Summaries

Marcel M. Baumann & Reinhart Kößler: From Kundus to Camelot and Back: The enlistment of „development" into the military. Based on recent critiques of securitisation, this paper takes on the concept of „networked security" recently propagated by the German Ministry of Economic Cooperation and Development. The authors demonstrate the explicit ascendancy of the military in strategies based on these conceptions which are exemplified by Cicil Military Cooperation (CIMIC). However, in contrast to official claims to the novelty of such cooperation, the basic tenets of CIMIC can be traced to the counterinsurgency strategies of the 1950s and 1960s. Here, Project Camelot – a particularly salient example of military and civic collaboration – is highlighted as a case in which the consequences of military funding and agenda setting have been well-exposed and from which lessons have been drawn. Following, this paper shows how current cases of military-civil collaboration in the field of developmental practice can be detrimental to the causes of humanitarian as well as development aid – as is amply documented, in particular, by interventions of concerned NGO representatives, who highlight the risks and predicaments incurred by being regimented into the role of „development gendarmes". Finally, the prospects for a critical turn, which would involve opting out of the logic of subservience to the military and a fundamental revision of the underlying concepts of development, are sketched.

Gabriele Zdunnek & Thomas Zitelmann: The Impact of Peacebuilding, Development Cooperation and Militarization – Concepts and Practice. In this article the authors question whether and how far development cooperation and peacebuilding in crisis areas can contribute to the prevention or reduction of violence. They provide an overview of different approaches which aim to integrate conflict sensitivity as a crosscutting issue into the planning, implementation and evaluation of development projects and programs. It has become widely accepted that even if humanitarian aid and development cooperation contribute to the improvement of the socio-economic situation of target groups, they might, at the same time, (unintentionally) lead to increased tensions and the escalation of conflicts. Likewise, common components of peacebuilding – such as the reintegration of refugees or the demobilization of militias – might have a negative impact on individuals and groups. Using Afghanistan as an example, it is investigated whether and how methods of civil crisis management and conflict transformation are applied in practice and how civil-military cooperation is organized. The authors argue that development cooperation and humanitarian aid in Afghanistan have, so far, been largely conflict-insensitive and – contrary to numerous programmatic claims – there have been no systematic attempts to use instruments of civil conflict transformation and peacebuilding.

Alexander Brand: Security above all else? The gradual securitization of German development policy. In current development debates it has become a staple for policymakers to see development policy through a security lens. Whether or not official German development efforts confirm this assessment, however, is debatable. In this article, recent dynamics and trends in German development cooperation are analyzed from the perspective of such an alleged „securitization". The focus is on five dimensions of securitization and its effects: 1. shifts in developmental discourse; 2. local patterns of the allocation of development funds; 3. sectoral patterns of resource allocation; 4. eventual security-related implications of institutional reforms in the development sector; and, 5. authority shifts among agencies and bureaucracies. That is, the concept of securitization has been broadened to encompass changes in political action and, at the structural level, shifts in thinking. In the German case, the results indicate that securitization taking the form of „militarization" has, so far, been sporadic at most. This is likely because of the long-term and incremental nature of shifts in perception, which have preceded (and enabled) forms of civil-military cooperation in the development sector, however, future developments will have to be watched closely. The current experiences in Afghanistan will help decide the contours of future official development policy in this regard.

Jan Pospisil: Resilience and fragility: A conceptual change in the developmental understanding of security? Since 2008, the term „resilience" has been used in the concept papers of the OECD-DAC and by several other development actors that deal with problems concerning the development-security nexus. In particular, the concept was recently discussed and applied in discussions on possible developmental responses to so-called „fragile states" or „fragile situations". Going beyond the problem of „fragility", the term „resilience" offers a radical perspective on the development-security nexus itself. It represents the expansion of development policy into a truly global enterprise, linked with global and cross-acting threats; it highlights interconnectedness and, at the same time, the separate threats and responsibilities of all. Moreover, the concept expresses a specific post-liberal rationality. „Resilience", in this sense, can be seen as the overcoming of the liberal contradiction between security and freedom, which dissolves the autonomy of individuals in the necessity of continuous threat-driven adaptation. In turn, „resilience" could become a positive-sounding description of what is actually a post-liberal safety phenomenon. It could become a substitute for the possibility of freedom in the global context.

