

New working groups in the new IFSH medium term work program

Since the summer of 2013 the research conducted by the IFSH has been determined by the medium term work program “Peaces strategies today – Peace and security policy at the fracture points of globalization”. The new formed cross sectional working groups’ task is to develop institute wide plans, projects and project ideas.

The priorities of the working groups follow the structure of the work program. The work program itself is based on the assumption, that the loss of “peace” as an analytical term and “peace politics” as the concept of guidance is a consequence of changes in the global environment. Secondly, it assumes that through various factors of globalization processes new fracture points and conflict structures have emerged after the end of the East-West conflict. The analysis of these fracture points forms the basis for the advancement of peace theories and strategies. Thirdly, it postulates a re-evaluation of intrastate peace conditions by a critical analysis of current security and risk policies.



*A Reaper of the Royal Air Force
(Photo: Corporal Steve Follows RAF MOD)*

Changing forms of violence

Cross sectional working group 1 focuses on changing forms for the collective use of force. The occurrence of interstate wars has indeed decreased, yet the number and intensity of intrastate wars is still high. At the same time, the world wide military spending has reached a historical high. More and more actors have the relevant technologies and arms available. One example are armed drones. Their use raises the risk of

watering down existing legal and ethical limitations to public authority. On the other side this encourages thinking about the classification of different kinds of violence. Where, for example, is the borderline between “war” and “peace” to be set?

Parallel to the changes just described there has also been a change in the reception of security issues. A growing securitization of global living conditions has contributed to the detection of ever new assumed risks.

The work of the cross sectional working group began in 2013 with a discussion on the fundamentals. In the first instance it looked into statistical surveys on acts of war in the world and the resulting findings for changes in the forms of violence. Afterwards it discussed new research approaches that point out warlike violence as a factor for shaping general societal developments. Finally, it debated research findings on democratic peace, especially on the legitimization of democratic states to engage in wars.

Shifts in the global architecture of power

Cross sectional working group 2 deals with the consequences of global change for international establishment of norms, implementation of norms and the setting of rules for peace endangering situations. The shifting of power relations coincides with a relative loss in power by the US, an economic rise of China and a few other countries in the global South and a weakening of the economic and political position of the West. But they are also induced by dislimitation and differentiation processes in which new influential actors have emerged, e.g. globally operating private enterprises. By this it seems, many initial positions and conditions are now questioned, that had been determined as prerequisites to peace in the liberal peace theories.

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Keeping this in mind, the working group puts its attention to two concrete fields of research: on the one hand to the question of how Europe, especially the European Union, can proceed to act as a peace builder, on the other hand, to the question of the prospect for a new Eurasian-Atlantic peace order and the competition that is expected between Western-liberal models of state and peace building and other normative models.

During the first sessions of the cross sectional working group the focal points for discussion have been identified: the issue of “rising powers” and the question of concepts of order, their structural elements and their theoretical integration.

Potentials for intra-state violence

Cross sectional working group 3 focuses on the question which conflict bearing shifts inside states, especially in Europe, are currently aroused by globalization processes or may be so in the future. The group also looks into the question what such developments may imply for the liberal peace theories. It is therefore looked at the inner side of peace models under globalization conditions.

In the course of globalization, two concurrent processes can be identified, which may influence the fundamentals of democratic policy in Europe: On the one hand the democratic governments’ capacity to act is increasingly diminished. This happens for example when globally acting social stakeholders like international corporations make decisions without consulting the corresponding governments. On the other hand does the shift of decisions to international organizations with weak democratic legitimization decrease the agreement between the ones who govern and the ones who are governed. If, because of globalization processes, strong social distortions arise in democracies that until now have been considered stable, it is possible that conflict interests may not be contained by accepted rules and procedures.

In the first discussions of the working group three key aspects have unfolded: Firstly, a disquisition of possible mechanisms associated with the dissolution of those fundamentals of democratic states, that are essential for the continuance of liberal peace theories, secondly, possible consequences of a social gap induced by economic inequality and techniques of governance by European institutions or national governments, thirdly, the question of how politicization and radicalization can profit peace.

The working groups meet monthly, a first assessment of their work is planned for mid-2014.

