

# IFSH *news* 113

ACTIVITIES • RESEARCH PROJECTS • PUBLICATIONS • STAFF NEWS  
Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg DECEMBER 2015 -FEBRUARY 2016

## The grey area between peace and war

7<sup>th</sup> Workshop “Ways out of violence” at the IFSH and ZNF in Hamburg



f.l.t.r.: Nora Markard, Jürgen Scheffran, Nadja Maurer, Gunnar Jeremias

The workshop “*Ways out of violence – New developments in peace and conflict research*” took place for the 7<sup>th</sup> time this year, in a time of apparent threats to peace. This year’s workshop – organized by Michael Brzoska (IFSH) and Gerald Kirchner (Center for Science and Peace Research, ZNF) – concentrated on identifying the different perspectives on the grey area between peace and war.

At the center of the event was a panel discussion highlighting the continuum between war and peace, which seems to be a characteristic of current world affairs. Hans-Georg Ehrhart (IFSH) spoke of post-modern warfare, Herbert Wulf (Bonn International Center for Conversion, BICC) of how the legitimacy of a state having a monopoly on the use of force is becoming shaky, Nadja Maurer (Hamburg Institute for Social Research, HIS) spoke on the different forms of violence between peace and war, and Jürgen Scheffran on the complexity of crises and the resulting insecurities. Every contribution emphasized another demanding aspect of the current challenges peace politics face. Nonetheless, Manfred Holler (Center of Conflict Resolution, CCR) tried to bring light into these complex grey areas by using game theory approaches.

In addition to the middle panel, a round of contributors demonstrated the variety of methods and concepts in peace research that build on natural sciences and technical expertise. Götz Neuneck (IFSH) gave an

overview of technologies that endanger strategic stability, Gunnar Jeremias (ZNF) introduced a database for the verification of the implementation of the convention prohibiting biological and chemical weapons, Gesine Rempp (Chemistry faculty, University of Hamburg) explained knowledge-based methods of risk assessment in chemicals, and Hartwig Spitzer (ZNF) elaborated on a path to acquiring a plane that assists in verifying the Treaty on Open Skies.

The third round proved extraordinary determination and an unwavering focus to find concrete measures for peace promotion, despite the challenging circumstances. Anna Kreikemeyer (IFSH) suggested cooperating with peace research colleagues in the post-

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soviet space, but plans to critically analyze concepts and methods of liberal universalism. Azamjon Isabaev (IFSH) presented his newest findings from his field research in Uzbekistan. He is currently comparing the Uzbek foreign policy towards Afghanistan with that of neighbor, Tajikistan, in his dissertation. Additionally, Alla Röhrich (Faculty of law, University of Hamburg) and Regina Stober (Faculty of education, University of Hamburg) elaborated on how peace education and law can come together in productive ways.

The final panel discussion mirrored the current topic of refugees. It has become harder to hear the voices of academia in the media and in political debates. Christiane Fröhlich (IFSH and Helmut-Schmidt-University) and Nora Markard (Faculty of law, University of Hamburg) debated reasons for migration, asylum policies and the challenges of integration, while moderated by Michael Brzoska. This discussion showed what demands academia and the research community – particularly peace research – will have to meet in the future.

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## Climate Change - one driver amongst many

Researcher Fröhlich stresses complexity of drivers for migration and conflict

Berlin, February 11, 2016 – Climate change is increasingly seen as a security issue. Global warming could exceed many societies' adaptive capacities and potentially lead to destabilization, migration and conflict escalation. Climate-related human mobility in particular is seen as a risk factor. Before the 52<sup>th</sup> Munich Security Conference, Christiane Fröhlich (IFSH and HSU) stressed



Christiane Fröhlich

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at the Deutsche Klima Konsortium (DKK) press conference on climate change that climate change is only one driver amongst many for both migration and conflict. The complex interrelations between global warming, human mobility and security are still heavily under-researched.

