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DIIS 2009



DANISH INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
WWW.DIIS.DK

ISBN 978-87-7605-384-0

9 788776 053840

DIIS 2009

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A GLOBAL WAKE-UP CALL

IN 2009, DIIS

- defined the research units for the coming three years (see page 7), and five new research unit coordinators were appointed: Karsten J. Møller, Stefano Ponte, Cecilie F. S. Banke, Lars Engberg-Pedersen, and Fabrizio Tassinari.
- employed four new senior researchers: Rens van Munster, Annika Bergman-Rosamond, Robin May Schott, and Fabrizio Tassinari.
- disseminated and participated in the public debate with:
 - 63 public seminars
 - 48 research conferences and workshops
 - 28 policy briefs
 - 24 reports
 - 26 working papers
 - 499 interviews to the media
- researchers published:
 - 24 journal articles and 26 book chapters with peer review
 - 11 journal articles and 12 book chapters with editor review
 - 7 books as author or editor, published internationally

Development and climate change are the central problems of the 21st Century. If the world fails on either, it will fail on both. Climate change undermines development. No deal on climate change which stalls development will succeed.

Lord Nicholas Stern

In spite of the rather meagre outcome of the COP15 meeting in Copenhagen in December 2009, climate change remains a tremendous and vital challenge for the world. The overarching concern after the COP must be whether the necessary willingness and capacity to solve climate change at global level exists, or if more confidence should be put in arrangements at regional or even national levels. Should we be more realistic and forget about the need for new global governance structures and a new global financial mechanism and accept that the Nation State is the one that will deliver and will probably do so in accordance with its electorates? Some have argued that at COP15 the only winner was the sovereignty of nation states and that there will be no global solutions to issues such as climate change. This is highlighted by the apparent trust and ethics gaps between the North and the South that crystallized during the COP.

The actors on the multilateral stage have not changed their names but they are acting differently and assume influence and power in line with the roles they already play in financial and economic activities. There is reason to maintain the rationale for multilateral cooperation

that is ultimately what protects the small from the raging among the big players. For Danes – and Europeans in general – the COP was a wake-up call telling us that the world is changing and that new, upcoming powers may not look very much in our direction. Some of these countries have long experience with the West; they speak our languages and know our culture and traditions whereas we in the West are not really familiar with their languages, culture and traditions. This is a challenge for all and – even though it represents a minor element in a global perspective – DIIS will in the coming years expand its networks and research collaborations with institutions in the global South.

Nanna Hvidt

Director



DIIS – WHO WE ARE AND WHAT WE DO



DIIS is an independent research institution for international studies, financed primarily by the Danish state. We carry out research and analysis on a wide range of issues within the areas of globalisation, security and development. We participate in national and international debates and academic networks, and publish in high-ranking academic journals, always striving to excel in academic scholarship. At the same time, we assess Denmark's foreign and political situation and inform the Danish media, politicians and the public about our work.

We have approximately 100 employees comprising both research and support staff. We have different academic backgrounds, mostly in social studies, international development studies, military studies and anthropology. We contribute to the education of researchers both at home and in developing countries, and we employ a number of practitioners from relevant ministries for limited periods of time. These practitioners contribute to our understanding of how our work is used outside academic circles, and this strengthens our ability to bridge the gap between theoretical and applied research. As part of our work as researchers at DIIS we carry out policy-relevant and policy-oriented research within our disciplines.

Our research areas are defined on the basis of what we, as researchers, find to be current areas of special interest, and in relation to the surrounding societal and political context. We do basic research, research-based consultancies and commissioned work.

Commissioned policy work is most often requested by the Danish Parliament, ministries, or other clients. DIIS also has a special obligation to keep the memory of the Holocaust alive, and thus carries out continual educational and informative work on this subject.

Currently, we are focusing on eight research areas:

- Defence and security
- Foreign policy and EU studies
- Global economy, regulation and development
- Holocaust and genocide
- Migration
- Natural resources and poverty
- Politics and governance
- The Middle East

Our different academic and professional backgrounds, combined with a flexible organisational structure, make it possible for us to adapt smoothly to current trends without losing the continuity necessary for long-term studies, and also enable us to conduct valuable multi-disciplinary studies.

DIIS is headed by a board mainly consisting of members drawn from academia, which ensures that we live up to our scholarly obligations. The director is appointed by the board and she is in charge of the daily management of the institute. An internal research committee provides advice on strategic research planning.

– *Anine Kristensen, Information Officer*

RESEARCH UNITS

Defence and security

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Foreign policy and EU studies

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Global economy, regulation and development

See p. 8-11

Holocaust and genocide

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Migration

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Natural resources and poverty

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Politics and governance

See p. 20-23

The Middle East (formerly Religion, conflict, and international politics)

See p. 48-51

NEW FINANCIAL BUBBLES AHEAD?

G20 countries are reforming the international financial regulation system to recover from the current crisis and avoid future crises. But they fail to target two core problems: capital market inflation and destabilizing short-term speculation.



When the leaders of the dominant economic powers of the global economy were summoned in November 2008 to tackle the global financial crisis it was, for the first time, not a G8 summit but a G20 summit that was convened. The participation of emerging market economies such as China, India and Brazil was now crucial for such international deliberations to command any credibility and legitimacy. The G20 process is still ongoing, with planned summits in June and November 2010. But already in September 2009, the leaders of the G20 countries declared victory:

“[We have] confronted the greatest challenge to the world economy in our generation. Global output was contracting at a pace not seen since the 1930s. Trade was plummeting. Jobs were disappearing rapidly. Our people worried that the world was on the edge of a depression. At that time, our countries agreed to do everything necessary to ensure recovery, to repair our financial systems and to maintain the global flow of capital. It worked.”

Whether the current precarious recovery really is a recovery is not yet clear. More importantly, the self-assessment of the G20 countries is somewhat off the mark with respect to the objectives of ‘repairing our financial systems’ and ‘reining in the excesses that led to the financial crisis’. The reform agenda has been focused on raising capital standards, implementing international standards for bank bonuses, and instituting enhanced supervision of large financial firms. While each of these reforms makes sense, they do

not get to the core of the processes underlying financial boom and bust cycles.

There are two necessary conditions for a new approach to international financial regulation to be effective in ensuring that financial crises will be fewer and milder in the future. First, the overarching principle of monetary policy must be revised so as to focus on containing capital market inflation rather than targeting consumer price inflation alone. Monetary policy as well as financial regulation of individual institutions must focus on dampening cycles of credit creation and credit contraction. Second, measures are needed that change the relative incentives of financial market participants from short-term speculation towards long-term productive investment. This could involve a tax on all financial transactions, as recently proposed by several European leaders, but more fundamentally regulators need to force banks to change their business models: banks should be forced ‘back to basics’, to finance investments instead of being allowed to continue their fee-generating credit expansion game in ever more opaque financial innovations, serving only the interests of a small financial elite.

– *Jakob Vestergaard*

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CHINA IN THE WORLD ECONOMY

China's rise as a global economic superpower is one of the most significant changes to take place in the world economy for decades. China has moved from an isolated and marginal position in the world economy to being an 'engine of growth'; now the third largest economy in the world, the largest exporter in the world and the largest lender to the US in 2009. Accordingly, the global order is shifting and the structure of power and the parameters of action that have characterized the international system over the past half century are changing. The talk of a 'G2' reflects this shift and indicates that China is now regarded as a near equal power to the US.

In order to follow and engage in debates around the issues arising from China's ascent we have initiated a series of seminars focusing on China's role in the world economy. So far these have centred on 'China's Economic Diplomacy' and 'How China's Growth and Innovation Strategy Affect the World Economy', and more seminars will follow in 2010.

– Martin Højland and Lasse Folke

WORLD TRADING SYSTEM UNDER PRESSURE ON A HEATING PLANET

Climate change policies and trade policy are on a collision course. Protectionists and environmentalist lobbies have joined forces to limit trade. Tariffs are being proposed as a way of combating climate change. These new tariffs, known as border tax adjustments (BTAs), are at the centre of the debate and are being considered in many OECD countries, notably the United States and the EU. BTAs will tax carbon emissions at the border with the aim of levelling the playing field between countries with different carbon emission limits. Protectionist interests argue that goods made artificially cheap through non-respect of carbon emission limits should not be allowed free entry at national borders. Environmentalists argue that BTAs will prevent carbon emission cuts enforced in one country leading to increases in another as production relocates towards countries with lax climate change policies. In times of global recession the support for new trade barriers is strong -- but the global trade regime should not be allowed to become a casualty of climate change.

Will the global trade regime survive the collision? It will if politicians in the US and the EU come to their senses and resist the pressure from protectionist and environmental lobbies. The arguments of the lobbyists are weaker than they appear. Research shows that only a few industries, such as aluminium, will suffer from the type of unfair competition the protectionists want to shut out, and that the risk of the present trade situation leading to a reduction in the effectiveness of climate change policy is low. There are plenty of efficient and powerful policies already in the toolbox of politicians wanting to fight climate change. Trade policy is not one of them. Trade policy is a tool to be used when promoting global efficiency. The combat against climate change will be costly and we will need a well functioning world economy to afford it, not one damaged by political mishaps.

Emerging joint work by DIIS and the World Bank demonstrates that the implementation of BTA regimes is subject to a range of methodological and data problems that will serve as an invitation for political battles. It is very difficult to calculate the size of the tariffs. It is not worth the risk of sprawling protectionism. The end result may be a small gain for the few products for which protection is justified outbalanced by large losses in sectors politically able to make false claims about their need for 'carbon protectionism'. A BTA must be based on the amount of 'untaxed' carbon emissions that an imported product is responsible for. Yet, we cannot calculate the embedded carbon of imports with great precision. We lack agreed methodologies and data. Global supply chains are increasingly complex and ever-changing. It is likely to be too difficult to track the numerous components of a product with sufficient accuracy to come up with consistent embedded carbon estimates of anything other than very basic products. While we can determine the carbon emissions caused by the production of aluminium foil with some accuracy, doing it for aluminium framed bicycles, for example, for which the aluminium is only one of several sources of carbon emissions is a different matter.

Politicians seem unaware of the political economy forces they trigger when allowing trade policy to be based on fuzzy science. Historically, protectionist policies tend to sprawl to new areas and create greater harm there than good in the domain of the original concerns. The aluminium producers may deserve a bit of protection, but will it be worth the costs of less efficient trade in other products? The uncertainties of calculating embedded carbon and the potential to manipulate the scarce data existing will be an open door to protectionists. Better to keep the door shut than to tangle with the world trading system.

– Michael Friis Jensen

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PRO-POOR LOW CARBON DEVELOPMENT

As the world geared up for the COP15 climate change negotiations in Copenhagen, a team of DIIS researchers collaborated with resource persons worldwide to identify ways in which development assistance can help support low carbon development in the world's poorest countries.



A major DIIS policy study has concluded that development cooperation should place greater emphasis on supporting pro-poor low-carbon development practices in the world's poorest countries. Not for the benefit of the rich North, but in the interests of poverty reduction and long-term economic development in these countries. The report emphasises that this support should not be seen as a replacement for mitigation efforts made in the North, and warns that development assistance to climate change must avoid tapping funds and attention away from other 'non-climate change' related aspects of poverty reduction. The study identifies a tangible set of approaches and practices for climate change mitigation within energy, agriculture and forestry, and assesses the extent to which these approaches will de facto contribute to poverty reduction and economic development.

