civil stocks of separated Pu continue to grow. With approximately 250 tonnes each (sufficient for tens of thousands of nuclear weapons), there is practically just as much civil as military plutonium available. Current efforts to dispose of Pu, which are based almost entirely on the MOX option, are not sufficient to guarantee nuclear non-proliferation. The development of alternatives has been neglected in the past. The continuous increase in the quantities of plutonium urgently demands both an investigation into possible alternatives as well as new political initiatives to stop the production of plutonium and to immediately register and dispose of all stocks.

2.4. The armament of space and options for preventive arms control (Pia Kohorst/Götz Neuneck/André Rothkirch)

The use of space for military operations is still limited to “passive” reconnaissance, navigation and communications satellites. The danger of a race for military superiority in space would arise if the United States were to decide to station “active” weapons in space in order to enforce its claim to global leadership. It is to be feared that other states could also develop space weapons. This would make civilian use more difficult and lead to growing international tension. The United Nations defines space as the common heritage of mankind. It is the obligation of all nations to keep this heritage free of weapons. The European Union should lead the community of states and lay the foundation stone for a comprehensive agreement on preventive arms control in space by making a declaration of renunciation.

2.5. On the difficulty of controlling biological weapons (Una Becker)

Controls on biological weapons remain problematical despite the fact that there has been a comprehensive ban on biological weapons since 1972 and 165 states are members of the bioweapons convention. Without a system of verification and an organisation of its own, the convention remains relatively weak. In addition, progress in biotechnology, questionable biological defence research, an increasing interest in “non-lethal” biochemical weapons, asymmetrical armaments strategies and international terrorism are presenting bioweapons controls with new challenges. In the long term, these can only be met effectively by means of a comprehensive system of verification, which it is not possible to implement at the present time. In order to at least contain the risk posed by bioweapons it is essential that advantage be taken of existing options for action which could make access to biological material more difficult and strengthen the norms of the Convention on Biological Weapons.

3.1. The United Nations at a cross-roads: The reform agenda of the Millennium+5 summit in the field of peace and security policy (Tobias Debiel/Thomas Fues)

The debate on peace and security policy at the United Nations has become more intense. In preparation for the World Summit in September 2005, a High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change appointed by UN Secretary-General Annan has formulated a far-reaching proposal which he has adopted with only a few minor exceptions in his report "In Larger Freedom". The concept for reform is based on an extended definition of security which integrates aspects of poverty and development. Forward-looking statements refer to the legitimacy of using force to avert impending dangers and violations of human rights. The institutional recommendations on the reform of the Security Council and the peace-building architecture could strengthen the United Nations' ability to act. Germany should support this.

3.2. Challenges of international co-operation in civil conflict processing (Angelika Spelten/Jeanette Schade)

The international co-operation and networking of non state actors, both among each other and with governmental and international organisations, is expanding increasingly. The recommendations of the Cardoso Panel on *United Nations-Civil Society Relations* confirm this trend. Further, initiatives such as the *Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflicts* also encourage NGOs active in the field of peaceful conflict management, to strengthen coordination and coherence within their own sphere. Examples in the promotion of peace show, however, that the broad networking of civil society actors with each other and with international organisations harbours not only political potential but also risks and limitations. One thing is clear: German NGOs should seize the openings offered by these processes if they want to maintain their opportunities for exerting political influence.

3.3. Civil and military components at the United Nations: Integrated missions, merged units and dangerous partnerships (Tobias Pietz)

The Balkans, Afghanistan and - with a new dimension - Iraq have shown that the United Nations is facing a changed situation: increasingly it is having to decide on-the-spot between co-operation with or a distanced relationship to intervention forces. What is more, the boundaries between civil and military components as well as between activities of development co-operation and security policy in crisis regions are becoming increasingly fuzzy. The United Nations has reacted to this situation by establishing new inter-disciplinary bodies and instruments within the Secretariat-General, by increasing the number of civilian personnel and civilian tasks in the target areas and by more or less merging areas which used to be strictly

separate. Many of these changes appear necessary and legitimate, but others could increase the risk for the United Nations in the regions concerned.

