

## Islamist processes of radicalization in Germany 5<sup>th</sup> TERAS-INDEX-Workshop at the IFSH

The fifth workshop of the consortial project TERAS-INDEX (Terrorism and Radicalization – INDicators for radicalization and the impact of EXternal factors) took place on the 24th and 25th October at the IFSH. The BMBF-funded project is coordinated by Matenia Sirseloudi at IFSH. Participating, in addition to the project partners, Alex Schmid and Nico Princha of the Terrorism Research Initiative (TRI) in Vienna, Mariella Ourghi and Amr El Haddad of the University of Erfurt, Marc von Boemcken and Alexander Strunck of the Bonn International Centre for Conversion, and Irmgard Schrand of the Criminal Investigation Department of Hamburg (LKA), were two additional guest speakers: Asiem El Difraoui of the Institute for Media and Communication Policy (IfM) in Berlin and Ahmed Mansour of the Center for Democratic Culture in Berlin and European Foundation for Democracy.



Participants in the TERAS-INDEX-Workshop at the IFSH

The workshop – moderated by Martin Kahl – dealt with the recapitulation and interpretation of the data collected in the empirical phase of TERAS-INDEX. Alex Schmid summed up the actions of terrorist groups related to Germany with particular focus on the al Qaida network. In general, a decreasing trend in the number of attacks and attempted attacks in Europe and Eurasia can be observed. The countries most affected by terrorist violence are Afghanistan, Iraq and Pakistan (followed by India, Somalia and Colombia) and, in 2011, al Qaida (as a worldwide network of 29 terrorist

groups) was not even among the 20 most active terrorist groups. Since the attacks on Madrid and London, the network has been unable to mount any further attacks of this extent in Europe. Germany has, so far, been spared despite its foreign policy involvement. Nevertheless, it remains a relevant country for fundraising, recruitment and logistical support for al Qaida. It seems, though, as if there were no concrete Jihadi strategy against Germany.

Referring to the external factors of radicalization, Matenia Sirseloudi gave a lecture on the importance of external conflicts (Afghanistan, Bosnia, Iraq and Chechnya) in the biographies of European Jihadi veterans. First, she explained the predominant ideological justifications for participation in international Jihad in the writings of the contemporary al Qaida ideologist, Abu Mus'ab al Suri. Subsequently, she discussed empirically the phenomenon of so-called “foreign fighters” and Jihadi veterans. Jihadists from Europe participate in violent conflicts worldwide. An estimated 300–1200 “foreign fighters”, including almost 80 from Scandinavia, are believed to be fighting in Somalia, while more than 200 German jihadists are thought to be participating in the fights in the border region between Afghanistan and Pakistan. If they return to their home countries, they play different roles in the local Jihadi networks. Their combat experience serves as an awe-inspiring aura, whether they work as preachers or

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as operative Jihadists. In the TERAS-INDEX data-set, nearly 80 per cent of the jihadists who were active in Germany had connections to foreign groups. These relations were described in network visualizations.

The presentations that followed addressed the Jihadi discourse rather than the Jihadists and their actions themselves. Asiem El Difraoui emphasized the “power of images” representing global Jihad. Within the currently available Jihadist videos – some 40,000 of them – there are numerous contributions in German that must be considered. Propaganda videos pursue two goals in the Jihadi movement: first, to acquire and maintain a doctrine of salvation and second, to recruit and mobilize fighters through the narrative of the Jihadi martyr cult. In this context, Nico Prucha presented the concrete references to Germany, with videos containing death threats against members of the Islamophobic movement “Pro-NRW” after the escalation of violence in Bonn and Solingen. More generally, Germany is being presented as a partner of the United States, Britain, Russia and Israel, as well as an active enemy of the Mujahedin in Afghanistan and is regarded as a relevant enemy in “online jihad”. The focus of Mariella Ourghi’s lecture, the third one referring to the Jihadi discourse, was on autobiographic texts of German Jihadis. These texts are intended to mobilize potential recruits by presenting admirable role models. The personal motives described by the authors provide identification patterns and merge into the theological justifications for militant Jihad. Eric Breininger’s autobiography served as a case study for encouraging young converts as a target group, to follow a career similar to that of the author.

