

## Understanding war - in order to abolish it International workshop on changes in warfare



*F.l.t.r.:* Kevin Nausch (IFSH), Walter Feichtinger (Landesverteidigungsakademie Vienna), Felix Wassermann (Humboldt-University Berlin), Pavel Felgenhauer (Carnegie Foundation Moscow), Hans-Georg Ehrhart (IFSH).

Fifty years ago, Karl W. Deutsch said that in order to be abolished, war “must be understood”. This dictum is still valid today. Therefore, the IFSH organized an international workshop on 11/12 May 2017 dealing with the topic “Sliding out of control? Consequences of changes in warfare by major military powers from the ‘Global North’ for the containment of warfare.” The workshop was funded by the German Foundation for Peace Research. The first panel dealt with recent and ongoing warfare in Mali, Ukraine, and Syria. Regarding Mali, *Hans-Georg Ehrhart* (IFSH) presented a variety of practices that could be observed. *Pavel Felgenhauer* (Carnegie Foundation, Moscow) dealt with the role of Russia in the Ukraine conflict. *Walter Feichtinger* (Landesverteidigungsakademie Österreich) gave an overview of the protracted conflict in Syria. The second panel dealt with military doctrines of the US, Russia and France. *David Ucko* (National Defense University, Washington) analyzed the US way of irregular warfare. *Johann Schmid* (IFSH/Bundeswehr) analyzed the Russian way of hybrid warfare. *Elie Tenenbaum* (IFRI) gave a historical overview of the revival of the French doctrine of counterinsurgency. The third panel focused on the technological dynamics of modern warfare. *Mika Kerttunen* (Cyber Policy Institute) analyzed the role of cyberspace as a relatively new and man-made domain of warfare. *Niklas Schörnig* (PRIF, Frankfurt) dealt with the issue of drones, robots, autonomous

weapons and the future of warfare. The fourth panel discussed the perspectives of warfare and the changing boundaries between war and peace. *Hakan Gunneriusson* (Swedish Defence University) focused on the Russian way of warfare. *Rob Johnson* (Oxford University) diagnosed a further weakening of international institutions. *Anne Dienelt* (University of Hamburg) elaborated on the legal consequences of new ways of warfare. One major conclusion was that governments need to recognize the value of the rule of law, and stop devaluing the international legal order through opportunistic propositions and destabilizing practices.

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## How can violence be restrained when the cooperative world order disintegrates? Peace Report 2017 in Berlin



*The team of editors at the Federal Press Conference in Berlin, May 30, 2017. F.l.t.r. Margret Johannsen (IFSH), Jochen Hippler (INEF), Corinna Hauswedell (FEST), Andreas Heinemann-Grüder (BICC), Bruno Schoch (HSFK). Photo: Barbara Dörrscheidt (HSFK)*

The spirit of international cooperation after 1989 is being replaced by a new reality of geopolitical struggles. In their shadow, mass violence proliferates with impunity, causing the Peace Report 2017 to ask what instruments are apt to prevent excessive violence, such as in Syria.

The Peace Report is in the joint yearbook of the German Institutes of Peace and Conflict Research. Supported by the German Foundation for Peace Research (DSF), it is edited on behalf of the five institutes by Bruno Schoch (PRIF), Andreas

Heinemann-Grüder (BICC), Corinna Hauswedell (FEST), Jochen Hippler (INEF) und Margret Johannsen (IFSH). The articles originating in the IFSH are authored by Michael Brzoska, Margret Johannsen and Götz Neuneck.

In their statement “Current Developments and Recommendations”, the editors call for an international debate on safe zones. In view of the violent conflicts in the region, they sharply condemn German arms exports to Saudi Arabia as well as to Turkey. They clearly disapprove of the call for higher military expenditures and comment “The EU does not spend too little money on the military, but spends it wrongly. Germany ought to distance itself from raising its defense budget to two percent of the gross national product, since there is no justification for this demand and more military spending does not mean more security. We call upon the EU to develop the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) into a crisis prevention agenda. The EU should take new disarmament initiatives, mobilize substantial financial means for the building up of mediation capacities and stabilization, as well as dedicate itself to more collective support of UN-Peace Missions.

The editors presented their report at the Federal Press Conference in Berlin on May 30, 2017. Subsequently, they submitted their findings and discussed their recommendations with members of parliamentary groups and in various committees of the German Bundestag, in meetings with the Foreign Department of the Federal President’s Office, with the Planning Units of the Federal Foreign Office, with the Federal Ministry of Economic Cooperation and Development and within the framework of the Federal Ministry of Defense’s dialogue on security matters as well as with representatives of Pax Christi/World Peace Service.

