

IFSH starts new multi-year research projects:

PANDORA



Staff members Janina Pawelz, Martin Kahl (photo: IFSH)

The joint project, „PANDORA – Propaganda, Mobilization and Radicalization to Violence in the virtual and real World”, started in March 2017. It is financed by the Federal Ministry of Education and Research within the framework of “Civil Security - Aspects and Measures of Counterterrorism” and will run for three years (March 2017 – February 2020).

The project examines the cases of the extreme right-wing and the Salafist-jihadist milieu to analyze how online and “offline” propaganda affects violence carried out in the real world and considers which counter-narratives can be developed. There are two research objectives: First, the project aims to understand which ideologemes, meanings and symbolisms stem from discourses on the Internet - in the virtual spheres and social media in particular. Second, this project seeks an answer to the question of which mobilization and radicalization effects produce these discourses, along with discourses in the real world.

Project partners are the Department of Political Science, Phillips-Universität Marburg, the Peace Research Institute Frankfurt (PRIF), the Center for Technology and Society, Technische Universität Berlin, the Department of Law, Johannes Gutenberg University Mainz and Munich Innovation Labs UG.

Within PANDORA, the IFSH focuses on the comparison of the extreme right-wing with the Salafist/jihadist mobilization to violence. We also examine opportunities for de-radicalization and the implementation thereof in the field. The project team consists of Martin Kahl (head), Janina Pawelz (researcher) and Stephen Albrecht (assistant).

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The Knowledge Politics of Security in the Anthropocene



Art installation at Edge Hill University (photo: Robin Woolston)

Evidence is mounting that the planet has entered a new geological age: the Anthropocene. The Anthropocene refers to the age in which humanity took control over the planet and pushed the earth system into a new stage of disequilibrium, with potentially catastrophic implications. Several authors in international relations (IR) have recently argued that the challenge of the Anthropocene age requires a fundamental rethinking of international security. With his three-year research project, funded by the German Research Foundation, Delf Rothe seeks to develop a novel perspective on Anthropocene security. To achieve this, the project asks a range of questions, which have, so far not been addressed by the literature: how is knowledge of security risks in the Anthropocene age produced? And how is it disseminated, blocked, transferred, challenged, reinterpreted and implemented within the security field?

The proposed project will develop a new theoretical framework that allows studying the growing convergence of knowledge and security practices, in what

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**New IFSH Lecture Series:
Enquiries in Peace and Security**

“Peacebuilding – The Twenty Years’ Crisis”
with

Prof. David Chandler, University of Westminster

Prof. Anna Geis, Helmut Schmidt University

31 May 2017, 18:00 ST

IFSH, Beim Schlump 83, 20144 Hamburg, room 2/23

Registration requested at ennen@ifsh.de

The idea of peacebuilding seems to have come to an end. Its grounding assumptions that democracy, the rule of law and free markets can be a universal solution to conflict-prone states and societies, are considered naive at best, and hubristic and Eurocentric at worst. But is the end of peacebuilding a cause for celebration? Have we really entered a ‘post-liberal’ era? And what comes after it, if not a mere realist resignation to the world as it appears? David Chandler will present key findings from his new book “Peacebuilding – The Twenty Years’ Crisis 1997-2017”, charting the rise and fall of peacebuilding and revealing the discursive shifts in the self-understanding of the peacebuilding project in policy and academic debate. Anna Geis will comment on and complement his views, embedding them into the broader discussion of the current crisis of Western liberalism, mirrored in the crisis of peacebuilding.

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continued from page 1: Delf Rothe calls *The Knowledge Politics of Security in the Anthropocene*. It does so by linking two recent debates within International Relations (IR): practice-based approaches to security, on the one hand, and the approaches of visual security, or visual securitization, on the other. Equipped with this framework, the project will study the increasing cooperation of professionals, including earth system scientists, security professionals, policy-makers and practitioners who, together, make planetary changes and related security risks visible, calculable and, thereby, governable.

Empirically, the research project covers new ground by providing an initial empirical analysis of the growing fusion of knowledge and security politics in the Anthropocene age, based on three in-depth case studies. The first case study will look at practices of environmental remote sensing as an attempt to provide foresight products that predict and prevent future environmental threats and risks. The second case study will deal with discourses and practices of resilience, and ask how knowledge on environmental security risks is transferred to and used within local projects of resilience promotion. The third case study will investigate the security risks of geo-engineering – i.e. intentional attempts to intervene in the global climate system – as well as possible forms of controlling these risks.

