

Workshop “Wege aus der Gewalt – New developments in peace and conflict research in Hamburg”

The traditional workshop “Wege aus der Gewalt – New developments in peace and conflict research” in Hamburg, organized by the IFSH and the ZNF (Centre for Natural Science and Peace Research), took place on 13 February 2015 for the sixth time. Once more it showed: The opportunity for direct communication, inspiring discussions and personal networking are vital parts of any productive research.



Final session, f.l.t.r.: Michael Brzoska, Wolfgang Zellner, Margret Johannsen (all IFSH), Wolfgang Schreiber (AKUF, Uni Hamburg)

The organizers Prof. Michael Brzoska and Prof. Gerald Kirchner both emphasized in their opening remarks how rewarding a regular interdisciplinary exchange in peace research across the immediate agendas of specific institutes can be. A practical example from this year’s workshop shows how this conceptual aim was successfully accomplished: A researcher working at the IFSH presented a new project, whose methodology drew the attention of a scholarship holder of the Alexander-von-Humboldt-Foundation from Italy, who is currently on a research visit at GIGA (German Institute of Global and Area Studies). Both researchers spontaneously agreed on a cooperation concerning a panel at a conference of the German Political Science Association (DVPW), taking place shortly after the workshop. On that occasion, further opportunities for cooperation arose, including cooperation with international researchers from Lebanon and Belarus. Without the networking opportunities at the IFSH workshop, this future-orientated cooperation would not have come up.

On this year’s workshop „Wege aus der Gewalt“, two panels each were held parallel on the following topics: concepts and methods, international interventions and sanctions, international politics and security, violence and conflict resolution. The widest participation was found in the group “Violence and Conflict Resolution”: topics were, among others, the relationship of state authority and community organizations in slums with the examples of Monrovia and Freetown (Felix Gerdes, AKUF, University of Hamburg) and the question of how efficient quantitative methods are for determining factors for a violent escalation of resource conflicts (Tobias Ide, Institute for Geography/KlimaCampus, University of Hamburg). Another conflict nexus was addressed by elaborating on the connection between climate change, oil exploration and land usage in Northwest Kenya (Schilling/Scheffran/Vivekananda, Institute for Geography/KlimaCampus, University of Hamburg). Two contributions from the IFSH dealt with non-Western order in Central Asia: Anna Kreikemeyer (IFSH) explored prospects for a local turn in peace-building activities in the Kyrgyz Ferghana Valley, Sebastian Schiek (IFSH) focused on the usage of a symbolic-cultural approach to reconstruction of political legitimacy in Central Asia. Finally, two contributions showed that theater stages can also be used and analyzed as locations of conflict, violence and mediation (Holler/Klose-Ullmann, National Economics Research, University of Hamburg, Institute of SocioEconomics Munich, ACCEDO Verlag).

In the group “Concepts and Methods”, natural scientific presentations prevailed and gave an impression of the wide variety from arms control and disarmament

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verification to hydro ecology. For example, physical methods can assist with verified disarmament of nuclear warheads by identifying nuclear arms through their characteristic radioactive radiation (Postelt, ZNF). Furthermore, the usage of openly accessible information sources can contribute to building transparency in the international regime on the ban of biological warfare (Himmel/Jeremias, ZNF). A radioactive noble gas tracer (Krypton 85) can be a solution to problems with methods of measuring in the context of experimental physical arms control (Kohler/Sahling/Hebel/Kircher, ZNF). Finally, Christian Alwardt (IFSH) introduced a model system for the simulation of the water supplies of river basins. Such a model can be used for anticipating regions in which – caused by climatic or socio-economic influence – larger fluctuation in the regional water supplies is to be expected and which extreme scenarios might develop from that.



