

A passionate scientist and political visionary

In remembrance of Dieter Lutz

He died ten years ago on a business trip in Berlin on 13 January 2003. Dieter Lutz holds an exceptional position among the directors of the institute.

He already assisted his predecessors, Wolf Graf Baudissin and Egon Bahr, as a deputy chairman. Despite his early death at the age of 53, he had worked for the IFSH a quarter-century. Dieter Lutz had shaped the IFSH like no one else did. He was the driving force in the institute. Many activities, which even today belong to the every-



Dieter S. Lutz

day practice in the institute, go back to his initiative: the Centre for OSCE Research, the post-graduate programme "Master of Peace and Security Studies – M.P.S.", the Doctoral Programme, the Count Baudissin International Fellowship Programme for officers and researchers from Eastern Europe, the scientific book

series *Democracy, Security, Peace*, the series *Hamburger Beiträge* and *Hamburger Informationen*, the quarterly journal *Security and Peace (S+F)*, extensive expert and consulting activities. Not least, the German Foundation for Peace Research whose foundation goes back to his initiative and which supports numerous projects of the institute.

Lutz wore many hats: he was a passionate scientist, a visionary and a committed organizer. The subject he was concerned with throughout his life concentrated on the question of an adequate framework for peace and security in Europe. His particular interest met with Egon Bahr's intentions, who took over the institute's management in 1984. Bahr came to Hamburg with a fragmentary collection of ideas on the consolidation of arms control policy, the so-called Palme-Report on Common Security. He knew its gaps and spaces, as he was one of its co-

authors. In the following years, detailed research was conducted by a large part of the institute's staff. From 1986, the working results, edited by Bahr and Lutz, were published at yearly intervals in six anthologies on *Common Security*.

This form of project work illustrates most clearly what Dieter Lutz expected from peace research. To him, the relevance of a research question was determined by the generalisability of the expected results. Where a conceptual learning result could not be promised, support could not be expected. Just as he did not like theories for theorising's sake. For Lutz, peace research had a responsibility towards politics – a better, more efficient and peaceful politics. It was clear to him that the analytical tools of the humanities and the social sciences could not stand up to this task on their own. Only an also scientifically-based peace research could meet these requirements.

Did *Common Security* not mean more than just an elaborated version of *polica détente* – the epochal change in 1989 offered opportunities for a more ambitious concept. The logical development of *Common Security* leads to *Collective Security*. This principle aims to eliminate war as a form of intercourse in international and transnational relationships on a long-term basis. "The strength of the law instead of the right of the strongest", it says. After the end of the West-East conflict, so the premise, it was time for a more precise construction plan regulating all security issues of Europe. Once more, the institute got to work on a joint project. In 1995, a broad study was published under the title 'Security Model for the 21st century' in German and in 1996 in English. The expert public's response was encouraging, but the politics rejected the offer to discuss. Not necessarily to their own advantage.

Contents

A passionate and political visionary.	
In remembrance of Dieter S.Lutz	1
Mali at a crossroads.....	2
IFAR Activities: Confidence Building in Cyber Space.....	3
PhD successfully completed	3
Publications	4
Imprint	5

Talking about politics. What does the world of politics expect from an institute like ours? How will political actors react when the institute makes proposals they will dislike? What is certain is that speaking out publicly and taking up a position which concerns its key issues is a granted right according to the IFSH's Charter of the Foundation. It is a different matter though how to apply it. In the spring of 2001, after a controversial action, Lutz suffered his most bitter defeat of his directorate. Or was it success in the end? In the beginning the issues of stake were: Can the Federal Republic of Germany participate in an armed intervention if this means acting against the Basic Law, the UN-Charta and the North Atlantic Treaty at the same time? Do blatant violations of the human rights justify a kind of extralegal state of emergency? Can the development of international law handle such exceptional situations?

