

## Abstracts

*Andreas Wimmel*

### **Transnational Discourses**

Analyzing Political Communication in the European Public Sphere  
ZIB, Vol. 11, No. 1, pp. 7-25

In debates about a European public sphere it is frequently claimed that so far no transnational discourse has been established within the European Union. While it is acknowledged that the national mass media inform the member states' publics about EU policies and politics, genuine cross-border communication is said to be lacking. Against this background the article firstly defines what exactly can be understood by a transnational discourse. Secondly, a discourse-analytical method is proposed by which discussions in the mass media can be examined. Thirdly, this method is applied to the case of public debates on a possible EU-accession of Turkey in Germany, France and Great Britain. Findings indicate that, contrary to general assertions, there is a transnational discourse which may be the base of a comprehensive transnational European public sphere.

*Hartmut Behr*

### **The UN Anti-Terrorism Policy Since SC Resolution 1373**

A Critical Review in the Light of Transnational Threats  
ZIB, Vol. 11, No. 1, pp. 27-59

Since 9/11 the UN's efforts to fight terrorism have received new impulses even though the world organization has been involved in anti-terrorism for some 30 years now. The attacks of 9/11, however, challenged the UN in new ways. This was the result of the changed character of terrorism itself which became globally organized and thus gained more powerful strategic options than ever before. The UN well recognized these threats, nevertheless, some desiderata remain. To reflect on these and to further develop strategic imperatives to fight terrorism, the new transnational challenge has to be specified theoretically and conceptually. States, and because of its own global character particularly the UN must adopt the strategic logic of transnational actors, namely of transnational terrorists. Adopting the transnational logic would enable the UN to manage the structural, political and social environment in which terrorism emerges and in which terrorist groups act.

Benjamin Herborth

**Cutting Constructivism into Halves**

Constitutive Effects on the *Via Media*

ZIB, Vol. 11, No. 1, pp. 61-87

The *via media*, combining a post-positivist stance in ontological questions and a positivist epistemology, made constructivism a generally accepted approach in International Relations. Showing how structures of world politics can be (re-) constructed, many of its proponents argue, it contributes to a more appropriate understanding of social change. Against this background it seems surprising that social action, the trigger of open processes of transformation remains undertheorized. Proceeding as an internal critique, the article thus shows how the constitutive effects of social action could be conceptualized based on George Herbert Mead's social theory, discussed by Wendt in a curtailed form, and illustrates the repercussions of such a re-conceptualization for the concepts of structure and agency in *via media* constructivism.

James Der Derian

**9/11 and Its Consequences for the Discipline**

ZIB, Vol. 11, No. 1, pp. 89-100

From 9/11 to the war in Iraq, a gap has opened in IR between not only theoretical approaches but political positions. In official circles, the exceptionality of the attack, a sense of insecurity, and reflexive acts of patriotic affirmation laid the ground for a unilateral and pre-emptive definition of friend and foe. Assessing the impact of 9/11 was hindered by the discipline's resistance to the study of affect (fear, hate, and empathy) as well as by the methodological predominance of approaches that cannot keep up with the accelerated and mediated nature of global politics. Leading up to the Iraq war, peculiar disciplinary alliances emerged: critical and realist theorists against the war on one side, neoliberal and humanitarian interventions for the war on the other. This essay offers an alternative approach, based on a decoding of the US national security doctrines that emerged from 9/11.

*Charles A. Kupchan*

**New Research Agenda? Yes. New Paradigm? No**

ZIB, Vol. 11, No. 1, pp. 101-109

This essay contends that the events of September 11 do not necessitate a rethinking of the main paradigms in the field of international relations. All the major questions facing scholars prior to September 11, and the analytic perspectives used to address those questions, continue to be relevant today. A host of new and urgent questions should now be on the scholarly agenda, including: Weak States and Failed States; Religion and International Politics; Terrorism and its Impact on Great Power Behavior; Domestic Politics, Foreign Policy, and Benign Hegemony; and Reframing the Atlantic Link. Nonetheless, these are questions that broaden our research agenda rather than ones that require a fundamental reconsideration of the foundations of that agenda. Our paradigmatic approaches should change as the field evolves. But that change should come as part of a natural intellectual evolution, not as a precipitous reaction to the events of September 11.

*Thomas Risse*

**11/9 and 9/11**

Consequences for the Discipline

ZIB, Vol. 11, No. 1, pp. 111-121

11/9/1989 – the end of the Cold War – challenged core assumptions of international relations theory and led to extensive soul-searching within the International Relations (IR) community. In contrast, 9/11/2001 has not led to similar debates so far. While IR scholars have been busy writing about transnational terrorism, US foreign policy, and the like, the leading IR journals have only started publishing theory-guided empirical research on 9/11 and its consequences. But it is unlikely that 9/11 will generate similar paradigmatic debates as 11/9, mainly because of the consequences of these latter debates. The end of the Cold War opened theoretical space and enabled paradigmatic pluralism that could help us now to understand the consequences of 9/11. I argue that the existing IR theory tool-kit can be brought to bear on the analysis of transnational terrorist networks and its implications for world politics. Thus, the theoretical wheel does not require re-invention.

*Harald Müller*

**Think Big!**

9/11 and Its Consequences for International Relations

ZIB, Vol. 11, No. 1, pp. 123-133

While the terrorist attacks of September 11 have not changed the whole world, as some suggest, their interpretation presents a considerable challenge to the academic field of International Relations. In terms of causality and consequences, transnational terrorism and its relationship to the »ordinary« world of states is of such complexity as to make mainstream positivist approaches rather futile. We have to relearn to think in contradictions, antinomies, paradoxes and dilemmas, that is, in a dialectical way. We have to rediscover contingency and singularity as inherent elements of international politics. We have to give agency equal rank with structure which some approaches do rhetorically, but not in the practice of their work. And we must understand that without an ethics of international relations, existing cleavages between the West and other parts of the world will not be adequately understood.

*Stefano Guzzini*

**Business as Usual**

IR and Its Roles after September 11

ZIB, Vol. 11, No. 1, pp. 135-146

Criticized for its theoretical inertia before the end of the Cold War, the discipline of International Relations has largely escaped similar blame with regard to 9/11. This time around, so the article argues, the discipline tried consciously to keep doing business as usual in the three communities that define the discipline: the learning community in the daily discussions within universities, the academic community and its state of research, and the epistemic community with its place in the public political debate. The universities did respond; relevant research has been going on, although sometimes under other labels and at the margins of the mainstream; and the political resistance against the assumption of a profound change was a way to keep some distance and open rational space in an often very emotional or ideological debate. Yet, there is not one discipline. The strategy of stemming the tide was neither general, nor did it always work. Indeed, the debate about 9/11 shows the extent to which »the« discipline is still defined by the concerns of the major countries.