IFSH news112

ACTIVITIES • RESEARCH PROJECTS • PUBLICATIONS • STAFF NEWS Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg OCTOBER/NOVEMBER 2015

Record number of visitors at "Nacht des Wissens" (Night of Science)



On 7th November, the 6th "Nacht des Wissens" started officially at 5pm in Hamburg. By that time, hundreds of curious visitors had already entered "Beim Schlump 83". Once again, all four institutes at this address - the Research Centre for Contemporary History in Hamburg (FZH), Institute for the History of the German Jews (IGDJ), Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker-Centre for Science and Peace Research (ZNF) and of course the Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy – took part and were delighted by the new record of welcoming 1050 visitors this year.

The visitors were greeted by a mixed collection of books that were free for the taking. A small exhibition of a special part of the buildings history – it once served as the Köpenicker city hall in the movie "*The Captain from Köpenick* " - could also be found in the entrance area. All institutes had lined the corridors with posters of their most recent projects, so visitors could read up on the work being done here. A

live twitter wall kept visitors updated on the newest occurrences and presentations of the "Nacht des Wissens" as well. And for the younger guests, a children's rally called ''Pirates, actors and other famous things'' was



organized. The children really enjoyed exploring the institutes.

Ceremony at the university: "The world is becoming more and more complex"

The graduation of the 13^{th} class of the postgraduate program "Peace and Security Studies – M.A." and the introduction of the new students took place in the buildings of the University of Hamburg. The opening words came from Dr. Eva Gümbel, the deputy minister for science, research and equality in the senate of the City of Hamburg, who wished all the best to the students and expressed her hopes that they would enjoy their free time in the city of Hamburg in their coming year as well.



From left: Götz Neuneck, Gabriele Löschper, Eva Gümbel, Michael Brzoska, Theo Sommer

Prof. Dr. Gabriele Löschper, Dean of the economics and social studies faculty, then underlined the longstanding, good relationship the university and the institute have had. The commencement speech was held by Dr. Theo Sommer, Editor-in-Chief and publisher of Die Zeit between 1972 and 2000. He described the dramatically global change security and peace has undergone in twelve points. As the polarity and the American unipolar domination ended, new players such as China and India are pushing to enter the limelight. The drastic demographic changes, the U.S. focus on the Pacific and rise of non-state, terroristic organizations such as the Islamic State or Boko Haram are only a few of the additional challenges. Because the topics for the presentations are chosen months in advance, it is sometimes a matter of luck, if the chosen ones actually trigger enough interest to fill the rooms.

As the IFSH concentrated on current conflicts the wave of visitors was almost overwhelming. The



presentation on the Islamic State by Margret Johannsen or on (Boot)refugees by Patricia Schneider were completely packed; and the same can be said for the presentation by Wolfgang Zellner on the Ukraine crisis, a

critical take on external peace building by Anna Kreikemeyer, Hans-Georg Ehrhart's presentation on war in the 21^{st} century or Martin Krüger's insight into the use of drones and killer robots in unmanned warfare. All shows were basically 'sold out'. A tour through the library and archive and the popular quiz ''War and Peace'' completed this year's program. The "Nacht des Wissens" is always a great opportunity to make the work of the institutes more known to the public – 2015 achieved exactly that.

Russia should be included in the security discourse of the Western states and the arms race must be brought to a halt. The current refugee crisis is a product of failed security policies. A 'transnational framework of regulations' is urgently needed, since these complex problems cannot be solved by individual nations.



Dr. Theo Sommer concluded by emphasizing how the education the students receive here, will be an excellent foundation for the further analysis and solving of peace policies.

The ceremony was also accompanied musically by Lux Nova Duos. After the degrees were handed out, Stella Peters and Ali Altiok thanked the lecturers, the institute, the program administration, and of course their friends and families, on behalf of the graduating class. A group photo including the new students concluded the already successful evening.



