# Friedensgutachten 2003

# Summaries of the Individual Chapters

### 1.1. Demands on the World Order in the 21$^{st}$ Century (Harald Müller)

Globalization, high-risk technological developments, as well as new virus epidemics are among the most pressing problems facing the 21$^{st}$ century. New efforts are obviously necessary in order to protect the peace. However, the way to this goal is much disputed. According to the American model, democracy must be implemented – everywhere and if necessary by force, whereby the United States would assume the role of protector of the world order. No other state is currently proposing an alternative concept; the terrorist organization Al Qaeda alone offers a radical counter-model. However, this model takes just as little account of the complexity of the world as the other. Stakeholders, as heterogeneous as they may be, must learn to cooperate with one another. The European Union has its own model for hope: an order which is based on justice. Europe must stand together to champion this order in future.

### 1.2. From the "Balance of Terror" to a "Terrible Imbalance" – The Asymmetries in the World Order Do Not Tolerate Militarization (Corinna Hauswedell)

The fight against terrorism following 11 September 2001 has brought to the surface the acute asymmetries in the balance of power remaining after the end of the Cold War. These asymmetries are accompanied by a new and contradictory militarization of political instruments and resources in international and inner-societal relations. This confrontative dynamism, particularly the breaking of the taboo of waging war by the United States, is threatening cooperation in international organizations; the hard-learned logic of arms control, disarmament and the de-escalation of conflicts through dialogue seems to have been forgotten. It is against this background of growing global insecurity that the precepts of civilian power policy, the concepts of joint and human security, and peaceful instruments for safeguarding against violence must be (re)established.

### 1.3. Relations between North and South in the Shadow of the Iraq Crisis: Prospects for a Cooperative World Policy following the Johannesburg Summit (Thomas Fues / Dirk Messner)

Hopes of a new quality in North-South relations following the end of the bipolar super power constellation have not been met. The anticipated peace dividend has not helped to solve global environmental and development problems, nor have the world conferences held during the nineties marked the introduction of a discernible change in course towards sustainability and democracy. The opposite has been the case: the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001 and the Iraq conflict have prepared the ground for a return to war and have shaken the foundations of the international rule of law. Nevertheless, the analysis of the World Summit in Johannesburg shows by way of example that the beginnings of a cooperative international and transnational policy have not been lost completely, despite US striving for an imperialist world order.

### 1.4. "Axis of Evil": The Bush Doctrine's Selective Concept of the Enemy (Hans J. Giessmann)

The "axis of evil" described by President Bush covers very different countries on three continents where the US apparently sees no alternative but to overthrow the respective regimes. The rough picture is deceptive: the countries named are not linked by any form of

coalition, nor are the criteria for their selection – the existence of a repressive regime, the striving for means of mass destruction, and support for international terrorism – really conclusive. Upon closer consideration, the reference to the terrorist acts of 11 September 2001 is particularly misleading. The one-dimensional image of a "rogue" is serving to mobilize domestic support and establish international alliances to enable the US, as a world power based on military might, to pursue an imperialist confrontation course.

### 1.5. War-Monger and Angel of Peace – The Role of Religions and Religious Communities in Armed Conflicts (Andreas Hasenclever)

More and more observers are viewing the political renaissance of religious communities with concern. The warnings about religious wars are exaggerated. But, nevertheless, it is evident that power-conscious elite groups are taking advantage of religious traditions in the struggle for influence and money. By placing profane arguments in a religious context they are enhancing the willingness of their supporters to use violence and increasing the risk of escalation. Should these fears of an unholy alliance of faith and violence be justified, the world religions do have a means to protect themselves from being instrumentalized for political purposes. From the western point of view, it is vital to strengthen the civil aspects of religion in order to prevent it from being taken over by militant fundamentalists and unscrupulous power strategists.