The case of Syria: From drought to mass migration to civil war?

Between 2006 and 2010, Syria suffered a severe drought period. It led to repeated crop failures and loss of livestock in parts of the country. According to the UN, an estimated 1.5 million farmers and pastoralists lost their livelihoods and many of them took to less drought-affected parts of the country.

Christiane Fröhlich presented her current research on the impact of the drought on internal migration movements in Syria and their role for conflict onset in 2011. On the basis of qualitative interviews with Syrian farmers and wage workers from the agricultural sector, which she conducted in 2014/15 in Jordanian refugee camps, she concludes: “The simple causality between drought, migration and conflict onset in Syria does not hold. While internal migration indeed rose during the dry years, the drought was neither its only driver, nor was it the “*climate migrants*” who initiated the protests.” In particular, the results of the drought need to be seen in relation to the Assad government's policies since 2000, Fröhlich said. The cutting of subsidies and other liberal economic reforms put increasing pressure on already marginalized and suffering parts of the society, “while the government did practically nothing to mitigate the results of the drought.” Syria is “a good example for the necessity of an integrative approach to climate change and its effects: effective adaptation requires taking into account social, political and economic context and policies instead of focusing predominantly on symptom mitigation.”

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## New Initiative by the U.S. State Department for multilateral nuclear disarmament

In November 2015, the Norwegian Foreign Ministry began organizing a plenary meeting for the initiative “International Partnership for Nuclear Disarmament Verification” (IPNDV), which was started March 2015 by the U.S. State Department and invited 30 states to participate. This initiative aims to create binding protocols for the process of irreversibly disarming nuclear warheads. The United States, Great Britain and Nor-

way already have practice in handling this topic and this panel served to analyze their findings. So far the disabling of nuclear war heads was dealt with bilaterally by the United States and Russia within a framework dictated by nuclear disarmament. The Non-Proliferation Treaty (Articles I and II) specifies that when taking apart a warhead, the participating inspectors cannot leak any information concerning the design of the warhead. Future multilateral disarmament treaties will allow inspectors and non-nuclear weapon states to disarm nuclear warheads in controlled, notified facilities. For this purpose, technical and procedural verification methods must be written and tested. There are also a few questions that would have to be answered first: How can one be sure that a “real warhead”



*Trial warhead: Odin*

or a certain number of nuclear warheads has actually been irreversibly taken apart? What happens to the single components of the warhead? How can espionage, fraud or the leaking of sensitive information be prevented?

Götz Neuneck and Gerald Kirchner (ZNF) are taking part in two working groups of the IPNDV initiative representing Germany. These working groups met on February 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> in Geneva. Together with a Dutch colleague, Götz Neuneck presented a first paper on “key terms and definitions” during the meeting in the U.S. Mission in Geneva. The next plenary meeting, where the preliminary results of the three working groups are to be introduced, will take place in Tokyo, mid-2016.

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## Women Leaders: Promoting Peace and Security

Patricia Schneider was nominated to participate as the German delegate in the “International Visitor Leadership Program” in the USA from December 2<sup>nd</sup> - 19<sup>th</sup>. She represented Germany in a group consisting of more than 60 international participants. The topic of the program was “Women Leaders: Promoting Peace and Security” and was financed by the U.S. State Department. The event was kicked-off and ended with a series of plenary meetings in Washington D.C. The

first session was held by Assistant Secretary of State for Educational and Cultural Affairs, Evan Ryan, and representatives of the Institutes for Inclusive Security and the United States Institute of Peace on the topic of how women can make a difference in peace processes and what the role of the implementation of National Action Plans for the implementation of UN-resolution 1325 is. Germany did adopt such a plan too and is active in supportive initiatives. The delegation also debated the participation of women in the U.S. military while visiting the Pentagon.