Barbara Klose-Ullmann (ISE Munich, ACCEDO Verlag) giving a talk on "Desire and Violence on Stage"

In the group "International Interventions and Sanctions", various aspects of liberal intervention practice were questioned. Two presentations dealt with the UN concept "Responsibility to Protect". First, the thought of prevention within the "Responsibility to Protect" was subject to critical assessment, insofar as scientific findings, normative claims and the political practice were set in relation (Peters, Institute for Theology and Peace) and secondly, the foreign policy positions of the "Southern" democracies India, Brazil and South Africa on the "Responsibility to Protect" were analyzed (Krause, HSU). Finally, the question was raised whether the instrument of international sanctions, which are increasingly becoming a standard measure in the foreign policy of Western states, can be considered characteristic of a newly emerging global norm (Brzoska, IFSH).

The panel on "International Politics and Security" focused on economic and military determining factors of the maritime strategies of the regional powers China, India, Russia and Iran (Burilkov, GIGA/University of Hamburg) and investigated the differences in security policy strategies of Uzbekistan and Tajikistan vis-à-vis

Afghanistan (Isabaev, IFSH). Ulrich Kühn (IFSH) presented a project that attempts a better understanding of Russian politics via the usage of a new theoretical framework, connecting realist and constructivist approaches.



F.l.t.r.: Michael Brzoska (IFSH), Daniel Peters (IThF) and Dan Krause (HSU) in the group „international interventions and sanctions“

In the final discussion on the topic of "The significance of the crises in 2014", Wolfgang Zellner (IFSH) elaborated on the relationship between Russia and the West against the backdrop of the war in the Ukraine. Zellner emphasized that it is the first time Russia has opposed the West with military force and by that repeatedly and severely broke international law. Reasons for these actions can be found both in the domestic and foreign realm – like the danger for the Putin regime of a possible overflow of the Maidan movement to Russia or the continuing expansion of NATO – which came together in the Ukraine in an exemplifying manner. A return to cooperative security policies would be difficult and take a long time.

Margret Johannsen (IFSH) gave an explanation for the increasing number of wars in the Middle East and concluded that they follow different logics: In Syria, the autocratic regime has been fighting for its survival since the Arab spring, the periodic Gaza wars are rooted in the Israeli occupation, the fights in Iraq are springing from the fragmentation of the country that began during the second Gulf war. In the latter case, the terrorist attacks of 9/11 and the later "War on Terror" declared by the US and by now perpetuating itself, are decisive factors. The overcoming of the deep crisis of modernity in the region, which is a fundamental basis for the war activities, will endure over decades. Military interventions are considered inappropriate measures.

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On autonomous weapons and robots: Workshop on artificial intelligence and lethal autonomous weapon systems in Berlin

On 23-24 February 2015, the IFAR² research group conducted an expert workshop on the topics of Artificial Intelligence (A.I.) and Lethal Autonomous Weapon Systems (LAWS). Organized by Götz Neuneck and Christian Alwardt (IFSH) and funded by the Federal Foreign Office, the meeting took place in the “Magnus-Haus” of the Deutsche Physikalische Gesellschaft e.V. (German Society for Physics) in Berlin. The declared aim was to view the current state and future developments in the fields of A.I. and LAWS from an interdisciplinary perspective and to initiate an ongoing dialogue between the researchers of different academic disciplines and (peace) research institutions as well as representatives of ministries and the industry. The IFSH was represented by Götz Neuneck, Christian Alwardt, Martin Krüger, Luisa-Katharina Häsler and Beram Mahmoud.