### 2.1. Once a Rogue – Always a Rogue? Iraq following the 1991 Gulf War (Andreas Zumach)

As far as the West was concerned, the attack on Kuwait in August 1990 transformed Saddam Hussein's Iraq from an ally into the main enemy in the Middle East. Following the 1991 Gulf War, the United States had Resolution 687 adopted by the UN Security Council. This placed the regime in Baghdad under international supervision, imposing comprehensive economic sanctions and strict obligations to disarm. The sanctions stabilized the regime, but had terrible humanitarian effects on the Iraqi civilian population. The "Oil for Food" program, which the United Nations introduced in 1996, did little to alleviate this situation. A good 90% of the goals for disarmament had been realized by the time the weapons inspectors withdrew from Iraq in December 1998. The aim of a Middle East free from weapons of mass destruction, which had also been formulated in 1991, became forgotten, however.

### 2.2. The Road to War – Washington's Foreign Policy and Iraq (Jochen Hippler)

Washington is primarily justifying the war against Iraq by claiming Iraqi violations of UN resolutions and allegedly remaining Iraqi weapons of mass destruction. In fact, however, there are numerous indications that US policy is really pursuing other objectives, in particular the overthrow of the Iraqi government, and that the other claims are mainly intended to justify this objective. Furthermore, there is important evidence that the Bush administration took the decision to go to war during the first six months of 2002, that is to say months before UN Resolution 1441 was passed. The Iraq war is thus not only significant for the Persian Gulf region, but is also as a sign of robust unilateralism within the current international system.

### 2.3. Palestine and Israel: Societies at War (Margret Johannsen)

The open violence which has dominated the Israeli-Palestinian conflict for more than two years does not only mean that a political solution is currently not in sight. It has also led to regressive developments in both communities. The quasi-state of Palestine has lost the last vestiges of its – always controversial – monopoly of power. Attacks on Israeli installations in the occupied territories and on Israeli territory are to be seen less as an attempt to implement realizable political objectives, but rather as compensation for powerlessness and as a means of securing a following. In Israel, guarantees of a constitutional state are being eroded in the

attempt to defeat the Palestinian *intifada*. The demolition of houses, deportations, torture and extra-judicial executions are considered legitimate measures in the war on terror.

### 2.4. Afghanistan between War and Reconstruction (Mark Sedra)

Although the Afghanistan Transitional Authority (ATA) and the international donor community have already undertaken important steps on the way to rebuilding the country, they have not so far been able to fill the security vacuum prevailing in many places following the defeat of the Taliban. The increasing lack of security, due primarily to the smoldering war situation and the activities of the warlords, is threatening to undermine the process of nation-building. International initiatives, particularly the process of security sector reform, are suffering from inefficiency and ineffectiveness. There is a danger that international attention will turn to crisis areas elsewhere in the world. Against this background, the ATA and the international donor community are called upon all the more to reconsider their reconstruction and reform strategies and adapt them to meet current demands.

### 2.5. Georgia in the Changing Force-Field of the Great Powers (Claus Neukirch)

The two great powers, Russia and the United States, may share the same objectives in the fight against terrorism, but their strategic rivalry continues as far as Georgia is concerned. Following 11 September 2001, the main interests of the United States have been to crush Al Qaeda and the war against Iraq, and, in the longer term, to secure the south Caucasian transport routes and access to Central Asia. Russia is still endeavoring to bind Georgia as closely as possible and is not prepared to accept the western orientation of its southern neighbor. The objective of a strategic partnership between the two great powers, which both Moscow and Washington are pursuing, is leading to tactical compromises in some areas, but this does not extend to willingness to allow the respective partner to play a dominant role in Georgia.