3.4. Ten years after Dayton. An interim balance of the West's Balkans policy (Bruno Schoch)

As Yugoslavia disintegrated many people believed that Europe's hour had come. But things turned out differently: the war of expulsion in Bosnia became a nightmare. Only the United States was able to put an end to the slaughter with the Dayton Agreement. This experience has changed Europe's conception of itself, that is to say its willingness to resort to military means if necessary. NATO's war over Kosovo, which violated international law, would hardly have been imaginable without the "ethnic cleansing" in Bosnia. In the meantime, the EU has improved its capabilities in the field of foreign policy. Increasingly it is acting on its own responsibility to assist the stabilisation and democratisation of the entire Balkans region. But Kosovo and Bosnia-Herzegovina remain precarious political regions, even under international supervision. The EU must prove that it has understood the lesson of Dayton both here as well as over the question of Montenegro.

3.5. Grunting and groaning: The *Bundeswehr* in action (Jürgen Groß/Berthold Meyer)

Within just a decade Germany has completed a breath-taking change of course in the field of security policy. Whereas at the beginning of the 1990s, *Bundeswehr* operations abroad were accompanied by pleas for a "culture of reticence", the Federal Republic has, in the meantime, become one of the world's largest providers of troops for military missions with a UN mandate. So far, the German armed forces have on the whole mastered this change successfully, but often only with a lot of grunting and groaning. The reasons for this are discrepancies between the excessively ambitious and at the same time diffuse political objectives, on the one hand, and the military possibilities, on the other. Following the amendment to Germany's parliamentary proviso on foreign missions, it is the task of the Federal Parliament to fulfil its responsibilities towards the soldiers serving on such missions wisely and maintaining a sense of proportion.

3.6. The *revolution in military affairs* – Psychological threshold for a co-operative world order (Niklas Schörnig)

Western democracies, with the United States at the forefront, are increasingly equipping themselves with *high-tech* weapons systems which not only ensure them an unprecedented superiority in battle, but are also particularly well suited for protecting their soldiers and avoiding own losses. This *revolution in military affairs* (RMA) is triggering dynamics which are impeding a co-operative world order. First of all, these weapons lower the psychological

threshold for deployment since they make it possible to conduct wars without a great risk for one's own troops. Secondly, they encourage states which cannot imitate this RMA to react asymmetrically, e.g. by striving for weapons of mass destruction. Thirdly, modern weapons systems make new fields of armaments attractive, such as the arming of space or the development of miniature nuclear weapons for example.

3.7. Germany's arms exports policy: An appeal for principledness (Michael Brzoska/Bernhard Moltmann)

Despite its claim to being the trailblazer for a restrictive arms export policy, Germany has established itself as the third largest arms exporter in the EU after France and Great Britain. In the meantime, arms exports serve as a door-opener for economic activities or flank security aid to collapsed state structures. Such instrumentalization is neither compatible with German nor with European regulations on arms exports and diminishes their significance. The guiding principles have not become obsolete. They forbid the lifting of the 1989 EU arms embargo against China. The current dispute, however, shows that there is a need for improved implementation. This requires increased transparency and the creation of a basis for a competent political evaluation of the decisions taken.

3.8. Conflicts over the distribution of water. De-escalation and the prevention of violence (Christiane Fröhlich)

Studies in recent years have shown that international "water wars" are unlikely but that local and regional, and even violent, conflicts over water cannot be ruled out. Against this background, it is necessary to review the existing range of instruments for dealing with conflicts and to examine them for possible shortcomings and potential for development. The theme of this article is thus less the question of under what circumstances a shortage of water can lead to conflicts rather than what strategies can be applied specifically in order to be able to deal with regional and local conflicts over shortages of water resources co-operatively and with a view to avoiding violent hostilities.