Participants of the A.I./LAWS-workshop in the “Magnus-Haus”

The opening remarks were held by Ambassador Christoph Eichhorn, the current Federal Government Commissioner for Disarmament and Arms Control. Following up, Ambassador Michael Biontino, the Permanent Representative of Germany to the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva and Ambassador for Global Issues of Disarmament, elaborated on the work of the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva and its relevance concerning LAWS. The further framework of the workshop consisted of four panels, in which experts gave an introduction on the topic that was further discussed by the participants. The first panel focused on recent trends in A.I. research from a computer science perspective. The presentation of the second panel took an applied research and development (R&E) perspective on the current and future civilian as well as military application scope of unmanned systems. The third panel concentrated on possible scenarios of military operations and their basis in international law. The

main themes of the fourth panel were challenges for arms control, especially concerning verification and the difficulties with delimiting the definition of autonomy. The final panel was held in view of the “CCW Meeting of Experts on LAWS” in Geneva coming up in April 2015. Thus, the focus of discussion was the necessity of arms control and possible regulatory measures. The idea of continuing this kind of interdisciplinary exchange on the topic of LAWS was met with great approval at the end of the workshop. The organization of a follow-up workshop or the establishment of a permanent working group on these issues are being discussed and are considered as a next step.

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The challenge of „hybrid wars“

One main research topic in the IFSH’s work program is the challenge of changing forms of violence. The violent conflict which started last year in Ukraine has been termed “hybrid war” by NATO. Researchers of ZEUS commented on these unconventional wars in general and the Russian behavior in Ukraine in particular in interviews, public discussions and articles. In general, this kind of war is not new. The forms of hybrid warfare are changing constantly though. Nevertheless, there are some constant features. The state involved in an unconventional war is doing so mostly in a covert, sometimes in an overt manner by using non-state actors (proxys) in another state.

In the 21st century, there is a broad mix of instruments at the disposal of a state actor pursuing its political goal by hybrid war. These instruments may range from political, moral and economic support to information operations, propaganda, subversion, and cyber attacks to military support and the covert use of special forces or other military forces. The state usually tries to mostly operate in a grey zone below the direct use of its own military forces while supporting the use of military force by the insurgents.

It is high time that the international community starts to deal with the phenomenon of hybrid warfare. This kind of war is extremely destabilizing and violates international law irrespective of normative reasons given. Furthermore, it furthers regional conflicts as displayed by earlier efforts of regime change by this mean. Third, hybrid war is not necessarily a war on the cheap because it may lead to a protracted conflict. Fourth, it is hardly calculable for several reasons: Proxys normally follow their own agenda, they are not reliable, and there is always the risk of unintended consequences. Fifth, hybrid wars are normatively unacceptable, because they put a huge burden on the civilians, and they might entice other states to use the

same approach. Sixth, ultimately a hybrid war could also escalate, especially if nuclear armed powers are involved. Hybrid wars are prone to escalation and are extremely dangerous. That is why they should be prevented.

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Critical reflections on the opening of the China-Russia Joint Institute in Shanghai

By now it is obvious in the discipline of IR that the international community is not only composed of Western actors. Since the declared “provincialisation” of Europe by the post-colonial research community, several years have passed and global power shifts have given rise to new research programs and changing foreign policies. Regardless of these changes, one finds that the actors and values of the international community are still mainly understood as Western. That is despite the visible activities of non-Western countries to co-operate with each other, to develop their own policies and to bring new ideas into the discourse.



Participants of the workshop at the opening of the China-Russia Joint Institute in Shanghai

Sebastian Schiek was invited as a representative of the IFSH to the inauguration of the China-Russia Joint Institute at the East China Normal University in Shanghai, which has long kept good contact to the IFSH. The opening of the institute has been planned for a while already, though cooperation with China seems to be especially attractive for Russia at the moment, given the intensification of recent escalations in both domestic and foreign affairs. The focus of the inaugural conference was laid on economic and cultural aspects of cooperation. The key term in this regard is the “new economic silkroad”, which is hoped to foster cooperation and economic upswing in the whole Eurasian region. But the optimistic outlook on economic opportunities was also contrasted with cultural difficulties that arise in the cooperation between Russia and China. The issue of common (and separating) identities was acknowledged by giving room for discussion in

theoretical seminars and interesting contributions of students.