These issues were also raised during the escalation of the Kosovo crisis in the autumn of 1998. Many people expressed their disappointment with the new German Federal Government which had just declared its coalition agreement to be under the motto 'German foreign policy is peace policy', while at the same time being in favour of armed action in the Balkans. Dieter Lutz was among the disappointed ones. But he did not just want a divergent opinion to be heard. He insisted on a public debate on the lessons of the Kosovo conflict for the future security-political orientation of the Federal Republic of Germany and the mission of the German Federal Armed Forces

Only when month after month passed without clearly defining any advised willingness to talk, while at the same time the level of violence rose around the Kosovo, the decision to stimulate a debate matured. Thus, Lutz suggested writing an open letter to the Members of the German Bundestag. It was written and signed by both of us, straight to the point, but respectful in style and language, just like it should be when a citizen approaches the sovereign. On the second anniversary of the Kosovo War, the eight-page letter was published under the title 'More problems than solutions, more questions than answers'. The reactions of Berlin came by return. Calling them a harsh rebuff would be a rather mild circumscription.

Did we really take all the consequences into consideration? The institute would have ran the risk of moving into rough waters if, besides the critics of the open letter, numerous well-known supporters had not also appeared on the scene. In his comment, the former German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt pointed out that we had made a mistake: We had overlooked the Two-Plus-Four-Agreement concerning the unity saying that only peace will come from German soil.

Today, it is the German Federal Government which calls out for a debate on the foundations of German security policy. At that time, the attempt failed to put to test a culture of debate and discussion on a

concrete case. Lutz did not conceal his disappointment about the brusque reaction of Berlin's fraction leaders. But at no time did he stop conveying his opinion – here on the open market, there with diplomatic discretion. He did not fall on deaf ears anymore. He was decisively against the invasion of Iraq as an answer to the terrorist attack of September 2001 – this time not in disagreement but in accordance with the Federal Government. On the occasion of his death, a daily newspaper titled: 'The scientist behind Schröder's Iraq-course'.

Dieter Lutz – what defined him as a teacher and a manager, a colleague and a friend? In my opinion, the key to his personality was an almost inexhaustible reservoir of creative energy. What the institute is, what it does, what it can do and therefore should do tomorrow, for that he had always a catalogue full of additional ideas. He purposefully tried to close up to reality with his intention. If a new book was published in the blue series, the next one was – with certainty – already in the works and the following ones were at least in the pipeline. So it is not surprising that the pace at Falkenstein took many critical spirits' breath away. Lutz demanded a lot from them. But he always demanded the most from himself.

CONTACT: REINHARD MUTZ

MUTZ@IFSH.DE

Mali at a crossroads

For a long time Mali was regarded as a model for democratic development in sub-Saharan Africa. After its de facto secession of the North, which is dominated by radical Islamists, a military putsch in the South and the establishment of a interim government, after the Prime Minister was forced to resign by the military, the appointment of a new Prime Minister and the Islamic forces' attempt to advance towards the South which has been stopped with the help of French soldiers, Mali is now at a crossroads.

The UN has given green light for the 'African-led International Support Mission in Mali' (AFISMA), the EU for a military operation which intends training assistance and logistic support for the Malian army. In fact, the AFISMA was supposed to intervene just after the rainy season in September. But the unexpected advance of the Islamists increased the pressure for a quicker military action. France was ready to comply with the request for support of the government in Bamako. While the Islamic forces' advance could be stopped, the situation in Mali gets complicated.



A military operation will remain unsuccessful without a political transformation of the country. Politically, it is about the alternative kleptocracy or democracy, economically it is about the issue of the development of the North or its further marginalization, ideologically, it is about the competition between the traditional moderate Sufism and the imported radical Wahabism. In addition to this, come the divergent interests of the African states. The US made clear that their priority is the war on terrorism. Since 2011 the EU has been pursued a more comprehensive approach to the Sahel striving for security and development, however, without success yet. The spectre of an 'African Afghanistan' is haunting EU's doorstep. Especially the case of Afghanistan has shown how easy it is to slip in a violent conflict and how difficult it is to get out of it, when, on closer inspection, the seemingly clear front lines turn out to be a complex conflict situation. The crisis cannot be solved without a consensual road map of the Malians on the future constitutionality of their country. But for this the guns have to fall silent first.

