4. What is the so-called R2P?
   ➔ a norm emerged in the section of policy reforms, means the responsibility to protect
   ➔ It states that sovereignty implies responsibility (so, not just the right to govern its territory/people w/o outside interference but also the responsibility to guarantee the existence/integrity of its people)
   ➔ If a state is unable or unwilling to protect its people from serious harm, non-intervention yields to an international R2P
   ➔ It’s not yet a treaty but a growing acceptance

- Policy reform on crimes against humanity
  • Working since 2002, is a treaty-based court (122 states), independent from the UN but closely work-related (off-shoot of UN War Crimes Tribunals, UN-SC refers to matters to the International Criminal Court)
  • Main tasks re to investigate and try persons, which have committed serious crimes of international concern, namely genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes
  • Court of last resort, so it only acts when national courts are unable or unwilling
  • Not universal jurisdiction (member states’ territory or citizenship, except for UN-SC resolution)
  • New security threats (by massive violence by non-state actors in civil wars, state failure as the inability of national jurisdictions)

Exercise: Germany’s bid for a permanent seat in the UN-SC:

- Germany wants a permanent seat because it played a major role in creating the Human rights Council and the Peacebuilding Commission. The country is no longer the “enemy state” of 1945 and especially since unification, it has developed into one of the staunchest advocates of multilateralism under the banner of the UN. This prominent role has caused the reason for Germany being a natural candidate for a permanent Security Council seat
- Germany also is the 3rd largest contributor to UN funds but also does an immense amount to further the UN’s fundamental goals, i.e. providing troops for international peace missions, funding international development cooperation, sustainable development and humanitarian relief work and promoting human rights protection in all parts of the world.
- Problem is the overrepresentation of Europe on the council: even though the issue of equitable geographical distribution is only a secondary consideration, the federal government does not call for a permanent seat for the EU (because the EU’s Common Foreign and Security Policy has not yet developed to the point its member states can speak with one voice on all issues, the two permanent members France and Britain are not willing to give up their seats and only states can currently become member states of the UN and not international organizations.

7th session: NATO an alliance in search of its mission

1. What is a collective defense organization?
   ➔ A cooperative arrangement between states in order to deter an outside threat and the collection of resources which is to dissuade external actors from attacking by making an attack too costly
There is a mutual support of member states (here: MS) in case of attack from the outside (Art. 5: each MS will assist other MS when attacked, no automatism as regards a specifically required response (e.g. military support)

2. How does NATO differ from the UN?
- NATO is a regional organization whereas the UN is a global organization

3. Why has NATO survived the end of the Cold War?
- Because of changing strategies like massive retaliation (until mid-1960’s), flexible response (mid-1960’s until end of Cold War), nuclear option as last resort (since 1990’s) and deterrence and risk management as a current strategy
- After the cold war the NATO lost its major function as an alliance (which was to maintain and length Americas grip on the foreign and military policies of European states) but the survival and expansion of NATO tells us much about American power and influence (it shows how international institutions are created and maintained by stronger states to serve their perceived or misperceived interests)
- NATO’s participation criteria were, that is got more inclusive, the collective security and security management expanded and that threats were formed into risks
- The new purpose of the NATO formed to be the collective defense against what/which likely aggressor, from U.S. perspective unilateral actions and further enlargement to Balkans, Russian periphery, beyond Europe)

4. What does the concept ‘global NATO’ refer to?
- See exercise
- NATO as a security community: a community of states among which the resort to large-scale violence is not an option (security is guaranteed with forces which rests on common interests, trust and ideological consensus
- NATO’s institutional structures: NATO Council (twice a year, permanent basis with national representatives; in 2010 no separate Defense Planning Committee anymore, NAC took over the responsibility by contributions of the MS, decision-making by consensus), Secretary General (permanent chairman who coordinates NAC activities and prepares meetings and budgets, represents NATO to the outside world and is usually European (while supreme military commander from U.S.))

Exercise: Global NATO:

1. Daalder/Goldgeier state that NATO has gone global after the end of the Cold War. This means - it is extending both is geographical reach and its range of operations. In recent years it has played peacekeeper in Afghanistan, trained security forces in Iraq, and given logistical support to the African Union’s mission in Darfur. It assisted the tsunami relief effort in Indonesia and ferried supplies to the victims of the Hurricane Katrina in the U.S. and to those of the massive earthquake in Pakistan.

2. Why, according to the text, has NATO gone global? - NATO has recognized that the best (and at times the only) defense against such remote dangers is to tackle them at their source. Such forward defense often requires a global military reach: helicopters to deliver supplies to disaster zones and evacuate the injured; command, control, and reconnaissance capabilities to sustain peacekeeping missions; and experienced military officers to train local security forces. As the world’s premier multinational military organization, comprising many prosperous nations with a vested interest in maintaining global stability, NATO is uniquely suited to meeting such demands.