### 3.1. NATO – A Relict of the Past or an Alliance with a Future? (Reinhard Mutz)

Like other important international organizations, NATO has been damaged as a result of the disputes over the legitimacy of and preparations for the war against Iraq. Its future is questionable. On the one hand, there is no military necessity for a classical self-defense military alliance with 19, soon to be 26, members. On the other hand, there is no political consensus for transforming the alliance's mission into a strategy of preventive intervention. The Prague Summit has paved the way towards the capability to operate world-wide. A considerable number of member states do not consider this to be an adequate answer to their primary security requirements. The fate of the alliance depends on the ability of the partners on both sides of the Atlantic to harmonize their strategic preferences. The Americans have presented their blueprint, the Europeans have not.

### 3.2. The Upgrading of Nuclear Weapons by the Bush Administration (Annette Schaper)

The elation of the early nineties, when hopes even sprang up of a world without nuclear weapons, has vanished. The upgrading of nuclear weapons and the abandoning of nuclear arms control have reached new heights in the Bush administration: the SORT disarmament treaty signed with Russia in May 2002 waives verification procedures and allows rapid rearmament. The Bush government is showing no interest in the test stop treaty. It is relying on its own strength instead of on international organizations. And it is claiming the right to take preemptive action to forestall the use of weapons of mass destruction. The rejection of the commitment not to attack a non-nuclear state is undermining the Non-Proliferation Treaty and represents an invitation to others to also arm themselves with nuclear weapons.

### 3.3. The European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP) in a Cooperative World Order (Jocelyn Mawdsley)

While the civilian capacities of the ESDP are developing successfully, the military side is suffering from a lack of vision and political legitimization. The debate on the capacity of the Rapid Intervention Force has largely overshadowed the dissent on its radius and deployment. The Iraq crisis has shown that there are significant differences in security thinking between the individual EU member states. Nevertheless, the EU must make the Intervention Force operational if it wants to offer an alternative to American security policy. It must reach an agreement on reconciling every operation with the principles of the EU and on increasing the role of the EU in global efforts towards disarmament, conflict prevention and development aid. This must take place in a manner which is democratically legitimized and transparent for EU citizens.

### 3.4. Taking the Bull by the Horns: The Opportunities and Risks of Turkish EU Accession (Matthias Dembinski / Sabine Mannitz / Wolfgang Wagner)

With its enlargement policy, the European Union has created a specialized and regionally very successful peace order. The Greek-Turkish rapprochement and the inner-Turkish reforms are evidence of this. At the same time, however, the admission of further member states involves a fundamental dilemma: Is the European Union becoming too large and too heterogeneous to be able to meet its political objectives and at the same time be socially workable? As a reaction to the challenge, the EU Convent is currently discussing appropriate measures to preserve the capacity of the EU's institutions to act. However, it is doubtful whether such a reform will succeed, or whether it is sufficient to guarantee the stability of the Union. The case of Turkey has prompted particular controversy. This reveals both the great potential of EU enlargement as well as its great inherent risk.

### 4.1. The EU as a Stakeholder in Peace Policy in Africa's Great Lakes Region – An Appraisal (Alexandra Krause)

Following the outbreak of genocide in Rwanda, the Great Lakes region has become one of the main focuses of EU Africa policy. So far, however, the EU has not been able to translate its ambitious plans into a coherent policy in the region. On the one hand, the Special Commissioner appointed within the framework of the CFSP has been unable to succeed in his negotiations. On the other hand, the EU's sanctions policy has not been able to influence the conflicts. In view of the chaotic situation in the region, it is extremely difficult to compare the political arguments for and against sanctions. Moreover, the special post-colonial interests of individual member states are hampering a consistent policy of conditionality. The EU's only trump card, which it should play more often in future, is to make use of dialogue to educate the partner states concerning democratic principles and the observation of human rights.

### 4.2. Tantalum, Gold and Diamonds: The War in Congo Is Financing Itself (Ulrich Ratsch)

For almost ten years now, a war has been devastating the Democratic Republic of Congo. Both local militias and rebel groups as well as foreign troops are financing themselves through the largely illegal exploitation of the country's resources. In the meantime, economic interests have become the primary objective of the hostilities. Several elitist networks have established themselves in this war economy. For them, the war is not an obstacle to their business transactions. On the contrary, it offers particularly favorable conditions for making a lot of money. One will therefore have to wait and see whether the progress made towards peace at the political level in early 2003 will prove stable.

