

Chapter Summaries

1.1. „The Decisive Battle is for the People’s Minds“ – The Changing Character of War: Implications for Peace, Security and Development Policy (Jochen Hippler)

Interstate and civil war solely involving regular armed forces have become scarce. Instead, most contemporary wars are being fought within states for political power or resources and take the form of insurgencies or inter-group conflicts. Actors of violence are guerillas, armed civilians or only partially coherent militias who avoid open confrontations on the battlefield. Hence, these wars are not being won through the application of military violence but by winning the hearts and minds of the population. Only rarely can they be ended by the means of military ‘security’ or development policy. In most cases, creating effective and citizen-oriented governance structures is the key to the termination of war. Instruments of security and development policy can only contribute to peace-buiding if combined with these structures.

1.2. Ways out of War – Historical Perspectives (Jost Dülffer)

In pre-modern times the loyalty of the population only played a minor role during war. During the 19th and 20th centuries war usually ended due to the military victory of one party which was based on superior material or mental resources. During the Cold War, winning the support of the population gained importance. However, it was also during this period that military interventions provoked tenacious resistance – the opposite of what was intended. Nationalist forces and, since the late 1970s, religious motives bolstered the resistance of the structurally or militarily weaker side and made defeat less acceptable.

1.3. Ending War in Afghanistan? Consequences for the German Engagement (Michael Brzoska and Hans-Georg Ehrhart)

The escalating violence in Afghanistan forces us to confront several questions if we want to end war, for instance regarding the role of civilian and military measures, the aims of external actors and the outcomes of current strategies. These issues are being discussed against the backdrop of a new administration in the US and the focus of the US strategy on counterinsurgency. This strategic approach is hard to reconcile with the Federal government’s ‘Afghanistan Concept’ and it is doubtful whether the strategy will actually lead to an end of war in Afghanistan. Therefore, the Federal government should review the current situation and the US policy proposals without clinging to old illusions. Instead of simply adopting the US strategy, it should formulate policies which are civilian not only for tactical but for strategic purposes.

1.4. End in Sight? Declining Levels of Violence in the Iraq War and the Chances of a Permanent Stabilization (Jochen Hippler)

Violence in Iraq has been declining noticeably since late 2006. The reason for this decline is not the moderate increase of the level of US troops between the spring and fall of 2007 but is located in political factors. Al-Qaeda is politically isolated due to strategic mistakes and Sunni tribes have joined the fight against them. In addition, the crisis-stricken Shiite militia of Muqtada Sadr was forced to proclaim a unilateral ceasefire. The option of ending war in Iraq is not so much dependent on the number of foreign troops but on the continuing integration of Sunni Arabs, on the chance to resolve internal Shiite power struggles in the political arena and on the future prevention of conflicts between the central government and the Kurdish parties. Furthermore, improving the still-dismal living conditions is crucial for further stabilization.

1.5. Peace through the Normative Power of Military Violence? The Southern Caucasus after the 'August War' (Egbert Jahn)

The Georgian attempt to restore its territorial integrity through a *Blitzkrieg* against South Ossetia resulted in the expulsion of Georgian troops from those South Ossetian regions which they had hitherto controlled as well as from Abkhazia and in the Russian recognition of the two statelets. A voluntary return of these *de facto* states into the fold of the Georgian state seems impossible, just like the Russian withdrawal from both territories. A permanent peace is dependent on the Russian recognition of Kosovo and the West's recognition of Abkhazia and South Ossetia – a move that could one day be emulated by the governments of Serbia and Georgia. This would facilitate the integration of 'core Serbia' and 'core Georgia' into NATO with the perspective of eventual membership in, or association with the EU.