The „Friedrichstadtkirche Evening Forum“, hosted by the Protestant Academy of Berlin, was dedicated to this year’s Peace Report’s focal point. Moderated by Katharina Lack of the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP), Andreas

Heinemann-Grüder (BICC), Thilo Marauhn (University of Gießen and PRIF) and Esther Saoub (SWR/ARD) argued with Ekkehard Brose (representative for civil crisis prevention and stabilization in the Foreign Office) about the question “Aleppo and Mosul – can mass crime be prevented when the cooperative world order disintegrates?”, approaching his question from political and ethical angles as well as from the perspective of international law.

The German Council for Foreign Relations (DGAP) used the occasion of the 2017 Peace Report’s release to host a panel dedicated to options of a new *Ostpolitik*. Under the title “New Ostpolitik” – détente, containment, deterrence?” and moderated by Stefan Meister (DGAP) und Bruno Schoch (PRIF), Gernot Erler (Member of Bundestag), Manfred Sapper („Osteuropa“), Hans-Joachim Spanger (PRIF) and Wolfgang Zellner (IFSH) discussed a realignment of the German and European *Ostpolitik*. See also: <<https://dgap.org/de/node/29638>>.

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**Anthropocene mobilities – The politics of movement in an age of change**  
International workshop by IFSH and the CliSAP Cluster of Excellence

The Anthropocene refers to the age in which humanity took control over the planet and pushed the earth’s system into a new stage of disequilibrium, with significant effects on global human and non-human mobility.



*At the opening of the workshop: Christiane Fröhlich and Delf Rothe*

On June 1-2, 2017, an international workshop on the topic of “Anthropocene Mobilities – The Politics of Movement in an Age of Change” took place at the University of Hamburg. It was organized by Christiane Fröhlich (CliSAP/CEN) and Delf Rothe (IFSH) and convened well-known researchers from Europe, the US and Australia, with generous financial support by the University of Hamburg’s DFG-Cluster of Excellence “Climate System Analysis and Prediction” (CliSAP). The workshop drew on this new perspective on planetary change, provided by the Anthropocene concept, to further the debate on environmental or climate-induced

**Contents**

Understanding war - in order to abolish it.....1  
 Peace Report 2017.....1  
 CliSAP Cluster of Excellence.....2  
 David Chandler at IFSH.....3  
 Verification of nuclear disarmament IPNDV.....3  
 Study of emotions in world politics.....4  
 Quadrilogue in Warsaw.....5  
 Visit of students from a Kazakhstani University.....5  
 Publications.....5  
 StaffNews.....5  
 Imprint.....6

migration and its policy implications, thereby exploring new avenues of (environmental) migration research.

With contributions by, among others, David Chandler (University of Westminster), Jon Barnett (University of Melbourne), Jairus Grove (University of Hawaii, Manoa), Kyle Whyte (Michigan State University), Madeleine Fagan (Warwick University) and Silja Klepp (Universität Kiel), the workshop contributed to a fundamental rethinking of the ontological categories hitherto prevailing in research on environmentally induced migration. The discussions aimed at developing an analytical framework, which studies processes of human mobility within their specific, hybrid socio-natural contexts. The workshop initiated a fruitful dialogue between scholars working on climate change and human mobility, on the one hand, and scholars engaging with the Anthropocene concept and its theoretical and normative implications, on the other. A public panel with Andrew Baldwin (Durham University), Jairus Grove and Silja Klepp, moderated by the speaker of the Cluster of Excellence CliSAP, Anita Engels, conveyed the ideas and concepts of the workshop to the interested public. The workshop results will be published in a joint, peer-reviewed publication.

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**IFSH Lecture Series****“Essentials in Peace & Security”**

David Chandler at IFSH



*David Chandler and Anna Geis*

On May, 31<sup>st</sup>, David Chandler, Professor for International Relations at Westminster University visited IFSH. The cross-sectional research cluster, Cluster 2 (“Changes in Global Power Structures and Norms”) invited Dr. Chandler to present his most recent book “*Peacebuilding – The Twenty Years’ Crisis 1997-2017*” (Palgrave Macmillan 2017). Chandler critically discusses the grounding policy assumptions on which

the changing practices of peacebuilding efforts of the last 20 years were built. Diminishing confidence in the possibility that post-conflict societies can be re-built along the lines of Western democracy adds to increasing skepticism that more tailored approaches to peacebuilding could accommodate for the complex actor and problem constellation. Yet, Chandler also considers the most recent turn towards ‘local’ solutions a failure.

