

## Causes of flight in focus: Assuming responsibility

### Peace Report 2016 in Berlin



*The team of editors together with members of the Defence Committee of the German Bundestag and the Subcommittee for Civil Crisis Prevention. Margret Johannsen hands over the Peace Report 2016 to the Head of the Defence Committee Wolfgang Hellmich (SPD). Photo: © Deutscher Bundestag/Achim Melde*

Sixty million people all over the world have had to flee their homes and seek refuge elsewhere. More than a million landed in Germany last year after an often perilous journey. With this year's key topic, the authors examine the largest refugee movement in Europe since World War II: its humanitarian significance, its political consequences and the acid test to which it exposes politics and society. In its 2016 issue, the yearbook addresses the linkages between war, repression, the world trade order and seeking refuge, sheds a light on crisis-torn countries like Syria, Lebanon and Turkey, focuses on state-failure and state-collapse as a source of flight and concludes: "When authoritarian regimes can only retain power by means of repression, when state apparatuses no longer bring any benefits for the community, social, political and

regional confrontations can easily escalate into violent conflicts."

Supported by the German Foundation for Peace Research (DSF), the Peace Report appears for the 30th time this year and is dedicated to its co-founder Egon Bahr.

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It is edited on behalf of the five institutes by Margret Johannsen (IFSH), Bruno Schoch (PRIF), Max M. Mutschler (BICC), Corinna Hauswedell (FEST) und Jochen Hippler (INEF). Overall editorial responsibility for the 2016 Peace Report was assumed, on a rotating basis, by the IFSH in Hamburg. The articles originating in the IFSH are authored by Christiane Fröhlich, Regina Heller and Martin Kahl together with Stephan Hensell.

In their statement "Current Developments and Recommendations", the editors warn against overestimating the possibilities to influence developments from outside. The regime-change wars in Afghanistan, Iraq and Libya hold a lesson: The overthrowing of autocratic rulers finally resulted in social fragmentation and the total collapse of state structures. The editors argue for inclusive negotiations whenever possible and necessary to end civil war. They harshly criticize arms exports into regions of crisis and support the European Parliament's demand for a weapons embargo on Saudi-Arabia. They demand a law on the control of the exports of arms that would transform the current "Political Principles", including the new "Small Arms Principles" of 18 March 2015, into legally binding rules.

The Peace Report also comments on the controversial issue of German participation in the war against the Islamic State (IS). Based on two book chapters on the IS, it comes to the conclusion that the future of IS and its extremist state-project will not be decided on military, but on political grounds. The Report elaborates: In the Arab region, legitimate and functioning statehood is crucial for stripping the Islamic State's apocalyptic messianic promise off its credibility.

As for Europe, sufficiently financed prevention programs are urgently needed to countervail enticing identification offers of IS so as to eradicate the social roots of homemade jihadism. Moreover, the editors argue that the right to self-defence which was invoked to legitimize military intervention cannot be derived from the Paris attack of November 2015. Participation in "coalitions of the willing" is rejected. Instead and in the long term, the authors favour strengthening the robust capabilities of the United Nations. Concerning the deportation of Afghan refugees to allegedly safe zones in Afghanistan, the Peace Report on the basis of empirical evidence holds that there are no safe zones in Afghanistan and concludes that war refugees from Afghanistan ought to continue to receive protection and residence in Germany.

Under the motto „assuming responsibility“, the Peace Report in depth discusses the acid test to which the refugee issue exposes Europe. The yearbook takes a close look at countries going it alone and externalization strategies in the management of the refugee issue, explores the challenge of immigration and integration and concludes: If integration is to succeed for both the immigrants *and* the native

population, it must be considered together with social issues. As the Report puts it: "Integration emerges precisely from working through conflict without violence."

