

Summaries

1. Focus: Military operations under close scrutiny

1.1. The change in the function and legitimization of the *Bundeswehr* and the “friendly indifference” of citizens in the Federal Republic (Anna Geis)

German security policy has undergone a fundamental change since reunification. Germany's participation in international military operations has been steadily expanded and, at the same time, the *Bundeswehr* has been transformed from a national defence force into an intervention force. So far, however, this change of course has not provoked a big debate on security policy. Citizens in Germany do not display much interest in the issue. On the contrary, one could even say that they are demonstrating a kind of benevolent indifference. Their critical awareness is trailing behind operational reality. This encourages a policy which bases decisions on military operations on the interests of the Alliance and on international claims to power rather than on the questions which should be asked as every new situation arises. These are: How much military do we “require” today, and what precisely can such operations achieve in international crises?

1.2. Peace through intervention? A cursory critical analysis (Reinhard Mutz)

Iraq, Bosnia, Somalia, Kosovo, Afghanistan and Iraq again – the names of these countries stand for the key moments in the dispute over the pros and cons of military intervention in domestic and international conflicts that has continued since the end of the Cold War. They have also been central to the German debate on changes in the function and mission of the *Bundeswehr*. What effects have these interventions produced? Is it possible to draw general conclusions? Despite successes, for instance in the reversal of violent land seizure programmes and the easing of humanitarian emergencies, the results are sobering when measured by the yardstick of peace: War or civil war is still being fought in three of the countries in question, and two territories have become long-term international protectorates. There can be no question: This is not what peace looks like.

1.3. Germany's contribution to rebuilding Afghanistan since 2001: *Bundeswehr* operations and civil engagement (Rainer Glassner and Conrad Schetter)

The rebuilding of Afghanistan is threatened with failure due to the country's poor security situation. Germany's engagement in Afghanistan consists of a military and a civilian component. The *Bundeswehr's* operations are becoming increasingly controversial: Whilst public support for such operations is waning in Germany itself, Germany's NATO partners are demanding that the *Bundeswehr* should participate in the fighting in southern Afghanistan. German-led measures to rebuild the police forces have come under criticism because they have failed to meet expectations; massive investments by the United States have degraded Germany to the role of onlooker. In addition, political and military considerations have made it necessary to introduce numerous changes in the regional and thematic priorities of development co-operation. All this means that Germany's initial pro-active role in rebuilding Afghanistan has given way to a reactive policy.

1.4. Are military interventions worth their money? The need for and problems of accompanying cost-benefit analyses (Michael Brzoska)

Military operations abroad are expensive. Is this money well invested? It is difficult to assess just how much foreign military operations cost: precise, official figures are only available in exceptional cases. Different procedures for evaluating costs are feasible and could provide important insights. Estimations of benefits are usually based on an assessment of the achievement of the political objectives of a particular operation. However, these often remain very general. More precise performance reviews should be conducted, similar to those which are accepted practice in the area of development policy, for example. It will always be difficult to judge whether military missions to achieve peace and stability are generally worth the financial expense. Cost calculations and cost-benefit analyses should therefore play a role in decisions on foreign missions, without dominating these decisions.

1.5. The end of nuclear sharing? Support for NATO's nuclear weapons waning (Oliver Meier)

The approximately 480 U.S. nuclear weapons still deployed in six European countries are Cold War relics. Under the doctrine of nuclear sharing, pilots from five non-nuclear NATO

states, including Germany, could deliver U.S. nuclear weapons to their targets under conditions of war. There is, however, growing pressure on NATO to alter its nuclear weapons doctrine and policy. Several factors make it increasingly likely that the Alliance will change its nuclear weapons policy including the forthcoming revision of NATO's strategic concept, pending decisions on the procurement of new delivery systems, and lack of progress with regard to tactical nuclear weapons arms control. The withdrawal of U.S. nuclear weapons from Europe and NATO's denuclearization would be the best course of action and contribute towards strengthening the nuclear non-proliferation regime. In Germany, such a policy would be supported by a broad political majority.