David Chandler’s presentation was complemented by and commented on by Anna Geis, Professor of International Relations at the Helmut Schmidt University/University of the German Armed Forces, Hamburg. She embedded his criticism into the broader discussion of the current crisis of Western liberalism, mirrored in the crisis of peacebuilding. The presentations were followed by a lively, as well as controversial, discussion with the audience. The lecture was moderated by Regina Heller, senior researcher at IFSH and leader of the Cross-sectional Research Cluster 2.

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## Verification of nuclear disarmament IPNDV in the final stage



*US Ambassador, Robert Wood, greets the participants of the IPNDV Workshops in the Permanent Mission of the USA in Geneva*

IPNDV stands for the “International Partnership for Nuclear Disarmament Verification”. The initiative was suggested by the U.S. State Department to explore more closely the verification technologies and tools for the disarmament of nuclear warheads. So far, 25 countries are taking part in it, among them the P5, the five nuclear weapons countries (USA, Russia, China, France and Great Britain). The IPNDV initiative is the only the continuously meeting disarmament forum in which questions of nuclear disarmament are still being constructively worked on. A multilateral destruction of nuclear warheads under the observation of non-nuclear weapons states has, up to now, never been carried out. For this purpose, new inspections, protocols and technologies must be developed and tested.

Over the course of the past two years, more than 15 papers have been prepared and discussed in the leading IFPDV Working Group 1 "Monitoring and Verification Objectives". Following meetings in Oslo, Tokyo, Abu Dhabi and Berlin, the last workshop before the Plenary Meeting in Buenos Aires took place from 28-30 June 2017 in the American Embassy in Geneva. Hitherto, it has had to do both with the development of verification goals, procedures and requirements which occur in the physical dismantling of nuclear warheads as well as questions of building trust, the technical abilities of states and the requirements for future inspectors. In Geneva, primarily questions of transparency, irreversibility and the future focus of the initiative were dealt with. In the closing plenary, every working group will adopt many public consensus documents that will serve the future negotiators as a basis for further disarmament agreements.

Both diplomats from the relevant foreign ministries as well as technical experts are participating in the IP-NDV process. Working Group 1 named Götz Neuneck (IFSH/IFAR) as the official representative of Germany to the three-day meeting in Geneva. IFAR has already contributed papers to "the technical terms" (glossary), to the verification principles, to the future scenarios and the problem of the irreversibility of disarmament. The participation of IFAR takes place in close coordination with the Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker Centre for Science and Peace Research (Prof. Gerald Kirchner) and the Jülich Research Centre, which are, in each case, represented in the other working groups and, like IFAR, are supported by the (German) Foreign Ministry.

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## Study of emotions in world politics IFSH researchers at annual conference of British International Studies Association

Sybille Reinke de Buitrago and Regina Heller participated at the annual conference of the British International Studies Association (BISA) in Brighton, UK, from June 14-16, 2017. Both researchers engaged in panels and round tables that were dedicated to the study of emotions in world politics. Before the general conference, on June 13, Sybille Reinke de Buitrago also took part in the BISA-sponsored research workshop 'Embodied Experience of Emotions: "We can only start from where we are". The emotional work of contemporary International Relations'. In session one on "Embodied Experiences of Emotions" she presented her work on "Embodied Emotions: The Role of Identity, Discourse and Culture". In her contribution, she discussed the link of identity, images and emotions, and presented results from a case study of German and

U.S. viewers of political cartoons. She delineated the commonalities and differences in expressed and embodied emotions, elaborated on the role of the researcher with respect to her own embodied emotions, and discussed insights on different ways of knowledge production in IR.

On June 15, Regina Heller and Sybille Reinke de Buitrago presented papers in a panel that mainly dealt with methodological questions in researching emotions in International Relations, both of which will be published in an edited volume with Palgrave later this year (eds. Maéva Clément and Eric Sangar). Sybille Reinke de Buitrago's contribution was entitled "Grasping the Role of Emotions in IR via Qualitative Content Analysis and Visual Analysis". Going from the premise that attention to subjectivity should be paid and that also paying attention to the researcher being emotionally affected actually adds to understanding, she presented a triangulated approach of qualitative content analysis and visual analysis and the particular insights each brings to the understanding of the U.S. security policy discourse towards Iran. This paper illustrated the dynamics of a popular reproduction of enmity and threat perception and, with respect to efforts for improved relations, discussed the need for emotional stability and the link to identity.