The editors presented their report at the Federal Press Conference in Berlin on June 7, 2016. Subsequently, they submitted their findings and discussed their recommendations in a three days tour through the political Berlin: 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 Federal Foreign Office, with the Federal Ministry of Economic Cooperation and Development and within the framework of the Federal Ministry of Defence's dialogue on security matters with the churches. 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 in collaboration with the five institutes was dedicated to the refugee issue and discussed it in view of "Europe's dual responsibility". Moderated by Bettina Gaus (taz), Nicole Deitelhoff (PRIF) und Andreas Heinemann-Grüder (BICC) argued with Minister of State for Europe at the Federal Foreign Office Michael Roth about the question "Flight and refugee policy: How do they affect Europe?"

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### Third „Deep Cuts“ Report Discussed in Moscow



*Participants of the Workshop (f.l.t.r.): Victor Mizin, Ulrich Kühn, Götz Neuneck, Hans Kristensen, Victor Esin*

On June 20, 2016 IFSH Hamburg and the Primakov Institute of World Economy and International Relations, Russian Academy of Sciences (IMEMO, RAN), supported by the Konrad Adenauer Foundation's Moscow Office held a one-day event under the title of "Restraint and Dialogue: Improving European Security and Arms Control." This

international workshop was attended by some 40 experts from Russia, the United States, and Germany. On behalf of IFAR<sup>2</sup>, Ulrich Kühn and Götz Neuneck took active part in the discussions. Alexei Arbatov (IMEMO) and David Holloway (CISAC, Stanford University) held the keynote speeches. The recommendations of the Third Report of the Deep Cuts Commission, which was released the same day, served as the basis for discussions. Participants concentrated particularly on the increasingly tense security relations between NATO member states and Russia, particularly with a view on the security situation around the Baltic Rim. In that regard, Russian participants stressed the fact that NATO's planned reinforcement measures for its easternmost allies, to be announced at the Warsaw Summit in July, would most likely further complicate the difficult relationship with the alliance and would cloud prospects for reviving possible cooperation with NATO. Wolfgang Richter (SWP) underscored that there is still time and possibility for jointly crafting a possible sub-regional arms control and confidence- and security-building regime with reciprocal and verifiable measures for the Baltic region. In the ensuing sessions, participants discussed the further maintenance of the framework for strategic stability, with a special focus on the New START agreement and a possible follow-on treaty. In this conjunction, analysts from the United States (Hans Kristensen of the Federation of American Sciences, Adam Mount of the Center for American Progress and Greg Thielmann of the Arms Control Association) expressed their concern that the unresolved issue of Russian compliance with the 1987 Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty might negatively influence the strategic nuclear dialogue of Washington and Moscow. If the INF issue would linger on, prospects for U.S. Senate advice and consent to any new arms control agreement with Russia would be rather bleak, experts argued. At the end of the event, discussants turned to the question of mutual nuclear modernization efforts and criticized redundant systems such as purchase of the envisioned Long-Range Standoff (LRSO) weapon in the United States.

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## Workshop on Security Policy „Narratives“ in Geneva

Hosted by the Geneva Centre for Security Policy (GCSP), the OSCE Network's Study Group on "European Security – Challenges at the Societal Level" held its first workshop in the GCSP's new futuristic "maison de la paix" building in Geneva on 27/28 May. The usual security policy workshops follow almost always the same bipolar pattern of discussion: Russia and the West. This time, however, the focus of the

discussion was fundamentally changed: The two dozen of workshop participants from 13 countries discussed 13 so-called country security policy narratives on the basis of draft papers.



*Participants of the OSCE Network's Study Group on "European Security – Challenges at the Societal Level"*

These are elite and broader population perceptions of what character the security relations in Europe have, what threats are perceived, who is "guilty" for the current worsening of relations, what common interests exist, and what kind of relations should be pursued in Europe.

It turned out that neither in the "West" nor in the Russian orbit, do uniform positions exist. For example, even the official positions of Belarus and Kazakhstan differ substantially from the Russian perception, particularly after the Ukrainian crisis.