In New York City the focus laid on the visit of the United Nations and the department “UN Women”. In San Diego, California, the European delegation got an impression of the US-Mexican border and further discussed the reasons of Mexican migration at the University of San Diego. The delegation learned that the increasing fortification of the border was counterproductive, as many migrants “without papers” would not go back to Mexico, out of fear to not to be able to come back to the USA. After a visit to an institution for unaccompanied minor refugees, a prison for women and a cooperation centre for various policies and intelligence agencies were presented to the delegation. Finally, the delegation visited an interreligious initiative to strengthen worker’s rights and labor unions.

Austin, Texas was found to be surprising to the delegation as being a liberal capital of a very conservative state, in which students are allowed to carry guns at universities. The delegation spoke with a representative of a black civil rights organization about racism, police violence and education.

In a facility for victims of domestic and sexual violence new concepts for the care of women,

men and children together were realized. Finally, the delegation met with an NGO which recommends and supports women for candidatures in administration and politics.



*Patricia Schneider with Evan Ryan*

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## Gernot Erler introduces the OSCE Network Project at the Munich Security Conference

The 52<sup>nd</sup> Munich Security Conference (MSC) took place from February 12 to 14. During a *Side Event* in the presence of the Special Representative for the German OSCE Chairmanship, Gernot Erler, the *Panel of Eminent Persons*, chaired by Ambassador Ischinger, presented its results. In his introduction, Ischinger highlighted some characteristics of the current complex situation: Multiple crises, refugees, unforeseeable instabilities, broken trust, contradictory narratives and the use of military force. At the same time, Ischinger stressed that the confrontation, which became obvious at the MSC, was not the case in the confidential talks.

Panel member, Vike-Freiberga, the former president of Latvia, emphasized that the situation is more dangerous than it has been for decades. Panel member, Prof. Karaganov from Russia underlined that the elaboration of the various “narratives” is the most important aspect of the report. And the former Georgian Deputy Foreign Minister, Kapanadze added, as did OSCE General Secretary Zannier, that there were not only three narratives, as in the report, but many more narratives of those countries which lie between the West and Russia, geographically and politically. But the differences were also clearly highlighted. While Karaganov asked that the OSCE be forgotten and “something Eurasian” be created, his co-panellist, Guéhenno clearly contradicted him: Minsk is a beginning, not an end and the OSCE is no joke.

Gernot Erler acknowledged the results of the panel extensively. At the same time, he stressed that one must dig more deeply in the analysis of various narratives. This is what one CORE-led project of the *OSCE Network of Think Tanks and Academic Institutions*, that has just begun, wants to do. This study group will elaborate recommendations of practical societal relevance with particular attention to civil society, youth and media, that is, topics of the third (human) dimension of the OSCE. This two-year project is not limited to the 2016 German Chairmanship, but will also cooperate with an earlier and the next Chairmanship, i.e. with Switzerland and with Austria.

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## Events and Publications

### Tollwood

A panel discussion on the topic “When is a war a war?” took place in the World Quarter at the 27<sup>nd</sup> Tollwood Festival on December 9<sup>th</sup>, 2015. Facing an audience of 300 visitors and with Jutta Prediger from the Bayerischer Rundfunk as moderator, Claudia Roth (Vice President of the German Bundestag), Dr. Hans-Georg Ehrhart (IFSH) and Reinhold Robbe (former ombudsperson of the German Bundestag) discussed this question.

You can listen to the debate here:

<http://www.br.de/radio/bayern2/gesellschaft/notizbuch/unfassbar-krieg-konflikt-tollwood-100.html>

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### Götz Neuneck, Christian Alwardt; Hans Christian Gils; Raketenabwehr in Europa; Nomos-Verlag; Baden-Baden

As part of the new publication series of the Academy of Science and Humanities in Hamburg, the IFAR-Study “Raketenabwehr in Europa” (Translation: Missile defense in Europe) was published by the NOMOS publishing company. The book analyses the current ballistic missile threat posed to Europe as well as the motivation and capabilities of the US missile defense plans for Europe. In addition to simulations of different scenarios concerning the plausibility of intercepting Russian or Iranian missiles, the final chapter retraces the underlying controversy over the necessity of a European missile defense element. Both the technological feasibility and the opposing Russian interests will be discussed, as well as the possible consequences for Europe’s security architecture and nuclear arms control.