CONTACT: HANS-GEORG EHRHART

EHRHART@IFSH.DE

IFAR Activities: Confidence Building in Cyber Space

The Verification Research, Training and Information Centre VERTIC and the Research Institute of the United Nations organized a two day workshop titled "The Role of Confidence Building in Assuring Cyber Stability", which was attended by a dozen delegations from the Conference on Disarmament at the Palais des

Nations on 8/9 December 2012. There, Götz Neuneck held the introductory presentation on the topic "CBMs: Application to the cyber domain." UNIDIR is currently working on a yearbook about Cyber Security debate entitled "Cyber Index". IFAR has contributed two chapters. The first study analysed the activities and impact of international and regional organisations in the field of "Cyber Security", while the second paper discusses history, concept and the application of confidence-building measures to cyberspace. Another lecture on this topic was given by Götz Neuneck at the General Staff College on 21 January 2013.

On 19th December 2012, as part of the training of young officers in Northern Germany, Götz Neuneck gave a lecture on the prospects of a European missile defence at the Helmut Schmidt University – University of the Federal Armed Forces Hamburg. At the end of the year the business section of the magazine "Die Zeit" selected the word "bazooka" as word of the year 2012 in connection with the fight against the financial crisis. Therefore, Götz Neuneck was interviewed by "Die Zeit" Online about the military-technological background.

CONTACT: GÖTZ NEUNECK

NEUNECK@IFSH.DE

PhD successfully completed

The PhD candidate Elena Kulipanova left the IFSH after completing her PhD in December 2012. Elena joined the IFSH in October 2006 as she started her studies in the Master's Programme Peace and Security Studies. She earned her degree (Master of Peace and Security Studies) and stayed at the Institute to participate in the PhD programme to conduct research on Central Asia.



Elena Kulipanova

Her PhD project was supported by a joint scholarship from the DAAD and the Open Society Institute. From June to December 2012, she also worked as a researcher at CORE. Her research interests included Central Asian politics, regional cooperation, international organizations and development cooperation.

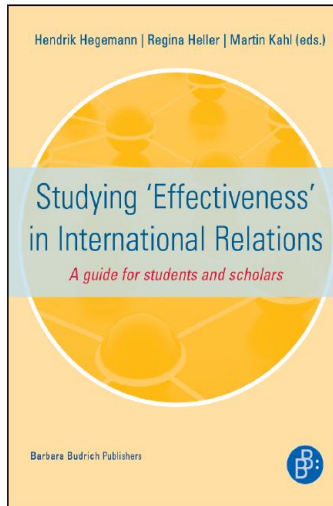
Elena's thesis addresses the question of why international organizations have largely failed to promote regional cooperation in Central Asia. It takes up the issue of mixed results of organizations' activities in

the region and the still-ambivalent patterns of cooperation between and among the Central Asian states. Using the case studies of the ADB and the EU, she assessed the impact of external actors on inter-state cooperation at the levels of domestic and regional politics. The study is grounded in the insights from a number of IR theories rooted in both rationalism and social constructivism. While conceptualizing impact in terms of power, Elena developed an analytical approach to understand how international organisations try to induce change and suggested three possible explanations for their failure. A detailed investigation of the interests and policies of the Central Asian states – based on the case studies of international transport and trade facilitation – offers another approach to studying cooperation from a “functional” perspective. The dissertation will be published as a book titled “Regional cooperation, external actors and power relationships in Central Asia: The cases of the Asian Development Bank and the EU” by Nomos Verlag in Spring 2013.

CONTACT: ELENA KULIPANOVA KULIPANOVA@IFSH.DE

Publications

Edited Volume on Effectiveness Research



**Hegemann, Hendrik/
Heller, Regina/
Kahl, Martin (eds.)
Studying
'Effectiveness' in
International
Relations – A Guide
for Students and
Scholars, Verlag
Barbara Budrich,
Opladen, Berlin &
Toronto 2013, ISBN
978-3-8474-0027-1,
287 Seiten, 33,00 €.**

Hendrik Hegemann, Regina Heller and Martin Kahl (ZEUS/IFSH) edited a volume on the analysis of the effectiveness of political measures in international politics. The book titled “Studying ‘Effectiveness’ in International Relations – A guide for students and scholars” has been published with Barbara Budrich Publishers and brings together ten contributions by authors from Germany and the United States. The publication builds upon preparatory in the working group Effectiveness Research at the IFSH.