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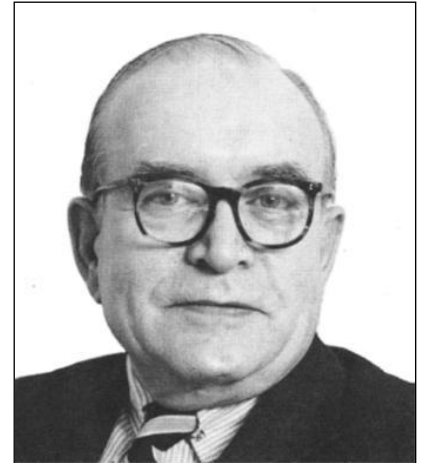
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An American friend. In memory of Jonathan Dean

We mourn the loss of former Ambassador Jonathan Dean. He died five months before his 90th birthday in Mesa/Arizona. As a diplomat, researcher and author he was an exception in the foreign service of the United States.

His most prominent functions show clearly how exceptional he was. From 1968 on Dean worked as counselor of embassy and later as deputy for Kenneth Rush at the American Embassy in Bonn.



He, together with Egon Bahr and Valentin Falin, formed a kind of steering committee in the background of the Four Power negotiations on Berlin. Jonathan took the position of coordinator in this informal committee on the working level. Its purpose was to exchange negotiation goals before they were put out on the table officially, to figure out incompatibilities early and to eliminate possible obstacles proactively.

The Four Power Agreement that resulted from those negotiations may be the most ~~htw~~ agreement in the era of détente, but it illustrates how Jonathan Dean understood his task as a diplomat at the frontline of the Cold War. Both sides’ main objective at the time was security. It can be achieved in different ways. One can hide behind constantly growing walls of arms. Or one can try to defuse matters of dispute with high risks of violence by compensation of interests and compromise. Berlin is an example for the second one, Dean has repeatedly pointed this out.

From 1971 to 1981 he lead the American delegation at the Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions (MBFR) negotiations in Vienna. The grotesque arms build-up was to be reduced – step by step, monitored, verifiable, and mutually. If it was successful, this would mean a security gain for both parties, just as it was in the Berlin agreement. But some of the key players were not so eager to come to a conclusion. Dean’s engagement stayed unrewarded this time.

After retiring from the Foreign Service he worked for different kinds of institutions: the United Nations Association, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the Union of Concerned Scientists, the Council for a Livable World, and the Global Action to Prevent War Project of the Rutgers University Law School. Within a short period of time he became a renowned expert in the areas of conflict reduction,

crisis prevention and arms control. This development was facilitated by his grown freedom to excel with his own works. Two of his most important publications are Meeting Gorbachev's Challenge – How to Build Down the NATO-Warsaw Pact Confrontation (1990), and Ending Europe's Wars – The Continuing Search for Peace and Security (1994).

It's almost self-explaining what brought Jonathan Dean and the IFSH together: His questions and ours were almost identical. There have been many workshops at *Falkenstein* and many international conferences in the Hamburg city hall that have profited from his articulate contributions. Europe needed new ways and different instruments in this period of upheaval to secure peace and to establish security more peacefully – this was a shared belief.

Jonathan Dean will stay in our memory as a highly competent, experienced colleague who always lent a helping hand, and who was more than just an occasional guest. He supported our work continually over years. His advice was demanded, his critical comments welcome, because he had profound knowledge on the thinking mechanisms and perception patterns of the international security bureaucracy. A foreword by Dean for an IFSH publication was considered a special seal of approval. The USA novices could hope for an expert tour through political Washington. This is all a memory now.

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Prospects for chemical and nuclear disarmament: The tasks of the sciences

On 12-13th December 2013, the workshop "The world without nuclear weapons? Tasks of science" was held in the premises of the Climate Campus in Hamburg. Götz Neuneck had organized the meeting as Amaldi representative of the Union of the Academy of Sciences in cooperation with the Hamburg Academy of Sciences. The German Amaldi Group meets once a year to discuss issues of arms control and disarmament with scientific background. Prof. Cord Jakobeit, vice president of the Hamburg Academy of Sciences, highlighted the importance of scientific expertise in the face of blocked implementation of disarmament.