Regina Heller presented her chapter "More rigor to emotions! A comparative qualitative content analysis of anger in Russian foreign policy". In her paper, she advocated for a more systematic approach through the inclusion of comparative elements and longer time horizons in constructivist emotions research. This can help overcome the 'arbitrariness' sometimes observed in interpretation and strengthen the possibility of generalization and 'testing' of assumptions about the interplay between emotions and international policy. 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.

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## Quadrilogue in Warsaw

On 6/7 June 2017, the Heinrich Böll Foundation in Warsaw organized an expert discussion, in a narrower circle, on questions of political and legal elements of an inclusive European peace order, which brought together participants from Germany, Poland, Russia and Ukraine. In his kick-off presentation, Wolfgang Zellner, Acting Co-Director of the IFSH, addressed three issues. First, he analyzed the different areas of dispute between Russia and the West with the core being a fun-

damental disagreement on the character of a future European order. Second, he sketched out normative, economic and security elements of such an order. However, Zellner also emphasized that it is completely open whether such an inclusive and cooperative order will ever be achieved. On the other hand, the current disputes are so fundamental that there is a need for an intermediate step, a kind of *modus vivendi* relationship, primarily based on concrete interests and less on a fundamental normative convergence.

In the discussion, consensus was rather quickly achieved that the issue is not a *re*-establishment or a *re*-construction of an historical order, but something new. The whole rhetoric of *re*-taking or *re*-establishing was seen as misleading. However, there was less consensus on the question of whether the West should pursue an active policy of supply vis-à-vis Russia or wait for Russian initiatives. The latter option was preferred by participants from Poland and Ukraine.

Finally, the expert round made an attempt to put together innovative proposals for a *modus vivendi* relationship between Russia and the West. However, it had to be recognized that almost all proposals found had been discussed or even negotiated earlier somewhere else. True innovation is difficult!

The Warsaw meeting, which is to be followed by a larger conference in early November 2017, fed by several expert rounds like this one, was a welcome beginning of the urgently needed, but up until now barely conducted, discussion on the substance of a future European order and the way there.

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## Visit of students from Al-Farabi University in Kazakhstan



On 9 and 10 June 2017 a group of students from Al-Farabi University from Almaty, Kazakhstan led by

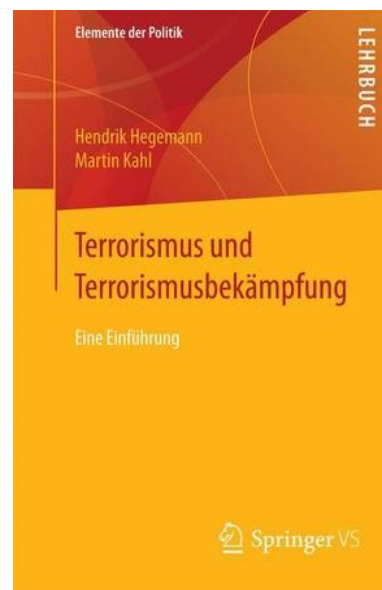
Prof Mara Gubaidullina visited the IFSH within their two-week study trip to Germany. After a warm welcome by Wolfgang Zellner, they heard a lecture and head a discussion on the current situation in the OSCE by Frank Evers; Esther Somfalvy talked about parliamentarianism in Germany and Kazakhstan in comparison; Graeme Currie presented his view on Brexit and the EU; and Wolfgang Zellner discussed his thinking on the common European future. Our guests were also introduced to the Master of Peace and Security Studies program and heard about the academic life in Germany by Diana Alpysbayeva, an MPS student from Kazakhstan.

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## Publications

### Hendrik Hegemann und Martin Kahl: Terrorismus und Terrorismusbekämpfung

Springer VS 2018. 215 S. ISBN 978-3-658-16085-2, 18.99 €



This textbook provides a differentiated and comprehensible overview of the status of and problems with the knowledge about terrorism and counterterrorism. Terrorist violence remains high on the political and media agendas, but it is a complex phenomenon difficult to fight. Alongside of central questions and controversies, the book

provides an introductory presentation of what terrorism is, how it can be explained, and what can be done about it. It outlines key findings and challenges and illustrates them with historical and current examples.

Hendrik Hegemann is a researcher at the Department of International Relations & Peace and Conflict Research at the University of Osnabrück.

Martin Kahl is a senior researcher at the Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg.

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## S+F. Security and Peace, issue 2/2017, Parliaments, Peace and Security

In the past two decades, parliaments in many democracies have become more involved in the formulation and implementation of peace and security policy. This edition of S+F, published by *Heiner Hänggi*, brings together a range of contributions that seek to further explore this trend and to examine its significance for peace politics.