The question of how effective political instruments actually are is a matter of debate in international relations research. The book presents and discusses the state of the art in effectiveness research, methods and

research techniques, their theoretical underpinning and their application in empirical research. Next to general aspects of causality and effectiveness, the contributions to the books deal with results and achievements of effectiveness research in the areas of international organisations, international non-governmental organisations, public-private partnerships, military interventions, sanctions, international regimes, international socialisation, democracy promotion and human rights, development aid and counterterrorism.

CONTACT:

HENDRIK HEGEMANN

HEGEMANN@IFSH.DE

REGINA HELLER

HELLER@IFSH.DE

MARTIN KAHL

KAHL@IFSH.DE

Volume 4/2012 of “Security and Peace” published



Volume 4/2012 of the journal “S+F. Sicherheit und Frieden, Security and Peace”, edited by Michael Brzoska, P. Michael Link, Achim Maas and Jürgen Scheffran, focuses on the topic of “Geoengineering: An Issue for Peace and Security?” The following articles are included: Michael Brzoska, P. Michael Link and Götz Neuneck: “Geoengineering – Möglichkeiten und Risiken“, Achim Maas und Jürgen Scheffran: „Climate Conflicts 2.0? Climate Engineering as a Challenge for International Peace and Security“, James Rodger Fleming: “Will Geoengineering Bring Security and Peace? What does History Tell us?”, Alexander Proelß: “Geoengineering and International Law”, Gernot Klepper: “What are the Costs and Benefits of Climate Engineering? And Can We Assess Them?”, Sylvia Hiller and Ortwin Renn: “Public Perception of Geoengineering”, Sebastian Harnisch: “Minding the Gap? CE, CO2 Abatement, Adaptation and the Governance of the Global Climate” and Alan Robock: “Is Geoengineering Research Ethical?”

The issue also contains S+F Forum, organized and edited by Sabine Jaberg. In this issue, Johannes Varwick, Klaus Nauman, Dieter Deiseroth, Reinhard Mutz and Peter Strutynski contribute their views on a potential reform of the law regulating the role of the German parliament in deciding on foreign military missions of the German Federal Armed Forces.

For more information please visit

<http://www.sicherheit-und-frieden.nomos.de/1/current-issue-and-archive/2012/issue-4/>

CONTACT: MARTIN KAHL (MANAGING EDITOR) KAHL@IFSH.DE

TacNukes Newsletter No. 3, ACA/BASIC/IFSH, January 2013



The TacNukes News summarizes current developments related to transparency, accounting, and reductions of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe (B61). It is a reliable source for recent information on the post Deterrence and Defense Posture Review process within NATO, future arms control options regarding B61 stationed in Europe or the B61

Life Extension Program. Each issue holds a collection of new publications, studies, newspaper articles and official statements.

It is jointly published by the Arms Control Association, the British American Security Information Council and the Institute for Peace Research and Security at the University of Hamburg under a joint project funded by the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation. It reaches 2,400 recipients via e-mail. The TacNukes News is published about every two months. The 3rd issue (January 2013) covers the Nuclear Policy Paper No. 12 by Edmond E. Seay III exploring problems in the NATO-Russia "correlation of forces" pointing out that chances of cooperation may be found far from classical arms control solutions. Moreover, it reports about new numbers concerning Russian stockpiles of tactical nuclear weapons, Central European views on the B61, notices the first ever full-time American troops stationed in Poland, the German debate over tactical nuclear weapons as well as NATO's division regarding the new arms control committee.

For more information on the project and the previous issues of our TacNukes News, please visit our website at <http://tacticalnuclearweapons.ifsh.de>

CONTACT:

OLIVER MEIER

KATARZYNA KUBIAK

MEIER@IFSH.DE

KUBIAK@IFSH.DE

Imprint

Responsible for this issue:

SUSANNE BUND

ANNA KREIKEMEYER

BUND@IFSH.DE

KREIKEMEYER@IFSH.DE