Graduates of the class of 2014/15 and the students of the upcoming year

Content

Record number of visitors at Nacht des Wissens (Night of Science)	1
Ceremony at the university	1
Commemorating Egon Bahr	3
Stability at Low Nuclear Numbers	3
Participation in International Workshop on Islamic Peace Ethics (ITHF)	4
Contribution of the OSCE Network to the Panel of Eminent Persons	4
Staff news	5
Publications	5

Commemorating Egon Bahr

The IFSH has commemorated its former director Egon Bahr, who died in Berlin August 19th, with a number of publications. In November, IFSH aktuell 03/2015 was published ("Sein Erbe, Vermächtnis – Zum Gedenken an Egon Bahr"). It contains contributions by researchers who collaborated with Egon Bahr at the IFSH in developing the concept of a European Security Community after the end of the Cold War. Elements of this concept can be found - in very weak form - in the Organisation of Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). The contributions combine appraisals of Egon Bahr's political and academic achievements with personal recollections. Reinhard Mutz emphasizes the major contribution Egon Bahr made to the development of the concept of "common security" in the report of the "Palme Commission" and places it in the context of earlier ideas for a policy détente by Egon Bahr and Willy Brandt. Hans Georg Ehrhart discusses the political goals undergirding Egon Bahr's thinking, contrasting it particularly with the thinking of the former French president Charles de Gaulle. Hans-Joachim Gießmann describes and evaluates the importance of Egon Bahr for the German-German security dialogue of the 1980s as counterpart for politicians and academics in the former GDR.



Memorial ceremony for Egon Bahr with Foreign Minister Frank-Walter Steinmeier (Second from right)

Götz Neuneck finally emphasizes the continuities in Egon Bahr's thinking on questions of arms control and disarmament which led him to become a major proponent of complete nuclear disarmament. Egon Bahr's importance as a shaper of German foreign policy in the second half of the 20th century was commemorated in a number of events in which IFSH researchers participated. An outstanding one was organized by the Friedrich-Ebert-Foundation on September 16th in Berlin. The main speaker was the Austrian president Heinz Fischer. His speech was followed by a panel discussion in which German Minister of Foreign Affairs, Frank-Walter Steinmeier participated.

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Stability at Low Nuclear Numbers

From November 13-15, 2015 an international workshop on "Stability at Low Nuclear Numbers: Alternative Framings" took place at Cornell University, Ithaca. Participants included - amongst others - Peter J. Katzenstein, Judith Reppy, Catherine Kelleher and Matt Evangelista. Ulrich Kühn took part on behalf of IFAR² and presented a paper on "Institutional Resilience: Guarding Stability at Lower Numbers?"



Participants of the workshop at Cornell University

The aim and focus of the workshop was to envision alternative framings for a stable transition to lower levels of nuclear weapons and to address the impediments to such endeavor.

A central topic of the discussions was reframing the principle of nuclear deterrence. In a paper, Benoît Pelopidas (Princeton University) questioned the logic and morality of nuclear deterrence as described by Thomas Schelling in the early 1960s. Particularly Schelling's treatment of "risk" and "uncertainty" turns out to be hugely irresponsible if viewed from a nonstatic approach, Pelopidas argued. His legacy nevertheless remains the main influence for today's so-called nuclear strategists. Anne Harrington of ETH Zurich argued in her paper that nuclear weapons, nuclear acquisition and fissile material have become a commodity good which functions almost as a currency amongst greater powers in international diplomatic relations. The latest Iran agreement was quoted by Harrington as an example in kind. Peter J. Katzenstein argued with a similar concept that nuclear weapons could be seen as a virtual currency comparable to internet currencies such as Bitcoins.

Ulrich Kühn argued in his presentation that a stable transition to lower levels of nuclear weapons would most likely have to rely on some form of institutionalized cooperation. One of the aims of disarmament advocates should therefore be to address the resilience of such future institutions. Particularly the European arms control acquis comes with a number of important lessons-learnt, such as the ambivalence of adaptation, norm contestation and internal clarity, Kühn inferred. The workshop was part of a larger project on nuclear disarmament founded by the MacArthur Foundation.

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Participation in International Workshop on Islamic Peace Ethics (ITHF)

Sybille Reinke de Buitrago participated in the international workshop "Islamic Peace Ethics: Legitimate and Illegitimate Violence in Contemporary Islamic Thought", October 15-17, 2015, at the Institute for Theology and Peace (ITHF), Hamburg. The workshop was organized by Dr. des. Heydar Shadi. Scholars from or based in Belgium, Germany, Indonesia, Iran, Pakistan, the UK and the US attended the workshop to present their work in a multidisciplinary debate. Sybille Reinke de Buitrago contributed with her research on the tension between normative universality and cultural plurality, on various notions of peace, and the problematic Western discourse about Islam and Muslims. In her work, entitled "How Can We Talk about Islamic Peace Ethics? Conceptual Considerations on the Normative", she addressed the problematic effects of an often Western-claimed and Western-applied normative universality, in terms of violent and excluding policies and practices towards various others, including Islam and Muslims, as well as the difficulty of balancing such claims with the existence of cultural and thus normative diversity and plurality. The workshop is part of the Institute for Peace and Theology's project on Islamic Peace Ethics. Departing from the existence of growing violent conflicts in Islamic countries over the past decades, but also international conflicts that in some fashion involve Islam, the workshop focused on the urgent question of how Islamic discourse speaks about peace and violence. How does Islamic tradition define and (de)legitimize violence, and based on which sources, methodologies and arguments? Themes that were discussed in the workshops then inquired into the theoretical and methodological dimensions of talking