Herausgeber:  
Prof. Dr. Michael Brzoska  
Dr. Walter E. Felchlinger  
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Themenschwerpunkt/Thematic Focus:  
PARLAMENTE, FRIEDEN UND SICHERHEIT  
PARLIAMENTS, PEACE AND SECURITY

Parlamente in der Friedens- und Sicherheitspolitik:  
Parlamentarische Kontrolle von Streitkräften im  
Licht der Forderung

Patrick A. Mello and Dirk Peters

The Bundestag as a Champion of Parliamentary Control  
of Military Missions

No Patience for „Wars of Choice“? – Der US-Kongress  
und die Auseinandersetzung über die militärische  
Interventionen in der Arab Spring

Who is Policing the Police? – The Role of Parliament in  
Police Governance in Asia and Europe

Mario J. Aguja and Hans Born

Scrutinizing arms exports in Europe:  
The regional relationship between transparency  
and parliamentary control

Diederik Cops, Nils Duquet and Gregory Gourdin

Inter-parliamentary cooperation: An answer to the  
double democratic deficit in the area of CFSP and CSDP?

Oliver Schwarz

Weiterer Beitrag von Maximilian Lakitsch

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The first three contributions deal with parliamentary involvement in sending troops abroad. Concerning this issue, *Patrick A. Mello* and *Dirk Peters* identify three major trends. The two successive articles present highly relevant case studies on parliamentary control of military missions: the German Bundestag and the U.S. Congress.

*Wolfgang Wagner* shows that military missions are contested in the German Bundestag along a left/right axis. By contrast to the thesis that U.S. Congress War Powers are defective and dysfunctional, *Florian Böller* shows, by comparing the two most recent cases of U.S. military interventions (Libya 2011, ISIS 2014), that congressional behavior can be understood as rational and strategic when voting on foreign deployment of troops.

The second set of articles moves beyond the initial focus on parliamentary involvement in foreign deployments of troops. First, *Mario J. Aguja* and *Hans Born* explore the role of parliaments in police governance in selected countries in Asia and Europe. Based on a comparative framework of analysis, their contribution demonstrates that parliaments in different regions apply their generic legislative, budget control, and oversight functions to the police. Second, *Diederik Cops*, *Nils Duquet* and *Gregory Gourdin* discuss the increasing importance of parliaments in scrutinizing arms exports. The authors compare the level of transparency on arms exports in eight EU Member States by using qualitative criteria, such as frequency, comparability, comprehensiveness and disaggregation, and relate the findings to the level of parliamentary control on arms export control policies.

As mentioned above, the final contribution of the special section addresses the status of democratic legitimacy in European foreign, security and defense policy, a highly contested issue for the past few decades. Due to its largely intergovernmental nature, observers have highlighted a ‘double democratic deficit’ (both at the national and international levels). It is in this context that *Oliver Schwarz* examines the role of the Inter-Parliamentary Conference (IPC) on the Common Foreign and Security Policy and Common Security and Defence Policy (CFSP/CSDP), established in 2012, concluding that the IPC is an important step forward in responding to the double democratic deficit, but that further changes need to be made.

Outside the special section, *Maximilian Lakitsch* discusses the national roots of sectarian violence in the Syrian war.

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## Staff News



In May 2017, **Elvira Rosert** took up her position as a Junior Professor in Political Science at the IFSH and at the University of Hamburg. Elvira Rosert specializes in International Relations, with a focus on arms control and disarmament, as well as International Humanitarian Law (IHL). Her research is informed by

theories of international norms and international institutions. She is also particularly interested in research designs and research methods.

Before joining IFSH, Elvira Rosert worked as Postdoctoral Research Associate at the Department of Public Law and International Law at Gießen University, where she focused on sociological perspectives on law. Previously, she was a Research Associate at the Peace Research Institute Frankfurt (PRIF) and at the Goethe University Frankfurt. At PRIF, she was a member of the Research Department “Arms Control and Disarmament” and later joined the research group “Conflict and Normative Change”. At Goethe University, she worked at the Professorship for International Institutions and Peace Processes. She taught in the BA and Master’s programs, and co-authored a textbook on the United Nations with Prof. Tanja Brühl. During her PhD studies, she spent a research stay at the University of

British Columbia in Vancouver. Elvira Rosert received her doctorate in 2016 with a thesis on the prohibitions of cluster munitions, incendiary weapons, and landmines. In Hamburg, she will continue her research on inhumane weapons, the protection of certain groups in armed conflict, and the role of institutions in world politics. She is looking forward to teaching International Relations theories, International Security, and research methods at the University of Hamburg and in the post-graduate program “Master of Peace and Security Studies” at IFSH.

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## **Imprint**

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