Sebastian Schiek (IFSH) is giving a talk on approaches for the research of non-Western societies

The ‘Western observer’ might not exactly know how to judge such forms of cooperation. On the one hand, one could argue that the willingness of neighboring countries and societies to get together at one table and by that, showing responsibility for themselves and their region, is a good thing. The fact that they do not just copy Western concepts in doing this is to be welcomed, since societies have to find and work their own way. On the other hand, one could see such meetings as a strengthening of authoritarianism; after all it is also about the cooperation of authoritarian states in the Eurasian region. How is the Western world supposed to react, when ‘its’ positive values are neither relevant in the paths of other societies nor in sight at the end of the road? Similar questions arise for peace research. Are these kinds of cooperation good, because they promise positive results like stability and growth in the long run, and therefore secure at least a negative peace – and eventually lead to positive peace? Or do they lead to none of those? It is easier for research approaches other than political and peace research that devote their energy to understanding instead of normativity. Sebastian Schiek presented two ways of conducting research in the field of non-Western societies with ‘Western’ methods, the historical sociology and reconstructive approaches.

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Annual convention of the International Studies Association (ISA)

The annual convention of the International Studies Association (ISA) is globally the largest congregation of researchers in the field of International Relations (IR). At this year’s conference in New Orleans, presentations were made in almost 1200 panels on a wide spectrum of themes under the general heading of “Global IR and Regional worlds”. The IFSH was rep-

resented by Michael Brzoska, Katarzyna Kubiak and Ulrich Kühn.



Participating in the annual convention of ISA: f.l.t.r. Catherine Kelleher, Katarzyna Kubiak and Ulrich Kühn

Michael Brzoska was discussant in a panel on new developments in the international arms trade and presented a paper on the issue whether sanctions have become an international and regional standard when states intend to coerce other international actors to change their policies or limit their maneuvering space. Sanctions have become a more frequently used instrument of international politics. Particularly the USA and the EU regularly mandate sanctions. But, recently non-traditional actors such as Russia, China and the African Union have become more active as sanctioners.

Katarzyna Kubiak participated in two panels. She presented a paper on “Nuclear Transparency and Confidence-Building Between NATO and Russia – Lessons from the CSCE/OSCE and NRC Experience” in a panel on New Security Challenges in Eastern Europe pointing to the growing importance of TCBMs for tactical nuclear weapons in virtue of the Ukraine war. Katarzyna Kubiak was also discussant in the panel on Security at Smaller Nuclear Numbers: Next Steps? Here, she discussed the concept of weaponless deterrence, challenges to American domestic politics on the way of reducing the number of nuclear weapons and the decay of cooperative arms control in Europe and its implications for the global nuclear order.

Ulrich Kühn presented a paper on “Cooperative Arms Control in Europe and the Global Nuclear Order: Rethinking Decision-Making and Institutions in Light of the Ukraine Conflict” in a panel that had been organized by Catherine Kelleher and Judith Reppy under the title "Security at Smaller Nuclear Numbers: Next Steps?". Impacted by the Ukraine crisis, international risk reduction institutions are increasingly experiencing political stress. While the instruments of cooperative arms control in Europe are dysfunctional and not ready to address the conflict, the wider ramifications of the New Cold War are starting to effect arms control agreements from the nuclear realm as well.

For next year’s annual convention in Atlanta, the ISA has chosen the overarching theme of “discovering peace” – which provides a good opportunity to present some of the results of the work of the IFSH to an international audience.

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Staff News

From 1 December 2014 to 25 January 2015, the IFSH hosted **Jafar Usmanov**, an independent researcher from Tajikistan as a guest researcher. Jafar Usmanov was integrated into the Central Asia research team at the IFSH during this time. He researched on outcomes of the OSCE field activities in Tajikistan, but also focused on other issues during the stay at the Institute.



