

Focus on: War in Libya

For two months a war has been raging in Libya. Peaceful demonstrations for more democracy and freedom in Libya have escalated into an armed conflict with unknown outcome. Considering the uneven power relations a victory of the followers of Muammar al-Gaddafi was very likely – with bad consequences for his opponents. Against this backdrop the UN-security council passed the resolution 1973 to implement a 'No-Fly Zone' over Libya.



Organizers: Michael Brzoska, Marten Breuer, Anke Pörksen, Hans-Georg Ehrhart (Foto: J. Rasch).

In the face of these dramatic events the IFSH and the German Humanistic Union organized an open discussion meeting on April 20th 2011 under the motto "War in Libya: Aberration or humanitarian duty?" The meeting began with introductory words of IFSH-director Michael Brzoska and statements from Hans-Georg Ehrhart (head of ZEUS at IFSH) and Marten Breuer (Europa-Kolleg/University of Hamburg). Then about 50 participants engaged in a lively discussion led by Anke Pörksen (German Humanistic Union).

Is the international community obliged to intervene? The moral answer can only be 'Yes'. However the crucial question is: How exactly, why and by which means? It is clear that under international law there is no obligation for a military intervention. However the conflict has already developed its own dynamic which is fed further by the community of states' political responsibility to protect the people in Libya.

Initially the UN passed several sanctions against Libya in resolution 1970. They reached from an arms embargo over specific sanctions against Gaddafi, his family and important followers, to an appeal to the International Criminal Court to investigate regarding war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide. Now resolution 1973 allows a military intervention in terms of the implementation of a 'No-Fly Zone' and targeted air strikes. Declared aim is to protect the population. There is no consensus within UN, NATO or EU on the exact meaning of this. Is the Gaddafi-regime meant to be removed? Meanwhile this is the declared goal of the main actors of the military coalition; however this goal is not covered by the UN-resolution. Furthermore the question arises what is supposed to follow the regime and how the future of the country is supposed to be shaped. Or should the opposition be protected? That raises the question whether and how long this is possible with just a no-fly zone. This goal is very problematic for different reasons.

The Gaddafi-followers have already switched to an unconventional warfare for quite a while. They take civilians as hostages and use them as human shields, they deploy arms for example close to hospitals and they are not fighting in uniforms anymore. Civilian victims, so called collateral damage, are inevitable, and the potential for escalation is high.

Contents

Focus on: War in Libya	1
Active participation in research on Russia – members of CORE in Cambridge and Moscow	2
"Power in conflicts, power of conflicts" - ZEUS presents research projects at the Annual Conference of the Working Group on Peace and Conflict Research (AFK)	
IFAR ² continued discussion about a nuclear-free world	3
Publications	4
Imprint.....	6

The meanwhile reached stalemate might render it necessary to send ground forces to implement the 'No-Fly Zone'. The UN specifically excluded that option, however experience shows that a civil war cannot be decided from the air. Will the international community be willing to take that step in case the situation in Libya does not calm down? Eventually the question is whether the international community completely supports a military intervention and thus is willing to take sides, knowing that part of the population supports Gaddafi.

Finally it is the Libyans who have to enforce their right of self-determination and who have to send Gaddafi into exile. This should be a political process accompanied by the UN. Three steps are required: an immediate ceasefire, talks between the conflict parties and the sending of UN blue helmets mainly from of Arabic states to implement the ceasefire. In addition to that the search for a political solution should be intensified.

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Active participation in research on Russia – members of CORE in Cambridge and Moscow

Annual Conference of the British Association for Slavonic and East European Studies

Elena Kropatcheva attended the British Association for Slavonic and East European Studies (BASEES) Annual Conference on 2-4 April 2011 in Cambridge. This is the largest conference of this kind in the UK, where researchers from the UK, Russia, Germany and other countries present their research on culture, literature, history and domestic and foreign policies. She also joined BASEES as a member. Kropatcheva presented her paper "Russian Foreign Policy Held Captive by Its Psychological Complexes" in the Framework of a Panel "Russia and the World: Foreign and Security Policies," chaired by Stephen White (Glasgow University). Peter Duncan (SSEES-UCL, London) acted as discussant. The panel was very well attended, as the subject of Russian foreign policy is of great interest.

