

A C T I V I T I E S • R E S E A R C H P R O J E C T S • P U B L I C A T I O N S • S T A F F N E W S Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg MAY/JUNE 2015

Responsibility for Peace Peace Report 2015 in Berlin and Brussels

Worldwide armed conflicts demonstrate in a disturbing manner that wars are accelerating, spreading regionally and encompassing an incalculable number of conflicting parties. How can Germany take over responsibility? What alternative modes of action, short of military means, are available if we take *Responsibility for Peace* seriously? The Peace Report 2015 examines these questions, while dealing inter alia with the war in Ukraine and the European stabilization strategy, the handling of jihad travelers, weapon deliveries to war zones, origins and aims of the Islamic State, the State of Palestine, civil crisis prevention, military interventions in humanitarian crises, gender in peace issues or lessons learned from the Ebola crisis. Margret Johannsen, Martin Kahl and Wolfgang Zellner authored this issue's articles. Margret Johannsen also acted as editor for the IFSH.



The publishers hand over the Peace Report to the Head of the Committee on Human Rights and Humanitarian Aid, Michael Brand: (f.l.t.r: Ute Finckh-Krämer (SPD), Tom Koenigs (Bündnis 90/Die Grünen), Michael Brand (CDU/CSU), Marc von Boemcken (BICC), Margret Johannsen (IFSH), Janet Kursawe (INEF), Ines-Jacqueline Werkner (FEST), Claudia Baumgart-Ochse (HSFK).

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On behalf of the five publishing institutes, this year's Peace Report is edited by Janet Kursawe, Margret Johannsen, Claudia Baumgart-Ochse, Marc von Boemcken and Ines-Jacqueline Werkner. The editors presented the yearbook at the Federal Press Conference in Berlin on June 9, 2015. Subsequently, they submitted their findings and discussed their recommendations in meetings with members of various committees of the German Bundestag, parliamentary groups and party working teams, with the Foreign Department of the Federal President's Office, the Planning Units of the Foreign Office as well as with members of the Ministry of Defence and the Ministry for Econom-

ic Cooperation and Development. Other meetings involved NGOs such as Pax Christi and the World Peace Service.

A public event in the "French Dome" hosted by the Protestant Academy of Berlin and Women in International Security (WIIS) in collaboration with the five institutes was dedicated to the topic "Dealing with the Islamic State. Regional causes – international challenges". In his presentation, Jochen Hippler (INEF) addressed the question "What is the Islamic State?" and together with Susanne Schröter (Goethe University Frankfurt) discussed ways and means of "Dealing with the IS: regional interests, gender constructions and radicalization". The discussion was moderated by Magdalena Kirchner (German Council on Foreign Relations / WIIS, Berlin).

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On June 25, the Peace Report made its appearance in Brussels. At the Brussels Office of the Representative of the Council of the Evangelical Church in Germany, an panel involving Wolfgang Zellner (IFSH/Center of OSCE Research, CORE), Michael Gahler (CDU/ Spokesman on Security Affairs of the European People's Party group in the European parliament) and Uwe Optenhövel (Chairman of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation) discussed the focal issues of the Peace Report 2015 under the heading "German responsibility for a European peace order – civilian or military approaches?". The panel discussion was moderated by Monika Hoegen.

A miniature edition with selected texts in English has been prepared for the audience in the EU's capital. This was made possible through the generously continued sponsorship by the German Foundation for Peace Research (DSF). The translations are also available on www.friedensgutachten.de.



The publishers hand over the Peace Report to the Head of the Defense Committee, Wolfgang Hellmich: (f.l.t.r: Robert Hochbaum (CDU/CSU), Ines-Jacqueline Werkner (FEST), Doris Wagner (Bündnis 90/ Die Grünen), Janet Kursawe (INEF), Alexander S. Neu (DIE LINKE), Wolfgang Hellmich (SPD), Claudia Baumgart-Ochse (HSFK), Margret Johannsen (IFSH), Marc von Boemcken (BICC).

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New GIGA-IFSH Roundtable Series in Hamburg: How Safe is the Silk Road? Central Asia, Afghanistan and their Neighbors in View of Regional and Global Challenges.