In January, he gave a presentation on “Is legitimacy in question? Looking at attitudes towards OSCE and EU in Tajikistan” at the IFSH research colloquium. The biggest OSCE mission in Central Asia is located in Tajikistan which places the OSCE activities in this country in the center of intensive research. The main question of the presentation was whether the perception toward OSCE as compared to the European Union (EU) had worsened in the past two years and if yes, is there any correlation to declining legitimacy of the OSCE. To answer this question, he used different concepts of legitimacy in international relation – from input to output legitimacy and from normative to rational meanings of legitimacy. He also compared general attitudes to the OSCE and EU (through publications in open media) in Tajikistan. At the end, he proposed recommendations for further OSCE work in Tajikistan that are also relevant for other OSCE field operations in Central Asia.

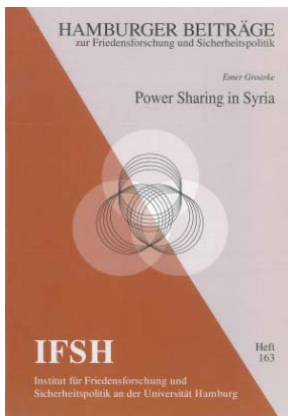
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Publications

Emer Groarke. Power Sharing in Syria. Hamburger Beiträge zur Friedensforschung und Sicherheitspolitik, No. 163, January 2015, Hamburg.



With the conflict in Syria nearing its fourth year, this paper explores the viability of power-sharing as a conflict resolution tool in the Syrian context. Further, it explores whether, by adapting the models used to end previous conflicts and adjusting their application to Syria's particular situation, power-sharing can be used as a mechanism through

which the state of Syria can be rebuilt in a sustainable manner.

While previously the conditions of the conflict were not conducive to peace talks, this work believes that recent regional developments, including the rise of ISIS, have re-opened the possibility of, and indeed necessity for, political negotiations. A de jure partition, which has been identified by some as the best solution to the conflict, is believed by this paper to be inadequate and simplistic, given the complexity of a conflict that goes far beyond a mere sectarian divide.

Significant obstacles to a negotiated power-sharing agreement are acknowledged, but suggestions are given as to how such issues could be mitigated and potentially transformed into incentives for the parties invested in the conflict. The conclusion reached is that a power-sharing agreement, though not without flaws, is the most viable tool to enable a legitimate and sustainable solution to the conflict, and that the time is ripe for a concerted renewal of effort to bring about such a negotiated settlement.

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Hans-Georg Ehrhart, Stefan Brüne and Heinz-Gerhard Justenhoven (eds.). 2015. Frankreich, Deutschland und die EU in Mali: Chancen, Risiken, Herausforderungen. Baden-Baden: Nomos/Aschendorff Verlag.

In October 2012, the President Francois Hollande ruled out the possibility to send French soldiers to Mali. In January 2013, he declared a war without merci against the terrorists in Mali. He got much international ap-

proval for this policy change and political support for rebuilding Mali's state. In this book, German and international authors analyze the reasons for this policy change and explore the political interests and strategic rationales of France, Germany and the EU. Moreover, the book asks how military interventions might contribute to solve conflicts in Africa. Finally, the authors analyze how the internal conflict with the population of northern Mali for the outbreak has been the cause of the violent conflict and ask whether the political proposals for solving the conflict are sustainable.



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Ulrich Kühn. Understanding Russia. Russian Analytical Digest No. 162, 10 February 2015,

<<http://www.isn.ethz.ch/Digital-Library/Publications/Detail/?ots591=0c54e3b3-1e9c-be1e-2c24-a6a8c7060233&lng=en&id=188068>>.

In his article "Understanding Russia" for the ETH Zurich's Russian Analytical Digest,



Ulrich Kühn argues that Putin's Russia has not become a revisionist, or anti-status quo, power with its actions in Ukraine, but is rather continuing to pursue the same status-quo-orientated approach that Russia has followed since the end of the Cold War: resisting changes to the relative distribution of power by a variety of means. It is suggested that a rethink in US policy towards Russia is needed, including by focusing more efforts on understanding the Russian position, while by no means having to share the Kremlin's world view.

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