

Der 11. September 2001 und seine Folgen für die Internationale Politik

- Thesen
- Völkerrechtliche Implikationen
- Al Qaeda-Ideologie
- US-Strategie: militärisch diplomatisch
- US-Beziehungen zur RSFR
- Karten und Graphiken



Feuerwehrmann im WTC, Quelle: www.spiegel.de

Thesen zum 11. September 2001

- Trotz der politischen Rhetorik handelt es sich bei den (militärischen) Maßnahmen in Afghanistan nicht um einen Krieg, sondern um eine (internationale) Polizeiaktion.
- Der Terminus „Krieg“ wertet die Gruppe der Attentäter unnötig auf: es geht hier um ein Verbrechen gegen die internationale Gemeinschaft.

Thesen zum 11. September 2001

- Der Terrorismus hat die Destabilisierung arabischer Staaten und die Entfaltung einer „Konfrontation zwischen Religionen (Gläubige gegen Ungläubige) zum Ziel. Die Reaktion der internationalen Koalition sollte deshalb kurzfristig auf die Begrenzung einer unmittelbaren militärischen Bedrohung und mittel-und langfristig auf die Gewinnung der Meinungsführerschaft in der islamischen Welt ausgelegt sein.
 - die Militärmaßnahmen müssen fester an die völkerrechtlichen Grundlagen der VN zurückgebunden werden
 - die internationale Koalition muss sich sehr viel aktiver der öffentlichen Debatte in der islamischen Öffentlichkeit stellen.
 - die internationale Koalition muss auf eine gezielte Verbesserung der sozialen, wirtschaftlichen und politischen Situation in u.a. Palästina, Saudi Arabien, Algerien hinwirken.

Völkerrechtlich relevante Dokumente

- *UN Charter Art. 51*
- *NATO Treaty Art. 5*
- *Hague Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Seizure of Aircraft*
- *1949 Geneva Conventions and Protocols*
- *Statute of the International Criminal Court*
- *1963 Tokyo Convention on Offences and Certain Other Acts committed on Board Aircraft*
- *1971 Montreal Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Civil Aviation*
- *International Convention for the Suppression of Terrorist Bombings*, adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1997
- *International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism*

Kirgis on UN-SR 1373, American Society of Internal Law,
<http://www.asil.org/insights.htm>

- Resolution 1373 also reaffirms that terrorist acts constitute a threat to international peace and security, and reaffirms the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense as recognized by the Charter. This is not a Security Council approval of the use of armed force in self-defense as a response to the events of September 11, but it may be taken as an indication of the Security Council's recognition that the right of self-defense could arise from those events.
- But Resolution 1373 does not authorize **states** to take all necessary steps to implement it. Instead, it stands as a warning that the Council itself stands ready to take further steps, which presumably could involve an authorization of some form of armed force that would not necessarily be limited to self-defense, to ensure that the measures taken in the resolution are adequately implemented. Any further Security Council resolution to that effect would have to obtain the approval or acquiescence of all five permanent members of the Council.

Paust on UN-SR 1373, American Society of Internal Law,
<http://www.asil.org/insights.htm>

- I do not believe that use of the phrase "all necessary means" is absolutely required in order for the Security Council to authorize the use of armed force.
- Particularly relevant is the preambular reaffirmation of "the need to combat by all means, in accordance with the Charter," terroristic threats to international peace and security. The reaffirmed "need to combat by all means" (a phrase close to "all necessary means") is at least relevant to interpretation of paragraph 3 (c) of the resolution, which "Calls upon all States to... Cooperate, particularly through bilateral and multilateral arrangements and agreements, to **prevent and suppress terrorist attacks and take action against perpetrators of such acts.**" I believe that such a call to action to prevent and to suppress ongoing attacks can be fairly interpreted to authorize military action to prevent and to suppress and that the call to "take action against perpetrators" is a broad enough call to include military action against terrorist perpetrators.

