

Abstracts

Mette Skak

The background for the Kosovo Intervention

NATO's military intervention in the Kosovo conflict is sometimes accused of having caused the humanitarian catastrophe. But the Kosovars were expelled and the mass exodus began long before. The international community found itself in a dilemma, and the air campaign turned out to be the only politically expedient way to gain control of the situation in Kosovo. The reason is Serbia's development into an anomaly in the string of post-communist states. Milošević has turned the country into a rogue state on a par with Iraq and North Korea. This explains why democratization and normalization is so slow in coming to Serbia.

Robert Jackson

Humanitarian War over Kosovo

The legal notion of *Jus ad Bellum* (just war) contains three valid reasons for intervention: considerations of order, consent or humanitarianism, the latter being genuinely controversial. Post-1945 international society has been hostile to intervention - nonintervention is fundamental. The course of events in the conflict between Serbs and Kosovars is presented, the conclusion being that it was a domestic conflict of their own making and not a threat to international order. The departure from the norm of unity among the great powers is highlighted as the fatal aspect of NATO's humanitarian war.

Peter Viggo Jakobsen

The Contact Group in Kosovo: Concert despite Discord

The Contact Group is usually ignored in analyses of the international efforts to resolve the wars in Bosnia and Kosovo. This is surprising because the Contact Group played a key role

in both conflicts. The Contact Group functioned in the same way as the Concert of Europe (1815-1854): it led the efforts to find a diplomatic solutions and prevented the disagreements among the great powers from escalating out of control by respecting the rules that characterize concert cooperation. The Contact Group will play the same role in future European conflicts which involve the US and Russia, but since Europe is fortunately running out of armed conflicts, its future role is likely to be limited to the Balkans.

Bjorn Møller

Danish Foreign Policy after Kosovo

Denmark's participation in NATO's air campaign was a breach of loyalty to the UN and a step towards lawlessness. This is problematic in the light of the campaign's failure as a humanitarian effort. The half-hearted nature of the campaign is discussed via the issue of land-war. Denmark's policy in Kosovo shows that the obligations to NATO take priority, which is curious in view of the threat situation after the Cold War and the diminished need for the American nuclear umbrella. Future developments in American defense policy may have unpleasant consequences for Denmark, such as the plans for a national missile defense. This, combined with the trend towards a more autonomous security policy in the EU, may put Denmark in a dilemma. It is inadvisable to create a European intervention force.

Tonny Brems Knudsen

What Happened to International Law? The Debate about the Humanitarian Intervention in Kosovo

While most observers agree with UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan that the Security Council has an obligation to try to intervene against acts of genocide, it remains an open question on what

grounds others can do so when the Council fails, as in the case of Kosovo. The article supports the argument that criteria for humanitarian intervention in this unfortunate situation can and must be derived from international law, whereas humanitarian intervention based on moral and political considerations - the model advocated by the Danish Institute of International Affairs - is rejected on the grounds that it fails to identify effective limitations on and guidelines for the right of humanitarian intervention.

Lise Togeby

The Answer Depends on the Question

So far, research on the social integration of immigrants in the Nordic countries has told a uniformly sad story: Ethnic minorities participate far less in elections and other political activities than the indigenous population. But maybe we phrase the questions wrong. If, instead, we ask for examples of successful integration, the answer is less depressing. We find a very high voter turnout for a number of ethnic minorities in Århus and Copenhagen municipalities as well as an overrepresentation ethnic minorities in the city councils in the two cities. Especially Turkish women have a surprisingly high voter turnout as well as a high degree of integration in other areas.