For a long time, romantic impressions of the Silk Road determined the picture of Central Asia in Western perceptions. After the dissolution of the USSR, and especially after 9/11, this vision of the five Central Asian states – Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan – was changed by fear. Time and time again, both politicians and analysts have worried about the instability of the nearly exclusively authoritarian – even dictatorial – regimes in the region, about international power shifts as a result of the withdrawal of the international community from Afghanistan, about a possible increase of Islamist movements, about a



The panel at the first GIGA-IFSH Roundtable on authoritarianism, f.l.t.r.: Sebastian Schiek (IFSH), Thomas Richter (GIGA), Wolfgang Lenk (Federal Foreign Office), Maksim Ryabkov (Deutsche Welle Akademie)

The organizers from GIGA: Prof Henner Fürtig (1.) and Prof Patrick Köllner (r.)

decline of the old revisionist and nationalist hegemon, Russia, and the rise of the new economic hegemon, China. Despite increasing research, little is known comparatively about domestic change and the foreign and security policies of the Central Asian states. Trends are visible, but open questions dominate. Which threat perceptions and strategies prevail in these states? What room for maneuvers and what patterns of action are visible? How are relations with neighboring states and regional powers developing? What are the consequences for Western actors?

Two Hamburg research institutions, the German Institute of Global and Area Studies (GIGA) and the Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg (IFSH), seek to assess this situation

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and to further expand their cooperation on security issues in Central Asia. Under the banner, "How safe is the Silk Road? Central Asia and its neighbors", the two institutes have started a joint roundtable series with selected experts from research, politics, the military, the media and civil society. On 21 May 2015, an initial roundtable on authoritarianism took place. Thomas Richter (GIGA), Maxim Ryabkov (Deutsche Welle Academy, Cologne), Sebastian Schiek (IFSH) and Thomas Lenk (Federal Foreign Office, Berlin) discussed the question: "How stable are the authoritarian regimes in Central Asia and what foreign political behavior can be expected?" One month later, on 18 June 2015, Thomas Ruttig (Afghan Analyst Network), Amb. Michael Schmunck (GIGA/Federal Foreign Office), Christian Wagner (German Institute for International and Security Affairs - SWP, Berlin) and Azamjon Isabaev (IFSH) addressed the question: How to proceed with Afghanistan and what does this mean for Central Asia? On September 17th, 2015, the burning issue of possible radicalization in this region will be discussed. Can we talk about threats due to the influence of extremist ideologies? On the 22nd of October, 2015, the event will be devoted to the view from outside. What are the strategies of neighboring states, such as China and Iran, but also of international actors, such as Europe, towards Central Asia?

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After the Failed NPT Review Conference – Wrapping up and New Perspectives

As the most important non-proliferation conference – that only takes place every five years – failed, the international community is confronted with the question of how the issues of nuclear proliferation, disarmament and arms control are to be developed in the coming years. Götz Neuneck, who took part in the NPT conference as part of the German delegation, and Ulrich Kühn, coordinator of the Deep-Cuts-Project, were both invited to part in the discussion surrounding the crisis of arms control.

The Ukraine-crisis has also contributed to eroding the European security architecture and tightening all restrictions dictated in treaties such as the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE) or Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF).

On June 24th, Götz Neuneck held a presentation in Berlin with the Ossietzky-Circle with the title "Nuclear Déjà vu – or what Europe is really risking (Atomares Déjà vu – oder was für Europa auf dem Spiel steht)". The core thesis postulates that the European security architecture is undergoing a test and that – after the conflict in the Donbas-region has subsided – it must be reevaluated and redeveloped. This would be a complex task for the NATO-Russian-Council or the OSCE and would cost a lot of political will and energy. On July 8th, 2015, the 70th anniversary of the atomic bomb was commemorated in Hannover city hall with a discussion round, following the opening speech of the lord mayor and a key-note-speech by Rolf Mützenich, on the topic of "Struggles in foreign affairs in a world disarrayed (Außenpolitische Herausforderungen angesischts einer Welt in Unordnung)". A day later, on the 60th anniversary of the publication of the Russell-Einstein-manifest, a panel discussion took place in Berlin. The former director of the IFSH, Egon Bahr, held the main presentation. Götz Neuneck moderated the panel, which consisted of representatives from the German Foreign Ministry, the Bundestag and multiple NGOs.

On July 2nd, 2015, the IFSH and the government of the state of Hamburg held a parliamentary breakfast in Berlin in order to present the results and recommendations of the Deep-Cuts-Commission's 2nd report. The event was kicked off by the opening words of the new Secretary of Education in Hamburg, Katharina Fegebank; short inputs by Michael Brzoska, Götz Neuneck and Niels Annen, the Spokesman of Foreign Affairs of the SPD, followed suit. The resulting discussion, where the remaining six members of parliament took part actively, then focused on the role Germany has – or will have – in the escalating crisis of European and global arms control.