1.6. The Gaza War: The Most Recent Chapter of an Endless Conflict (Margret Johannsen)

The most recent war over Gaza has worsened the chances for a settlement of the Palestinian conflict as on both sides those forces have been bolstered that oppose a negotiated peace and favor violence as a means for achieving their goals. The two-state solution remains the most viable proposal for ending the conflict but due to obstruction from both the Israeli and the Palestinian side its implementation seems remote without substantial US pressure. However, it is doubtful whether the Obama administration would exercise such pressure in the face of domestic considerations. For a president who has to deal with the worst economic crisis since 1929, the political costs would probably be too high.

1.7. Building Peace Through Democratization? Lessons from the Western Balkans (Thorsten Gromes and Bruno Schoch)

Democratization is generally considered a viable strategy for peace. It is demanded and implemented by the UN and Western states despite doubts about its efficacy raised by academics. After the more or less externally enforced end of the ethno-nationalist killings and displacements, the Western Balkans became a veritable laboratory for peace-building through democratization. 18 years after the disintegration of Yugoslavia, its successor states exhibit different levels of progress: Slovenia has become a liberal democracy and a member of the EU and Croatia will probably join the Union in 2011 while Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo and Macedonia, in spite of some improvements, still remain partial democracies. At least, ethnic-based violence has receded significantly in all states. Hence, democratization seems to be a viable way of building peace, in spite of all its shortcomings and the substantial costs incurred.

1.8. The Long Wars in Sudan – No (Quick) Remedy in Sight (Annette Weber)

Neither the Sudanese government nor the international community pay much attention to the individual right to physical integrity during the ongoing wars in the country. Instead of relying on peacekeeping as a substitute for a political solution as practised in Darfur, a comprehensive approach like the ‘Responsibility to Protect’ (R2P) is necessary that entails an active and preventative approach towards the likely escalation of conflict in Southern Sudan and other parts of the country. Due to the fragmentation of the Sudanese actors and their regional linkages, the West has to prepare for a long-term diplomatic engagement. This includes support for state-building in the periphery and increasing diplomatic activities to include non-Western external actors like China, the African Union and the Arab League.

1.9. The War on Terror – An Unlimited War (Martin Kahl)

By proclaiming the September 11 terrorist attacks to be acts of war, the Bush administration was able to present its counter-terror measures as a ‘war’ and thus legitimize far-ranging measures. However, this simplifying label lost most of its legitimizing power due to the developments in Iraq and Afghanistan. Since the War on Terror has been nothing more than a rhetorical figure, it could be ‘ended’ simply by not referring to it as a ‘war’ anymore. In fact, however, the United States have not stopped employing military means to fight terrorists. Hence, the ‘war’ on terror can only be considered over once terrorism is understood as a criminal activity which cannot be fought with military and extralegal measures.

1.10. 'Made in the Developed World': Piracy, Fishing and Hazardous Waste in Somali Waters (Michael Ashkenazi)

The lack of a stable government has led to Somalia becoming a haven for maritime piracy. The prevalent lawlessness is the most important factor contributing to a 'normalization' of robbery. Three kinds of criminal activity regularly take place in Somalia's coastal waters: piracy (boarding ships and violently marooning passengers or cargo), illegal fishing from high-tech ships within the Exclusive Economic Zone and dumping toxic waste. The international community has to address all kinds of law-breaking off the Somali coast. If the coastal waters would be protected from illegal fishing and the dumping of toxic materials, this would be a positive signal for the Somali population.

1.11. The Peace Process and Unending Violence in Congo (David Fuamba)

Despite ten years of peace efforts the war in Congo continues unabated. Since its outbreak it has claimed 5.4 million lives – more than any other conflict since the end of the Second World War. Three narratives are used to explain the ongoing violence: 'resource conflict', 'power struggle' or 'the Congolese government lacking military power'. The peace process is clearly insufficient. Instead of arming rebel movements, peace would be better served by guaranteeing the civil rights of the opposing communities and initiating a process of reconciliation.