1.6. Citizens of the world in uniform or subservient combatants? The consequences of the *Bundeswehr's* change of mission for the image of a *Bundeswehr* soldier (Sabine Mannitz)

The transformation of the *Bundeswehr* into an operational army raises questions as to the legitimization of and the criteria for decisions on missions abroad. Furthermore, the new types of military operations also affect the understanding of the soldier's role in society and the *Bundeswehr's* leadership philosophy. The Federal Republic renounced the idea of the non-political soldier and, with its model of the soldier as a citizen in uniform who is subject to the norms of "internal leadership", has tried to bind the armed forces to democratic principles and a defensive security policy. However, increasing participation in international crisis missions is putting pressure on the concept of the civil inclusion of the armed forces. The resulting change in the image of the soldier could mark the end of the *Bundeswehr's* once so ambitious claim to being an army permeated by democratic values.

1.7. Conditions, criteria and limits to military intervention (Jochen Hippler)

There has been a rapid increase in *Bundeswehr* missions throughout the world – based on constantly changing justifications. This is arousing scepticism in all the political parties. Critics complain about the excessive demands being placed on the troops and about the burden on the federal budget, and insist on clear operational criteria. The catalogue of criteria includes not only conformity with international law and multilateralism, but also realizable objectives for every mission and an overall political concept which the military instruments

must serve. This concept must indicate those sectors of society on which the rebuilding of state structures, the core of *nation-building*, is based. Also needed are a more resilient domestic consensus, a well thought-out exit strategy, and regular evaluations by independent experts.

1.8. Conflict prevention – an alternative to military missions? (Andreas Heinemann-Grüder)

Prevention involves the expectation that timely intervention will transform the incentive of violent players to take action or will punish violent conflict behaviour; that it will spare human lives and prevent the high costs of subsequent military intervention and rebuilding measures. Prevention as a form of collective action depends on many different preconditions; it demands *inter alia* a common perception of risks and conflicts and the willingness to provide resources for conflict prevention, not only at an early stage, but also in the long term. If the term “prevention” is not to lose its real meaning, it must focus on the prevention and/or curtailment of massive and organized international and domestic violence. Credible curtailment may also include military interventions mandated under international law.

1.9. Against global rearmament: A plea for a sustainable disarmament initiative (Harald Müller)

Arms control and disarmament stabilize international relations and serve to prevent war. Both are of extreme importance in the current phase of an international transition of power. It is all the more disturbing therefore that the existing arms control agreements have been steadily dismantled in recent years under the pretext that they are a relict of the Cold War. The Bush government bears the main responsibility for this trend, whereby the most dangerous tendency is the erosion of the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty. This erosion is not only due to treaty violations by North Korea and Iran, but also to the refusal of the Nuclear Powers to meet their disarmament obligations. Instead, we have entered the first phase of a new arms race. What are needed now are vigorous efforts to counteract this hazardous development.

2. Focus Middle East

2.1. Lebanon between war and permanent crisis (Jan Hanrath)

Israel's war against *Hezbollah* in summer 2006 led to the large-scale destruction of the Lebanese infrastructure and streams of refugees. Besides demonstrating the significance of regional conflict factors, it also contributed to an escalation of the domestic crisis in Lebanon. The split along confessional lines has deepened, at the latest since the murder of former Prime Minister Hariri. Lebanon is divided into a pro-western and a pro-Syrian camp. This division is particularly obvious when one considers the positions regarding the establishment of an international tribunal to investigate Hariri's murder. Whilst the Siniora government continues to have the support of the West, protests from the opposition demanding the redistribution of power are increasing. This rising tension stokes fears that Lebanon could return to its old pattern of inter-confessional violence.

2.2. Iran's revolutionary foreign policy: Reality or rhetoric? Shifts in the internal balance of power (Semiramis Akbari)

Political pressure on the Islamic Republic of Iran has increased tremendously since the election victory of Mahmoud Ahmadinejad in June 2005. The US government has intensified the military threat backdrop and neighbouring states and the West regard Iran's nuclear ambitions as a threat to international peace. Ahmadinejad's threats against Israel have served to reinforce the attitude of the West in the nuclear row. The Shiite "state of God" is presenting itself as a confident player in the Middle East. Its regional claims to power are a thorn in Washington's flesh. The Bush administration is accusing the Iranian elite of supporting radical Shiite militias. Iran's change of foreign policy direction is the result of shifts in the domestic balance of power. But these very shifts indicate that there is still a chance for a diplomatic solution to the disputes with Tehran.

