

The Future of the European Peace and Security Order

Future Work Emphases of the IFSH under the new Scientific Director, Prof. Dr. Ursula Schröder

Against the background of current security crises and upheavals – such as the wars in Syria and in Ukraine, the consequences of Brexit for Europe or the transformation of American foreign policy – a new determination of the status quo and the future of the European peace and security order is absolutely necessary. Under the leadership of its Scientific Director, Prof. Dr. Ursula Schröder, the IFSH will, in the future, engage in three new work areas designed to deal with the challenges of these upheavals for peace and security. The first work area, European peace and security order, is devoted - beyond a focus on individual political institutions - to the question of how cooperation, which is robust and capable of action on questions of European peace and security policy, might look. The second work area continues the established work of the institute in the field of disarmament, arms control and risk technologies and expands it with new discussions on technology development and control of risk technologies. The third work area, community peace and domestic security, expands the existing expertise on inner-societal violence potentials to a new research focus of the IFSH. Here, Europe is understood not only as a security policy actor externally but also, in particular, as a societal peace project internally. This area of work will bring together perspectives of peace and conflict research, of extremism and violence research and research in the area of internal security, which have, up until now, been discussed separately.

At the heart of the research in all three areas is the often cross-border and cross-policy field quality of a variety of current peace and security topics. A deepening of the research cooperation with the University of Hamburg – in, for example, climate research – and with other research institutions in Hamburg and beyond - will have an impact on the analysis of cross-cutting issues at interfaces with various fields of research. Hereby, the IFSH, in its work, will continue the combination of high-quality basic research with actively engaged and scientifically grounded political consulting, in the future, to successfully communicate central questions and topics of peace and security within the society and, thereby, also reach new target groups. Finally, a generational change has begun in the institute which, through the systematic promotion of junior scientific staff in peace and security

research, will become a complement to the central aspect of the institute's work.

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Obituary for Reinhard Mutz



On 13. December 2017 Reinhard Mutz died at the age of 79. Along with his family, the staff of the IFSH grieve the loss of its former director. Reinhard Mutz led the Institute provisionally as the fourth director of IFSH from 2003 until January 2006. Previously, he was long-time Deputy Director and editor of the Peace Report.

A more extensive obituary can be found online under

https://ifsh.de/file-IFSH/IFSH/pdf/aktuelles/Nachruf_Reinhard_Mutz_und_Vorwort.pdf.

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The participants in the IPNDV Conference

Deadlock on Nuclear Disarmament, but Progress on Nuclear Verification

IFSH participates in the International Partnership for Nuclear Disarmament Verification

Nuclear disarmament is, once again, in a crisis. Currently, there are no negotiations taking place between the two super powers, the USA and Russia, which have more than 90 percent of the world-wide nuclear arsenal. The N-START-Treaty runs out in 2021 and the INF-Treaty is being strongly questioned due to new developments. The USA accuses the Kremlin of stationing a new cruise missile, which violates the INF-Treaty.

Conversely, Russia sees the missile defense in Europe and the defense tests with the INF-systems as violations of the treaty. A glimmer of hope is the humanitarian “Nuclear Weapons Ban Treaty”, which the UN General Assembly accepted on 7 July 2017 with 122 votes and which now has been presented for ratification. It forbids the “development, production, testing, acquisition, storage, transport, stationing and use of nuclear weapons.” However, in order to have a disarmament effect, the nuclear weapons states must accede to it. Also, the treaty still lacks a well thought-out verification component. Should it come to a comprehensive disarmament treaty in the future, the dismantling and irreversible destruction of nuclear warheads internationally must be able to be monitored by inspectors. Up until now, launching systems have been substantially reduced and destroyed through bilateral disarmament. With the nuclear warheads, there were considerable reductions due to signed contracts, but not a single warhead was disassembled and destroyed under international control and supervision. It is here that the “International Partnership for Nuclear Disarmament Verification” (IPNDV) comes into play. 25 countries are participating in this project in order to identify and develop possible protocols and technologies for verifying nuclear disarmament

measures. On behalf of the (German) Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Götz Neuneck is the expert in Working Group 1, which deals with the entire verification process and its goals. He is collaborating on four papers. In the first phase of the two-year project, representatives of five nuclear states met nine times with experts and diplomats of the 20 non-nuclear states participating in the project in - among other places - Tokyo, Abu Dhabi and Geneva, in order to discuss the challenges, problems and possibilities, which occur, particularly with the dismantling of nuclear warheads. Important criteria here, apart from security, are also adherence to the non-proliferation provisions of the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and national security. At the last meeting in Buenos Aires, two summary reports and sundry working papers were adopted, which can be seen by the public on the online portal <www.ipndv.org>. An interactive graphic describes the entire disarmament cycle in an interactive way for visitors to the portal. After the successful conclusion of the first phase, new working groups, which will deal with disarmament declarations, the entire disarmament cycle and concrete demonstration exercises, will be set up.