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**Hans-Georg Ehrhart, Die Europäische Union und die NATO, in: Werner Weidenfeld/Wolfgang Wessels (Hrsg.), Jahrbuch der Europäischen Integration 2015, Baden-Baden: 2015, S. 551-556.**

<http://iep-berlin.de/blog/publications/jahrbuch-der-europaeischen-integration-2015-kann-jetzt-bestellt-werden/>

This article focuses on the still sluggish development of the EU-NATO relationship. The institutional challenge lies in bringing to life the long proclaimed strategic partnership. The High Representative of the EU for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy has stated that hybrid warfare, maritime security and cyber security are the main domains where a closer cooperation with the NATO is possible.



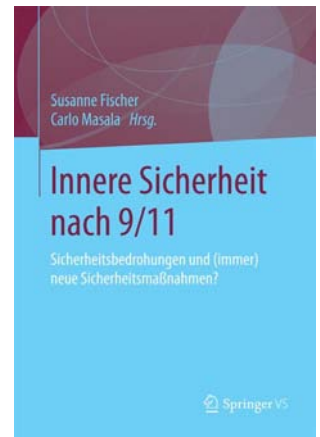
In an additional step, this article will depict the activities of both organizations in Afghanistan, in the Balkans, in the Indian Ocean and in Libya, since both have a tendency to have operational activities working parallel to one another. Finally, the “game changer” and biggest challenge currently in the EU-NATO-Russian relationship, the Ukraine crisis, will be addressed. Russia’s hybrid warfare is a destabilizing factor in the European security structure. This has triggered a number of questions concerning governance.

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**Hendrik Hegemann/Martin Kahl: Constructions and ideas about effectiveness of counter-terrorism policy: A critical inspection, in: Susanne Fischer/Carlo Masala (Hrsg.), Innere Sicherheit nach 9/11 - Sicherheitsbedrohungen und (immer) neue Sicherheitsmassnahmen? Wiesbaden: Springer VS 2016, 189-207.**

Although there is hardly any reliable knowledge on causalities in terms of the phenomenon of terrorism, political actors often justify the measures they enact to combat terrorism by referring to their “effectiveness”. In this article, Hendrik Hegemann and Martin Kahl show that references to the effectiveness of measures in these circumstances are particularly relevant in two

respects: Firstly, as a structure for “rational” justification of controversial anti-terrorism policies; secondly as a result of politically and culturally related assumptions and logics in the fight against terrorism. Hegemann and Kahl argue that the search for causal-effect relationships and the evaluation of counter-terrorism policy should not be avoided in principle, but a critical analysis of the structures and ideas about the effectiveness of measures especially in reference to their political legitimacy is just as important.



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**S+F. Sicherheit und Frieden, Issue 4/2015 Militias and the Provision of (In-)Security**

The guest editors of the special issue, *Christoph J. König* and *Ulrich Schneckener*, note that in media reports on current crises and wars one term seems to be omnipresent: militias. While this reflects an often undifferentiated, ubiquitous application of the term, a view on contemporary armed conflicts indeed shows that militias of different kind exist all over the world. Nonetheless, militias have attracted relatively little attention in peace and conflict studies

*Ulrich Schneckener* proposes to conceptually understand militias as a type of status-quo oriented non-state violence, since militias perceive themselves as “defenders” of a political and social order and claim to protect it.

*Christoph König* and *Sandra Wienand* illustrate the heuristic utility of Schneckener’s conception by applying it to the Iraqi-Kurdish Peshmerga (König) as well as the paramilitary groups of the AUC (Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia) in Colombia and the PAC (Patrullas de Autodefensa Civil) in Guatemala (Wienand).