At the beginning Prof. Klaus Gottstein introduced the historical achievements and prospects of the European Amaldi conferences. Prof. Erwin Haeckel of the DGAP (Bonn and Berlin) analyzed Global Zero from a political science perspective, while Prof. Jürgen Scheffran (Hamburg) presented the alternatives of a nuclear weapons convention. Oliver Meier, SWP outlined the possibilities of confidence building measures for the removal of tactical nuclear weapons in the

NATO area. Additional topics were new nuclear technologies and safeguards (Matthias Englert, TU Darmstadt), satellite remote sensing in support of arms control and non-proliferation, (Irmgard Niemeyer, Forschungszentrum Jülich), nuclear energy and non-proliferation (Prof. Gerald Kirchner, ZNF University of Hamburg) and weapons of mass destruction and international humanitarian law (Prof. Stefan Oeter, Law Faculty, University of Hamburg). Prof. Michael Brzoska, rounded off the event with an analysis of the "Arms Trade Treaty as an example of a successful agreement". Twenty experts, including some young scientists discussed ten scientific presentations about Global Zero. IFAR was represented by Christian Alwardt, Michael Brzoska, Anne Finger and Götz Neuneck.



Prof. Klaus Gottstein and Prof. Michael Brzoska at the meeting of the German Amaldi Group

The fact that disarmament and arms control are not dead, shows this year's Nobel Peace Prize which was assigned to the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons OPCW. As part of the annual "Nobel Prize Days" a panel session took place on 10 December 2013 in Herrenhausen Castle, Hanover, in the premises of the Volkswagen-Stiftung. The panel event in honor of the OPCW was entitled: "OPCW – On a worldwide mission in the fight against chemical weapons". Götz Neuneck together with two chemical weapons experts discussed the achievements of the OPCW, its ramifications for the civil war in Syria and the selection process of the Nobel Peace Award.

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Consultations of the OSCE Office Dushanbe, Tajikistan at CORE

From 10-12 December 2013, Jafar Usmanov, officer at the OSCE Office Dushanbe in Tajikistan and Abduali Toirov, advisor to the Secretary of the Public Council of Tajikistan visited the Centre for OSCE-Research (CORE) for two-day consultations in order to make use

of its research results on OSCE field activities in general and on conflict prevention in Tajikistan in particular. The domestic situation in this OSCE participating state appears tense fifteen years after the end of the civil war 1992-1997, especially in connection with the presidential elections in November 2013 and the increasing tension between state institutions and representatives of political Islam.

After an introductory presentation on the political program of the OSCE office in Tajikistan by Jafar Usmanov, the participants of the CORE meeting discussed questions of the inner-Tajik dialogue and the future OSCE policy in Tajikistan. In-depth discussions followed in two additional meetings with Arne C. Seifert, Anna Kreikemeyer, Sebastian Schiek und Nodira Aminova.



Jafar Usmanov and Abduali Toirov at the CORE-Meeting

The talks proved to be very inspiring for both sides as CORE has more than ten years of experience in research on and mediation of the secular-Islamic dialogue in Tajikistan, but also in Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan. In April 2013, CORE, in cooperation with the Federal Foreign Office, had arranged an exchange of opinions among high ranking representatives from Tajikistan and German institutions. Beyond that the Tajik PhD student and DAAD fellow, Nodira Aminova, does research on causes of the failure of the contractual coexistence between the secular government and representatives of the moderate political Islam (Party of Islamic Revival in Tajikistan, PIRT) since October 2012. For the future, Jafar Usmanov from the Tajik delegation is planning a visiting fellowship at CORE in Hamburg in order to study calmly and with concentration the democratization processes in Tajikistan from the outside.

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ZEUS Workshop on Conflict in Mali in Berlin

The IFSH and the Institute for Theology and Peace (IThF) organized a workshop dealing with the

topic of "Intervention in Mali: between war, security and ethics" in Berlin on 26 and 27 September 2013. The workshop tackled four tasks: 1. To map the actual political developments in Mali against the background of changing forms of war and to classify its effects on international intervention approaches; 2. To discuss the local and regional security challenges; 3. To expound the problems of security sector reform (SSR) during an ongoing violent conflict; 4. To identify the demanding relationship between *Realpolitik* and providing security while respecting ethical standards by making use of the examples of Germany and France.