The emancipative school project of TERAS-INDEX, in which the vulnerability of potential recipients of Jihadist videos is being investigated, was the subject of Irmgard Schrand’s presentation. On the one hand, this sub-project is designed to investigate the impact of propaganda videos and on the other hand, it pursues a clearly educational and emancipative approach, aiming to sensitize students to the manipulative nature of these videos. It is carried out in various schools in Hamburg, discusses the topics of collective identity, group membership, the role of the media and the general construction of knowledge, and involves a critical video analysis. The perception of hip hop videos, which are often consumed in the early stages of Islamist radicalization, and their links to general patterns of Muslim identity as well as to the Jihad narrative are being explored here. Also dedicated to prevention was the lecture of Ahmed Mansour, who is active in several projects in the field of Islamism. He presented a list of criteria explaining the attractiveness of Salafist groups, such as the use of youth slang, high media presence, the use of new media such as Facebook and YouTube as well as the creation of a “magic world” (Paradise, angels, Satan, de-

mons) as an escapist alternative to the real world. Mansour stressed the need to raise awareness of these phenomena, especially at the community level and in schools. Although early detection of processes of radicalization is essential, the Islamist groups should not be classified per se as dangerous nor be forbidden, as this would make them even more appealing to young people.

With respect to the planned extension of TERAS-INDEX with a working package on the impact of the Arab Spring on Islamist radicalization processes in Europe, Amr El Haddad pointed out in his analysis that the political landscape in Egypt is currently going through a major restructuring process, which has already led to a break within the Salafist milieu. Still, the study of the Salafist party landscape remains difficult, because most of the groups neither have permanent structures nor institutionalized hierarchies. TERAS-INDEX will now have to cope with the question of how developments in Egypt might affect the radical milieus in Germany, especially since some well-known German Salafist preachers and Jihadi spokesmen have left for Egypt.

The results of the empirical research will be published in German and English edited volumes as well as in a working paper series, while the consortial effort will be extended in order to include the de-/radicalizing effects of the Arab Spring on radical Islamist milieus in Europe.

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## Graduation Ceremony of the 10th Generation of the Master’s Program “Peace and Security Studies”

At the beginning of the winter semester, on 9th of October 2012, the graduation ceremony of the 10th generation of the Master’s program “Peace and Security Studies” took place in the main building of the University of Hamburg.



Senator for Science and Research, Dr. Dorothee Stapelfeldt.



The graduates Marija Peran (right) and Maxine Sundara Segaran (left).



Federal Minister (ret.) Edelgard Bulmahn.

This year's graduation lecture was held by Ms. Edelgard Bulmahn, former Federal Minister for Education and Research, on "Peacebuilding and Conflict Transformation – Necessity of Stronger German Commitment". She referred to the fact that for 40 years the IFSH has not only achieved "important and indispensable contributions to civil conflict prevention and conflict resolution", but also that the "Master's program is a successful example of fruitful cooperation between a university and a research institute". She invited guests to make their research results accessible to the political sphere.

Before the lecture, the Vice-President of the University of Hamburg, Prof. Rosemarie Mielke and the Hamburg Senator for Science and Research, Dr. Dorothee Stapelfeldt, greeted the audience and in particular the graduates. In his acknowledgment of the previous generation, Prof. Götz Neuneck emphasized the tireless commitment of coordinators, lecturers and residence institutes. Naida Mehmedbegović Dreilich, the coordinator of the program, introduced the graduates, the topics of their Master's theses and their placements after graduation. Prof. Rosemarie Mielke, Prof. Michael Brzoska and Prof. Götz Neuneck handed out the diplomas to graduates attending the ceremony.

In this academic year, 25 students successfully completed the program. The graduates came from different

disciplines and countries: Australia, Austria, Bosnia and Herzegovina, China, Croatia, Denmark, Germany, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Lithuania, Mexico and Serbia. During the ceremony the 11th generation of the master program was welcomed. This generation's students come from Australia, Austria, Brazil, Columbia, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Japan and Lebanon.

Wolfgang Lohbeck and Heiko Hövekenmeier played short jazz pieces at the beginning and the end of the ceremony. Daniel Kulms, one of the chairmen of the Association of Friends and Former M.P.S. Students, mentioned the great commitment of IFSH employees, the lecturers and the residence institutes over the last ten years. The ceremony ended with a group photo of the graduates and new students and a joint dinner.