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Comment: Great Ambitions, many questions: France’s National Defence and Security Strategy

In October 2017; France published a National Defence and Security Strategy. It describes the vision of a strong France in a strategically autonomous Europe. Important steps in this direction have been taken recently. The Franco-German engine seems to run smoothly.



However, do the ambitions of the two governments really fit together? Three basic differences raise questions:

- France is a permanent member of the UN Security Council. From this status, it derives global responsibilities reflecting its self-image as a global actor.
- France is one of the nine existing nuclear weapon states. Nuclear deterrence is the backbone “of our strategic defence”. It guarantees not only its national security and independence, but also contributes to transatlantic security and the security of Europe. Paris is also betting on air- and sea based nuclear weapons in the future.
- By contrast to Germany, Paris is pursuing a concept of national strategic autonomy. It is the expression

of its sovereignty and a prioritised object of its defence policy. Given the worldwide instabilities, France wants to preserve its ability to act alone in order to serve its national interests.

The French approach to defence and security cooperation is flexible. The USA is a central partner but is not so reliable anymore. Germany is an “extremely important” partner, the UK a privileged one because it is, next to France, the only European country with a nuclear deterrence and global ambitions. Paris supports all initiatives furthering the strategic convergence among Europeans. Yet a strategically autonomous Europe needs a common strategic culture. How could this culture evolve given the different historical make-ups and security-political focus? The French answer is: By improving the conditions for common actions. Whether President Macron’s proposal from 26 October 2017 of a European Intervention Initiative is the right path is questionable though, as long it is not clear, whether, where, when, how, whereby, and what military interventions should take place.

(Online at <<https://ifsh.de/news/details/of/news-1491/>>

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Panel at the Side-event of the 24th OSCE Ministerial Meeting
Credit: OSCE <<https://www.flickr.com/photos/osceorg/24025862837/in/photolist-eVXJfN-CB5PYr-HiYWmn>>

OSCE Network Report on Historical Narratives Side-Event at the OSCE Ministerial Meeting in Vienna

In 2017, a project of the OSCE Network of Think Tanks and Academic Institutions reconstructed the contested history of post-Cold War European security. The project, “The Road to the Charter of Paris”, focused on the years 1989 and 1990. It argues that “the current tension between Russia and the West and the return to divided security in Europe have their root causes in an unfinished post-Cold War settlement after 1990, even if the

West at the time felt it had achieved a fair new order for Europe’s future” (p. 4). The project added the views of historians to a plurality of interpretations about what allegedly happened and why in 1989-90. Two workshops brought together historians, eyewitnesses (former CSCE ambassadors and the first CSCE/OSCE Secretary General) and 37 representatives from 20 institutes of the OSCE Network and injected more nuances and shades of gray into the mostly black-and-white stories of success and failure in establishing Europe’s post-Cold War strategic architecture.

On 7 December 2017, the OSCE Network report “The Road to the Charter of Paris: Historical Narratives and Lessons for the OSCE Today” was presented during a 45-minute “side-event” at the 24th OSCE Ministerial Council in Vienna. Christian Nünlist (principal author, Center for Security Studies, ETH Zurich), Juhana Aunesluoma (co-author, University of Helsinki), Benno Zogg (co-author CSS/ETH Zurich), and Laurien Crump-Gabreëls (participant in both workshops, University of Utrecht) presented the key findings and recommendations to about 25 interested Ministerial Council participants.

In 2018, the authors hope to translate the report into Russian and to discuss it at a workshop in Moscow. They are also open to presenting their insights into “how and why divergent views on European Security developed after 1990” at special “history dialogue” events, e.g. for Italian journalists (covering the 2018 Italian Chairmanship) or for interested OSCE insiders in Vienna. (Text: Christian Nünlist)

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IFAR-Work on Autonomous Weapons Systems and Artificial Intelligence

In today’s warfare, drones and unmanned missiles play an increasing role. While, at the beginning, unmanned platforms were used for intelligence purposes, the military technical development concentrates more and more on armed application with new, partially autonomous, functions. The use of algorithms, sensors, Big Data and Deep Machine Learning suggests that artificial intelligence will also find its way on the battle field and will transform modern armed forces and warfare. Moreover, internationally, a debate over the ethical and military consequences of the introduction of more autonomy has begun. IFAR², in a project spanning several months, has worked through the research literature and has completed a survey. Autonomous weapons systems (AWS) are understood here as unmanned platforms, which have the “intentional independence of external (human) control as well as the “ability to be able, in a complex real environment to react in a targeted way to unforeseen events.”