In recent years a number of international reports have forcefully shown that the world's poorest and least carbon-emitting countries will be those who are hardest hit by climate change. As a result, policy makers and practitioners in development cooperation are debating how overseas development assistance can best help address climate change in these countries. Much emphasis was initially placed on supporting them in adapting to climate change, while only limited attention was paid to the ways in which they might actually benefit from engaging in their own climate change mitigation efforts. As COP15 drew nearer the notion of 'low carbon development' gained a

foothold as a possible alternative development strategy, but it was often unclear what this entailed in practice, what it implied for the poor, and how development assistance could practically support it.

In order to enhance the basis for informed decision-making on these issues, a group of DIIS researchers embarked upon this study aimed at mapping the tangible options for development cooperation in supporting pro-poor climate change mitigation in the least developed countries. This approach provided valuable inputs in a process that had to take into account both the existing and well-tested knowledge on low carbon technologies and poverty-environment relationships, and the continuous emergence of new information and perspectives from the rapidly developing global debate on climate change. The study was funded by Danida and involved a consultative process with a broad selection of resource persons in the South, in Denmark and internationally. The findings and recommendations of the study were disseminated through public workshops and documented in two DIIS reports and a policy paper (available at www.diis.dk/climate). The studies were subsequently drawn upon in OECD negotiations, as well as in DIIS comments to COP15 negotiation texts.

– *Mikkel Funder*

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ADAPTING TO CLIMATE CHANGE

DIIS Director Nanna Hvidt was a member of the Commission on Climate Change and Development from 2007-2009. In May 2009 the Commission delivered a report entitled *Closing the Gaps* to UN Secretary General Ban Ki-Moon. The report emphasizes local ownership, urges donors to honour their commitments towards official development assistance and points to the need for additional monies coupled with effective global funding mechanisms.

"What characterizes the report is a focus on the human side" says Nanna Hvidt. "Often poor people are those who know most about the consequences of climate change, as they are directly dependent on predictability in nature and weather conditions. They must be heard, and their knowledge must be used. And then actors at all levels have to cooperate. The report is largely about who should do what when and how – in other words, filling the gaps".

Another main focus in the report is upon overcoming the trust gap between North and South, a gap which was so clearly demonstrated at the recent COP15 conference.

– Anine Kristensen

The report can be downloaded at www.ccdcommission.org

THE POOR ARE OFTEN THE LOSERS IN LOCAL WATER CONFLICT AND COOPERATION

In 2007 an international group of researchers set out to map the events of water-related conflict and cooperation that had taken place over a ten year period in five districts in Africa, Asia and Latin America. Our primary objective was to assess the extent and the intensity of water-related conflict and cooperation and thereby provide a clearer picture of the challenge of local water governance.

Based on a combination of qualitative fieldwork and archival research, the Competing for Water programme team estimates that approximately 6,000 water-related conflictive and cooperative events have taken place between 1996 and 2007 in the five districts, ranging from almost 800 events in the small Condega district in Nicaragua to around 1,600 events in the much larger and intensively irrigated Tiraque district in the Bolivian highlands.

These events were far from all being conflictual, and only a fraction of them have come to the knowledge of outside authorities. This in itself does not constitute a problem. However, our research shows that all too often it is the poor who lose out in these conflictive as well as cooperative events – people who are deprived of sufficient food, housing and health, who have limited access to productive resources, and who lack effective access to local as well as outside authorities. This, in combination with the fact that most developing countries set aside only limited resources to deal with water related issues such as, for example, district level water governance, is what constitutes the challenge of local water governance.

During 2009 the Competing for Water team has been exploring the policy-related implications of these research findings through its network of policy makers, practitioners and researchers nationally and internationally in order to strengthen pro-poor local water governance.

– Helle Munk Ravnborg

PROTECTED AREAS AND INCLUSIONARY GOVERNANCE

The concept of joint management of protected areas by local stakeholders and environmental authorities has rapidly evolved in the international conservation and development context. A growing number of academic contributions have advocated the idea that local communities and peoples should manage their own natural resources. Advocacy groups and NGOs have contributed to this development by setting up projects and programmes facilitating such inclusive strategies.

The managerial side of the skewed playing field, e.g. multilateral development agencies and international conservation organisations, has quickly conformed to the new participatory discourse by applying concepts such as community-based conservation, co-management, and shared responsibility; often adapted to the neoliberal canon of privatization and market orientation. The contradictions in this conceptual complex have been subjected to critical analysis focused on the relations of coercion and cooptation contained within these conservation strategies. These discussions, however, have maintained a normative approach to the problematics of participation and inclusion.

Critical of the normative institutional perspectives and idealized prospects, a joint effort by researchers from the Natural Resources and Poverty research unit, coordinated by Senior Project Researcher Søren Hvalkof, scrutinizes local responses to the new conservation measures and is producing local ethnographies of environmental governance. Studying across its hierarchies and social relations of power, they avoid the binary paradigm of conservation vs. development. Case studies from Africa and Latin America highlight inter- and intra-communal dynamics and responses, institutional relationships, and the various forms of agency that stakeholders may exert in their attempts at strategic positioning.

– Søren Hvalkof

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Mikkel Funder · Project Researcher

Rikke Brandt Broegaard · Project Researcher

Signe Marie Cold-Ravnkilde · PhD Candidate

Rachel Spichiger · PhD Candidate

LEARNING AFTER DISASTERS

Governments and development agencies keep making the same mistakes when they rebuild after major disasters. Why that is so is Ian Christophlos' headache

IAN CHRISTOPLOS

PhD, Senior Project Researcher

Ian Christophlos has worked as a researcher, evaluator and practitioner over the past twenty years, looking at how local rural institutions and organizations deal with their rapidly changing environment and manage risk. This has included research and assignments in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Western Balkans. In addition to his part-time research at DIIS he has a private consultancy with clients including the World Bank and various UN agencies.

Why are the same mistakes repeated in recovery efforts after the Tsunami in the Indian Ocean in 2004 as after Hurricane Mitch in Central America in 1998? Indeed, why do we make the same mistakes over and over again when dealing with disaster relief, recovery and development efforts? These are some of the main questions puzzling senior project researcher Ian Christophlos.

He does not have a straight answer as to why it is so, but one reason may be that memory is short: "The last major research project I was running was looking at recovery over the ten years after Hurricane Mitch. People have a lot of assumptions about what happens after a major disaster and normally nobody questions those assumptions because it takes ten years to really understand what kinds of recovery happened and why, and how the different actors responded to the signals that came with the aid that flowed in. The analysts and evaluators have all left after a few years and nobody is asking whether longer-term recovery shows evidence that we 'built back better'. For that reason I think we make the same mistakes again and again".

So what are the typical mistakes?

"Well, I think there are assumptions that the lessons from the disaster will be remembered, which they are not. They are forgotten very quickly and they are completely overtaken by the pre-existing development discourse which generally – not always but usually – ignores the factors that created the risks that in turn resulted in the disaster", Ian Christophlos says. And that is a problem, he argues.

The pre-existing development discourse is mostly oblivious to why things collapsed in the disaster. "Because it wasn't just the hurricane or the earthquake that caused the overwhelming damage. It was also the pre-existing fragility in the state structures", he says. "And what also often happens is that the state comes back and builds the same buildings that were there before the disaster and forgets to take into account new risks that exist, such as those arising due to climate change".

WORKING FOR MANKIND

"I was earlier involved in evaluating the responses to both the Tsunami and Hurricane Mitch and I wondered why people were making the exact same mistakes after the Tsunami as after Hurricane Mitch. That inspired me to write a research proposal to come back ten years after Mitch and have a look at what actually happened. I think such studies can make a genuine contribution to ... eh ..."

To mankind?

"Well ... yeah, yeah. And to avoiding these ridiculous and extremely expensive mistakes. Billions and billions of dollars go into rebuilding after Mitch, the Tsunami or in Haiti, as well they should".

"In order to recognize how to avoid such mistakes in the future you have to get past the mega-projects and look at the local processes that either resulted in new livelihoods or in rows of empty houses built for displaced people who never came back", he says.

"So my role as a researcher is basically to look deeper: what is the real problem, as opposed to the so-called 'problem definition' in project documents? What is driving the decision makers on national, local and other institutional levels?"

Ian Christophlos' main research area is why local institutions involved in rural development and natural resource management function the way they do, and why local actors behave the way they do. "I focus on how local institutions deal with rapid change, be it a so-called natural disaster, political upheaval or market volatility", Ian Christophlos says.

– *Jørgen Staun*





THE FUTURE OF AID

International development cooperation is becoming a more and more doubtful business. The challenges are becoming increasingly diverse and its organisation increasingly complex. A two year study has explored different aspects of aid and its likely future.



Poverty remains a fundamental problem of the contemporary world. Despite tendencies towards poverty reduction in most parts of the world since the early 1990s, at least 1 billion people are likely to remain poor in 2015 when the Millennium Development Goals should have been achieved. Recently, the financial crisis has seriously jeopardised the positive trends and the prospects for the poor countries in particular are now dark and dismal.

However, poverty is no longer as it was. It certainly continues to be experienced by people in all its devastating might in the form of illness and malnutrition, of being scorned and feeling powerless, but it is increasingly brought about by international phenomena such as food and energy crises, financial and economic crises, climate change, pandemics, etc. Moreover, actions taken by certain countries have implications for others. When Denmark decides to buy up vaccine against the H1N1 flu virus this means that poorer countries lose access to the limited stock of vaccine despite the fact that the poor parts of their populations are more vulnerable to the disease. Poverty reduction is, accordingly, becoming an increasingly complex endeavour. It needs to address global issues as well as domestic policies in rich countries.

At the same time international aid is becoming even more complex bordering on chaotic. The number of donors is on the rise as emerging economies and new members of the EU develop their aid programmes. In addition, numerous global funds have emerged

For further information on the DIIS study of the future of aid, see <http://www.diis.dk/sw45230.asp>

with sometimes significant amounts of resources. While the new bilateral donors often pursue different development policies compared to the old ones, the funds typically adopt yet another type of approach inspired by the private sector and poorly adapted to local realities. They finance AIDS clinics stuffed with medicine, equipment and staff alongside existing public health clinics without doctors or the ability to treat even elementary diseases.

Moreover, some donor countries seem to be sounding the retreat from principles of ownership and harmonisation so forcefully agreed upon in the Paris Declaration adopted by more than 100 countries in 2005. The consensus was that aid has to be coordinated and adapted to the concerns and conditions of the recipient countries in order to be effective, but certain donor representatives now argue that they need space for their own priorities and that coordination has proven too difficult. In a recent White Paper by the British government and in a speech given by Hillary Clinton on January 6, 2010, national interests in aid are strongly highlighted.

To this gloomy picture one may add the inability of aid to address the difficulties of the so-called fragile states suffering from violent conflicts, insecurity, incapacity in the public sector, etc. When the fundamental precondition for development is political stabilisation, aid typically fails.

So, is there a future for aid given these circumstances? It is true that the interest in providing aid remains strong, but there are slim prospects for putting the needs and priorities of its consumers in the driving seat. Only if a significant change of international cooperation in other policy areas (climate change, financial regulation, etc.) takes place so that global concerns take precedence over national interests may international development cooperation have a brighter and more effective future.

– *Lars Engberg-Pedersen*

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FARMER FORA EMPOWER UGANDAN FARMERS

During 2001-3 sub-county Farmer Fora were established in Soroti District and procedures developed for how these could identify needs for agricultural advisory services, undertake tender processes and monitor contracts granted to private service providers. District extension staff became accountable to Farmer Fora and provided technical backstopping.