After an introduction by Hans-Georg Ehrhart (IFSH) and Prof. Heinz-Gerhard Justenhoven (IThF) thirty participants from research institutions, ministries, non-governmental organizations and media discussed the topic in four sessions. In the first panel Prof. Sven Choinacki (FU Berlin) and Hans-Georg Ehrhart broached the issue of changing forms of war. Martin Kahl chaired this session. Afterwards Stefan Brüne (Greater Horn Horizon Initiative), Charlotte Wiedemann (journalist) and Prof. Winrich Kühne (Bologna Center) put forward local and regional problems. Prof. Rainer Tetzlaff (Jacobs University of Bremen) chaired the second panel. In the third panel headed by Andreas Zumach from the *Tageszeitung/TAZ*, Prof. Ursula Schröder (FU Berlin), OTL i.G. Jürgen Schrödl (Ministry of Defence) and Annette Weber (*Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik*) discussed problems of security sector reform in Mali and in the region. Finally, the last panel, chaired by Raphael Bossong from the Viadrina University of Frankfurt/Oder, Dietrich Becker (Foreign Office), Heinz-Gerhard Justenhoven (IThF) und Catherine Gegout (University of Nottingham) discussed the role of France and Germany in Mali.

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Publications

S+F journal: Ten Years of International Criminal Court - Impact and Effect



Mayeul Hiéramente und Patricia Schneider edited the special issue of "S+F. Sicherheit und Frieden. Security and Peace" 4/2013 on the topic of "Ten Years of International Criminal Court - Impact and Effect". Six articles of practitioners and scientists summarize achievements and challenges.

Unfortunately the ICC is still relatively far away from bringing peace and justice. It seems therefore necessary to set realistic goals to guarantee acceptance and success of the court. Routine and tranquility could be a strength of this permanent institution. (International) Criminal law, after all, is no panacea.

Contents: *Der Internationale Strafgerichtshof – auf dem Weg zu mehr internationaler Gerechtigkeit?* by Hans-Peter Kaul; Legacies of the International Criminal Court under Construction by Viviane E. Dittrich; *Völkermord abschaffen: Ein Gedankenexperiment* by Mayeul Hiéramente; *Was wir von Obama erwarten können. Die USA und der Internationale Strafgerichtshof 2009-2016* by Mandana Biegi; *Die Situation in Palästina vor dem IStGH – Überweisung durch die VN-Generalversammlung?* by Robert Frau; The Role of National Investigations in the System of International Criminal Justice – Developments in Germany by Andreas Schüller.

In addition: *Bundesakademie für Sicherheitspolitik und NATO Defense College – zwei sicherheitspolitische Kaderschmieden im Vergleich* by Christian Papsthart; *Forum: Prism & Co: Sicherheit auf Kosten der Freiheit?* Articles by Joachim Krause, Martin Kutscha, Lothar Brock and Cornelia Ulbert.

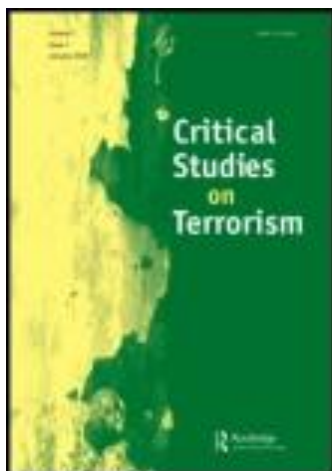
You find a free download of the editorial and one article here:

<http://www.sicherheit-und-frieden.nomos.de/index.php?id=2870&L=1>

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Regina Heller / Martin Kahl / Daniela Pisiou: „The 'dark' side of normative argumentation in counterterrorism”, in: "Critical Studies on Terrorism" (Vol. 6, Issue 3, 2013).