The same is true for the West, where particularly perceptions of Russia vary widely from a clear "Russia is a threat" to "the USA are responsible", as French neo-gaullists would see it. This focus on diverse narratives, which is one of the project's innovative features, was seen as a very promising approach by the workshop participants. The second innovative approach is not to limit oneself to the state-to-state level, but to link lines of fragmentation at the societal level to inter- and transnational relations.

Now, the Study Group's next challenge is to translate the material of the country narratives into a consistent report on European security, something nobody has tried to do before. The project is supported by Austria, Finland, Germany and Switzerland.

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## Urban Security in the Context of International Security Panel Discussion in Berlin



*F.l.t.r. Nadine Godehardt, Jürgen Häpp, Hubert Nienhoff, Stephan Graham, Sybille Reinke de Buitrago*

Sybille Reinke de Buitrago participated in the panel on “Urban (In)Securities: The City as Target. The Interplay between City Planning, Securitization and International Politics”, held on May 19, 2016 at AEDES, Berlin and organized by Nadine Godehardt, SWP and The Aedes Metropolitan Laboratory/Aedes Network Campus Berlin, in cooperation with the ZEIT Stiftung. The panel discussed how the city has become a target for various threats and insecurities, as well as the current political, societal, technological, building, and urban planning responses. Sybille Reinke de Buitrago discussed urban security in the context of international security. Applying a perspective that links perception, discourse, space and power, she highlighted the (inter-)subjective sense of security in the urban space, the city as physical as well as social and political construction with inherent political meaning, and the city’s special characteristics and resulting vulnerabilities. Taking a look back to the events of 9/11 in the U.S. and how security measures changed for the city of Washington, D.C. afterwards, she illustrated the effects that the exploitation of a city’s vulnerabilities and the application of particular security measures in response have on a city and its citizens. Relatedly, she discussed the dynamics of securitization, in-/visibility of measures, and created incentives to maintain a feeling of insecurity. In the panel also participated Prof. Stephan Graham (University of Newcastle), Jürgen Häpp (Arup, Frankfurt) and Hubert Nienhoff (gmp von Gerkan, Marg & Partner, Hamburg). Critical peers were Prof. Jon Coaffee (University of Warwick) and Dr. Mohammadbagher Forough (University of Groningen). For more information, see:  
[www.ancb.de/sixcms/detail.php?id=16694988#.V0M6FJGLTDc](http://www.ancb.de/sixcms/detail.php?id=16694988#.V0M6FJGLTDc)

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## Staff News

As of June 2016, **Esther Somfalvy** joined IFSH/CORE as a researcher. Together with Anna Kreikemeyer she prepares a grant application on the topic of EU-Central Asia relations.



Previously, she studied Political Science at the University of Bremen and European Studies in Passau and Kazan and worked for the OECD Eurasia Competitiveness Programme. Central Asia is not only the focus of her work at IFSH, but also of her doctoral dissertation. As PhD fellow at the Bremen International Graduate School of Social Sciences (BIGSSS), Esther explores the practices of parliamentary representation in Kazakhstan and the Kyrgyz Republic. In particular, her research focuses on the question how limited electoral competitiveness affects the relationship between Members of Parliament and their voters.

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## Interns from the EU consortium on non-proliferation

In June 2016, two interns sponsored by the EU Non-Proliferation Consortium joined the IFSH. The Iranian Parisa Farhadi deals with the presentation of the Iranian nuclear program in the international media, and the historian Ole Zimmermann with the evolution of the non-proliferation norm within the Soviet research community. A third intern sponsored by the EU will join the IFSH in September 2016.

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## Publications

### S+F. Security and Peace, Issue 1/2016: Migration, Security, Peace

The idea, that rising numbers of victims in the Mediterranean Sea could have a deterrent effect on refugees who want to come to Europe, was proven wrong. The amount of people who cross the Mediterranean Sea has continuously risen. The number of fatalities and people gone missing has reached its high-point in 2015.