**4.3. Water in Southern Africa – Potential for Conflict or for Development? (Peter Croll / Lars Wirkus)**

There are predictions of an aggravation of the water shortage in southern Africa over the next few years. Even now, the states of the South African Development Community (SADC) are already competing for use of the region's 15 major cross-border rivers. These water resources are decisive for the socio-economic development of the individual states. The SADC Water Protocol on the joint use of the international rivers is intended to solve the conflict of interests within the SADC. Nine new agreements relating to water have been concluded since 1980 and four river area commissions established on the cooperative use of the rivers. Despite the different approaches taken by the various agreements, they all have one thing in common: they do not foresee adequate mechanisms for solving conflicts.

**5.1. North Korea: From Conflict to Cooperation? (Herbert Wulf)**

North Korea has not only just become a factor of insecurity in Asia following the latest incidents. The crisis has been escalating since the US government confronted North Korea with information about a secret nuclear program. It reached its climax to date with North Korea's withdrawal from the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). Despite these worrying developments, there are indications of a cautious opening by the inflexible regime in Pyongyang. The Bush government is relying on a diplomatic solution to the conflict. Economically, North Korea has its back to wall and is trying to improve its situation by playing a game of nuclear poker. A well-coordinated "carrot and stick" policy, offering generous economic cooperation in return for concessions, as well as introducing sanctions in the case of refusal, could persuade North Korea to cooperate internationally and engage in dialogue.

**5.2. China's Foreign and Security Policy following the 16th Party Conference (Gunter Schubert)**

The foreign and security policy of the People's Republic of China remains on a course of continuity following the 16th Party Conference of the Chinese Communist Party. In the aftermath of 11 September and following the increase in the authority of the United States, Beijing is attaching growing importance to the world image of a multipolar system on which international relations should be based. The most important problem areas in Chinese foreign policy are safeguarding national energy supplies, the territorial dispute in the South China Sea, and the "Taiwan question". China's defense policy remains defensive in nature, even though the country is forging ahead with the modernization of its armed forces. In future, it will be particularly important for the community of states to persuade the People's Republic to participate in multilateral forms of cooperation and international organizations – not least in the area of nuclear proliferation – more than has been the case in the past.

**5.3. South-East Asia under the Pressure of the Global War against Terrorism (Peter Kreuzer)**

A look at Indonesia, the Philippines and Malaysia shows how differently these governments are dealing with the challenge of radical Muslims and how diversely they are reacting to American pressure to introduce stronger repressions in pursuing the "international fight against terrorism". These different patterns of behavior reveal that latitude for interpretation still exists and that acceptance of the hegemonic interpretation is motivated by opportunism. Defining criminal gangs and guerilla groups with local interests as parts of the world-wide terrorist system which must be destroyed – as witnessed in the Philippines – increases the risk that such conflicts could escalate because nothing is being done to deal with the local motives

underlying the violence. The example of Malaysia illustrates that the quality of the state is central to the successful prevention of violence.

### 6.1. Colombia – A Plea for Repolitization (Heidrun Zinecker)

The deeply rooted violent conflict in Colombia is characterized by the triangular constellation of the state, the guerilla forces and the *paramilitares*. Negotiations to date have led to the demobilization of weaker guerilla groups, but not of the strong groups (FARC-EP and ELN). President Uribe is in favor of a concept of "democratic security" which supports negotiations with the *paramilitares* and the capitulation of the guerilla forces. Washington and Bogotá have in the meantime started to call the FARC-EP a terrorist organization. This does not take proper account of the latter's ambivalent position as a political project with an orthodox ideology and as a bandit gang responsible *inter alia* for massive violations of humanitarian international law. The international stakeholders should encourage those learning processes and cost-benefit calculations which can be expected to lead to the repolitization of the adversaries in the war.