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International Conference „European Security Governance Institutions“ at MGIMO, Moscow



Wolfgang Zellner and Ulrich Kühn at MGIMO in Moscow.

On 11/12 April 2011, the European Studies Institute at MGIMO-University, the Institute of European Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences, the NATO Information Office in Russia and the Friedrich Ebert Foundation organized a conference on "European Security Governance Institutions: Prospects for Improvement". About 70 scholars, representatives of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, of NATO, of the EU representation and of a number of embassies in Moscow convened for the conference. Discussions focused on the question why there is nearly no progress in European security politics, neither in disarmament, nor in regional conflicts nor in the institutional setting, in spite of the halfway successful new start in US-Russian relations. This question was also addressed by Wolfgang Zellner, Deputy Director of the IFSH, who named a number of reasons in his contribution: a value gap between Russia and the West, asymmetrical interests, a mindset still close to the categories of the East-West confrontation, and - perhaps most important - the lack of a joint positive vision. The conference made it its task to collect and to assess practical steps in the areas of conventional arms control, tactical nuclear weapons, missile defence, regulation of the unresolved regional conflicts as well as co-operation between Russia and NATO respectively the EU.

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„Power in conflicts – power of conflicts“

ZEUS presents research projects at the Annual Conference of the Working Group on Peace and Conflict Research (AFK)

The Centre for European Peace and Security Studies (ZEUS) presented a number of its research projects at the Annual Conference of the Group on Peace and Conflict Research (AFK), 8-9 April 2011. The conference took place in Villigst, Germany and was entitled “Power in conflicts – Power of conflicts”. The various ZEUS contributions mainly concentrated on the emergence and consequences of transnational risks of violence such as terrorism and piracy.

The panel „Analysing the power of meaning and interpretation“ dealt with terrorism and counter-terrorism along with the question of how ideas, transported through language, change social interaction in this issue area. The panel started with a presentation by Regina Heller. She explained how justification arguments put forward by state actors have been conceptualized in IR research, arguing for a greater focus on the role of state actors in norm erosion processes. Matenia Sirseldoudi elaborated on the question of how Jihadists try to gain interpretative authority over narratives. Sybille Reinke de Buitrago highlighted the role of figurative language and images expressed through language and their influence on German and US-American security policy. Finally, Raphael Bossong’s presentation concentrated on the question to what extent already obtained interpretative authority shapes the implementation of European counter-terrorism policy.

Kerstin Petretto and Patricia Schneider organised a panel on „Maritime conflicts – piracy research in Germany“, conjointly with the Institute for Development and Peace (INEF). It aimed at bringing together researchers from Germany working on that issue. While for a long time the subject had received only little attention, more recently a number of German research institutes added the issue of maritime power and conflict to their research portfolio, among them the IFSH with the „PiraT“ project, INEF in the framework of its „Piracy-Studies“, HSFK with its „Global Crime Governance“ project as well as the Max Planck Institute for Foreign and Public Criminal Law within the project „Combating piracy in the Gulf of Aden“. The panel was chaired by Volker Matthies.

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IFAR²: Continued discussion about a nuclear-free world

Following the April 2009 Global Zero speech of US-President Barack Obama and the ratification of the New START treaty in February 2011, global efforts to revive arms control are continuing. IFAR² is directly involved in these discussions on different levels. Efforts are focused on the future of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe and possible cooperation between NATO and Russia on missile defense. Götz Neuneck has contributed a chapter on the latter topic to a volume on Getting to Zero – The Path to Nuclear Disarmament edited by Catherine Kelleher and Judith Reppy, which has been published by Stanford University Press.

IFSH has coorganized two workshops in the context of its project on reducing the role of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe, which is funded by the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation. On March 15 and April 28 decision-makers, diplomats and experts discussed in Tallinn and Helsinki how tactical nuclear weapons can be incorporated in arms control. Anne Finger represented IFSH at both meetings.