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IFAR Arms Control Workshops and Side Events in Washington, Berlin and Vienna

In its fourth phase, the trilateral Deep Cuts project, made up of 21 Russian, American and German experts, aimed to discuss, with the Trump Administration and the US Congress, its findings, compiled in small steps since 2013, following a Carnegie Conference in Washington. The results of the Commission were – up until now – compiled jointly and in consensus and published in the form of reports. The visit to Washington made clear that the new US administration has, first of all, little interest in arms control and is more interested in enforcement and compliance mechanisms.



The Deep Cuts Commission at a round table with Amb. Patricia Flor at the Brookings Institution in Washington

The kick-off for a further workshop in Washington, which was prepared together with the Arms Control Association, began in the Brookings Institution with a roundtable discussion with Ambassador Patricia Flor, the representative of the German Federal Government for Arms Control and Disarmament. Ambassador Flor emphasized the willingness of the Federal Government to participate actively in the continuation of the step-by-step approach. However, the Ban Treaty Movement could undermine the significance of the NPT process.

Over the following two days, the members of the Deep Cuts Commission developed the foundations for a briefing paper on the continuation of the INF treaty, which is, at present, being questioned by the Russian as well as the American side. At a joint dinner, Angela Kane, the former UN High Representative for Disarmament, emphasized, in a keynote speech that the upcoming Ban Treaty negotiations in New York will focus primarily, not on disarmament, but on humanitarian objectives. The results of the three days of talks were presented at the National Press Club by the former Ambassadors Steven Pifer (US), Walter Schmid (Germany) and Sergej Rogov (Moscow). Further findings were also discussed, from national perspectives, on Capitol Hill with members of the US Congress. For the slowly-forming Trump administration, the continuation of the INF Treaty and relations with Russia

are of preeminent importance, alongside the crises around Syria and North Korea. The Washington results were discussed with international experts at further events in Berlin and Vienna. During an expert discussion in Berlin, which took place in collaboration with FONAS and the German Physics Society (DPG), Prof. Ted Postol (MIT) and George Lewis examined the consequences of the deployment of the missile defence in Europe and Asia. Götz Neuneck gave a talk on the connection between the INF Treaty and European missile defence. Subsequently, the analyses were discussed with officials from the Federal Foreign Office. At a side event, at the beginning of the NPT PrepCom in Vienna on 2 May 2017, a panel (Ambassador Susanne Baumann, Viktor Mizin, Götz Neuneck and Greg Thielmann), prepared by Lina-Marieke Hilgert and the Federal Foreign Office, presented the results. The focus was the future of the INF Treaty and its influence on nuclear arms control. Around 60 delegation members and NGO representatives participated in this event.

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Civil Prevention of Religious Radicalization in Central Asia

Conference at the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences in Moscow



The Participants of the conference “Civil Radicalization Prevention in Central Asia”

On 4/5 April 2017, CORE and the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences in Moscow, together with experts from Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan, conducted an initial review of civil prevention in the area of religious radicalization in Central Asia. About 20 academics took part in the conference. Three topical areas were covered in several rounds of discussion. First, the social conditions, under which Islamic radicalization tendencies could currently be observed in the region, were addressed. Thereby, the special features and the differences between the

individual Central Asia states in dealing with the common challenges were discussed. A generally limited level of education – deficits in religious education as well as the relationship between the Hanafi persuasion, traditional in the region, and the currently infiltrating Salafi interpretation of Islam, alien to the region, were addressed. Not least, there is considerable tension between the two of them in the domestic sphere. In all areas, concrete operating requirements for state, civil society, but also for religious actors, have resulted. The second topical area dealt with the deficits in radicalization prevention and the tasks for the Central Asian governments derived from this. Third, the possibilities and requirements of specific civil societal involvement were the focus of the discussions. The conference was the opening event of the CORE project “Civil-Political Radicalization Prevention in Central Asia”, funded by the German Foreign Office. It took place in a very open and professional atmosphere. Further rounds of discussions in Central Asia are anticipated within the framework of the project.

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Publications



S+F. Security and Peace, Issue 1/2017

Nato, Security and Peace

NATO is currently undergoing a renaissance. This volume of S+F, published by Hans Joachim Giessmann, tries to capture this renaissance scientifically.

NATO’s members have certainly never disputed the premise of collective de-

fense, even in the years since the end of the Cold War. At the same time, the Alliance and its members have set out to find a new role for the organization in Europe and beyond since the early 1990s. Global crisis management – in cooperation with other states, also including Russia – has been regarded as the new preferred strategic concept, given the changed international status quo.

