By addressing the propositions that were set out in the introduction, this chapter brings together what has been developed up to this point. It becomes clear that materialist state theory as employed in this book and especially the Gramscian understanding of the integral state form meaningful tools to understand the agitation of the landmines campaign in Germany and the UK.

**Proposition 1: The nation state was the central addressee of NGO agitation in the landmines campaign**

The ICBL is a loosely organised and semi-structured network between different nationally distinct campaigns. The international arm of the campaign consisted only of a few key individuals and activists that coordinated the activities of different autonomous national campaigns.

Nevertheless, the ICBL was able to create an international public sphere on the issue of landmines. The awarding of the Nobel Peace Price in 1997 to the ICBL and its representative Jody Williams exemplifies this. One has to understand the ability of the ICBL to agitate on an international level and to create an international public sphere against the background of the transnationalisation of the nation state and the increased possibilities for non-state actors to participate in international fora (Chapter 2). Contributing to the negotiation of the landmines case outside the traditional channels (CD, UN, CCW), NGOs are an expression of and an actor in changes in governance. The Ottawa Process and the inclusive role of NGOs in the process are examples of governance beyond the nation state. I will return to this issue when concluding this book, where I suggest further research relating to the relationship between forms of governance beyond the state and NGOs.
One can barely overstate the importance of new communication and information technology for the ICBL. According to Williams and Goose (1998: 24) and to several of my interviewees, initially the relatively new invention of the fax allowed almost instant arrival of information making the ICBL in their early years heavily reliant on fax and telephone. It was not until email became available that the integration of campaigners in countries of the Global South into the everyday communication of the campaign took place. The introduction of emailing allowed the campaign to share information and ‘jointly develop strategies more effectively’ altogether (Williams and Goose 1998: 24). This reflects changes in civil society. Parts of civil society show tendencies to ‘denationalise’. This does not result in an overcoming of national civil societies, but rather results in NGOs on a supranational level being able to increase transparency and to create an international public sphere. Members of the ICBL were able to do exactly that. They interacted beyond the nation state and increased transparency on the international level, by creating an international public sphere. However, as implicit in the above, it was mainly representatives of Western NGOs that participated in this endeavour and it was not until the introduction of email that members of the campaigns from the Global South were at least partly included in the everyday communications of the campaign.

Despite this, however, the focus of NGO agitation remained the nation state. Even as part of international negotiations, NGOs focused their efforts to a large extent on lobbying their ‘home’ governments (confirmed throughout the interviews) and on creating a public sphere for the landmines issue in their home countries. In this sense, the participation of NGOs at international conferences that is by some authors assumed to be a sign of ‘international civil society at work’ remains a largely national undertaking.

At least initially, the main aim of the UK as well as the German campaign was the creation of a national public sphere on the landmines issue (see also Williams and Goose 1998).

In order to achieve this, both campaigns employed traditional channels of lobbying members of parliament and governmental representatives. In Germany, the party most open to support the case initially was, according to one interviewee (Interview with Representative of Deutscher Caritasverband, January 2007), the Green Party (Bündnis 90/die Grünen) with several members themselves supporters or even members of the campaign. What was also helpful for the German campaign in terms of lobbying was that the German Foreign Minister Kinkel was personally strongly convinced of the need for action. The rapport between him