Already in 2003 ten private companies worked on contract for Farmer Fora, and during 2004-2007 the number increased to 27. Surveys carried out by DIIS and the University of Makerere show that the approach is cost-effective and has significant impact in terms of poor farmers' adoption of commercial enterprises.

Government support for private agricultural service providers was discontinued in 2008 forcing local companies out of business and causing frustration among farmers. But the Farmer Fora continue functioning and through involvement in such new sub-district institutions the citizens' voice in relation to local government has been strengthened.

– *Esbern Friis-Hansen*

NEPAL: YOUNG PEOPLE BECOMING CITIZENS AFTER A DECADE OF VIOLENCE

In Nepal, schools are at the centre of defining new ideals for the country's citizens after a decade of conflict.

In my PhD I find that during the political transition young people in rural secondary schools negotiate between conflicting ideals of citizenship. Schools are central to the 'production' of citizens, and traditionally, Nepalese schools have taught students to be loyal to the Monarchy and aspire to an urban, middle class life. During the conflict the Maoists, by contrast, fought for 'the poor rural peasant' to become the ideal citizen. Following the conflict schools lack clear ideals for the nation and its citizens. The Monarchy has been abolished and students have torn pictures of the King out of their school books. When asked about the political changes they say: 'we no longer have to pray in front of the King's portrait' and 'we have peace now'. This is in clear contrast to their experiences during the conflict when propaganda programmes, the fear of Maoist abduction and the killing of students in crossfire were part of their school life. But students have been left without guidance about the new realities. Some have heard about democracy, but most have no idea what this means or how it will affect them. Moreover, the schools are incapable of fulfilling their new role because they lack information and have outdated school books which will be fully revised 'only when we know what way the country is heading' as an officer in the Ministry of Education put it. Consequently, neither present political issues nor the conflict are discussed. This is problematic because schools are vital to create reconciliation and a sense of belonging for young people in post conflict situations. Schools and students have thus far been left to themselves when it comes to defining and creating citizens of a new Nepal.

– *Birgitte Lind Petersen*

TACKLING THE RESOURCE CURSE IN AFRICA, FROM LOCAL TO GLOBAL

The resource curse lingers on in Africa. The paradoxical phenomenon of natural resource abundance coupled with economic underdevelopment and perverse politics is all too well-known on the continent. However, it is not natural resource wealth alone that brings about the resource curse. Pre-existing conditions of unaccountable, corrupt and oppressive governance are to blame. As a result, an evolving research agenda on the subject is forming in an effort to understand the multiple dimensions of the resource curse. DIIS researchers are developing knowledge on the influence of natural resources in Africa by examining oil development in Sudan, diamond mining in Sierra Leone and gold mining in Tanzania, across the local, national and global levels.

The resource curse has typically been described in national terms. Due to political mismanagement an expansion of natural resource exports has been seen to handicap the economic growth of other tradable and manufactured products. Consequently national budgets become prone to volatile shifts in line with international commodity prices. At the local level unchecked environmental degradation from extractive industries often produces social grievances within communities in resource-rich areas that can fester into armed conflict. Globally, those international companies that fail to adhere to high standards of financial transparency, human rights and environmental management drag down the development of commonly shared best practices to counter the detrimental influence of natural resources on conflict and development. Researchers and policymakers alike must not only consider national conditions but also those at the local and global levels to better understand the resource curse in Africa.

– *Luke Patey*

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CIVIL-MILITARY MISSION IMPOSSIBLE?

In conflict-riven areas such as Helmand and Basra civil–military cooperation should be based on a strategy for political stabilization.



Governments and agencies that are operating in areas where the state has minimal control and where local conflicts become violent should aim at a strategy of ‘political stabilization’ as a precondition for other development and security activities to improve chances for peace. This means that military forces as well as reconstruction and development programmes should start out by aiming at facilitation of political processes, non-violent conflict resolution, and protection of the population. Thus, for example, projects such as school building for girls in conservative environments may not be conducive to political stabilization in the short term and should be postponed to a later stage.

In 2004 the Danish government developed the ‘Concerted Planning and Action’ concept for civil–military cooperation, including guidelines for the military to facilitate reconstruction projects in the areas of operation. But development cooperation in highly militarized environments is impossible to carry out according to established ‘good practices’. It is very expensive and it may deepen conflicts or make local populations targets for retaliation. And there are always suspicions of exchange of intelligence. Furthermore, development and state building are not mere technicalities but involve highly political issues of norms, distribution, and control. In fact, reconstruction and development is not about ‘winning hearts and minds’ but rather about changing hearts and minds.

An overall political focus requires better political analyses, strate-

gies, and leadership and, not least, improved knowledge of local conflict dynamics. And it requires a tight integration at strategic as well as tactical levels where rapidly changing conditions place high demands on the system. Therefore a DIIS study recommends a cross-ministry stabilization unit. At the local, tactical level, integration is only necessary in areas of intense conflict while in other areas, such as Northern Afghanistan, civilian and military entities should operate separately.

These are some of the conclusions of the 2009 DIIS study on civil–military cooperation which was commissioned by the Danish government in advance of the elaboration of a new Danish defence agreement and a reorganization of the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Danish foreign and defence policy of the last decade has placed new demands on development cooperation, humanitarian aid, and security. The involvement of Danish troops in NATO or Coalition operations in Kosovo, Iraq and Afghanistan has confronted Danish military and civil organizations with new challenges in combat and counterinsurgency operations. Moreover, the fierce armed resistance to these operations has made it obvious that the job cannot be done by military means alone. Meanwhile, conditions of insecurity in places like Helmand in Afghanistan and Basra in Iraq prevent most civilian institutions from getting involved.

The DIIS study also suggests – in the longer term and beyond Afghanistan – a strengthening of the UN to make it more robust so as to operate under more difficult security conditions. The UN has broad legitimacy and, unlike NATO, comprises both civilian and military instruments within the same political organization.

Finally, the study gives an overview of the literature on civil–military relations, and looks into Danish experiences, the Dutch and British approaches, as well as similar efforts by others in the European Union, the United Nations and NATO.

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NEW ANGLE ON MIGRATION RESEARCH

Developments in migration control have spurred an extensive and rapidly growing migration industry that profits from providing services to employers and migrants. Simultaneously, the industry has become a powerful market agent in driving migration management policies. New actors – from human smugglers to private contractors – are entering the migration management field. This trend challenges the roles of and the traditional dichotomy between states and non-state actors, and it is also prompting government agencies, commercial enterprises, NGOs, churches, etc. to reorganize themselves within the industry and market structures. Therefore, over the next three years, DIIS will analyze current migration from the angle of 'the Migration Industry' and 'Markets for Managing Migration'.

The motivation behind this venture is to redirect the focus away from the individual migrant. The overall objective is to problematize the strict conceptual splits imposed by disciplinary and empirical research boundaries focusing either on the migrants and social networks, or on state policies and responses.

– *Ninna Nyberg Sørensen*

HARD ODDS FOR UN PEACEKEEPING IN THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO

The UN's peacekeeping force in The Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) has been accused of collaboration with human rights offenders when providing support for two recent military campaigns carried out by Rwanda and Congo. The two successive campaigns took place in January 2009 and attempted to stabilize the war-torn eastern provinces of North and South Kivu. They did not succeed – the units engaged in the campaigns committed countless human rights violations and contributed further to the general militarization of society.

Consequently the UN has vowed to limit its collaboration to units that have clean track records. But Congolese army units frequently engage in the lucrative exploitation of minerals, feeding into politico-military patronage networks which are often linked to specific ethnic factions. So, given the Congolese army's obvious interest in a lack of transparency, it is doubtful that the UN will be able to filter the 'good guys' from the 'bad guys'.

The two campaigns supported by the UN attempted to 'neutralize' the FDLR (Forces Démocratiques de Liberation du Rwanda), the notorious Rwandan rebel group associated with the Rwandan genocide. Not only is the FDLR still in control of parts of the eastern province, it is also very doubtful that their elimination would stabilize the Kivus, as claimed by the governments of Rwanda and Congo.

This is due to the fact that a myriad of micro-conflicts smoulder under the glossy new democratic surface of the DRC. The historical conflict between Rwandan settlers and the so-called 'indigenous' Congolese ethnic groups persists. When Joseph Kabila was sworn in as president in 2006 he promised to bring peace to the war-torn provinces. But when I visited South Kivu in 2009 the situation remained highly volatile, in spite of the presence of the UN's largest peacekeeping force in the world.

– *Kasper Hoffmann*

LABOUR IMMIGRATION TO THE EU – AN UPHILL JOB

The EU lags far behind in attracting immigrant labour. Only 5% of the highly skilled African emigrants move to the EU. So far European efforts have focussed on highly skilled labour, but many EU countries would also benefit from more legal semi- and low skilled workers in the productive industries.

Guaranteeing the rights of immigrants is fundamental in this competition, and may also help to combat the informal economy which is thriving on irregular migrants and their vulnerable situations.

With the Stockholm programme – an EU action plan on justice and home affairs – the EU gives top priority to a common policy on legal migration. The programme strives at harmonisation of EU-rules on such matters as visa policy and admission procedures aimed at making the system easily adaptable to fluctuations in labour demands. While Member States realise that most of the challenges brought about by immigration cannot be effectively handled by each country alone, joint advances are often delayed and substantially marked by national prerogatives.

Also, there is a need for more dialogue with countries of origin and transit. The programme points to the necessity to integrate social, economic and trade policies, but fails to incorporate relevant elements of external relations and address the functioning of Europe's employment market for migrants and policies governing social affairs. The attempt is to take existing policies substantially further and fully normalise this policy area as an EU-matter. But it is unlikely to bring political agreement and policy innovations to solve a number of the bigger and more structural problems.

These are a few of DIIS' responses in the report "Think Global – Act European" (TGAE), containing contributions from 14 European think tanks – a recommendation to the Spanish, Belgian and Hungarian Trio Presidency of the EU.

– *Katrine Borg Albertsen*

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IT'S BETTER TO SIT IN AT THE TABLE ...

... than to sulk in the corner. Research has to make a difference by, for example, improving development assistance, Ninna Nyberg Sørensen argues.

NINNA NYBERG SØRENSEN

PhD, Senior Researcher, Head of Research Unit on Migration

Ninna Nyberg Sørensen works on issues related to the migration-development nexus and transnational processes. She also works on global care chains, internal displacement and deportation. Her main geographical focus is on Latin America and North Africa. Among her research policy publications are *Living across Worlds* (2007) and *The Migration-Development Nexus* (2003), both published by the International Organization for Migration, Geneva.

For Ninna Nyberg Sørensen research has to make a difference.

“I might be somewhat different from the classical type of researcher who insists on being 100 per cent independent in all matters and hiding away in his or her office. I would rather sit at the table than stand idle in a corner”, Ninna Nyberg Sørensen says.

“Independence is, of course, paramount in an institution such as DIIS: if we are not independent we cannot do good research. But I think it is essential also to be part of a political process and be close to where things are happening. And I honestly believe that my research improves by being used”, she says.

Ninna Nyberg Sørensen recently returned to DIIS after four years as Senior Adviser/Head of Mission for Danida’s Central American office in Guatemala, working with democratization and anti-corruption programs in the region.

“If you believe that what you are doing and saying is right, I think you have to do something to remove the barriers which prevent things from being what they could be and make them work better”, she says.