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## Nuclear disarmament in the focus IFAR-activities in Warsaw, Moscow and Berlin

On 15 November 2012 the expert workshop "German-Polish Security Tandem", organized by the Friedrich Ebert Foundation and the Polish Foundation Amicus Europae, took place in Warsaw. The main focus was on European missile defense, the transformation of the armed forces and non-proliferation. Niels Annen and Götz Neuneck (IFAR/IFSH), members of the board, took part in the half-yearly workshop with lectures. Among the 40 participants from Poland and Germany were three former Polish Ministers of Defense, the former German State Secretary of Defense, Walter Kolbow, Markus Meckel, members of the Bundestag as well as staff members of Polish research institutes.

Götz Neuneck attended several workshops in the same subject area, which took place as part of the 6<sup>th</sup> Russian Congress of Political Science from 22 to 24 November 2012 in Moscow. He spoke on the topic of nuclear weapons and was also involved in a seminar of the PIR-Center in Moscow. Affected by the Helsinki Conference's rejection of a zone free of mass destruction weapons in the Middle East, Jaynatha Dhanapala, President of the Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs, gave a lecture on the prospects for the NPT Review Conference in 2015. Oliver Meier (IFAR/IFSH) attended the conference "Consequences of the NATO Deterrence & Defense Posture Review Process for the German Security and Defense Policy" at the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP) in Berlin on 24 and 25 October 2012 and contributed to a panel on arms control and disarmament in NATO. Meier also participated in an international workshop, hosted by the Polish Institute of International Affairs in Warsaw on 30 October 2012,

on the progress of European arms control and moderated a panel on the control of tactical nuclear weapons. Together with Katarzyna Kubiak (IFAR/IFSH), he participated as an expert in a discussion in the Subcommittee on Disarmament, Arms Control and Non-Dissemination in the German Bundestag on 7 November 2012. The subject was the planned modernization of US atomic weapons which are still stationed in Europe yet.

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## New Regional Arms Races in the Near and Middle East



Margret Johannsen

Oliver Meier (IFAR) and Margret Johannsen (ZEUS) participated in the 13th Annual Foreign Policy Conference of the Heinrich Böll Foundation that took place in Berlin on 8 and 9 November 2012 and dealt with the issue of “Democracy and Security in the Middle East”. In Forum 3 on “New Regional Arms Races. How Real is the Threat of a Nuclear Escalation in the Middle East?”, moderated by Oliver Meier, Oded Eran from the Institute for National Security Studies in Tel Aviv, Mohamed Kadry Said Abdelaal from the Al-Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies in Cairo and Margret Johannsen from IFSH evaluated the arms races in the region, discussed steps that could contribute to avoiding a military escalation of the conflict over the Iranian nuclear program and elaborated on the possible contribution of the pending conference on a weapons of mass destruction free zone in the Middle East to defusing the dangerous tensions in the region. In her assessment of Germany’s role, Margret Johannsen criticized the German arms exports to various regional states. Furthermore, with respect to the controversial issue of Iran’s nuclear program she recommended that Germany promotes, among its partners in Europe and overseas, a declared renunciation of the use of force vis-à-vis Iran.

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## IDEAS Report Presented at Vienna Hofburg

Towards a Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian Security Community  
From Vision to Reality

Drafting Group: Wolfgang Zellner (coordinator), Yves Besset, Frank Fromm, Isabelle Fassin, Camille Grouzet  
Lithic Keller, Fabian Kubler, Andrej Zupanic



At the invitation of the 2012 Chairman of the Permanent Council, Irish Ambassador Eoin O’Leary, the four institutes participating in the Initiative for the Development of a Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian Security Community (IDEAS) presented their report “Towards a Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian Security Community: From Vision to Reality” at an informal ambassadorial meeting in the Vienna Hofburg on 23 October 2012 that was attended by almost 100 persons from some 40 delegations.