**Resolution 1373 (2001) Adopted by the Security Council
at its 4385th meeting, on 28 September 2001**

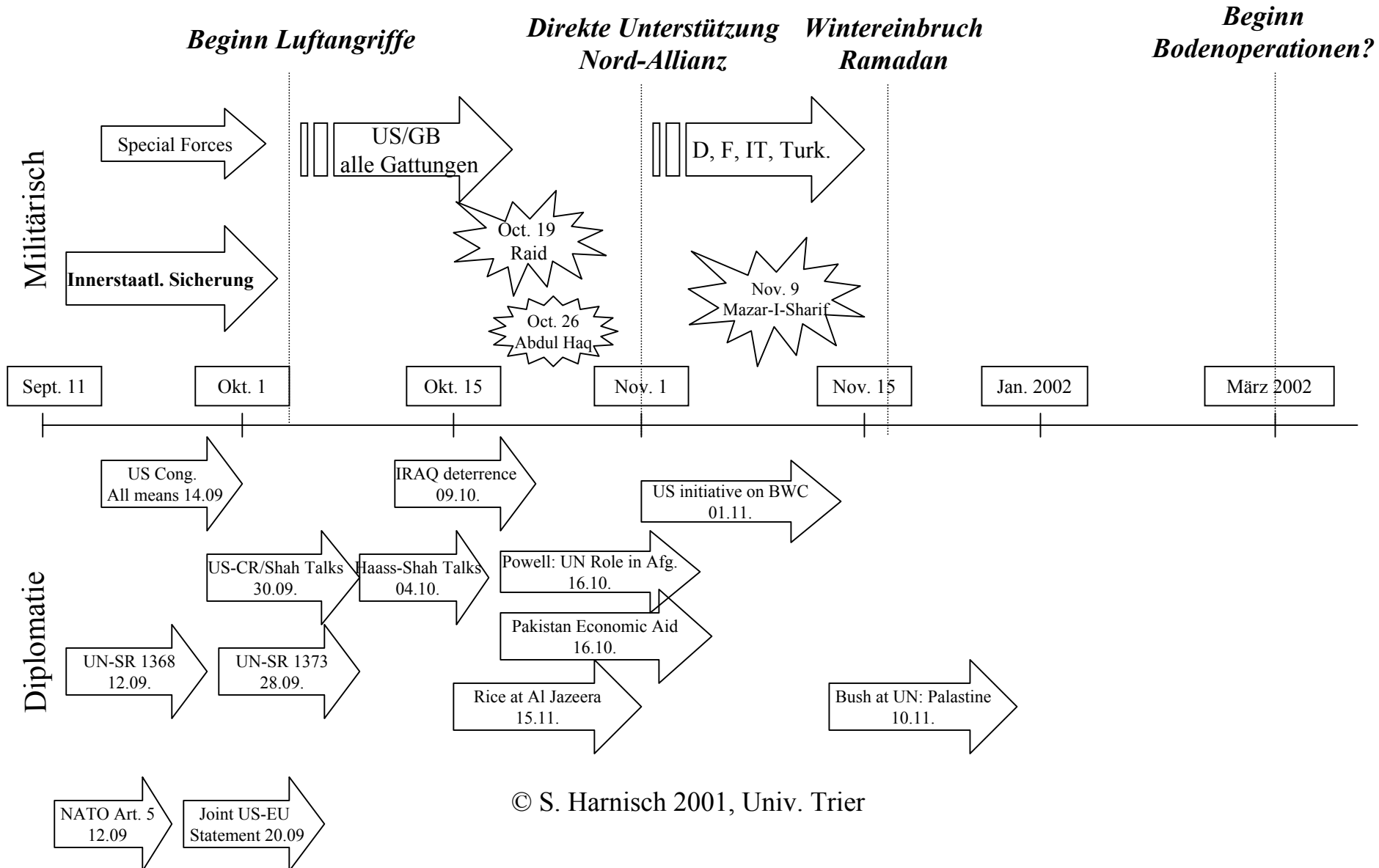
- Preamble: *Reaffirming* the need to combat by all means, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, threats to international peace and security caused by terrorist acts,
- 3 c) Cooperate, particularly through bilateral and multilateral arrangements and agreements, to prevent and suppress terrorist attacks and take action against perpetrators of such acts;

Al Qaeda-Ideologie

(Declaration of Jihad, August 23, 1996)

- Ziel: Errichtung einer islamisch-fundamentalistischen Gottesstaates
- Zunehmend globale Ausrichtung:
 - Vom Widerstand in Saudi-Arabien und gegen Israel hin zu den USA, Bosnien, Tschetschenien
 - Abbau der Tötungshemmung durch Heilsversprechen

Entwicklung der militärisch-diplomatischen US-Strategie



Gründe für Änderung der US-Militärstrategie

Anfang November

- Pakistan lockert aufgrund der Dauer des Krieges seine Opposition gegenüber direkter US-Unterstützung der Nordallianz
- Erhofftes Überlaufen paschtunischer Gruppen im Süden rückt nach Ermordung Abdul Haqs in weitere Ferne
- Öffentl. Unterstützung in USA und Westeuropa für militärisches Vorgehen sinkt