Jan Bachmann: US African command and the new interventionism between counterinsurgency, stabilization and development. The establishment of a military command for Africa (US AFRICOM) symbolizes the radical repositioning of the US military. Facilitated by the consensus in contemporary Western foreign policies – that there can be no development without security – over the last ten years the US military has expanded its activities into civilian domains including development and conflict prevention. As a reaction to the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, recent US military doctrines on counterinsurgency and stability operations have singled out the need for

more civilian and long-term activities as a precondition for success. AFRICOM has put most of these „military innovations" into practice. Due to the command's focus on development activities, on civil-military coordination and its proposed engagement in non-war situations, in military circles AFRICOM is seen as a role model for future military practices. This paper problematizes the military's expanding mandate and discusses its implications. It argues that the military's increasing engagement in issues of governance and development deeply blurs the normative boundary between the military and the civilian and exposes development as a technology of security. Furthermore, the military's repositioning follows the dominant securitization of so-called „fragile states" and classifies social spaces along Western strategic interests. As a consequence, targeted communities find it hard to separate development efforts aimed at countering poverty and those aimed at countering insurgency.

Benjamin Schaffner: „Le clan du destin" – Exploring irregular boat migration from West Africa to the Canary Islands through the perspective of Fontex and development politics. European policies that regulate migration from the global South to the European Union are founded on a mentality of restriction. Police operations at continental borders and spaces of transit, as well as Development Cooperation with African countries, are the most common instruments to stem irregular „migration flows", which are often perceived as a threat by „Western" destination societies. Irregular south-north migration – and in the case of this article, clandestine boat migration from Senegal to the Canary Islands – is not simply the outcome of desperation and a lack of development, rather, it is a societal counterpart to global structure policies. The social and cultural setting of migrants, their behaviour and local structures all indicate that this migratory movement is, in fact, a personal project and has to be located within the context of transnational processes, including policies, social mobility, resources and aspirations.

Susanne Schultz: Against civil-military cooperation? The policies of German NGOs in and about Afghanistan. Over the last few years, German non-governmental organisations (NGOs) have opposed the intents of the German government to place conditions on public project funding that aim to strengthen the cooperation between NGOs and the German armed forces operating in Afghanistan. Analysing NGOs' critiques of civil-military cooperation, the author shows the ambiguities of NGOs' declarations, which tend to oscillate between political abstinence and a critique of the military intervention. The author argues that while NGOs and their networks oppose direct civil-military cooperation at the local level, they avoid clear political position-making with regards to the broader project of international military intervention and state-building. The specific and contradictory political roles of foreign NGOs within the international project of regime change in Afghanistan are analysed and issues that NGOs should debate in order to clarify their political position, despite the probable cost of a common position within „the NGO community", are introduced.

Wolfgang Hein & Theo Mutter: The Control of Non-Dominated Spaces: Contradictions of Neoliberal Globalization and the Role of Development Politics.
Globalization implies the increasing transnational interconnectivity of individuals, civil society groups and firms, as well as government and intergovernmental representatives. This has led to the growing density of transnational social relations and to changes of spatial, temporal and cognitive relations. In this emerging global society, security, in all its dimensions, depends on collective rules and their implementation. There is, however, neither an overarching authority nor a system of cooperating isomorphic democratic regimes. Due to uneven and non-simultaneous development in different parts of the world, political regimes differ considerably concerning their adherence to global norms and in their degree of domination over their territories. Neoliberal globalization has increased social, economic and political exclusion. Growing material inequality has not only favoured an expansion of the informal sector, but also an increase in transnational criminal activities (e.g. the drug trade and smuggling goods, weapons and human beings) and the transnational organization of violent groups. Since the late 1990s it has been recognized in the field of development cooperation that „security" cannot be reached through a combination of trade-led economic growth policies and the repression of illegal activities; rather, it depends on supporting social inclusion through poverty-reducing policies of empowerment. The dimensions of social security and „security" through the use of force are seen as complimentary by many state actors in this field, but criticized by civil society organizations. This article concludes by pointing out that the goal of establishing a global order to strengthen the physical as well as the social security of humans has to be distinguished from imperialist interventions. It argues that violent interventions in other societies are bound to fail because (1) they intervene into societal conflicts which are based on historical and cultural preconditions which cannot be easily linked to Western-based concepts and because (2) they are still often linked to the geopolitical interests of the interveners.