In her eyes being part of the political process is also a matter of simple duty. “Society has paid for my indeed very long education. And right now it is paying me for the work I am doing as a researcher. So it is also a matter of simple duty for us, as researchers, to repay society for these privileges we have received by engaging in political processes”.

Apart from being a senior researcher at DIIS, Ninna Nyberg Sørensen is also a member of the board of The Danish Council for

Independent Research (FSE) which selects research projects for state funding.

“It is a real privilege to be on the board of the FSE. It’s a fantastic place to pick up on new research trends, because one learns something about what kinds of questions attract attention among researchers in Denmark”.

MIGRANTS – AN UNEXPLOITED RESOURCE

“Research on migration has traditionally focused on the deficiencies and problems of migration rather than its resources. To me this seems terribly limited. In reality migration must be a bigger problem for the countries which lose parts of their population rather than for the countries which gain an additional population,” she says.

“If you look at migration from the perspective of development research – an area which I know well – migrants are exemplary: they are the ones who are tired of waiting for development and opportunity to come to them and their country. Instead, they themselves go to where there is development and opportunity”.

Ninna Nyberg Sørensen argues that in reality migrants are an unexploited resource for development assistance.

“When, for example, natural disasters hit, migrants rapidly organize disaster relief independently of the efforts states make. Migrants have the networks and they have the local knowledge needed for relief work to be efficient. But in the aftermath of the earthquake in Haiti it was evident that not many experts took this group into consideration. Instead the UN is now hiring foreign experts to administer the funds provided by the international community – people who are often without this local knowledge. They should take the Haitian migrant society into consideration. It contains a well educated elite which could make a positive difference”, Ninna Nyberg Sørensen says.

– *Jørgen Staun*





THE RECORD AND THE FUTURE OF 1989

A freer and more united Europe is one of the central legacies of 1989. Yet, twenty years on from those momentous events, the narrative of western-styled democratization has not been universalized as some pundits predicted at the time and, beyond Europe, it is encountering growing resistance.



A freer and more united Europe is one of the central legacies of 1989. Yet, twenty years on from those events, the narrative of western-styled democratization has not been universalized as some pundits predicted at the time and, beyond Europe, it is encountering growing resistance.

Political scientist George Lawson has recently referred to “1989” as one of Nassim Taleb’s famed ‘black swans’: the kind of rare event whose impact is extreme and that, crucially, makes us “concoct explanations” so as to achieve “retrospective (though not prospective) predictability”, as Taleb put it. Be that as it may, two things stand out about the two decades since 1989. For one, what has happened within Europe in the realm of democratization has been anything but a black swan. Second, and increasingly beyond Europe, some sort of ‘predictability’ has pervaded the perception of 1989, so that it is often referred to in relation to future events.

As opposed to the ‘unpredictability’ of the 1989 events, what is striking about European political developments of the past twenty years is their meticulously designed nature. The democratization of former Warsaw Pact countries has been the great European story of this generation. The reunification of the continent, most notably attained through the 2004 Eastern enlargement of the European Union, has constituted one of the high points of the post-WWII project of European integration. But none of this has happened out of the blue; it has been accomplished through comprehensive domestic reforms accompanied by massive Western financial assistance, moni-

tored against strict EU benchmarks and sustained by U.S. and European diplomatic support. The democratic transition of Central Europe has been first and foremost the result of persistent hard work.

Concerning the ‘future’ of 1989, there is a growing penchant among observers to relate, more or less explicitly, recent civic upheavals in Eastern Europe and Asia to the momentous revolutions in Central Europe. Historian Timothy Garton Ash has noted that many recent episodes of popular turmoil have been dubbed with a particular adjective (often a colour: ‘rose’, ‘orange’, ‘denim’ etc.) so as to echo the narrative of the ‘velvet’ revolutions of 1989.

Is this reference justified? Do recent episodes herald another ‘wave’ of democratic transition in the former Soviet space and the Middle East? What is the global legacy of 1989? All eyes these days are fixed on Iran and on the prolonged mass protests against the theocratic regime there. Notwithstanding the many predictions (and prescriptions) about their outcome, the repression that is accompanying the Iranian demonstrations seems to painfully exclude one key feature of 1989 – that it was, for the most part at least, peaceful.

In Georgia and Ukraine the bright colours that characterized the revolts of 2003–2004 have faded away. Disenchantment together with exasperatingly poor governance have replaced the initial optimism of the population and the ambitious goals of their new policy makers. Just next door to where the 1989 revolutions took place the West, and the EU in particular, is confronted with enduring democratic stagnation, not transition.

Plainly, ‘prospective predictability’ is a difficult exercise. All the more so when the complexity and multifaceted nature of the conditions and factors that shaped 1989 into Europe’s *annus mirabilis* are acknowledged. Yet the omens for the future are not good. When, in the public policy arena, references to China’s ‘authoritarian capitalism’ outweigh those to the western-styled rule of law, the primacy of liberal democracy seems far from being the inevitable outcome that some scholars and policy-makers presaged twenty years ago.

– *Fabrizio Tassinari*

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OBAMA AND EUROPEAN FOREIGN POLICIES

With the drastic decline in US global power and a significant policy redirection by President Obama, new patterns in European geopolitics will crystallise. This applies both to relations between European states and to their relations with the greater world. But which patterns will prevail? Paradoxically, the declining US might be in a stronger position vis à vis Europe. Even the French will appreciate that the US stays in Europe, both militarily and politically. This implies that the division between 'old' and 'new' Europe will disappear, and that the 'European Security and Defense Policy' as a supplement to NATO will be strengthened. Moreover, a weakened West entails that the promotion of Western democracy to the world around will be reduced and more modest material ambitions will prevail. Apart from Poland and the Baltic countries, a lower profile towards Russia will be the order of the day. These are only qualified expectations however. The reality remains to be seen.

– Hans Mouritzen

NORDIC DEFENCE COOPERATION – FORCES FOR GOOD

The Nordic states actively seek to add an explicitly ethical dimension to their military policies, emerging from a longstanding dedication to international peace support and cooperation. This is the starting point of my work when investigating the developments in the Nordic states' joint aspiration to further integrate their defence and security policies, and to strengthen their contribution to regional and international peace support. This is in line with the post Cold War transformation of their national militaries into 'forces for good' – expressed in such moves as the establishment of joint Nordic defence structures, participation in humanitarian operations and the provision of defence assistance to emerging democracies. 2009 was an eventful year in this regard. The idea of Nordic defence cooperation as described above was demonstrated in the publication of the Stoltenberg Report on Nordic Cooperation on Foreign and Security Policy and by the signing of the *Memorandum of Understanding on Nordic Defence Cooperation*.

The Stoltenberg Report was commissioned by the Nordic governments and authored by the former Norwegian Minister of Foreign Affairs. It has a pronounced Arctic dimension which points to the importance of introducing new measures to tackle the environmental and security challenges in the Circumpolar North. To this effect it proposes the introduction of a Nordic maritime response force and a satellite system for surveillance. The potential for Nordic cooperation in the Arctic is also one of the themes of my forthcoming DIIS report on security perspectives in the Arctic area.

– Annika Bergman Rosamond

A 'MISSING' NUCLEAR WEAPON IN THULE? OLD RIDDLES SOLVED

On 21 January 1968 fire broke out in a B-52G bomber carrying four nuclear weapons. The plane crashed on the ice near Thule. Over the years it has repeatedly been claimed that one of the four nuclear weapons ended up at the bottom of the sea.

However, a 2009 DIIS report based on the documentary evidence concludes that all four weapons broke up in the crash and became nonoperational. Furthermore, there are strong indications that the primaries of all four weapons were destroyed in conventional explosions, and that the plutonium in the primaries was dispersed in particulate form in the explosions and the ensuing fire.

After several decades of discussion the amount of plutonium has now been established. The handwritten minutes of a meeting held in Washington are a decisive source for this finding. On this basis, a figure of roughly 1.9 kg plutonium in each of the four weapons can be calculated. This is a breakthrough in the investigation of the accident and helps to remove grounds for doubting the official explanation as to what happened to the weapons.

Moreover, when the Americans carried out continued searching of the bottom of the sea they were not looking for a bomb as many observers claimed – but for the fissile core of a secondary, often referred to as the *spark plug*. There is solid evidence that it consisted of uranium-235. A comparison with the underwater search for a missing bomb at Palomares in Spain two years earlier deals a heavy blow to the idea that a nuclear weapon was left at the bottom of the sea in Greenland. It is obvious that the seabed search in Thule had an infinitely lower priority than did the (successful) search in Palomares.

The report was written at request of Per Stig Møller, Danish Foreign Minister, who asked DIIS to draw it up. It was published in August 2009.*

– Svend Aage Christensen

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* Download the report, *The Marshal's Baton*.
There is no bomb, there was no bomb, they were
not looking for a bomb,
at <http://www.diis.dk/sw81978.asp>

WAR AGAINST WOMEN

“Our aim is to torment other people’s lives.”



In 2005, sixteen year old Francoise described being abducted the year before from her home in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and raped by Interhamwe soldiers, members of a Rwandan militia group. She was kept as a ‘wife’ to two adult men and forced to have sex with them every day before she escaped. While she was held captive she heard the soldiers say, “We will never leave Congo. Our aim is to torment other people’s lives.”

Sexual violence against women and girls during armed conflict is rampant. Atrocities against women in DRC have been so horrific that it has sometimes been called the ‘war against women’. Women and girls have been raped, mutilated and tortured; often by gangs and in front of family members. Pregnant women have been disembowelled and babies as young as ten months have been raped. Fathers have been forced to rape their daughters as part of the systematic violation of taboos in war.

Sexual violence against women in armed conflict has taken place over the last 25 years in Bosnia, Bangladesh, Peru, Rwanda, Vietnam, Burma, DRC, Chechnya, Iraq, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Sri Lanka, Colombia, Sudan, and Uganda. Sexual violations include sexual slavery of girls abducted as child soldiers; deliberate use of HIV infected soldiers as rapists, and sexual crimes against refugees, sometimes by peacekeepers.

Although these violations now have gained public visibility, war rape is not new. We find references to sexual violence in wartime in

Homer’s Iliad and in the Hebrew Bible. War rape was widely practiced in modern Europe. In the 20th century Japanese soldiers raped up to 80,000 Chinese women in 1937 during the Rape of Nanking and Soviet soldiers raped up to two million women during World War II. The proliferation of sexual violence in armed conflict during the last decades reflects the changing character of warfare. At the beginning of the 20th century civilian casualties accounted for 5% of wartime casualties; at the end of the 20th century they accounted for nearly 75%.

What are the processes that enable perpetrators to commit such atrocities? How does violence which targets women’s reproductive capacity particularly undermine the social and political life of a community? And how has the international legal community responded? Rape and torture have been explicitly included as crimes against humanity by the International Criminal Tribunals for Rwanda and for the former Yugoslavia, and rape has been successfully prosecuted as a war crime. The International Criminal Court recognizes rape, sexual slavery, trafficking, enforced prostitution, forced pregnancy and sterilization as crimes against humanity when knowingly committed as “part of a widespread or systematic attack directed against any civilian population”. Though these are significant precedents enforcement is difficult, which can reinforce the sense of impunity.

Sexual atrocities that are carried out in wartime constitute ‘war against women’. As the American philosopher Margaret Urban Walker argues, sexual violence against women is facilitated by gender norms, and is a gender skewed type of violence, falling disproportionately upon women. Gender norms also multiply the original violence done to women, so rape contributes to social displacement and poverty among affected women. Sexual atrocities are, moreover, ‘war against men’ who also may be victims of sexual violence. And sexual atrocities can be a form of ‘war against groups’ and thereby considered as genocidal.