This track II initiative, which has been jointly carried out by the Centre for OSCE Research (CORE) at the Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg (IFSH), the Fondation pour la Recherche Stratégique (FRS), the Polish Institute of International Affairs (PISM) and the Moscow State Institute of International Relations (University) of the Russian Foreign Ministry (MGIMO), was launched in late 2011 by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Germany, France, Poland and the Russian Federation, who had asked the four institutes to organize a series of workshops to advance the discussion on the future character of a Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian security community and to present a report with recommendations to the participating States of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) in Vienna. CORE arranged the IDEAS opening workshop with some 100 high-ranking participants from around 30 participating States in Berlin at the premises of the German Federal Foreign Office in March 2012. Workshops in Warsaw, Paris and Moscow followed until July 2012. Subsequently, CORE, with key drafter Wolfgang Zellner, took the lead in elaborating the commissioned IDEAS report. CORE also hosted an editing workshop in Hamburg in September 2012. The activities of CORE on IDEAS were financed by the German Federal Foreign Office.

The overall reception of the report at the Hofburg meeting was very positive. Ambassadors spoke about a “very impressive report”, “forward-looking and pragmatic” that could make a contribution to the OSCE’s current discussions in the “Helsinki plus 40” context. Others stressed that the report showed the importance of track II activities and emphasized that this work should be continued in a broader context including

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other think tanks. Criticism raised concerned the notion of normative convergence in the OSCE space, the existence of a European identity, human dimension issues and the neglect of the situation of young people. All in all, it was encouraging (not only) for the four institutes, to see in which positive and constructive way this track II initiative has been taken up officially by the OSCE.

The IDEAS report "Towards a Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian security community. From vision to reality", edited by CORE / Fondation pour la Recherche Stratégique; MGIMO / PISM, Drafting Group Wolfgang Zellner, Hamburg 2012 is available online at:

[http://ideas-network.com/fileadmin/user\\_ideas-network/documents/IDEAS%20Report%20October%202012.pdf](http://ideas-network.com/fileadmin/user_ideas-network/documents/IDEAS%20Report%20October%202012.pdf).

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## Annual Meeting of the Working Group Curriculum „Networking Teaching – Curricula and Didactics in Peace and Conflict Research“

The annual meeting "Networking Teaching – Curricula and Didactics in Peace and Conflict Research" of the curriculum working group of the Peace and Conflict Research Group (AFK) took place from the 8th to the 10th of November 2012 at the IFSH. As is traditional, representatives of peace and conflict research study programs in the German-speaking area met at the beginning of the meeting to exchange information about the number of applications and admissions, as well as the number of graduates in this academic year. Other topics were current issues that study programs have, such as reaccreditation procedures or study program reforms. Participants were representatives from, among other places, the universities of Augsburg, Duisburg, Frankfurt am Main, Innsbruck, Magdeburg, Marburg and Tübingen.



Foto: Participants of the AFK meeting: „Networking Teaching – Curricula and Didactics in Peace and Conflict Research“ from Augsburg, Duisburg, Frankfurt am Main, Innsbruck, Magdeburg, Marburg and Tübingen

Prof. Dr. Wolfgang Dietrich presented the "Master of Arts Program in Peace, Development, Security and International Conflict Transformation" at the University of Innsbruck, Austria.

Apart from information sharing, an additional goal of the curriculum working group is to improve teaching in the area of peace research. It was for this reason that the workshop "Giving Constructive Feedback" took place on Friday, the 9th of November. Prof. Jörg Fengler from the University of Cologne gave an introductory lecture on the idea of giving feedback. Several methods of giving feedback were introduced, discussed and practiced. Saturday, the 10th of November, was used for group work, during which old and new initiatives of the working group were elaborated and presented. The closing session was a lecture by Kerstin Zimmer from the University of Magdeburg on "Peace and Conflict Research Teaching in Germany and Elsewhere". The next annual meeting will take place from 7th to 9th November 2013. The venue is yet to be determined.