As part of the project “Subjecting Freedom | An examination of arguments for the restriction of human and civil rights in the fight against terrorism in the U.S., the EU and Russia”, funded by the DFG and carried out at the IFSH, a special section on “The 'dark' side of normative reasoning in counterterrorism” has been published in the journal "Critical Studies on Terrorism" (Vol. 6, Issue 3, 2013). Editors of the Section are Regina Heller, Martin Kahl and Daniela Pisiou. The Special Section contains the following contributions: “Editors’ introduction: the



‘dark’ side of normative argumentation in counterterrorism – an emerging research field” (Regina Heller, Martin Kahl & Daniela Pisiou), “Tracing and understanding ‘bad’ norm dynamics in counterterrorism: the current debates in IR research” (Regina Heller & Martin Kahl), “Representations of terrorism and the making of counterterrorism policy” (Jonas Hagmann), “Effective but inefficient: understanding the costs of counterterrorism” (Arjun Chowdhury & Scott Fitzsimmons), “Beyond norms: the incomplete securitisation of the Russian counterterrorism frame” (Aurélié Campana).

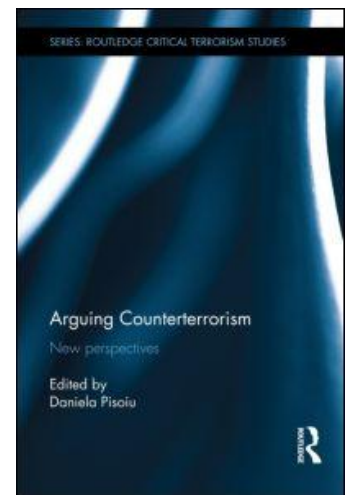
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Daniela Pisiou (ed.) (2014): “Arguing Counterterrorism: New Perspectives”, London: Routledge.

This book offers a multifaceted, analytical account of counterterrorism argumentative speech.

Traditionally, existing scholarship in this field of research has taken a selective focus on issues and actors, concentrating mainly on US state discourse after 9/11. However, this approach ignores the fact that there was counterterrorism speech before 9/11, and that there are other countries and other actors who also actively engage in the counterterrorism discursive field, both within and outside of the Western world.

Addressing several thematic, chronological and methodological gaps in the current literature, *Arguing Counterterrorism* offers a dynamic perspective on counterterrorism argumentative speech. Over the course of the volume, the authors tackle the following key issues: first, historical and cultural continuity and change. Second, the phenomenology of counterterrorism speech: its nature, instrumentalisation, implications and interactions between the various actors involved. The third theme is the anatomy of counterterrorism speech; namely its political, cultural and linguistic constitutive elements. Employing a multi-disciplinary framework, the authors explore these issues through a geographically and historically diverse range of case studies, resulting in a book that broadens the perspective of counterterrorism argumentation analysis. It will



be of much interest to students of critical terrorism studies, counterterrorism, discourse analysis, security studies and IR.

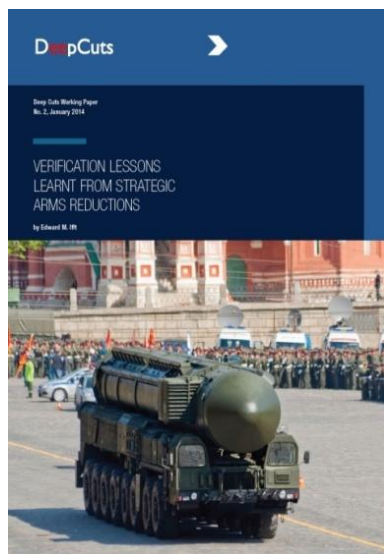
The book includes two articles authored by IFSH staff: Daniela Pisoiu and Nico Prucha, “When Terrorists Talk Back” and Sybille Reinke de Buitrago, “Jihadist Terrorism in Europe: Which Role for Media?”.

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Edward M. Ifft (2014): “Verification Lessons Learnt from Strategic Arms Reductions”.

Over the past half-century, the world has gained a great deal of experience with the verification of arms control agreements. With a few notable exceptions, these efforts have been successful. In addition, capabilities to carry out monitoring and verification have improved substantially. Nevertheless, emerging new and more difficult arms control goals, such as further reducing U.S. and Russian strategic and non-strategic nuclear weapons, will require more innovative and intrusive techniques and lessons can be learned from a number of arms control agreements. In the 2nd Deep Cuts Working Paper, Edward M. Ifft summarizes the lessons learnt from the verification of arms control agreements and links them to the goal of deep nuclear reductions. Special emphasis is placed on the New START Treaty between the United States and the Russian Federation.



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