– Robin May Scott

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THERESIENSTADT CHILDHOODS

October 1943. Denmark is occupied by Nazi Germany. When it is rumoured that the occupation force plans to deport the Danish Jews, the majority manage to flee to Sweden. But not everyone arrives safely. About 500 men, women and children are captured and deported to the concentration camp of Theresienstadt in the former Czechoslovakia. In 2009 DIIS produced an educational documentary film based on eyewitness accounts from five child survivors who had been deported with their families. Overnight, their lives changed from being ordinary children in Denmark, to being prisoners in one of Hitler's concentration camps. In the film they give an account of fear, hunger, cruelty and loss; but also of friendship, love and hope. Their stories are intertwined with the story of the Danish occupation, Europe at war, and the Holocaust. The film is part of a teaching package that also includes a teacher's manual and background material, all available from April 2010 at www.theresienstadt.dk

– Solvej Berlau

THE STOCKHOLM DECLARATION AND THE POLITICS OF MEMORY

Since the late 1990's Denmark, Sweden and Norway have experienced an increased interest in the Holocaust as a historical crime that should be addressed specifically. Most well known is the process which began in Sweden in January 2000 with the first Stockholm International Forum, where 46 states decided to gather with the aim of making it a priority to keep alive the memory of the Holocaust. In Denmark and Norway the Holocaust has also been addressed specifically by several politicians, and both countries have officially apologised for their immoral conduct towards Jews – Denmark for denying 21 Jewish refugees entry from Germany in 1941, and Norway for participating in the systematic deportation of its Jews to Nazi Germany or to extermination camps.

To some extent this development might seem odd. Why should Sweden – a presumably neutral country during the war – go through such a process? And why should Denmark – a country with a reputation for its heroic rescue of the Danish Jews in October 1943 – engage in such soul searching? To answer these questions we need to look to the moralising of international relations that happened during the 1990s. What we see during this decade was an increased interest in human rights and international humanitarian law which produced sanctions, humanitarian interventions and demands for 'clean historical records'. This interest is what first gave the Holocaust as a specific crime a new position in the political culture developing in Europe following the breakdown of communism.

This growing interest in human rights has been accompanied by a growing interest in how nations have behaved in the past. Addressing and admitting crimes of the past is a means to gain access to the international political scene. The past has become a moral guidepost which aids access to the global community. In Denmark the specific addressing of the Holocaust happened mainly because of the Stockholm International Forums. Danish historians had, naturally,

shown an interest in Holocaust history. But, the Holocaust was primarily seen as a German and a Jewish history.

Denmark's Holocaust history remained fundamentally uncontested until the late 1990's and the Stockholm Process. Although we cannot give Sweden all the credit for the revision of the history of the Danish occupation, it is nevertheless doubtful that Denmark, with its highly prized self image, would have felt obliged, without this process, to officially acknowledge its particular Holocaust guilt. The Stockholm process had an immediate impact on Denmark. There had been no national commission until, in the wake of the Stockholm International Forum in January 2000, a large research project to investigate Danish policy towards Jewish refugees before and during the war was initiated. And after four years of research former Prime Minister Anders Fogh Rasmussen issued the official apology in the National Memorial Park in Copenhagen on 4 May 2005.

What happened in Denmark because of the Stockholm Process shows us how important it has become to admit crimes of the past. As such, the Stockholm Declaration on Holocaust Remembrance agreed by more than 40 states in January 2000 was not only a sign of the universalisation of the history of the Holocaust, but should also be seen as an international response to the growing impact of the past in our present political culture, a culture in which the Holocaust has a unique and paradigmatic place.

– *Cecilie Felicia Stokholm Banke*

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Lisbeth Halvorsen

JE NE REGRETTE RIEN

As a young woman Ulla Holm first met the loves of her life: Gauloises, red wine and French politics

ULLA HOLM

PhD, Senior Researcher

Ulla Holm works on issues related to the relationship between France/the EU and North Africa; French and European security policy and the question of Islam, terrorism and immigration. She also studies the question of European integration with particular regard to how the European great powers deal with integration. Furthermore, Ulla Holm has worked with theories on international relations such as neo-realism, constructivism, discourse theories, security theories and conceptual history.

Sometimes life is turned around by sheer coincidence. Right after high school in the beginning of the 1960s Ulla Holm went to Paris to work as an au pair. The French colonial war in Algeria was still on and there were bombs exploding in the French capital. One day a bomb exploded in the building where Ulla lived in Paris.

“That bomb has followed me ever since. It opened my eyes to the very painful part of French history concerning colonization and de-colonization and gave me a different view on Europe. I started to read about French colonial history and learn about the French love/horror relationship with Algeria. That interest in France and in French politics – and the whole Mediterranean region – has stayed with me ever since”.

“The funny thing is that if you look at the debate in France today it looks very much the same as back in the 1960s. It is still just as heated and immensely painful. And it is still all blended together: French colonial history, France’s relationship with the Middle East, French identity, French foreign policy, the debates about Islam, North Africa, etc. That is what triggers my curiosity. When one reads something about French politics, it all starts to hang together”.

THE DRIVING FORCE

One of the main reasons Ulla Holm chooses to be a researcher is that she dislikes being tied down by what she calls “a fixed knowledge regime”.

“I want to be able to think thoughts which go beyond what one is able to think about in a normal setting. In a research environment one

has to use one’s imagination. One has to allow oneself to get extraordinary ideas when reading and be able to follow up on them. That is basically the driving force of my life: reading, using my imagination and producing knowledge. And here there is no dividing line between my time at work and my private life. When I get an idea I don’t stop thinking about it when I leave work. It keeps buzzing in my head. I even dream about it sometimes. Then I get up at night and start writing”.

“The problem is that there is not always that much time for reflection. Some things, such as policy papers, sometimes have to be done in a hurry. This is a necessity, and one which can also open up possibilities, but basic research, which is a precondition for policy-related research, takes time – lots of time”.

For Ulla Holm the wish to change things is also important.

“Of course I also want to change Danish policies on the Mediterranean. The question of use is important. I might not think about the direct users of my work when I start writing something new. But I do think about whether something can be used or not and by whom. And I always try to write intelligibly. But for me it is important to differentiate between the different end products of my work. Theoretical articles do not have the same users as policy papers and therefore the language may be different.”

A DIFFERENT LIFE

– *If you had not become a researcher specializing in French politics what else might you then have done?*

“Well, as one gets older the more interest one develops in nature and I have often thought about becoming a gardener. Or playing the piano. But if it hadn’t been France and French politics, I probably would have chosen anthropology or religious history”.

– *If you had gone to Munich as an au pair back in the sixties, do you think it would have been Germany and German politics that became your vocation?*

“Well, maybe. But I don’t like sauerkraut. I cook French food and I only drink red wine. Lots of it”, Ulla jokes.

Jørgen Staun





NICHED NON-PROLIFERATION

Denmark could assist more actively in the removal of weapons of mass destruction. Danish expertise in biosafety/biosecurity, training and disease surveillance is greatly needed.



Modern non-proliferation and disarmament assistance has evolved to become an active component of foreign policy. Denmark could become an active partner in these efforts by building a small, effective programme that addresses proliferation risks of global weapons of mass destruction (WMD) – utilising its current knowhow and combining direct bilateral and multilateral funding. For non-proliferation and disarmament efforts to have a greater effect there is a need for direct bilateral assistance. Denmark, however, has traditionally chosen to funnel funds through international organisations such as the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) – that is, through third party organizations alone. A G8 Summit in Canada in 2010 will hopefully lead to the extension of the G8 Global Partnership against the Spread of Weapons and Materials of Mass Destruction for another ten years and here Denmark has an opportunity to discuss its role in the newly expanded and extended partnership.

In 2009 I looked in detail into Denmark's capacity for actively raising its profile internationally on this subject. Denmark has missed an opportunity to provide assistance in areas where its expertise has a specific advantage – namely proficiency in biosafety/biosecurity, training and disease surveillance. This expertise is greatly needed to fill in programming gaps of larger G8 donors. Denmark's contributions to date total over 18 million EUR but no new commitments have been announced since 2004. A new Danish commitment, similar to what

has earlier been given, would provide for a niched biological non-proliferation assistance programme that would also coordinate and monitor funds for chemical and nuclear non-proliferation assistance.

The terrorist attacks of September 11th gave impetus to the G8 nations' launching of the Global Partnership in 2002. This quickly expanded to include thirteen additional donor countries. It focused on former weapons scientists, chemical weapons destruction, biological and nuclear safety and security and nuclear submarine dismantlement. It maintains its focus on countries of the former Soviet Union where the Cold War legacy of weapons of mass destruction, although diminishing, remains large and vast.

Over two decades ago the breakup of the Soviet bloc revealed an imposing legacy of abandoned WMD. Responding to the risks, international science centres were established in Moscow and Kiev with multilateral assistance. These centres focused on employing and integrating former weapons scientists into global civilian scientific, technological and industrial communities. Bilateral programmes such as the US Cooperative Threat Reduction (CTR) provided assistance for the transfer of Soviet nuclear weapons from Belarus, Kazakhstan and Ukraine, along with assistance to dismantle Russian nuclear weapons including missiles and delivery systems.

The G8 Global Partnership creates a framework for the non-proliferation assistance provided by donor countries. In 2008 it expanded globally with partners agreeing to work together to identify focal points on a project-based and function-wise basis in relation to nuclear, radiological, chemical and biological and other issues. Reviewing its national capacity and expertise, Denmark's true niche comes from its competence in biosafety/biosecurity, disease surveillance and export controls. Combining multilateral coordination with larger donors and strong bilateral partnerships with recipient countries on biological as well as chemical and nuclear projects, Denmark can raise its international profile and become an active, niche actor in modern non-proliferation and disarmament.

– *Cindy Vestergaard*

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SECURE US FROM CATASTROPHE

'Expect the unexpected' has become the new mantra of security professionals. From terrorism to climate change, catastrophic risks are at the top of the security agenda. One of the central questions facing policy-makers today is how to manage risks that cannot be known or predicted, but which could have catastrophic consequences for society. In a cooperative research project, I and Dr. Claudia Aradau from The Open University in the UK examine how a concern with the unknown and the uncertain has given birth to a new approach to security based on worst-case scenario visions. Our project focuses on how unknown and unexpected futures are made manageable and tangible. In particular we scrutinize the role of imagination, exercises and simulations for staging and rehearsing future catastrophes that have to be prevented at all costs. Critically, the project points out that these scenarios may contribute to the institutionalization of a culture of calamity.

– Rens van Munster

THE MONTY PYTHON APPROACH TO LIBERAL ORDER

The liberal world order is said to be in crisis – yet by following the Monty Python approach of 'always looking on the bright side of life', it seems that most parts of the liberal world order are not in crisis but doing very well.

The Climate Summit in Copenhagen in 2009 is seen by most as a resounding failure. Not only did the assembled world leaders fail to reach a binding agreement – the different interests of developed and developing countries showed that global governance has reached an unbridgeable impasse. With this evidence, along with the financial crisis, the many humanitarian crises across the world, the recent food crisis and the inability of the institutions of the liberal order to solve these problems, crisis does indeed seem the obvious condition of the liberal world order. Yet by looking beyond the inability to solve what are perhaps unsolvable problems, nuances of a different kind come to light which indicate that, in fact, the liberal world order is possibly doing even better than its founders could ever have hoped for.