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New Journal Issues Edited by IFSH Researchers

Special Issue: "Regulating PMSCs" in ISI-ranked Journal



Co-authored by Carolin Liss (HSFK), Patricia Schneider (IFSH/ZEUS) published a special issue of "Ocean Development & International Law" on the topic of Private Maritime Security Providers and their regulation.

The privatization of security through Private Military and Security Companies

(PMSCs) is increasingly gaining importance in the international shipping industry, especially considering the threat of piracy. Challenging the states' violence monopoly, national legislation may be at least partly a solution to regain state control over an increasingly privatized security sector (Carolin Liss).

This special issue is comprised of different articles dealing with country specific regulations of private security providers. Birgit Feldmann elaborates upon the question whether sea farer are legally obliged to provide assistance to pirates in distress and illustrates this legal grey zone by referring to practices in Denmark.

Other articles examine legal regulations in Scandinavian countries (Joakim Berndtsson, Åse Gilje Østenson), as well as in the United States, the United Kingdom (Renée de Nevers) and Italy (Eugenio Cusumano/Stefano Ruzzo). The article of Schneider and Annina Bürgin (Universidad de Vigo) compares the German with the Spanish legal practice, which are both undeniably important European maritime actors. While Germany just recently began to adopt a specific legal framework for licensing PMSCs, Spain transferred its framework for security providers on land early to the maritime sector and even temporarily subsidized certain security providers for the fishing fleet. These different approaches do not necessarily respond to the specific challenges posed by the maritime and may be originated in different national aims.

All articles have been double-blind peer-reviewed. The Journal of "Ocean Development & International Law" is listed on the "ISI-Web of Knowledge (Issue 2012) in the categories "International Relations" (28th) and "Law" (56th). Therefore, it is one of the most influential journals in this distinct field of study.

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Special Issue:

"Gender, Conflict and Global Environmental Change", edited by Christiane Fröhlich and Giovanna Gioli, Peace Review: A Journal for Social Justice, Vol. 27, Issue 2, 2015.

The special issue is a publication originating from the Gender, Conflict and Climate Change research network, which was initiated by Christiane Fröhlich and Giovanna Gioli of the University of Hamburg. The network aims to explore the nexus between gender, environmental scarcity and violent conflict and to build inter- and transdisciplinary knowledge on gender-sensitive conflict analyses in the context of resource degradation and scarcity. Gender has been identified as a relevant category both for the analysis of conflict escalation processes and the understanding of differing vulnerabilities and adaptive capacities of men and women with regard to (global) environmental change and resource scarcity. There is a growing body of work on this, but the increasing interest in conflicts over natural resources has yet to lead to a comprehensive analysis of their gender dimension and to move from the often repeated, mainly prescriptive recommendation "to include gender" towards a binding research (and thus, funding) commitment.

Our understanding of gender is intersectional, meaning that structural and group characteristics like gender, race, ethnicity, religion, age etc. are closely interrelated. They are constitutive for individual spatial relations, social locations and differing access to and control over natural resources.



Only very few and very recent studies explicitly analyze the nexus between gender, environment, and conflict. The special issue contributes to closing this research gap by offering contributions which look at the macro, meso, and micro levels and their interrelations in order to uncover the role of gender for escalation and de-escalation of resource-related conflicts. It also addresses several methodological and conceptual bottlenecks.

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S+F. Sicherheit und Frieden/ Security and Peace, Issue 2/2015

New technologies, different wars, new approaches to arms control?

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Herausgeben	Themenschwerpunkt:
Prof. Dr. Michael Brzoska	Neue Technologien, veränderte Kriegsbilder,
Dr. Walter E. Feichtinger	neue Ansätze der Rüstungskontrolle?
Dr. Volker Franke	New technologies, different wars, new
Prof. Dr. Hans J. Giessmann	approaches to arms control?
Prof. Dr. Heiner Hänggi	Regulation Robocop: The Need for International Covernance
Dr. Sabirs: Jaborg	Inneration in Drone and LAWS Development and Use Melica Foster and Virgili Haden Pawlowski
Dr. Axel Krohm	Privantive Ricturg Sectorile - Migli Heaten and Crenter mit
Dr. Patricia Schweider	Blick auf die Digitalisierung und Automatisierung des Kriegen
	Marcel Dickow, Mischa Harreel, Max.M. Michickler
	The Role of Civil Society in the Control of New Weapon Technologies: The Cove of "Less-Lethel" Weapons
	Abi Dymond and Brian Rappert
	Klainwolfen is alle Welt? Chancen und Granzen der
	Kontrolle in der internationalen Politik Simone Wootski
	End-Use Controls: Recent Technology Developments and
	Emerging Trends Mark Bramley
	Migliche Kriegsbilder der Zukunft und Dre Kennequetzen
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Armament dynamics occur on many levels. They are driven by various factors. Technological developments, financial means as well as experiences with and expectations about warfare are of central importance. They are also changing the military, and public, interest in particular military technologies; well-known types

of weapons seem to lose in importance while some new technologies receive much attention. Also arms control is subject to such variations, as well as the successes and failures of arms control itself.