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## EU Security Governance: International Workshop at IFSH

On 27 and 28 September, the Centre for European Peace and Security Studies at the IFSH, with financial support from the Fritz Thyssen Foundation, organized an international workshop on "EU Security Governance in the Post-National Constellation: Conceptual, Empirical and Practical Challenges". The event brought together 20 researchers from domestic and foreign institutions to discuss conceptual perspectives, empirical developments and normative pitfalls of new forms of governance in EU security policy. The debate focused on the concept of "security governance" and its practical manifestations. ZEUS has addressed this issue over the last few years through a previous workshop and a series of publications. Thereby, it has taken up prevalent academic and political debates. The papers of the introductory panel presented ideas for a reformulation of security governance as a "critical tool" and scrutinized the normative trade-offs of post-national security policy. The contributions to the second panel approached EU security governance from a comparative and an institutional perspective. The final two panels included case studies on the EU police mission in Afghanistan, attempts to combat piracy off the coast of Somalia, EU counterterrorism policy and European efforts to protect critical infrastructures. The participants included Matthias Dembinski (Peace Research Institute Frankfurt), Roberto Dominguez (Suffolk University), Simon Duke (European Institute of Public Administration), Bastian Giegerich

(Bundeswehr Institute of Social Sciences), Eva Gross (VU Brussels), Christian Kaunert (University of Dundee), Emil Kirchner (University of Essex), Peter Mayer (University of Bremen) und Sebastian Mayer (University of Bremen). The papers will feed into a special issue of the journal *European Security*, which is scheduled for publication in 2013.

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## Publications

**New Hamburger Beiträge article on the question: How German Armed Forces, Politics and Society deal with post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) among soldiers.**

**Detlef Bald/Hans-Günter Fröhlich/Jürgen Groß/Berthold Meyer/Claus v. Rosen (Eds.), *Wie Bundeswehr, Politik und Gesellschaft mit posttraumatischen Belastungsstörungen bei Soldaten umgehen, Hamburger Beiträge zur Friedensforschung und Sicherheitspolitik, Heft 159, Hamburg 2012.*** This edition of *Hamburger Beiträge* examines how the army, politics and society are dealing with PTSD-affected soldiers from four perspectives: While Detlef Bald looks at the treatment of mental illness in the Weimar Republic from a historical perspective, Hans-Günther Fröhlich discusses the preparation of soldiers for current operations abroad, particularly with respect to superiors and comrades in dealing with PTSD. Dinah Schardt interprets PTSD as “post-heroic stress disorder” in the context of the search for “operations publicity”, while Berthold Meyer deals with the “guilt consciousness” of the parliament with respect to post-traumatic stress disorder among soldiers.

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**Michael Brzoska and Ulrich Kühn, *Vertrag über den Waffenhandel: Staatenkonferenz 2.-27. Juli 2012 [Arms Trade Treaty: State Conference]*, in: *Vereinte Nationen. German Review on the United Nations*, vol. 60, no. 5, pp. 223-225.**



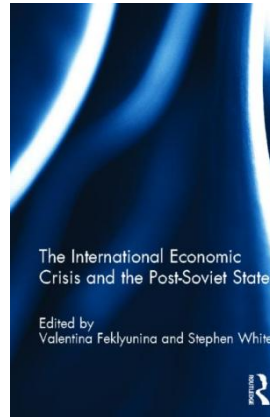
From 2-27 July 2012, UN Member States convened in New York for final negotiations on an Arms Trade Treaty (ATT). In the end, the long-sought-for treaty did not come into being, due to the reluctance of a number of important states, amongst them the US. Michael Brzoska and Ulrich Kühn analyze the history and the

negotiations and discuss the possibilities for a follow-up process. They conclude that despite the current setback, the prospects for an ATT are better than ever before.

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**Elena Kropatcheva, *Ukraine's Foreign Policy Choices after the 2010 Presidential Election, in: The International Economic Crisis and the Post-Soviet States*, edited by Valentina Feklyunina and Stephen White, Routledge, Abingdon 2012.**

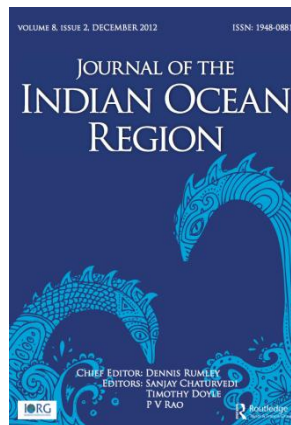


The main foreign policy puzzle since the 2010 presidential election in Ukraine is whether Viktor Yanukovich will reverse the Western-oriented policy of his predecessor in favor of a single pro-Russian vector. Another question is what impact the global financial crisis has had and will have on Ukraine's foreign policy choices. Finally, what factors are influencing foreign policy choices made in Ukraine? Neoclassical realism helps to delineate the complexity of the situation in and around Ukraine, which makes various scenarios plausible: from a single pro-Russian or a single pro-Western orientation to attempts to conduct a balanced multi-vector policy.