The fact that world leaders met in Copenhagen to discuss at all is an indication that sixty years of liberal order has produced practices of dialogue and cooperation that are shared even by those who may share neither the liberal values nor have an interest in restrictions on CO2 emissions. They accept that even if you do not agree with the issue at hand, venues such as the Bella Centre in Copenhagen are where global governance takes place. A similar situation prevails in many aspects of current global governance where well established practices in international law, management of international markets and in the international institutions set up in the wake of the Second World War bear witness to the fact that even if a problem cannot be solved, dialogue, persuasion and cooperation are nevertheless the most common approaches to problem-solving.

During a series of workshops held at DIIS in 2009 the 'crisis narrative' of the liberal world order was addressed. It was not disputed

at the seminars that the liberal order is facing daunting challenges evidenced by the rise of new(ish) security threats such as terrorism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and piracy. Neither was it disputed that the recent record of the liberal order is cause for concern. The 'war on terror', the uneven record of liberal foreign policies in delivering a more secure and just world order, the onset of a global financial crisis and the growing disagreements between developed and developing countries have definitely challenged key liberal values and prevented the liberal order from living up to expectations. Added to that, shifts in the power base of the international system towards the BRIC countries (Brazil, Russia, India and China) and a simultaneous decline in the power and market share of the West is likely to put the liberal order under considerable further pressure.

However, focusing on 'the bright side of life', especially on entrenched liberal practices that are now accepted as common sense, a different picture emerges. When the wide-reaching acceptance of the institutions of the liberal order as venues for dialogue and cooperation to achieve collective ends is taken into consideration along with the great number of day to day practices and growing convergence on a number of key liberal norms (democracy, human rights and market economies), the question emerges of how real the crisis in fact is? By shifting the focus to those aspects that are not in crisis, especially by asking why states seem to act in accordance with the underlying social institutions of the liberal order which do not require them to share or articulate support for the normative vision of liberal order, we conclude that there is still a great deal of theorizing to do and also that the liberal order itself may not be in crisis.

– Trine Flockhart

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ACTION, ADVENTURE AND TERRORISM

It is often taken for granted that terrorism is caused by an extreme ideology which triggers a process through which individuals come to accept and ultimately to use violence – but this assumption may be confusing effect with cause.



A young man went searching for a way to realize his dreams. Not just any dreams – he had always known that he did not want an ordinary life revolving around marriage, children, work, making money and, only after all this, dying. He had always been fascinated by weapons and uniforms; he wanted action and adventure and he wanted to make a mark on the world.

In his search this young man passed through Hizb al-Tahrir in Denmark and the Big Mosque in Pakistan but neither sanctioned his desires. He also considered travelling to the Lebanon with a friend in the summer of 2006 to join the fighting, but these plans capsized. None of his attempts granted him access to the battlefields he so dreamt of. But in early 2007 he finally made a breakthrough. In the Red Mosque in Pakistan he found individuals who were willing to help him. According to him they were going to assist him in getting to Afghanistan to fight – according to his prosecutor they were going to assist him in carrying out a terrorist attack.

This young man was one of the two who were convicted of having planned terrorism in the Danish ‘Glasvej Case’ of 2008.

Following the terrorist attacks in Madrid in 2004 and London in 2005 many were puzzled by the fact that individuals living in democratic societies could apparently turn on these societies and attack them. Existing theories on terrorism did not appear to suffice. Thus, a search for processes through which individuals are radicalized and become capable of committing acts of terrorism began and the con-

cept of radicalization processes entered research, policy and the public debate in Europe. In the quest to identify such processes a considerable amount of attention has been devoted to the role of ideology – most notably to the role of the ideology attributed to Al-Qaida. It is often taken for granted that in the absence of causal factors such as deprivation or political oppression the main causal factor for terrorism must be ideology – the most obvious common denominator.

However, this young man’s account questions the role of ideology as the primary driving force behind terrorism. In court he described how he had been fascinated by weapons and uniforms since early childhood and had welcomed any chance to get his hands on either. He described how he spent more than two years searching for access to a battlefield. He did not appear to be particularly well versed in ideological matters; he did not have an impressive collection of grandiose ideological literature nor electronic material, and the extensive surveillance footage presented in court did not leave the impression of a man who debated or studied ideology. Rather, the impression was of a man who liked to view videos featuring self-sacrifice, action and weapons, and who was quite devoted to attempting to manufacture the explosive TATP.

Regardless of whether one accepts the young man’s account or his prosecutor’s interpretation, the case does not leave the impression of an individual who came under the influence of an ideology which changed him and convinced him to accept the use of violence. Rather, it leaves the impression of an individual who was actively searching for an opportunity to fulfil his urges.

So does ideology necessarily play a causal role when individuals turn to violence and commit terrorism? Or might it rather be that any given ideology can be adopted by different individuals searching for an easily recognizable framework for their pre-existing urges?

– *Ann-Sophie Hemmingsen*

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Andersen, Lars Erslev: “Piracy in the Gulf of Aden. Reflections on the Concepts of Piracy and Order”. In Nanna Hvidt & Hans Mouritzen (eds.): *Danish Foreign Policy Yearbook 2009*. DIIS.

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MORE STUDIES ON TERRORISM

DIIS will continue to do research within the field of terrorism. In 2009 the Danish Parliament decided that the extraordinary funding for terrorism research from the state budget given to DIIS in 2007-2009, will continue for a further three year period (2010-2012).

Our thematic focus will continue to be on the transnational connections in al-Qaida-related militant Islamism and, geographically, it will be on South Asia, South Arabia and the Horn of Africa – including these areas' relations to the Danish context.

The overall aim is to expand the research on terrorism and radicalization in the international academic arena by submitting articles to ranking journals, by participating and presenting papers in conferences, by establishing and expanding an academic network and organizing seminars and workshops. We will to invite young international researchers contracted on a short term basis at DIIS in order to position DIIS' terrorism research internationally and disseminate important results to the public.

– Lars Erslev Andersen

ISLAMIC FEMINISM – A CONTRADICTION IN TERMS?

A new Islamic women's activism is increasingly advocating a 'home-grown' approach to the promotion of women's rights not despite but rather through Islam. This activism takes place across various geographical and organizational locations around the globe. It even includes an increasing number of activists from Islamist organisations, which have traditionally predominantly promoted patriarchal and androcentric views on women. These new, Islamist, women's activists hence simultaneously concomitantly challenge the views of both liberal secular and traditional patriarchal Islamist actors within their societies.

This new Islamic women's activism also profoundly challenges dominant Western thinking on the relationship between Islam and women's rights. According to this thinking a religion which legitimizes patriarchal practices such as male tutorship, unilateral divorce and uneven heritage rights must be an obstacle to the promotion of women's rights and gender equality.

The phenomenon also forces a rethinking of Western development assistance targeting the promotion of women's rights and gender equality in Muslim-majority parts of the world. Traditionally Western development agencies have mainly supported and collaborated with local activists who rely on a secular, liberal frame of reference. Conversely, Western development actors have limited knowledge and experience of collaboration with local women's activists who predominantly rely on an Islamic frame of reference.

A new research project at DIIS explores the aspirations and potentials of this new Islamic women's activism and also reflects on its implications for Western (particularly Danish) policies and activities aiming at promoting women's rights and gender equality. The project focuses on developments within the Arab world and notably so within three case countries: Egypt, Jordan and Morocco.

– Julie Pruzan-Jørgensen

OUTREACH ACTIVITIES IN MUSLIM COMMUNITIES SUBJECT TO SCRUTINY

A DIIS survey of dialogue activities among Egyptian, Jordanian and Danish youth revealed that mutual knowledge is scarce and prejudice widespread. However, meeting each other under the right circumstances can be a way of overcoming prejudices and feeling more sympathy for each other. This was the result of a DIIS qualitative interview survey of a pilot project funded by the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and managed by the Danish Youth Council called 'Dialogue Ambassadors'.

The project trained young people from Jordan, Egypt and Denmark to conduct dialogue sessions for other youth groups in their home countries. Among the pilot project's positive attributes identified by DIIS were its independence from government, its lack of predetermined messages, its interactive approach, and its 'walk-the-talk' style of cooperation between Muslims, Christians and non-believers from all three countries.

A number of Western countries are putting increasing resources and effort into outreach and dialogue with Muslim communities worldwide in order to lessen antagonism towards the West. Researchers and others have often criticized these initiatives for counterproductively perpetuating an artificial divide between 'Muslims' and the 'the West'. However, the actual activities of these initiatives and their possible positive or negative effects have rarely been investigated.

In 2009 DIIS embarked on such a research project in cooperation with the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs to document target group reactions to outreach activities initiated by the Danish Foreign Ministry. The research project runs for two years until 2011 and also includes an analysis of the outcomes of the dialogue between Danish and Arab partners in the Danish-Arab Partnership Program.

– Karina Pultz and Marie-Louise Wegter

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Ann-Sophie Hemmingsen · PhD Candidate

Karina Pultz · Research Assistant

Anne Kirstine Waage Beck · Research Assistant

THE ATTRACTION OF TERROR

Goodbye pacifism: Ann-Sophie Hemmingsen's path to terror

ANN-SOPHIE HEMMINGSEN

PhD Candidate

Ann-Sophie Hemmingsen is currently finishing her doctoral dissertation on Jihadism. The dissertation is based on five trials under Danish terrorism legislation and a lengthy period of fieldwork in the milieus around the individuals convicted. She does advisory work for the Danish Government and Danish municipalities concerning radicalization. Ann-Sophie Hemmingsen holds a Masters in Arabic from the University of Copenhagen.

Ann-Sophie Hemmingsen has been fascinated by the subject of terrorism ever since she was a teenager.

“I am a child of the seventies when the ideal was pacifism and equality. However, something was not quite right. There was a mismatch between the ideology, where violence was seen as something inhuman and unnatural, and the way human beings behaved – and behave – in real life”.

“What I am most interested in is when violence and threats of violence are organized and systematized. Not so much violence understood as warfare – although that is fascinating too, especially the strategic and tactical elements of warfare – but my focus is first and foremost on different forms of terrorism, including state terror”.

When Ann-Sophie Hemmingsen started her studies in Arabic in 1996 it was still considered somewhat unusual and irrelevant.

“Everybody used to ask me: ‘Why Arabic? What is the use of it?’ But I was fascinated by the Arab world and its seemingly unintelligible language. I wanted to become a foreign correspondent writing from some ‘exotic place’ and I was interested in these age old conflicts which ‘we had to solve’. I was still very ‘unspoiled’ and basically wanted to change the world. But people were generally quite puzzled about my fondness for Arabic studies”.

The terrorist attacks in the United States in 2001 changed that. “After 9/11 everybody said ‘wow, how exciting!’ ” All of a sudden her interest in terrorism was turned into a sort of cliché.

“Most of my fellow Arabic studies students were interested in Arabic media, Arabic traditional culture and popular culture – much more sympathetic stuff, perhaps. And I was stuck in this cliché, being interested in the Middle East and terrorism – like the rest of the world. So I tried to get away from the subject of terrorism. I even took leave for a while”.

But it wasn't Arabic arts, music or food which fascinated Ann-Sophie Hemmingsen. It was terrorism.

WHAT MAKES TERRORISTS TICK

“If you take a look at most theories of terrorism they focus on the factors that push people into terrorism. I wanted to turn things upside down: I wanted to look at the ‘pull factors’. What is the attraction in terrorism? What are the social dynamics at play that draw people into terrorism? I wanted to study how terrorists see themselves and the world”.