2.3. In the shadow of the Iraq war: Saudi Arabia between domestic uncertainty and difficult neighbours (Guido Steinberg)

The fall of Saddam Hussein has destroyed the painstakingly maintained balance of power in the Gulf region. Saudi Arabia's most powerful rival, Iran, has been strengthened following the Iraq war and is now blatantly claiming a role as a regional leader. In order to protect itself against Iran, Riyadh is banking on its alliance with the United States in particular. At the same time, the civil war in Iraq and Iran's increasingly overt influence on Iraqi politics since 2005 have prompted Riyadh to abandon its restraint in the region. Together with Egypt and Jordan, it is now trying to stem Iran's influence in the Palestinian territories, in Lebanon and Iraq. A new conflict line between an Iranian dominated block consisting of Iran, Syria and *Hezbollah*, on the one hand, and an alliance of pro-American states under the leadership of Saudi Arabia, on the other hand, could establish itself in the future.

2.4. No civil war in Palestine: Chance to rejoin the peace process (Margret Johannsen)

Isolated diplomatically and strangled financially, the *Hamas* governing party, which came to power in March 2006, has not been able to establish order and security in the Palestinian territories. Instead, armed conflicts brought the Palestinians to the verge of civil war. The West contributed to this situation by joining Israel's boycott of the Palestinian government and encouraging those people in the *Fatah* movement who were unable to come to terms with the election defeat of their "state party" in their attempt to bring about the failure of the elected government. The establishment of a government of national unity in March 2007 presents the possibility that the sanctions will be gradually lifted, the Palestinians can put their house in order, and Israel will find itself confronted with a capable political partner with whom it can no longer refuse to negotiate.

2.5. A change in the United States' Iraq policy? – The "new strategy" of the Bush administration (Jochen Hippler)

The optimism which the Bush administration has demonstrated in its Iraq policy is slowly giving way to an attempt to limit the damage. The President's credibility has been harmed. The Iraq war has transformed a stable dictatorship into a failing state with violent internal conflicts. The US government has gradually become aware that it does not have a solution for

success. None of the options currently under discussion promises peace – the withdrawal of troops or an increase in troops, regional co-operation or the division of Iraq. Essentially, the “new strategy” only consists of sending additional manpower to strengthen the troops in Baghdad. Incompetence, ideological blinkers and military arrogance have put the United States in a paradoxical situation in Iraq: Despite being the strongest player, it is no longer in a position to determine policy.

3. Atlantic-Pacific shifts of power - Risks or opportunities for institutional co-operation?

3.1. Regional networking and rival powers in Asia-Pacific (Hans-Joachim Giessmann)

Can there be such a thing as multilateral regime-building to mutual advantage if regional powers argue over predominance? Nowhere in the world is this question as critical as in East Asia, where the United States, China, Japan and – to a certain extent – Russia are competing with each other for influence and where the prospect of a regional security order had to be regarded sceptically for a long time. However, the countries of the ASEAN group have now abandoned their passive attitude in the field of foreign and security policy, have seized the initiative for regime-building in the Asian-Pacific region, and have thus confronted the large powers with the choice of either becoming part of this co-operation or running the risk of isolating themselves. This hegemony of the “weak” offers the first real chances for establishing a security community in East Asia.

3.2. The nuclear and arms policies of important players in the Asian-Pacific region (Hans-Joachim Schmidt and Niklas Schörnig)

Asia has developed to become a hot spot for high rates of growth in the arms sector. This is stirring up lots of fears. A closer look at the dynamism of the Asian arms sector reveals that it does not follow a single logic. The behaviour of central players in north-east, south and south-east Asia with regard to arms is determined by very different criteria. Whereas supra-regional factors, such as disputes with the emerging power of China, play an important role for states in north-east and south Asia, the driving force in south-east Asia is of a regional or even

domestic nature. In many cases, the desire for modern weaponry is motivated by prestige. From the point of view of peace policy, these developments are to be regarded as problematic to different degrees. Europe has only limited opportunities to influence this trend.