about Islamic peace ethics; the concept and possible application of essentialism to Islamic peace ethics; the concepts of peace, violence and war and their application within Islamic thought of various traditions; as well as ethical perspectives on political behavior.

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Contribution of the OSCE Network to the Panel of Eminent Persons

In the beginning of 2015, a "Panel of Eminent Persons" was established at the initiative of the foreign ministers of the OSCE troika states Switzerland, Serbia and Germany, and tasked to "prepare the basis for an inclusive and constructive security dialogue across the Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian regions, taking into account the recent crisis in and around Ukraine." The panel elaborated two reports. The first one - "Lessons Learned for the OSCE from its Engagement in Ukraine" - stressed the need of conflict prevention and strengthening the position of the OSCE Secretary General in this respect, political leadership, a legal personality for the OSCE, and a better link between the political and the operational level. The 2nd report, scheduled to be published in December 2015, is focused on the broader perspective of European security. As this represents a major attempt to reinvigorate the still blocked process of dialogue at the governmental level, the OSCE Network of Think Tanks and Academic Institutions decided to support the Panel's efforts with an own contribution. Under the leadership of Teija Tiilikainen, the Director of the Finnish Institute of International Affairs, 17 Network member institutes elaborated papers answering ten questions asked Tiilikainen. On this basis, the head of by project wrote a draft report that was thoroughly discusses at a workshop in Vienna on 1 September. Chapters of this report concern among others. "Innovations for Better Early Warning and Conflict Management", "The Human Dimension as an OSCE CORE Function", "A Multi-Ethnic OSCE - National Minorities", "Tackling Protracted Conflicts" and "Strengthening the System of Arms Control". The report was presented by Teija Tiilikainen at an OSCE panel of the Belgrade Security Forum on 1 October and handed over to the Panel of Eminent Persons. The report can be found at the OSCE Network website www.osce-network.net.

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Staff news



Matti Pohjonen joined the IFSH at the start of November as the new VOX-Pol Research Fellow. His research will focus on the different kinds of conflict mediation mechanisms through which social media communities across the world try to counter and mitigate hate speech and violent political

extremism online.

He will be first based for 6 months at IFSH developing the conceptual and theoretical frameworks for the research. After this, he will spend another 6 months at the Information and Language Processing Systems (ILPS) unit at the University of Amsterdam (UvA), where he hopes to put theory into practice by developing different research methods that could be used to better understand how social media can help in monitoring. mitigating, and mediating conflict. Prior to joining the IFSH as a VOX-Pol Fellow, Matti worked on a project mapping hate speech and online political discussions in Ethiopia for the Programme on Comparative Media Law and Policy (PCLMP) at the University of Oxford. He has also been an AHRC Post-doctorate Fellow and a Senior Teaching Fellow in Digital Culture at the School of Oriental African Studies (SOAS), University of London.

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Philipp Karl is a PhD candidate in political science from Andrássy University Budapest. His main topics of research are social movements, the radical right, social

media, network and content analysis. Currently, he is writing his dissertation entitled "How Jobbik became established 2014 in Hungary - Between movement and party in the Internet Age". He graduated within the framework of a French-German double diploma at Westfälische



Willhelms-Universität Münster (Germany) and the Institute d'Études Politiques in Lille. While obtaining a diploma in social science and public law and a master in conflict studies, he became interested in Hungarian politics. His diploma thesis focused on the reasons for the success of the Hungarian parties Jobbik and Fidesz. He has been a visiting researcher at the chair of Michael Minkenberg at the European University Viadrina Frankfurt/Oder (Germany) and has presented his research at various conferences and summer schools to academia and media. Recently he has been at the Central European University in the framework of Vox-Pol. This program lead him here to the IFSH were he aims at finishing his dissertation.