Within the framework of the IFAR² Fact Sheet Nr. 9, Moritz Michels has dealt with the psychological effects of attack drones.

(March 2017, <https://ifsh.de/file-IFAR/pdf_deutsch/IFAR2-FactSheet9.pdf>).

Lucie König, in the IFAR² Fact Sheet Nr. 11, summarized the international agreement on AWS.

(Dezember 2017, <https://ifsh.de/file-IFAR/pdf_english/IFAR2-FactSheet11.pdf>).

In discussions in the (German) Foreign Ministry, in the Federal Ministry of Defense (BMVg), with think tanks and in conferences, as well as with the support of the Military Fellow of IFSH, Kevin Nausch, valuable insights were gained. Christian Alwardt, Lina-Marieke Hilgert, Götz Neuneck, and Johanna Polle, in a study on “Security Policy Implications and Possibilities for Arms Control of Autonomous Weapons Systems (AWS)” for the Office for Technology Assessments at the German Parliament, gave a report on the proliferation of unmanned weapons systems with increasing autonomous functions. The USA, Germany, Great Britain, France, Russia, China and Israel were identified as central actors. Furthermore, the study dealt with the most important trends in research and development as well as with military procurement programs. Possibilities for arms control on AWS were also suggested and options for action for Germany were discussed.

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At a DSF Seminar in the German Parliament (from left to right) Max Mutschler (BICC), Christoph Pistner (Öko-Institut Darmstadt), Christian Alwardt (IFSH), Volker Roth (FU Berlin), Thomas Reinhold (IFSH), Jürgen Altmann

Eurasia Peace Studies Exchange Network Workshop in Tbilisi

Eurasia as a region (post-Soviet space and neighboring countries) has gained visibility on the international agenda. Being in a crucible betwixt and between the



IFSH student participants in Tbilisi (f.l.t.r.) Diana Alpysbaeva, Biniam Yemane Berihu, Yaiza Rojas Matas

East and the West, the developments in this region have effects far beyond its borders. Through cooperation and exchange in the Eurasia Peace Studies Exchange Network, comprising the partner institutions of the American University of Central Asia (AUCA) in Bishkek, the Centre for Peace Studies (CPS) at the University of Tromsø, Ilia State University in Tbilisi, the State Universities in Odessa and Kiev as well as IFSH Hamburg, the network tries to manage diversity by fostering dialogue on international and comparative perspectives within a peace studies framework. Furthermore, the aim is to establish an arena for mutual exchange of knowledge and competence among all six EPSE institutions involved.

At its start-up meeting in April 2017, the network, which is funded for 2017-2019 by the Norwegian Centre for International Cooperation in Education (SIU), created a stable platform for Europe/Eurasia and intra-Eurasian exchange.

From 23-28 October 2017, the first of three intensive workshops gathered students, staff and practitioners from different institutions at Ilia State University in Tbilisi. Eleven academic teachers and fifteen PhD students, graduates and master's students from twelve countries discussed together perspectives for peace research. Anna Kreikemeyer gave a lecture for the IFSH on Peace Research in Europe and Eurasia. Between Double Securitization, Normative Divides and Trans-local Challenges. Diana Alpysbaeva, Yaiza Rojas Matas and Biniam Yemane Berihu, graduates of the 2016/2017 master's program, participated in the multi-national group of students from eleven countries. The second EPSE coordination meeting is planned for March 2018 at the IFSH in Hamburg.

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Publications



S+F. Security and Peace, Issue 3/2017: Economy, Security, Peace

In his editorial, the editor of this issue, Michael Brzoska, points to the current crisis of globalization, providing a broader framework for the articles in this issue.