3.3. The economic boom in China and India: The conflict potential of consequences for the environment (Volker Teichert and Stefan Wilhelmy)

Continuing economic growth in China and India is fundamentally changing the international constellation of power. In addition, the strategy of catching up with development is causing serious environmental damage in both countries, with considerable potential for internal conflicts. On an international level, conflicts are arising as a result of increasing competition over the use of global resources and the environment. A global reversal in trends must be achieved over the next ten to twenty years with regard to emissions of greenhouse gases in particular in order to avoid the worst consequences of climate change, which will especially affect the poorer countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Ambitious reductions in emissions by the industrial countries are an essential precondition for emerging and developing countries also being able to reduce their emissions gradually and discerningly.

3.4. The rise of China and the changes in global power relations – Europe as an onlooker or stakeholder? (Matthias Dembinski and Bruno Schoch)

The rise of China promises opportunities for the West, but at the same time appears menacing. Unlike the United States, which has developed a two-track strategy vis-à-vis China of containment and engagement, the EU is banking entirely on the opportunities which China can offer. It describes China as a “strategic partner” for a multilateral world order. Although military risks cannot be excluded, it is surprising just how successfully China has recently been applying soft power and is engaging in international co-operation. Without security policy ambitions of its own in Asia, the EU will remain dependent on its alliance partner and will have to take the latter’s security needs into account. Nevertheless, the EU should measure the Chinese leadership by its yardstick of “peaceful rise” and should develop a stronger profile of its own on questions such as the arms embargo, dialogue on regional issues, arms control, human rights, and Taiwan.

4. Trouble spots in Africa

4.1., Conflicts in Sudan – Causes and prognoses (Michael Ashkenazi and Susan Hough)

Sudan has been suffering from internal conflicts virtually without interruption since its independence in 1956. South Sudan was the scene of a civil war from 1983 to 2005 and Darfur has been experiencing a violent rebellion against the Arab-dominated government in Khartoum since 2003. In its current form, Sudan is hardly able to perform elementary state functions. It is demonstrating the sad consequences of religiously charged group conflicts. In addition, neighbouring states such as Chad, Ethiopia and Uganda are directly or indirectly involved in the conflict activities. What is more, Sudan exemplifies the absolute powerlessness of international organizations, among them the African Union, the United Nations as well as the EU and NATO, to prevent an escalation of the conflict.

4.2. The challenges in the Congo are only just beginning (Willem Jaspers)

Joseph Kabila assumed office as the democratically elected president of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) on 16 December 2006. There is no doubt that this was the climax to date of a process of transition which began in December 2002. There was a lot of interest in the Congo in connection with the elections, particularly as a result of the despatch of 2,000 European soldiers – mainly from Germany and France – as part of the EUFOR Mission. In the meantime, however, international interest in the DRC has once again fallen off, although the real process of transition is only just beginning. Three problems could destabilize this process and cause renewed violence: the pitiful state of the army; the highly inadequate reform of the security sector; and the urgent need for reform in the mining industry, which is the only economic sector with an enormous potential for development in the medium term.

4.3. Violent conflicts and possibilities for peace in the Horn of Africa (Volker Matthies)

The Horn of Africa is considered to be one of the most warring regions in the world. Ethiopia, Eritrea, Djibouti and Somalia are suffering from domestic and international conflicts. The growing power of Islamic groups in Somalia is drawing the attention of the West to the precarious situation in this country. In the United States in particular, there is fear of the “Talibanization” of Somalia and a “second” Afghanistan“ in the Horn of Africa. External efforts to establish peace failed due to conflicting interests in Somalia and the societal power of the Union of Islamic Courts. Ethiopia’s military intervention in late 2006 expelled the Islamist militias from Mogadishu, but did not succeed in bringing lasting stability to central and south Somalia. Better use must be made of the strategies and opportunities for international and domestic conflict processing.