Discussions on cooperation between NATO and Russia are continuing following the publication of the IFSH-study “Missile Defense in Europe”. On March 30, the EastWest-Institute at its Brussels office organized a round table meeting on NATO-Russia Cooperation on BMD: Political and Operational Considerations. Russian Ambassador to NATO Dmitri Rogozhin, who is also Russian President Medvedev’s representative on missile defense and Robert Bell, who is advisor to US ambassador Ivo Daalder, participated. Götz Neuneck explained the results of the Hamburg BMD-study. Discussions continued from April 25-28 2011 in Stanford at the Center for International Security and Cooperation (CISAC) during the conference U.S.-Russia Cooperation on Early Warning and Ballistic Missile Defense. Under the chairmanship of the former US Secretary of Defense William Perry a Russian and US delegation discussed the political and technical framework for cooperation between the United States and Russia on missile defense. Other participants included W. Slocombe, E. Harbiger, J. Goodby und L. Brooks. Götz Neuneck was the only participants from West-Europe and gave a presentation at CISAC on „The Future of Arms Control in Europe: Challenges and Perspectives.“

On April 20-21, 2011, Oliver Meier participated in the second meeting of the non-strategic nuclear weapons expert group under the Euro-Atlantic Security Initiative (EASI) in Brussels. EASI is a new, high-level international commission whose

unique goal is to lay the intellectual foundation for an inclusive Euro-Atlantic security system for the twenty-first century.

On April 18, 2011 IFSH together with the Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker Centre for Science and Peace Research hosted a public discussion with Ward Wilson, Senior Fellow at the James Martin Center for Non-proliferation Studies. He gave a presentation on "Exploring Nuclear Myths: Five Fundamental Challenges to Nuclear Weapons Orthodoxy" arguing that many assumptions about nuclear deterrence and extended deterrence are deeply flawed.

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Publications

Peace Report 2011

Revolutionary upheavals, war and intervention in the Arab world are the first topic of the Peace Report 2011. European policy was surprised at the uprising – what exactly does that say about Europe? We are asking for reasons and discuss consequences. The central issue of our annual Peace Report is the status quo of the peace project Europe after three years of economic and financial crisis. For a long time integration counted as a political achievement in Europe which had been warlike for centuries. Is that not relevant any longer? We discuss gaps and future prospects of the European project. Globalisation and migration are challenging the European nation states. Are they up to the challenge? Europe claims the spirit of diversity as the central core of its identity. This vision is at stake, also regarding its eastern and southern neighbours. What has to happen to prevent a Europe defined by fear and egoism? In addition to that we draw the balance of the military interventions in Afghanistan and other armed conflicts or humanitarian catastrophes, analyse trends in armament, chances for disarmament, the new NATO strategy as well as the reform of the German armed forces.



Friedensgutachten 2011

Margret Johannsen, Bruno Schoch, Corinna Hauswedell, Tobias Deibel, Christiane Fröhlich (Hg.), **Friedensgutachten 2011 des Instituts für Friedensforschung und Sicherheitspolitik an der Universität Hamburg (IFSH), der Hessischen Stiftung Friedens- und Konfliktforschung (HSFK), des Bonn International Center for Conversion (BICC), des Instituts für Entwicklung und Frieden (INEF), der Forschungsstätte der Evangelischen Studiengemeinschaft (FEST) 404 S., 12.90 EUR, br., ISBN 978-3-643-11136-4**

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Security and Peace 1/2011 Conflicts in Asia:

Regional and Transnational Dimensions



Within the last 30 years Asia, the world's largest continent in population, has become the gravitational centre of global dynamics. With the growing changes the tension between socio-economic growth and political transition processes, competition among states as well as domestic social contradictions has increased. That is why many Asian regimes face socio-economic and political dependence, tensions with neighbouring countries as well as intra-societal conflicts. Together with the structural, ethnic and cultural diversity of that region, this makes the continent one of the world's biggest trouble spots of armed violence. Hence, the key issue of the current edition of S+F focuses on selected examples of conflicts that underline the potential for conflicts in this region as well as their various regional and transnational effects.

Peter Gottschlich analyses the backgrounds of the development of the Hindu nationalist movements in India, presenting the example of the "Yankee Hindutva"-movement. Till Moeller describes the root causes of the complex conflict between the Thai state and the Malay-Muslim insurgency in Thailand. Michael S. Nelson analyses current mass protests and influential political movements in Thailand with reference to the political consequences of the military coup in 2006. Michael Fuker looks at China's regulatory and military influence in the South China Sea. He analyses the territorial conflicts and conflicts on the access to local natural resources and also takes a look at piracy, terrorism and illegal trafficking of human beings, arms and drugs and their potential to threaten the maritime security in that region.