As part of her PhD, for the last two and a half years Ann-Sophie Hemmingsen has been doing field research in the milieus surrounding the convicted Danish terrorists.

One of the things that struck her the most was how different these people really are.

“Individuals who from the outside look very much alike: who dress the same way, walk the same way, say the same things and share the same opinions, are part of these milieus for very different reasons. Some are there because they resent society and in these environments they find a framework for their discontent. Some are there for reasons of social affiliation, some for social recognition. Some resent the way counter-terrorism policies are handled. Some are there because their best friend is part of a group and then they follow. Some find a framework for their desire for action and adventure or for acting violently and ‘doing something’ instead of ‘just talking’ ”.

“In short: these different individuals are part of the milieus for different reasons, use the milieus for different purposes and therefore act in different ways – far from all of them are headed for terrorism”.

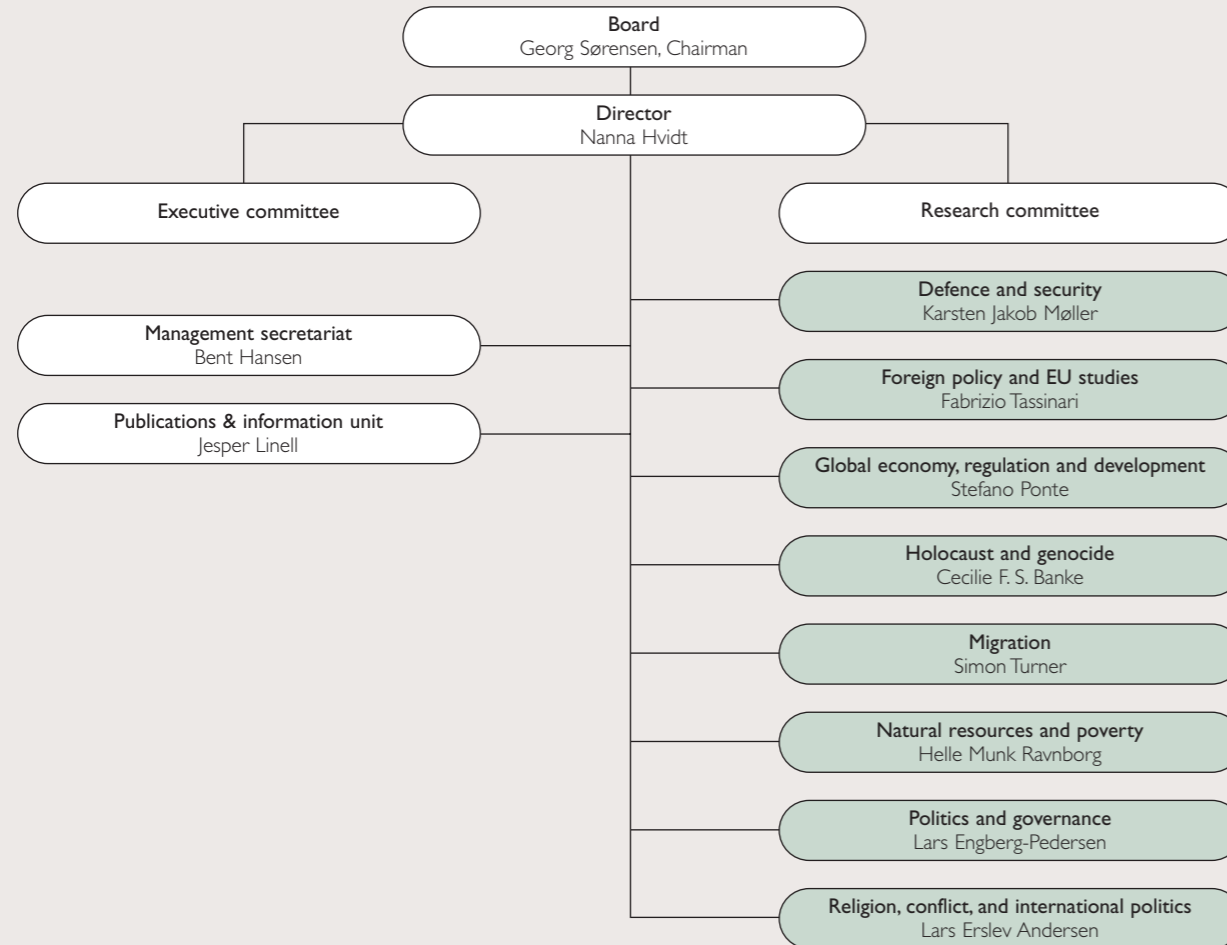
– Jørgen Staun





FACTS AND FIGURES 2009

ORGANIZATION CHART



FACTS AND FIGURES 2009

PhDs

THOMAS GAMMELTOFT-HANSEN

Migration

Access to Asylum: International Refugee Law and the Offshoring and Outsourcing of Migration Control

MORTEN NIELSEN

Politics and Governance

In the Vicinity of the State: House construction, personhood and the State in Maputo, Mozambique

LONE RIISGAARD

Global Economy, regulation and development

Labour Agency and Private Social Standards in the Cut Flower Industry

KRISITAN SØBY KRISTENSEN

Defence and Security

Imagining NATO: Out-of-Area Problems, Visions of the West, and the Historical Making of the Future

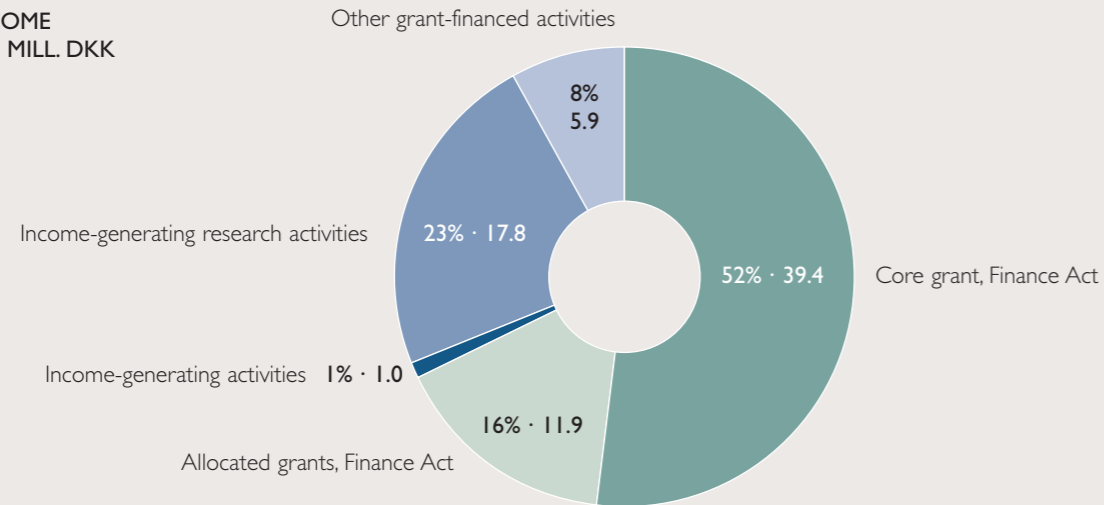
DIIS STAFF



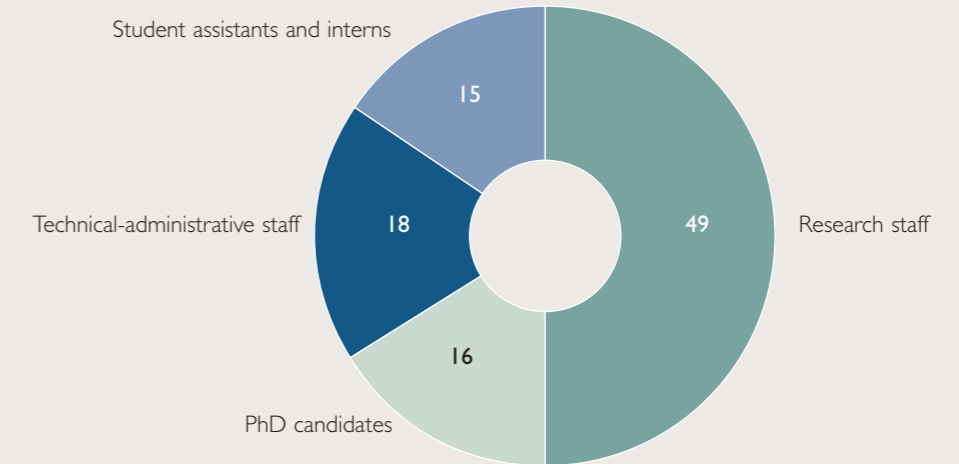
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DIIS IN FIGURES

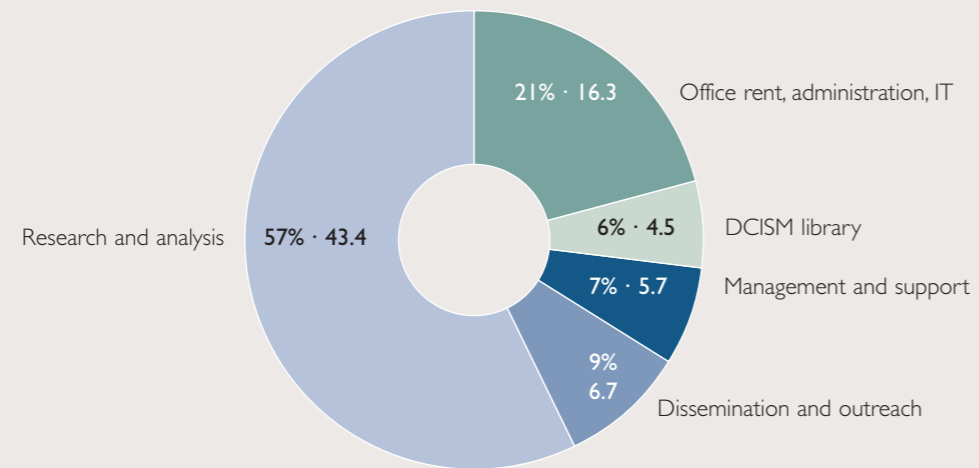
INCOME 76.1 MILL. DKK



STAFF



EXPENDITURES 76.4 MILL. DKK



EXTERNAL PUBLICATIONS

- 24 peer-reviewed articles in academic journals
- 26 peer-reviewed book chapters
- 4 non-Danish monographs
- 3 non-Danish edited volumes
- 11 editor-reviewed articles in academic journals
- 12 editor-reviewed book chapters

FACTS AND FIGURES 2009

SELECTED DIIS IN-HOUSE PUBLICATIONS

DIIS YEARBOOK

Danish Foreign Policy Yearbook 2009
Edited by Nanna Hvidt and Hans Mouritzen

DIIS REPORTS

Alternative development financing mechanisms
Pre-crisis trends and post-crisis outlook
Sam Jones

Come home, NATO?
The Atlantic alliance's new strategic concept
Jens Ringsmose and Sten Rynning

Desde declaración hasta protección real
Biodiversidad y participación local en la gestión de cuatro
áreas protegidas en Nicaragua
Helle Munk Ravnborg. Con la colaboración de Álvaro Noguera
Talavera, Eileen Mairena Cunningham, Francisco Paiz Salgado,
Francisco Reyes, Nelson Toval Herrera y Ricardo Rueda

Modern non-proliferation and disarmament
Denmark and the G8 global partnership
Cindy Vestergaard

Reducing emissions from deforestation
and degradation (REDD)
An overview of risks and opportunities for the poor
Mikkel Funder