In the current issue, *Melisa Foster* and *Virgil Haden-Pawlowski* present – as first contribution – a summary of arguments for an internationally agreed limitation of autonomous weapons systems, including autonomous delivery systems. *Marcel Dickow, Mischa Hansel* and *Max Mutschler* argue, on the basis of a theoretical model of successful arms control that a number of conditions make a consensus on an international agreement to limit autonomous weapons systems more likely. In

their contribution, Abi Dymond and Brian Rappert investigate the role of civil society in achieving limitations on new security-related technologies. Simone Wisotzki recounts the efforts for the improvement of small arms control. One important element for successful small arms policy is improved export control – the majority of weapons are still transferred from producers in the global North to recipients in the global South. Rules and implementation of export control continually need to be adapted to changing circumstances - politically as well as technologically. Mark Bromley illustrates this for arms as well as dual-use technologies. Finally, Hans Dieter Jopp and Roland Kaestner risk a glimpse into the future of warfare. The complexity and interaction of many factors render any kind of prognosis difficult. But certain trends can be identified.

In a contribution outside of the special section of this issue *Thomas Horlohe* reports on the current status of the discussion about possible Russian violations of the Treaty of Intermediate Nuclear Forces (INF). This issue's *Forum*, compiled by Sabine Jaberg, deals with two anniversaries regarding the review and outlook of the OSCE: 40 years of the Helsinki Final Act and 25 years of the Charter of Paris. Contributors to this discussion are *Berthold Meyer*, *Wilfried von Bredow* and *Frank Evers*.

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Further Publications

Sybille Reinke de Buitrago: Self-Other Constructions, Difference and Threat: U.S. and Arab 'Othering' of Iran.

In: Regional Insecurity After the Arab Uprisings, ed. Elizabeth Monier. Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 85-106 (Juni 2015).



dited by Elizabeth Monie

In her contribution, Sybille Reinke de Buitrago illustrates the constructions of Iran from the angle of the U.S. and three Arab states. U.S. security discourse – but also that of Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates – constructs Iran as threatening for the region and beyond, although with mostly distinct reasons. The U.S. discourse also shows shifts towards a softened image of Iran. This can in part be explained by changes on the Iranian side, and this trend could be strengthened after the agreement on Iran's nuclear program in July 2015. The Syrian perspective, on the other hand, shows Iran as a strategic ally. The Arab uprisings, the so-called Arab Spring, have not substantially changed the (threat) perceptions.

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Vucetic, S. and Duarte, É.: New Fighter Aircraft Acquisitions in Brazil and India: Why Not Buy American?, Politics & Policy, Vol. 43 (2015), pp. 401–425.



How do states decide where to source arms? Drawing on theories of international relations, we consider the recent fighter aircraft competitions in Brazil and India, and analyze why the U.S.-made aircraft lost to their European rivals. Official statements offered by the Brazilian and Indian governments have cited inferior aircraft performance, technology-sharing issues, and prices. These explanations may be valid, but their main purpose is to direct attention away from the fact that military procurement is, above all, a matter of international politics and policy. Using analytical eclecticism as our guide, we selectively combine constructivist, liberal, and realist theoretical elements to provide a more comprehensive explanation of why Lockheed Martin and Boeing failed to sell fighters to Brazil and India.

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Margret Johannsen: Seeking recognition. Palestinian state-building beyond Oslo, Orient, Vol. 56, No. 3, July 2015, pp. 6-12.

In her contribution to the latest issue of Orient with its

focus on "Political Developments in Israel and Palestine", Margret Johannsen argues that the increase of international legitimacy, brought about by the recognition of Palestinian statehood, is strengthening those forces in Palestine that – in light of extreme power asymmetries - want to continue the path to national self-determination with peaceful means. Through this analysis, the recom-



mendation to the German government is made, to bilaterally recognize the State of Palestine: as a contribution to solving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict by means of a two state settlement.

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