1.12. UN Operations for Peace? (Andreas Heinemann-Grüder)

The year 2008 has been the worst for UN peace operations within the last decade. What are reasons for the mismatch of expectations and the UN's actual ability to deliver? UN peace operations should concentrate on saving lives, ending the fighting, stabilizing the immediate post-war situation and reconstructing local institutions. A sustainable transformation of conflict is only possible when conflict can be broken down into manageable chunks, cooperation between opposing groups can be fostered and when the new regime offers a credible 'peace dividend' for all parties involved. However, popular sovereignty can never be replaced – the local population has to decide about the sequencing, the form and the political content of democracy.

2.1. A Renaissance of Multilateralism? Transatlantic Relations and the New US Claim to Leadership (Peter Rudolf)

Barack Obama wants to strengthen existing structures of global governance but also create new institutions. His primary aim is to integrate rising powers into these networks and give them a role in maintaining international order but also to roll over some of the costs associated with US leadership to its allies. The renaissance of multilateralist thinking within US policy follows the slogan ‘multilateral as much as possible, unilateral where necessary’. This way, Obama’s project of reconstituting US leadership creates opportunities for European allies to exercise influence. At the same time, they are presented with conceptual challenges on how to deal with the ‘new’ leading power.

2.2. Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons: Can the Treaty be Salvaged? (Oliver Meier)

The 2010 Review Conference of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) will show whether multilateral, treaty-based efforts towards the non-proliferation and disarmament of nuclear weapons have a future. States parties to the NPT are faced with three challenges: finding a new consensus on nuclear disarmament, seeking solutions to current crises of nuclear proliferation and strengthening monitoring mechanisms. It is up to the nuclear powers to honor their pledges to disarm their arsenals. Taking into account the reanimated discussion about a world free of nuclear weapons and the policy shift in Washington, non-proliferation might yet be saved. Germany can contribute significantly to the global stigmatization of nuclear weapons by pressuring its NATO allies to disarm and by calling for an end to nuclear sharing.

2.3. Moscow’s Messages: Ambitions and Reactions of an Inconvenient Partner (Hans-Joachim Spanger)

The war in the Caucasus and the renewed energy conflict with the Ukraine have stirred old reflexes. This demonstrates how deep the rift between Russia and the West has become in recent years. However, calls for the punishment and isolation of Russia – reminiscent of the Cold War – threaten to lead us astray. On the contrary, the economic crisis has made it plain that Russia needs to be involved in efforts towards managing and containing the crises. In spite of the increased distance, there is still potential for cooperation. One Russian precondition would be the recognition of a multipolar plurality of interests by the West while the commitment to clear priorities as part of a grand bargain between Russia and the West would be an important instrument.

2.4. A New Opening for Conventional Arms Control in Europe? (Hans-Joachim Schmidt and Wolfgang Zellner)

The inauguration of the Obama administration has changed international relations for the better. The reanimation of nuclear arms control, the waning interest in stationing elements of a missile defense system in Europe and the postponement of Georgian and Ukrainian accession to NATO have created a window of opportunity for revival of conventional arms control.

Unfortunately, through its unilateral recognition of the Abkhaz and South Ossetian secessions after the Georgian war in 2008, Russia has made the entry into force of the adapted CFE treaty more difficult. Yet, this constitutes an important precondition for opening negotiations about new tasks. Currently, conflict prevention in the Caucasus should be prioritized, followed by removing asymmetries in conventional armaments in order to facilitate deep cuts in nuclear arsenals and induce a willingness to abstain from nuclear first strikes.

2.5. NATO after Bush: Obsolete or a New Beginning? (Matthias Dembinski)

60 years after its foundation, NATO is undergoing a renaissance even as it continues to search for its role in the post-Cold War world. The new US presidency has cleared the way for addressing fundamental questions, long unanswered, in order to defuse security risks. This includes NATO's relations with Russia, the tension between its old identity as a military alliance underpinning a system of collective security and new tasks such as out-of-area activities as well as its relations with the UN and the EU. Another positive development is that the rapid accession of Georgia and the Ukraine seems to have been set aside for the moment. However, as long as NATO continues to see itself as a military power first and foremost, tasks beyond its traditional mandate of collective defence should be limited. In particular, NATO should be clearly subordinated to the UN Security Council.