A major problem of economic globalization is the unequal distribution of gains and losses, as Thomas Straubhaar shows in his contribution, using the examples of Germany and western industrialized countries. Since the election of Donald Trump as President of the United States, it can be asked whether the neoliberal era of economically driven globalization will be succeeded by a new era in which international economic relations are dominated by the political primacy of national interest. As an example, Holger Janusch and Witold Mucha analyze the rhetoric of Donald Trump on free trade and its possible consequences. However, a closer examination of the recent past shows that, even during neoliberal dominance, trade and economic relations in general were and are instrumentalized for political purposes. Josef Braml argues in his contribution for particularly considering the importance of the US defense-industrial sector. Andreas Holtz, on the other hand, demonstrates, in his contribution on the relations between Australia and small Pacific island states, how free trade agreements can strengthen the dominance of a regional power and increase its capabilities to further non-economic interests as well. The raw material sector is particularly prone to the blending of economic and political goals. For Raimund Bleischwitz and Ruya Perincek, this implies a rising need for multilateral cooperation, particularly with growing shortages in at least some dimensions. Instead, we find more national approaches in the raw material sector as well as with respect to trade in general. This is true even for a regionally and globally interdependent state such as France, as Yann Werner shows in his contribution. Shah Meir analyzes the Chinese-financed Gwadar harbor project with a view to the motives for the high Chinese investments in economically weak and politically instable Pakistan. A somewhat different perspective results from the contribution by David Groten, who has researched the views of Chinese experts on two free trade agreements.

Seen together, the contributions indicate that the use of economic power for political purposes is on the rise. The liberal model of promoting peace through economic

relations is increasingly questioned even by earlier protagonists, such as the US government. Past periods of power-driven perspectives on international economic relations demonstrate the dangers of moving towards mercantilist economics.

Outside the special section, Carolin Fehl and Johannes Thimm discuss the challenges of multilateral cooperation in the Trump era.

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Anna Kreikemeyer, Prospects for Peace Research in Central Asia: Between Discourses of Danger, Normative Divides and Global Challenges, Osnabrück 2017



Peace and conflict research works with scientific concepts, which are primarily developed in the global North. In the cooperation with scientists from other regions of the world, not least

those from crisis and conflict areas, this increasingly presents them with the challenge of identifying contact points for exchange and dialogue. The DSF supported an international conference at IFSH on the possibilities of considering scientific cooperation in the area of peace and conflict research between institutions from European and Central Asian States. The project leader, Anna Kreikemeyer, draws a positive conclusion from the discussions: “Joint discussions about prospects for peace research make inspiration and learning possible, open up new horizons for scholars from Europe and Central Asia and help to prevent alienation.”

<http://bundesstiftung-friedensforschung.de/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/TB_Kreikemeyer.pdf>.

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Elvira Rosert: How to Regulate Autonomous Weapons. Steps to Codify Meaningful Humanitarian Control as a Principle of International Humanitarian Law. PRIF Spotlight 6/2017, Frankfurt am Main,



The question of how to regulate lethal autonomous weapons (LAWS) is currently being negotiated by the Group of Governmental Experts within the framework of the Convention on Certain Conventional Weapons (CCW). But the CCW members have gotten bogged down on the definition of autonomy, jeopardizing the successful conclusion of an

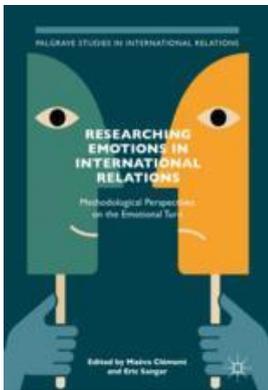
international agreement. Echoing the calls for a ban on LAWS, Elvira Rosert suggests a workaround for definitional issues: She proposes codifying the concept of meaningful human control as a principle of International Humanitarian Law by amending the Additional Protocol I to the Geneva Convention as well as the CCW preamble.

<<https://www.hsfk.de/service/news/news/regulierung-autonomer-waffensysteme>>.

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Researching Emotions in International Relations. Methodological Perspectives on the Emotional Turn, edited by Maéva Clément, Eric Sangar, pp. 303-324. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.



Sybille Reinke de Buitrago and Regina Heller from the IFSH research staff contributed two chapters to the new edited volume, *Researching Emotions in International Relations. Methodological Perspectives on the Emotional Turn*. The volume was published by Palgrave in December 2017 as an e-book in its series “Studies in International

Relations“. The printed version will be published in January 2018. It is the first of its kind to discuss the methodological implications of the ‘emotional turn’ in International Relations. While emotions have become of increasing interest to IR theory, methodological challenges have yet to receive proper attention. Acknowledging the plurality of ontological positions, concepts and theories about the role of emotions in world politics, this volume presents and discusses various ways to research emotions empirically. Based on concrete research projects, the chapters demonstrate how social-scientific and humanities-oriented methodological approaches can be successfully adapted to the study of emotions in IR. The volume covers a diverse set of both well-established and innovative methods, including discourse analysis, ethnography, narrative, and visual analysis. Through a hands-on approach, each chapter sheds light on practical challenges and opportunities, as well as lessons learnt for future research. The volume is an invaluable resource for advanced graduate and postgraduate students as well as scholars interested in developing their own empirical research on the role of emotions.