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**Special Issue on “Maritime Terrorism and Piracy in the Indian Ocean Region”**



Patricia Schneider, IFSH, together with Professor Andrew C. Winner, U.S. Naval War College and Awet T. Weldemichael, Université Paris Diderot, co-edited a special issue on maritime terrorism and piracy in the Indian Ocean region, which was published in the *Journal of the Indian Ocean Region* by Routledge. All articles were double-blind pre-reviewed by at least three evaluators. The issue contains seven articles throwing light on the subjects of maritime terrorism and piracy from different perspectives that can be divided into categories: case studies of specific maritime challenges and national responses to them; an examination of the overarching issue of non-state actors and maritime security; the discussion of

international legal and regulatory responses to maritime security issues in the Indian Ocean.

In the first category, Patricia Schneider analyses German regimes of maritime security governance in the Indian Ocean region. Thereby, she reveals a contradiction: Although Germany, as a leading maritime nation with the biggest container shipping industry, is very much affected by Indian Ocean piracy and its ship-owners have repeatedly asked for state or private vessel protection, it has until recently, by contrast to other European governments, avoided engaging private security companies. Dr. Schneider shows how this contradiction can be traced back to, among other factors, the paralyzing conflict of interest among the very diverse German stakeholders and the complex German federal system where responsibilities over maritime security are spread over various authorities. For more information please see:

<http://www.tandfonline.com/toc/rior20/current>

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**Hans M. Kristensen: "Modernizing NATO's Nuclear Forces: Implications for the Alliance's defense posture and arms control", ACA/BASIC/IFSH, Nuclear Policy Paper No. 11, November 2012.**



Over the next ten years, the United States intends to modernize its complete arsenal of B61 tactical nuclear weapons, including approximately 20 nuclear weapons deployed on the German air force base Büchel. In this paper, Hans Kristensen, one of the leading U.S. nuclear weapons experts, analyses the implications of the modernization program for NATO's defense posture and nuclear disarmament. Kristensen argues that there is no justification for spending US\$10 billion on the modernization of tactical nuclear weapons that would enhance military capabilities by improving the accuracy of U.S. nuclear weapons deployed in Europe. Kristensen warns that the modernization program would make an arms control agreement with Russia on the reduction of tactical nuclear weapons less likely. He argues that withdrawal of the 200 U.S. tactical nuclear weapons still deployed in Europe under NATO's

nuclear sharing arrangements would be the most effective measure to increase their security.

The Nuclear Policy Paper, as well as other products of the IFSH project on a reduction of the role of tactical nuclear weapons in European security can be found at

<http://tacticalnuclearweapons.ifsh.de>

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## Staff news

### New PhD student from Tajikistan



In October 2012, Nodira Aminova from Dushanbe, Tajikistan started working on a PhD thesis, funded by the DAAD. It aims at an in-depth analysis of the dialogue between secular and moderate Islamist forces in Tajikistan since the end of the Tajik civil war. The investigation integrates both normative and policy-

oriented conditions for a consensual way of governance and interaction. Therefore, the theoretical background has to combine theories of inter-cultural and inter-religious relations and conflict prevention theories. The main question of the project is, whether and, if so, how conditions for a peaceful coexistence between secular values and Islamic traditions have been taken into account by the conflicting parties. According to the peace agreement the moderate (Hanafi mazhab) Islamist minority (Islamic Revival Party of Tajikistan, PIRT) has to have a 30% representation in the government. This fragile relationship is complicated by the authoritarian neo-patrimonial character of the secular government of President Imomali Rahmon. After theoretical and methodological studies, a research design will be developed that allows an empirically based analysis of the de facto developments on the ground. The thesis can profit from CORE's ten years of experience in mediating and studying this dialogue in Tajikistan, in particular, and in Central Asia in general.

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## Imprint

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