2.6. The International Financial Crisis – Source of New International Conflict or Turning Point Towards a Better Global Financial Order? (Hans Diefenbacher)

The global financial crisis represents a logical continuation of the still-unresolved debt crisis of the 1980s and the collapse of the 'new economy' of the late 1990s. The financing of the Iraq war can be considered a precipitating factor. It is very unlikely that the financial crisis will lead to open military hostilities. However, most attempts to solve the problem follow old recipes and will thus contribute to international tensions as the repercussions for developing and transitional countries become more severe and the credibility of Western actors further weakens. Yet the crisis could be seized as an opportunity for a structural reform of the global financial order – a 'new Bretton Woods' could emerge out of negotiations on the foundations of global finance.

3.1. Prevention – Reasons for the Short Career of a Long-Term Concept (Bernhard Moltmann)

Prevention is better than cure. This is the understanding that political practice is adhering to when it attempts to preserve peace before it is torn apart. It entails supporting the non-violent resolution of conflict, containing outbreaks of violence and preventing their recurrence. International institutions have been particularly successful in adopting the concept of prevention. In contrast, the weak spots of such an ambitious idea have emerged all too clearly in the German politics of conflict prevention which have descended into competition for responsibilities and disputes about the allocation of budgetary resources. This shows a manifest inability to learn of German political actors. Crises and actors of violence around the globe will not wait patiently until the German state apparatus has gotten its act together. Thus, the idea of preventing conflict has not lost any of its plausibility and urgency.

3.2. Ten Years of the Civil Peace Service – An Interim Evaluation (Günter Schönegg)

For ten years, the Civil Peace Service (*Ziviler Friedensdienst, ZFD*) has deployed peace experts to contribute to civilian peace management alongside local partners in crisis regions. This instrument has been further improved through reform measures initiated by implementing organizations, their local partners and the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development. These efforts have been focused on the contribution of civil society to peace processes as well as the opportunities and limitations of human resources cooperation for the promotion of peace. Recruiting qualified personnel, developing a clearer profile of the ZFD as an instrument of crisis prevention and a stronger focus on key actors in conflict were identified as the most important challenges. In addition, the ZFD needs to be integrated into a grand strategy for civilian crisis prevention.

3.3. Dealing with Non-Violent Conflict Between Transnational Corporations and their Stakeholders (Volker Teichert, Katarina Weilert and Dorothee Rodenhäuser)

We frequently hear about transnational corporations violating human rights or environmental protection laws. Even though there are relevant standards in international law, these are primarily addressed to states instead of corporate actors. In addition, there is a corpus of soft law composed of declarations, decisions and recommendations issued by international organizations or conferences of states, of voluntary commitments and codes of conduct. We present three sample cases of conflict and the attempts towards their non-violent resolution. These examples clearly show that existing international law is not sufficient to resolve these conflicts – stakeholder conflicts require a combination of public pressure exercised by the media, international labour unions and NGOs and the active mobilization of employees and the local populace.

3.4. Security Policy by Other Means? Intercultural Dialogue in the Name of Conflict Management and Crisis Prevention (Jan Hanrath)

In its 'Concept 2000' (*Konzeption 2000*), the Federal Government expanded the aims of Foreign Cultural Policy to include conflict prevention and the preservation of political stability. This way, intercultural dialogue was made to serve security interests. However, the success of dialogue projects is difficult to measure due to their long-term nature and a causal influence between such an undertaking and a peaceful resolution of conflict is impossible to trace. Hence, it should be investigated what tangible impact dialogue can have on the management of conflict and the prevention of crises and which additional preconditions need to be met to ensure a positive impact. Furthermore, we need to question the motivation and interests of the various actors who demand and initiate dialogues in spite of their uncertain empirical basis.