### 6.2. The Tropical Rain Forests and the Preservation of Biodiversity– A Task for North and South (Hans Diefenbacher/Dorothee Dümig)

The threat to biodiversity is particularly obvious when one considers the tropical rain forests. The reduction in the variety of species can create enormous potential for conflicts as biological resources can become very scarce. This may not only threaten the habitat of rare species, but also the future of the world's food supplies and the conditions for the survival of indigenous populations. The internationally binding Convention on Biological Diversity must be applied consistently and extended in order to protect biodiversity. Further essential measures are the certification of forests and their management according to internationally recognized standards.

### 7.1. Efforts towards Targeted United Nations' Sanctions – Problems and Successes of a Process of Reform (Michael Brzoska)

Sanctions, along with military force, are the only enforcement measures which the UN can employ in the attempt to create peace. In the meantime, many of the numerous sanctions which were imposed during the early nineties have proved to be problematical. They have either been ineffective or, as in the case of the sanctions imposed on Iraq, have had devastating effects on the civilian population. Since the mid-nineties, various groups, particularly UN members of staff, government representatives of medium-sized industrial countries and sanctions experts, have undertaken reform efforts under the heading "targeted sanctions". Progress has been made, especially on technical questions concerning the design, implementation and control of "targeted sanctions". However, the position and constellation of the Security Council impose tight limits on these efforts towards reform.

### 7.2. Involving Non-State Stakeholders in International Law (Kerstin Blome / Brigitte Hamm)

International law is still primarily conceived as the law of nations. It therefore takes inadequate account of the interests of non-state stakeholders (individuals, NGOs, private industry) active at the international and transnational level. Can and should these stakeholders be involved more strongly in international law, and what problems would arise from such involvement? Whereas, in the meantime, steps have been taken to recognize the partial subjectivity of individuals under international law, particularly through the establishment of the International Court of Justice, there is still disagreement as far as NGOs and private industry are concerned. NGOs would like to see measures to secure their involvement through

legally anchored rights and obligations. Transnational concerns, on the other hand, would like to avoid rulings which entail responsibilities. One weakness in the discussion is that it depends largely on the states to grant these stakeholders rights.

### 7.3. Peace through Law – International Jurisdiction and the Non-Violent Settlement of Conflict (Patricia Schneider)

There are currently no less than ten international courts (of arbitration) with global or regional powers dealing with the peaceful settlement of disputes, the protection of human rights and the punishment of crimes, particularly crimes in war. Despite their merits, these courts make little contribution to preventing crises and averting violence. Are they incapable of performing their duties? Or are they not being adequately used? The example of the International Court of Justice demonstrates the strengths and weaknesses of international jurisdiction. Cases of successful conflict settlement stand side by side with cases where the target has not been met. Nevertheless, moves towards a large number of short and long-term reforms mean that there is still a chance to remedy these weaknesses in the classical instrument of civilian peace-making. It is for the politicians to take up these proposals.

### 7.4. About the Lack of Legitimacy: The Iraq War and International Law (Hans-Joachim Heintze)

The "allied" attack on Iraq represents a serious violation of international law. None of the grounds put forward by the United States and Great Britain were able to legitimize the resulting military intervention under international law – neither the argument of the need for a change in regime, nor the reference to Iraq's failure to fully implement its obligations to disarm. Furthermore, international law does not know the concept of preventive self-defense. Irrespective of the legitimacy of the attack on Iraq, its consequences under international law must be examined. The political costs of convening an emergency general assembly or appealing to the International Court of Justice are (too) high, however. Nevertheless, international law, and in particular the right to self-determination of the Iraqi people, are once again playing a key role in the post-war situation in Iraq.