Altogether, the four articles illustrate the growing political and economic importance of Asia, a region currently overlooked in the public due to the massive media attention on the Maghreb. The given examples of conflicts emphasise especially the complexity of the Asian continent and its potential for further conflicts and additionally stress the growing importance concerning future concepts and structures of regional and international peace and security policy. Guest editor of this volume is Hans J. Giessmann.

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Margret Johannsen, Der Nahost-Konflikt, 3. aktualisierte Auflage, in der Reihe: Elemente der Politik, VS-Verlag Wiesbaden 2011.

The Middle East conflict is a key element in international relations. The textbook appearing in the series „Elemente der Politik“ addresses students and teachers of political science. In a brief and concise manner it covers the origins and history of the Middle East core conflict, the Israeli-Palestinian peace process and the basic matters of dispute between the parties to the conflict as well as its international dimensions. The presentation of peace plans and future scenarios complete the conflict analysis and ten maps support its graphic quality. Annotated references encourage further reading.



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Regina Heller: Notions of (in)security within the EU. How European policy-makers view the sources and costs of terrorism and organised crime, in: Defence and Peace Economics 22(2), 2011, S. 193-216.
Eric van Um: Discussing Concepts of Terrorist Rationality: Implications for Counterterrorism Policy, in: Defence and Peace Economics 22(2), 2011, S. 161-179.

The articles by Regina Heller and Eric van Um have been published in the April issue of Defence and Peace Economics. The contributions to this special issue all originate from the joint EU-funded research project 'A New Agenda for European Security Economics' (EUSECON), and share an economic perspective on (European) security policy.

Both articles examine the relevance of economic approaches to explaining actor behaviour in security policy.

Regina Heller maps notions of (in)security and security policy within the European Union (EU) since the 1990s using the cases of terrorism and organised crime. In her article, she traces interpretations of European policy-makers about the sources and costs that these two human-induced insecurities incur on Europe's societies and identifies the rationalities underlying the respective perceptions and policy actions. The analysis reveals that there are different logics guiding the economics of security: path dependency, reactive logics, emotions, integration dynamics and institutional interests, external pressures and more recently also considerations about the potential effects on the European economy.

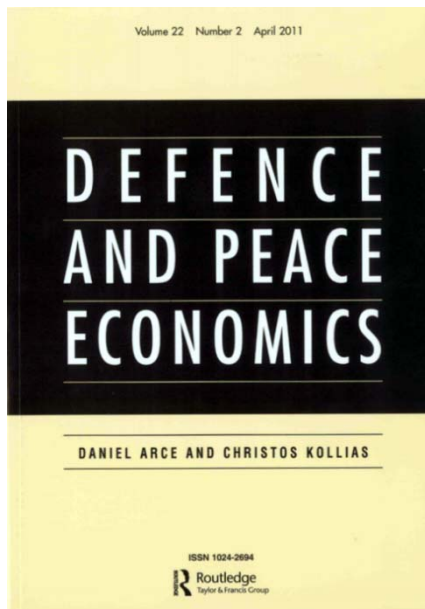
makes clear, is also essential to design and implement effective and appropriate counter-terrorism policies.

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Imprint

Responsible for this issue: Michael Brzoska, Susanne Bund, Jérôme Cholet, Anna Kreikemeyer, Tim Kröger, Jochen Rasch, Franziska Wellner.



The article by Eric van Um is conceptual work to test the explanatory power of concepts of rationality for the study of terrorism. Researchers in the field of terrorism studies tend to characterize terrorists as instrumentally rational actors that are politically motivated. Empirically, however, terrorists often seem to deviate from instrumentally rational behaviour and to be motivated by other than political reasons. This paper details the explanatory power of various concepts of terrorist rationality incorporating motivations beyond political ones. Results show that none of the concepts discussed can account for all terrorist actions but all of the concepts are capable of explaining certain aspects of the phenomenon of terrorism. Such an analysis allows extending our knowledge on motives and the rationality of terrorist actors and, as the article