In her introduction, Patricia Schneider provides some common ground on what has become a highly polarized debate by offering information on migration and refugees. Sven Chojnacki and Lisa Paping show how in the process of “Hybridization” of border zones territoriality has not lost its meaning,

but that processes of re-territorialization and re-bordering lead to conflicting constellations of control. Lorenz Neuberger shows that the governments of Australia and Canada use refugee resettlement to present themselves as protectors of the right to asylum, while trying to impede ‘spontaneous arrivals’ through strict border regimes.

Katharina Götsch examines the Austrian media discourse regarding the issue of (potentially) radicalized Muslims in Europe. She argues that the current refugee movements and foreign fighter returnees are presented as a security threat.

Ulrike Krause analyzes refugee situations with a focus on camps, violence and protracted refugee situations. She describes refugee-camps as “post-conflict” situations, since they are spheres in which people are living who escaped a conflict. However these camps can be havens for fighters as well.

Kathryn Tätzsch highlights key challenges for displaced populations, starting from a lack of an overarching expanded definition and research framework to analyse and theoretically address the “mixed migrations” phenomenon from a conflict analysis and peacebuilding perspective.

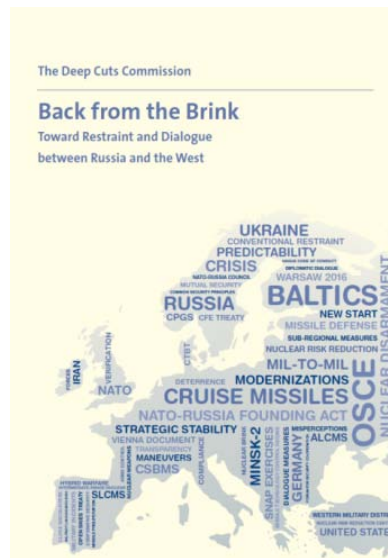
Volker Boege analyses the resettlement of communities in Oceania due to the effects of climate change. Here migration governance is not an issue for state institutions alone, but also for non-state actors and the customary sphere.

The section Forum deals with viewpoints from politicians on migration, security and peace. It consists of contributions by Olaf Scholz, Norbert Neuser, Birgit Sippel, Joachim Herrmann, David McAllister, Michael Gahler, Gregor Gysi, Cornelia Ernst, Alexander S. Neu and Reinhardt Bütikofer.

Outside the special section: In the Documentation we print an obituary on the former Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and his commitment to Peace Politics and Security Policies authored by Michael Staack. Moreover, we publish a position paper by the Commission „Europäische Sicherheit und Zukunft der Bundeswehr“ at IFSH on „Weißbücher“.

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**Back from the Brink: Toward Restraint and Dialogue between Russia and the West (Third Report of the Deep Cuts Commission). Hamburg, Moscow, Washington: IFSH, 2016.**



In its Third Report, the Deep Cuts Commission takes on the difficult issue of European security against the background of the renewed West-Russian confrontation. Taking into account the most recent arms build ups in and around the Baltic Rim, the Commission sees a sub-regional security dilemma unfolding and warns of the mutual negative consequences for all parties involved.

In order to prevent a possible arms race during the next years, the Commission recommends a mutual sub-regional restraint mechanism, coupled with additional transparency and confidence-building measures.

In addition, holding on to the NATO-Russia Founding Act of 1997 is recommended. In the nuclear realm, the Commission suggests to full compliance with the disputed Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty and criticizes the unconstrained horizontal as well as vertical proliferation of nuclear-tipped cruise missiles.

To prevent a possible escalation up to the nuclear level between NATO and Russia, the authors argue for a jointly manned U.S.-Russian-NATO communications cell with direct telephone links to the respective Chiefs of Staff. Addressing the mutual U.S. and Russian nuclear modernization programs with the aim of preventing possibly dangerous misperceptions, the Commission recommends reciprocal bilateral restraint and transparency measures. The full report is available at: <http://deepcuts.org/publications/reports>.

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