*Sabrina Bonsen* and *Christian Thuselt* provide deeper insights into the self-perceptions of armed groups in Lebanon (resp. in Iraq).

The persistence of militia structures and their implications for politics and societies are addressed in the contributions by *König*, *Wienand* and *Alke Jenss*. *Deniz Kocak* and *Kristóf Gosztonyi*, *Jan Köhler*, *Basir Feda* engage more closely with the question about the role of militias in the provision of (in-)security, and to what extent the formal integration of militias in the framework/context of security sector reforms (SSR) promotes a more effective provision of (public) security.

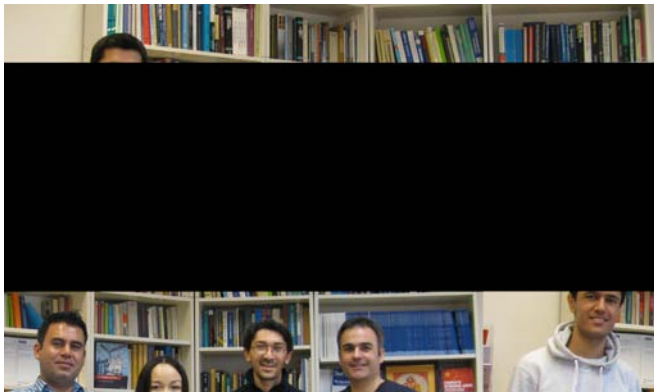
Aside from the special section, Hans-Joachim Gießmann appreciates the work and the impact of the leading figure in the Federal Republic's Ostpolitik, and longtime director of the IFSH, Egon Bahr, who died at the age of 93 on August 19<sup>th</sup>, 2015.

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## Staff News

### Central Asia Workshop in Hamburg



*f.l.t.r.: Azamjon Isabaev, Maisam Wahidi, Aigerim Shilibekova, Jafar Usmanov, Sebastian Schiek*

In November and December 2015, three guest researchers from Georgia, Kazakhstan and Tajikistan visited the IFSH. The visits – lasting between two to four weeks – were financed by the project “Konfliktprävention in der Region Kaukasus/Zentralasien und Moldau” (Translation: Conflict prevention in the Caucasus/Central Asia and Moldavia) by the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD). The visit in Hamburg was one building on several prior joint workshops everyone had participated in. Two of the participants, Aigerim Shilibekova and Jafar Usmanov, for example, took part in two work-

shops concerning research on political legitimacy in Central Asia. Ms. Shilibekova is the director of the Center for Regional and International Studies at the Eurasian University in Astana; Mr. Usmanov is a fellow at the Tajik National University. The third guest was Ekaterine Danelia, who is a PhD student at the Ilia State University in Tbilisi, Georgia.

The highlight of the visit was a one-day workshop that also included Sebastian Schiek from CORE/IFSH and two PhD candidates at the IFSH, Azamjon Isabaev (Uzbekistan) and Maisam Wahidi (Afghanistan). First, all participants introduced their current research projects. In the second half of the workshop the research projects were compared and discussed in order to identify common elements, tying them back conceptionally and empirically to the topic of political legitimacy.

**Weeda Mehran**, starting February 2015, has joined the IFSH as a short-term guest researcher. Her research focuses on Islamic radicalization of youth in Afghanistan and Iraq. Weeda has recently completed her PhD in



Politics and International Studies at the University of Cambridge. Her PhD dissertation concerns how warlords influenced the process of peace building in Afghanistan. She holds an MSc degree from the University of Oxford and an MA degree from Kent University in Brussels. She is an activist and has worked at a number of organizations, such as, the Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission, Integrity Watch Afghanistan, Free and Fair Election Forum of Afghanistan and Afghanistan Research and Evaluation Unit. She has written research reports on social and political issues in Afghanistan. She also writes short stories in English and Persian.

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