Entwicklung US-RSFR Beziehungen

Pro

- Putin-Rhetorik
- RSFR-Verhalten
 - Unterstützung in SR
 - Keine Alarmeskalation
 - Stationierung ZAR
 - Unterstützung Nord-All.
 - Revision ABM
 - START III-Abrüstung

Contra

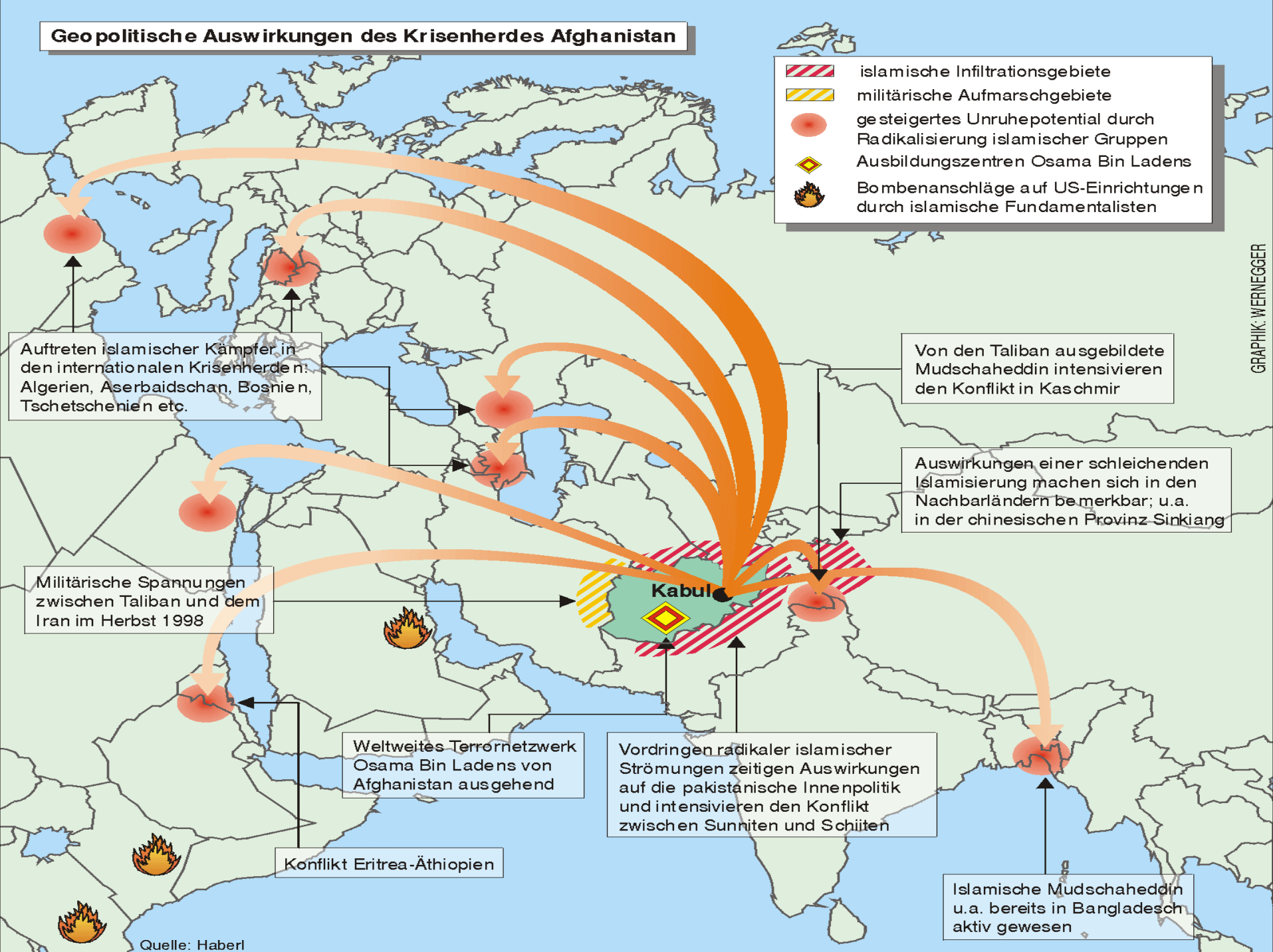
- Verhaltensanpassung vs. Verhaltensänderung
 - Opposition unter Militärs
 - Verhalten gegenüber eigener Bevölkerung