Roads to militant radicalization
Interviews with five former perpetrators of politically
motivated organized violence
Jon A. Olsen

The marshal's baton
There is no bomb, there was no bomb, they were
not looking for a bomb
Svend Aage Christensen

The Somali conflict
The role of external actors
Bjørn Møller

Using indicators to encourage development
Lessons from the Millennium Development Goals
Richard Manning

DIIS WORKING PAPERS

Are financial markets embedded in economics rather
than society?
A critical review of the performativity thesis
Lasse Folke Henriksen

From network to class?
Towards a more complex conception of connection
and sociability
France Bourgoignie

Governing khat
Drugs and democracy in Somaliland
Peter Hansen

Krigen i Kaukasus 2008 [The war in the Caucasus]
Baggrund, dynamik og internationale perspektiver
Hans Mouritzen, Karsten Jakob Møller og Jørgen Staun

On the measure of power and the power of measure
in international relations
Stefano Guzzini

Sarkozysm
New European and foreign policy into old French bottles?
Ulla Holm

Seguridad de tenencia o seguridad social?
Privatización de tierras, titulación y comunidades indígenas
en América Latina
Søren Hvalkof

The legacies of the Holocaust in Scandinavian small state
foreign policy
Cecilie Felicia Stokholm Banke

DIIS POLICY BRIEFS

African diaspora organizations and homeland development
The case of Somali and Ghanaian associations in Denmark
Nauja Kleist

Ambitiøs plan for fremtidens retspolitik i EU
[Ambitious plan for future EU criminal justice]
Thomas Gammeltoft-Hansen

Beyond 'light touch' regulation of finance
Jakob Vestergaard and Robert Boyer

Combating illicit financial flows from poor countries
Estimating the possible gains
Jakob Vestergaard and Martin Højland

Counting carbon in the marketplace – and at the border
Peter Gibbon and Simon Bolwig

Denmark and modern non-proliferation assistance
and disarmament
Cindy Vestergaard

Kampen om jihad [The fight for Jihad]
Anne Kirstine Waage Beck

Land titling and tenure security in the context of inequality
Rikke Brandt Broegaard

Når danske politikere undergraver udviklingsbistanden
[When Danish policies undermine development aid]
Adam Moe Fejerskov og Lars Engberg-Pedersen

Reducing poverty through low carbon development
Recommendations for development cooperation in least
developed countries
Mikkel Funder, Helle Munk Ravnborg, Jakob Fjalland,
Henrik Egelyng

DEN NY VERDEN

TIDSSKRIFT FOR INTERNATIONALE STUDIER

Politik og/eller religion [politics and/or religion]
Danske terrørsager, fraværende håndtryk og asymmetriske
konflikter

Internationale retsopgør [international criminal courts]
Krigsforbrydelser, folkedrab og forbrydelser mod menneskeheden

Udviklingssamarbejde anno 2020 [development cooperation
in the year 2020]
Gode viljer og kortsigtede interesser

I klimaets navn [in the name of the climate]
Udenrigspolitiske udfordringer og muligheder

FACTS AND FIGURES 2009

SELECTED CONFERENCES AND SEMINARS

SELECTED CONFERENCES AND SEMINARS

- **Low Carbon Development and Poverty Reduction in Low Income Countries – Opportunities and Challenges for Development Assistance**
13 January, DIIS
- **Sovereignty Games: Instrumentalizing State Sovereignty in Europe and Beyond**
6 February, DIIS
- **NATO at 60: Reflecting on the Past – Anticipating the Future**
11 March, DIIS (with NATO)
- **Where Next for International Financial Regulation?**
13 March, DIIS
- **The Diffusion of Authority? Changing Patterns of International Governance.**
14-18 April, Lisbon (with NUPI and University of Oslo)
- **Current Debates in Holocaust and Genocide Studies**
7 May, DIIS
- **Security Challenges for the 21st Century: Responding to New Threats**
13 May, DIIS
- **Chronic Poverty or Inequality: What should be the Overall Objective of Development Cooperation?**
26 May, DIIS
- **The United States and Terrorism: Threats and Counterterrorism Strategies**
5 May, DIIS
- **History and International Criminal Justice**
2 June, DIIS
- **Global Governance and the Paradoxes of Liberalism**
3 June, DIIS
- **The Elite: Power Structures, Authority, and Legitimacy in Contemporary Societies**
15-16 June, DIIS (with EHESS, Paris)
- **Reforming the Bretton Woods Institutions**
16 September, DIIS (with Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark)
- **Low Carbon Development and Poverty Alleviation: Options for Development Cooperation**
23 September, DIIS
- **French Arab and Mediterranean Policy**
1 October, DIIS

- **The Middle East: Future Challenges and Possibilities**
8 October, DIIS
- **China's Economic Diplomacy**
11 October, DIIS
- **Liberal Order or Liberal Empire? International Order in the 21st Century**
30 October
- **How do Donors Think?**
26-28 October, DIIS (with IDS Helsinki and IDS Sussex)
- **Holocaust History and Memory in Ukraine, from 1944 to the Present**
6 November, DIIS (with Institute of History and Civilization, University of Southern Denmark)
- **The Legacy of 1989 – Democracy, the Market and Europe**
9 November, University of Copenhagen (with University of Copenhagen)
- **The Role of District Governments in Local Water Governance**
20 November, Managua (with Nitplan (UCA))
- **Terrorism and Radicalization - What Do We Know and What Don't We Know?**
25 November, DIIS

SEMINAR SERIES

- **Global Economy Mondays** – issues and trends in the global economy
- **Migration Seminars** – public seminars about current migration research
- **Poverty and Environment Seminar Series** – cross-fertilizing practice, research and other knowledge



EMPIRE BY INVITATION: DIIS, 2002-2010



I have been requested to draw up a balance sheet on the trajectory of DIIS in its first eight years of existence. The immediate reason is simple: no fewer than five of the founding members of the first DIIS board will be disembarking from the vessel at the end of June 2010 (Kristian Fischer, Holger Bernt Hansen, Marianne Rostgaard, Marlene Wind and myself*). Let me say this immediately: I firmly believe that DIIS is a huge success and is living up to the highest expectations anyone could have had. DIIS produces large amounts of scholarly research of the highest quality in the best journals and with the best publishers. There is a comprehensive readiness among DIIS staff to be active in all areas of dissemination, be this through radio, TV, newspaper or other mass-media outlets, and this is done with superior competence. The commissioned studies, published on request from the government or the Danish Parliament, have made important and unique contributions to the subjects that they were asked to analyse. Furthermore, DIIS scholars have made great progress in working together across traditional, narrow, disciplinary boundaries. DIIS is a smooth and efficient organization with all the crucial numbers in black, not red.

I wish it could be claimed that all this was due primarily to the excellent work of the board, but that is unfortunately not the case. The credit must go to the staff of DIIS and the board has attempted to provide a helping hand wherever it could. In that small way I would like to think we can be a part of the achievement. At the same time, however, our interventions were not always successful, as I shall

*This number would have been even greater were it not for the untimely losses of John Martinussen, Henrik Wøhlk and Ole Nørgaard. Their devotion to promote and develop DIIS should not be forgotten.

demonstrate in what follows. But I want to start with one area where the board did very well: the crucial matter of hiring the right director. We were lucky enough to get Per Carlsen from DUPI for the first period. He was an extremely knowledgeable insider who was able to facilitate the difficult transition to the new setup. For the last five years major credit goes to Nanna Hvidt for developing and strengthening DIIS in every way. Nanna was exactly the right person at the right point in time – how fortunate for all of us.

The beginning was chaotic and there was a considerable amount of confusion. In what location could we be brought together; what should be the name of this newborn baby; how should it be structured to best meet a host of different challenges? We looked with envy at our new sister institution, the Danish Institute for Human Rights (DIHR). They were emphatically not moving anywhere – we should come to them. They were not being amalgamated with anyone but were able to continue business as usual within the new setup. A major problem was solved, we thought, when we were able to move into our new premises. Today we know that the location is not optimal, to say the least. Working with DIHR in the early years was not always a pleasure cruise. There were hard fights over the rules governing the distribution of a tight budget, but we came through, of course – we had to.

As regards the structure of DIIS, we were asked to square the circle: to provide enough continuity and comfort for people coming from rather different institutions with different cultures working with dissimilar subjects; and to pave the way for more cooperation across those same cultures and subjects. This has not been a complete success story either: initially we set up units that were probably rather too close to the already existing divisions and we oversaw the construction of a new, expensive hierarchy, complete with department heads on inflated salaries. This later gave way to the current structure of Research Units which is much more flexible as well as less expensive.

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One of the greatest challenges for DIIS is to do cross-disciplinary work in a way that enhances our understanding of complex problems, be these related to security, development, foreign policy, violent conflict and so on. Many people do not understand how difficult it is to bridge disciplinary borders in a productive way. I personally spent ten years at Aalborg University making one vain attempt after another: either we were 'too disciplinary' so that the effort to traverse boundaries never got off the ground; or we were 'too cross' so that the final products were not sufficiently linked to any discipline and were instead driven by other concerns, empirical or normative. To put it differently, good cross-disciplinary work must be both 'cross' and 'disciplinary' at one and the same time, and that is not as easy as it may seem.

DIIS scholars, however, master this by working together across boundaries in ways which do not compromise, but rather serve to strengthen, their respective disciplinary concerns and I would like to congratulate them for this achievement. In relation to this, I am most grateful for the many opportunities I have had over the years to work together with DIIS scholars on various research projects. This has certainly contributed to my own education and it has given me a great opportunity to enter into the detail of the research taking place at DIIS. I should emphasise that I always participated in these projects as a fellow scholar, never as the chairman of the board. It has been a strict principle of the board from the very beginning to fully respect the freedom of DIIS staff to conduct their research in any way that they see fit in relation to both methods and substance. This freedom is a *sine qua non*; it must not be compromised.

One area, by contrast, where board members play a substantial role in DIIS's work is related to the large commissioned studies. According to the law these studies are the responsibility of the board while the substantial work is done by members of DIIS staff plus a few outsiders here and there. It is a pity that many peoples' percep-

tion of this work has been biased by the publication of some internal correspondence (full of misunderstandings) related to the very good report on Denmark's relations to the EU. The truer picture, I most strongly think, is that the collaboration between board members and DIIS scholars in relation to these studies has been most fruitful for all parties involved. At the same time, I do admit that success in this area depends on certain implicit rules of the game: authors must be able to deal with criticism; board members must respect the views and concerns of the scholars.

I think I can speak for my fellow board members when I declare that we leave the ship with humble pride: DIIS is in superior shape, not primarily due to our efforts, but at least we didn't mess up along the way so that everything went haywire; "not too bad" as we say in Jutland when we are best pleased.

Georg Sørensen
Chairman of the Board

THE DCISM LIBRARY

– a research library open to the public

The DCISM library is the foremost specialized Danish library within the studies of international politics, development and human rights. In addition, it offers a substantial collection of books and other information resources on holocaust and genocide, terrorism, conflict and security, the cold war, poverty, foreign policy, and the EU. The total collection numbers more than 110.000 books and reports. The library provides excellent working facilities for its users (including PCs, wireless internet, copy and print), as well as online access to 3000+ journals and databases. The library supports two independent institutes – DIIS is one of them – and is open to the public.

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Editors: Anine Kristensen and Jesper Linell

Graphic Design: Carsten Schiøler

Print: Gullanders Bogtrykkeri, Denmark

ISBN: 978-87-7605-384-0

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