<https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-3-319-65575-8_13>

Reinke de Buitrago, Sybille, Grasping the Role of Emotions in IR via Qualitative Content Analysis and Visual Analysis

The chapter addresses the role emotions play in discursive constructions of self and other in International Relations. It offers a case study of US constructions of Iran in security policy discourse, focusing in particular on the developments leading up to and following right after the 2015 nuclear agreement. In applying a qualitative content analysis of US policy and strategy documents and a visual analysis of US media cartoons picturing Iran, the Iranian leadership, and US-Iranian relations, the chapter examines how emotions contribute to the US representation of Iran and to the shaping of US security policy towards Iran. Thereby, this contribution highlights emotions as an important factor for discourse and behavior in IR.

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Heller, Regina. 2018. More Rigor to Emotions! A Comparative, Qualitative Content Analysis of Anger in Russian Foreign Policy

The chapter puts forward the argument that we can only make full sense of the constitutive role of emotions in international relations by integrating them into a broader and more systematic picture. Sometimes conventional interpretative methods appear unsystematic and arbitrary and lack the possibility of generalization. This chapter advocates for the inclusion of more systematic comparative elements, a more longitudinal perspective as well as a more sensitive treatment of the ‘anger agents’. Using the example of post-Soviet Russia, the chapter outlines the design of a comparative, qualitative content analysis (QCA) of semantic anger patterns in Russian official speech since the mid-1990s. The methodology has several advantages: It provides constructivist research with a more stringent ‘theory testing’ potential and it produces more robust insight into the interplay between emotions and international policy.

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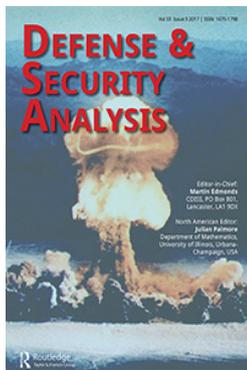
Hans-Georg Ehrhart, EU-NATO Beziehungen, in: Werner Weidenfeld/Wolfgang Wessels (Hrsg.): Jahrbuch der Europäischen Integration 2017, Baden-Baden: Nomos; 2018, 557-661.



EU-NATO relations continue to develop rather clumsily while, at the same time, it seems that the pressure for change is going to lead both organizations to a certain task sharing. On the bilateral level, the relation is still blocked by the Turkish-Cypriot conflict. The absence of a security agreement with Cyprus forces both organizations to hold informal

meetings with the participation of Cyprus. Nevertheless, the EU and NATO continue to cooperate on the political and operational levels. The violent conflict in Ukraine, in particular, confronts the EU and NATO with the general question of how the EU can provide security and how relations with NATO should be.

Hans-Georg Ehrhart, Postmodern warfare and the blurred boundaries between war and peace, Defence & Security Analysis, 2017, Vol. 33, Nr. 3, S. 263-275.



Each age has its own wars and its own forms of warfare. In today's evolving world, risk society warfare has entered a new developmental stage. The states of the "global North" are adapting their forms of intervention. They increasingly practice postmodern warfare, characterized especially by the role of influencing the information space, networked approaches, the incorporation of in-

direct and covert actions, and the special quality of new technologies. This practice furthers an increasingly grey zone between limiting and de-bounding of warfare. The phenomenon of postmodern warfare raises some tough questions and offers a rich research agenda.

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Staff News

Visiting Fellows from the Ukraine in the framework of the Eurasia Peace Studies Exchange



In November and from November until February, Iryna Borovynska and Viktoria Baliuta, doctoral candidates from the Institute for Social Psychology and Political Psychology of the National Academy for Educational Sciences in Kiev stayed at the IFSH for an exchange visit in the framework of the Eurasia Peace Studies Exchange (see above). Borovynska is researching "Social Psychological Strategies for Life Success of Internally Displaced Persons" in the Ukraine. Baliuta is working on Socio-Psychological Factors of Radicalization in Youth Political Behavior". The research of both Fellows is, on the one hand, closely connected with the current political and social situation in the Ukraine. On the other hand, it touches on running research projects at IFSH so that a fruitful exchange was possible at the IFSH as well as at other institutes of the University of Hamburg. The research stays were supported by the Norwegian Centre for International Cooperation in Education (SIU).

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