Afghanistan - Airfields

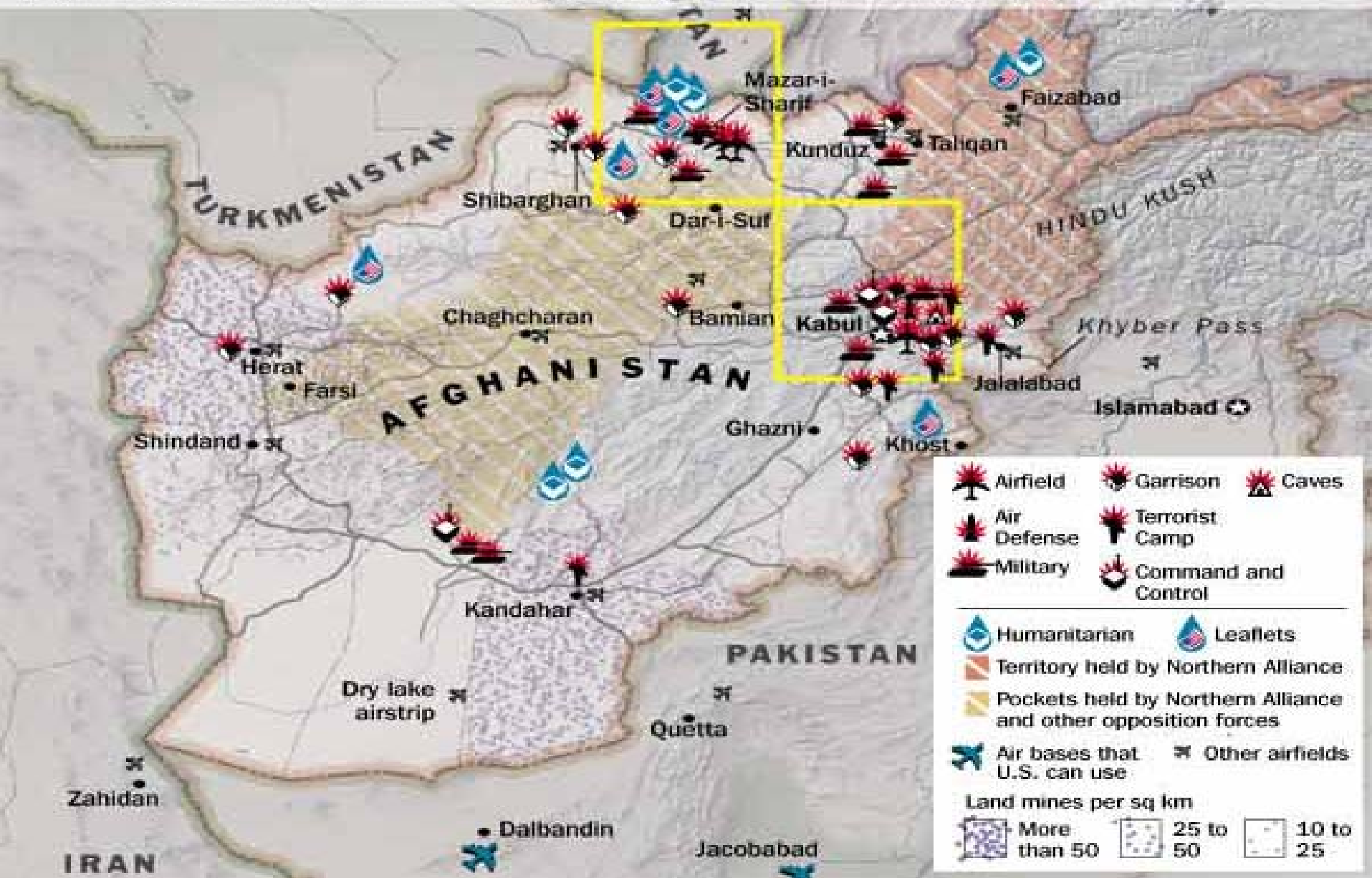


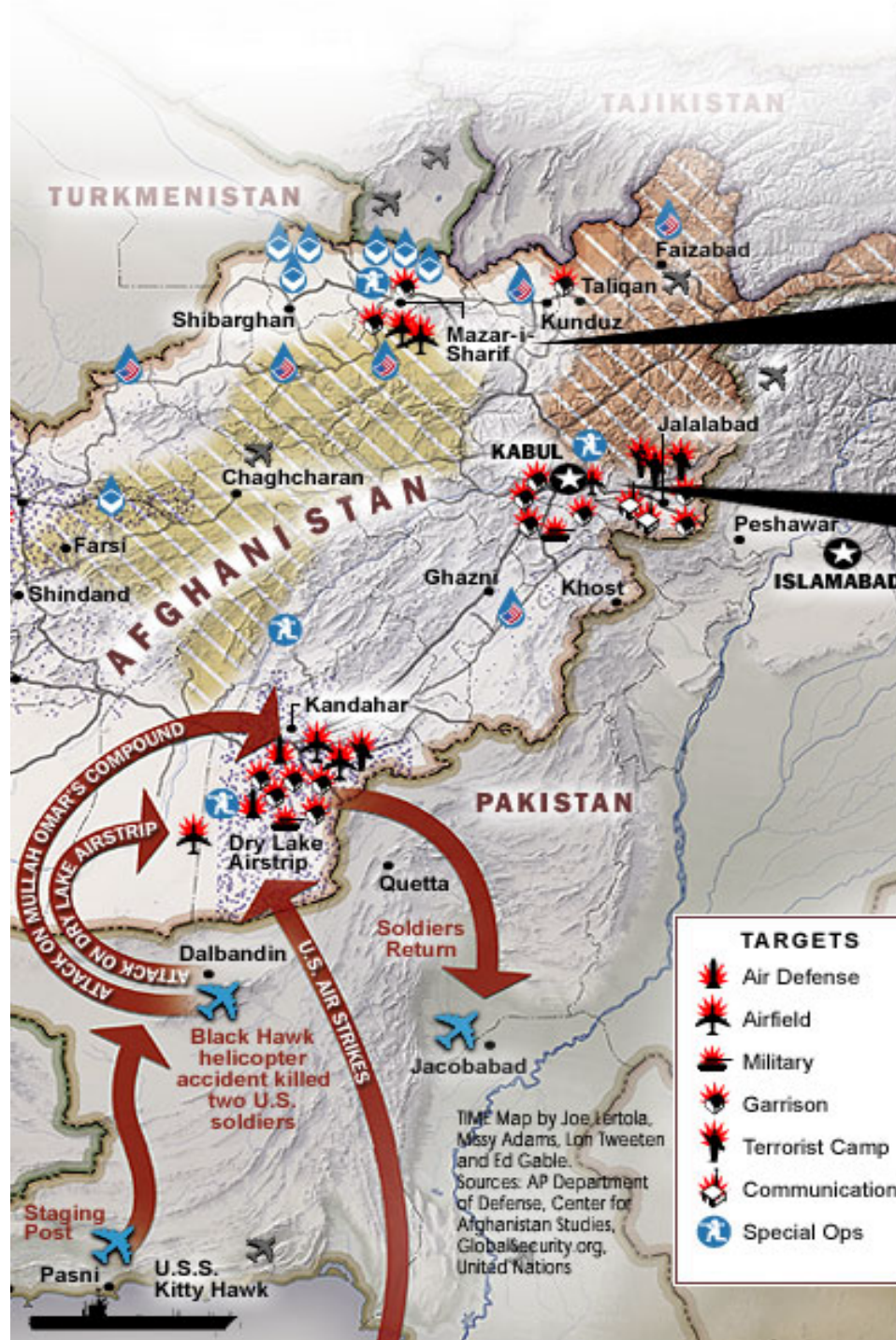
Geopolitische Auswirkungen des Krisenherdes Afghanistan



Targeting two geographical linchpins, Mazar-i-Sharif and the area north of Kabul, the U.S. deployed the B-52 for heavy bombing in these areas - a prelude to a serious ground offensive.

Click in the squares to zoom into the target areas of Mazar-i-Sharif and Kabul.





MAZAR-I-SHARIF

The Northern Alliance closed in, taking towns on Mazar-i-Sharif's southern outskirts. American bombers targeted the airport, a potential staging area for American troops waiting just 100 mi. (161 km) north of the Uzbekistan border. The Taliban brought in reinforcements late in the week. Reports place special-ops drops near Mazar-i-Sharif.

KABUL

Across the Shamali Plain, Northern Alliance forces and the Taliban faced each other while 35 mi. (56 km) to the south, American warplanes bombed the capital, Kabul. Targets were mainly Taliban military facilities. Special Ops have been helping opposition fighters on the front lines.

TARGETS

- | | | | |
|--|----------------|--|---|
| | Air Defense | | Humanitarian |
| | Airfield | | Leaflets |
| | Military | | U.S. use of airbase |
| | Garrison | | Other airfields |
| | Terrorist Camp | | Northern Alliance |
| | Communications | | Northern Alliance and other opposition forces |
| | Special Ops | | Land Mines |

TIME Map by Joe Kertola, Missy Adams, Lori Tweeten and Ed Gable.
Sources: AP Department of Defense, Center for Afghanistan Studies, GlobalSecurity.org, United Nations