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Publications

Malte Göttsche, Moritz Kütt, Götz Neuneck and Irmgard Niemeyer: Advancing Disarmament Verification Tools: A Task For Europe? EU Non-Proliferation Consortium, Non-Proliferation Papers, No.47, October 2015.



Future treaties for multilateral disarmament cannot solely focus on the destruction of weapons carrier systems, but also but have to include nuclear warheads. The study 'Advancing disarmament verification tools: a task for Europe' by Malte Göttsche, Moritz Kütt, Irmgard Nie-

meyer und Götz Neuneck, which has been published as the 47th Non-Proliferation Paper, summarizes the past activities in 'Nuclear Dismantlement Verification'. It further identifies the technical and political challenges that lie ahead and proposes suitable research fields for the European society.

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page 6

Wolfgang Zellner, (Ed.), Conventional Arms Control in Europe – New Approaches in Challenging Times. International Workshop 23 - 24th of April 2015, Berlin, CORE Working Paper No. 26, Hamburg 2015.



Working Paper 26 contains a dozen contributions to the international workshop, "Conventional Arms Control in Europe: New Approaches in Challenging Times", that was held on 23/24 April 2015 in Berlin, coorganized by the German Federal Foreign Office and CORE. One

conclusion was particularly emphasized: The crisis in and around Ukraine demonstrates the need for arms control. A number of participants raised matching expectations to the German OSCE Chairmanship 2016. The ensuing CAC-discussions took into account the current political situation, without falling back into mutual accusations.

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Meier, Larissa Daria, A Role for OCSE Peacekeeping? From the 1992 Helsinki Guidelines to the Special Monitoring Mission to Ukraine, CORE Working Paper No. 27, Hamburg 2015.



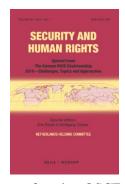
Working Paper 27 is the Master's thesis (Peace and Security Studies – M.A.) of Larissa Meier on "A Role for OSCE Peacekeeping? From the 1992 Helsinki Guidelines to the Special Monitoring Mission to Ukraine". The author outlines the different discussions surrounding the

question on whether there is a realistic approach to peacekeeping missions by the OSCE. Every reader that is not familiar with the history of OSCE peacekeeping (thus almost everybody!) will understand the different strands of thinking and their interrelationships. Larissa Meier also focuses on the characteristics of the Special Monitoring Mission (SMM) to Ukraine and its multiple-functional role there, carried out by military peacekeeping missions. Meier convincingly shows that this is nothing new and draws parallels to the 1998/1999 OSCE Kosovo Verification Mission. The author concludes that introducing OSCE military peacekeeping operations is currently neither necessary nor feasible. On the contrary, civil OSCE-peacekeeping missions would be more effective.

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Special Issue "Security & Human Rights" on the German 2016 OSCE Chairmanship

Co-edited by Arie Bloed and Wolfgang Zellner, "Security & Human Rights" will publish a special issue on the German 2016 OSCE Chairmanship in January 2016. Authors will include the German Federal Foreign Minister Frank-Walter Steinmeier, Gernot Erler, the Special Representative



of the German Federal Government for the OSCE Chairmanship 2016, ODIHR Director Michael Georg Link, Prof. Andrei Zagorski from IMEMO / Moscow, Prof. Terrence Hopmann from John Hopkins University / USA, Prof. Hanns Maull (Germany), Dr. Christian Nünlist (Center for Security Studies at the ETH Zurich), General ret. Greg Govan, Ambassador Philip Remler (former Head of the OSCE Mission to Moldova), Ambassador Lundin (former representative of the EU to the OSCE), and Ambassador Doutriaux, former representative of France to the OSCE.

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Michael Brzoska, International sanctions before and beyond UN sanctions, International Affairs, Vol. 91, No. 6, S. 1339-1349.



UN sanctions are rarely mandated by the Security Council immediately after the event which triggered them. Negotiations, which are initiated in the majority of cases by the United States and/or member states of the European Union (UN), take time. Often re-

strictions are less stringent than wished for by their initiators. It is therefore regularly the case that UN

sanctions are preceded by unilateral UN and/or EU sanctions. Additionally, the US and the EU often see UN sanction as only one step in escalating the pressure against a sanction target. Therefore, when UN sanctions are not successful, they are often mandating additional unilateral sanctions. The combination of UN and unilateral sanctions increases the likelihood of success but it fuels critique of major powers that are not willing to limit action to joint decisions in the UN Security Council.

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