There were, indeed, a number of instances of joint action, especially in the decade following the end of the East-West conflict in, for example, the Balkans. However, even then, the disagreement over the future of the European security order was casting its first shadows over NATO-Russia relations. In this respect, NATO is not to blame in view of the interest in the persistence of the Alliance. Similarly, the organization cannot be accused of not taking significant measures to supplement collective defense efforts with elements of collective

security. The failure lies rather in the non-achievement of a joint collective European security order, together with Russia. States interested in NATO membership could not overcome their deep mistrust of Russia. Pressure applied by former member countries of the Warsaw Pact had a significant impact on the speed and extent of NATO's enlargement.

At no point in time has Russia, for its part, regarded the Western defense alliance as *not* directed against itself. Every advance by NATO into former Soviet Union territory was, thus, interpreted as proof of the West's intention to push Russia out of Europe. The Russian occupation of Crimea constitutes a preliminary capstone of the failing process aimed at establishing a European security order together with Russia. Yet, the need for joint security remains unchanged. NATO and Russia will have to find a much improved way to interact constructively in their capacities as security partners.

In this issue, *Hans Joachim Giessmann* examines the reasons behind NATO's return to the strategic concept of fusing deterrence and dialogue. *Claudia Major* and *Christian Mölling* discuss the contemporary importance of NATO's dual approach of deterrence and dialogue.

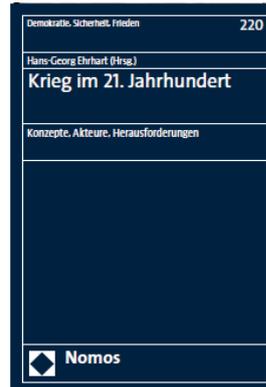
Werner Sonne asks if a creeping erosion of the Western community of values could not also lead to the implosion of the Western alliance. *Wolfgang Schwarz* critically reconsiders the outcomes of last year's NATO summit in Warsaw. *Thomas Böhlke* and *Edward Canfour-Dumas* approach the discussion on NATO's role from a military/operational perspective, investigating suitable military contributions towards stability and crisis management.

In addition to the issue's main focus, *Stefan Goertz* analyses several events in Europe drawing conclusions on specific tactics, techniques and procedures by the so-called Islamic State. *Felix Schulte's* article seeks to shed light on the question of which institutions may be best suited to achieve sustainable peace and durable democracy after violent ethnic conflict.

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Hans-Georg Ehrhart (Hrsg.), Krieg im 21. Jahrhundert, Konzepte, Akteure, Herausforderungen, Reihe: Demokratie, Sicherheit, Frieden, Bd. 220, Baden-Baden 2017, ISBN 978-3-8487-4114-4, with contributions by Michael Brzoska, Marcel Dickow, Hans-Georg Ehrhart, Miriam Förstle, Dirk Freudenberg, Stephan Hensell, Andreas Herberg-Rothe, Roland Kaestner, Martin Kahl, Bernhard Koch, Tobias von Lossow, Max Mutschler, Klaus Schlichte, Johann

Schmid, Ulrich Schneckener, Key-young Son und Felix Wassermann.



War in the 21st century is more complex, volatile, society-based and information-intensive than ever before. One could simplify the description of waging war as different combinations of highly modern, traditional and asymmetric components which, according to the postmodern maxim "anything goes", aim to contain war through a combination of military and civilian means. However, waging war also inevitably has boomerang effects, which can lead to its escalating. New options for engagement are supposed to minimise the risk of each side incurring losses and facilitate the waging of war. At the same time, asymmetric reactions are provoked and the normative lines of demarcation redrawn. This book aims to present, categorise and explain different aspects of war and warfare in the 21st century, because understanding them is a prerequisite for preserving or reinstating peace.

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Arne C. Seifert, Dialog und Transformation. 25 Jahre OSZE- und Zentralasienforschung, Reihe: Demokratie, Sicherheit, Frieden, Bd. 219, Baden-Baden 2017, ISBN 978-3-8487-3827-4. Arne Seifert



has been following political developments in Tajikistan ever since he was a member of an OSCE mission during 1996 and 1997. He witnessed how the opposition was oppressed, criminalized and prosecuted. In his work, he focused on relations between secular and Islamic forces in Tajikistan and Central Asia. He was dedi-

icated not only to a scientific approach but, beyond that, aimed at fostering dialogue, communication and cooperation between the two sides. The texts compiled in this volume are a documentation of his work, as well as the developments in Tajikistan and Central Asia over a period of more than two decades, in the form of case studies, documents, reports and analyses.

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Margret Johannsen: Der Nahost-Konflikt. Eine Einführung, Wiesbaden 2017, 247 S., ISBN 978-3-658-16087-6. This short introduction to the Arab-



Israeli conflict, which was first published in 2006 as part of the series “Elements of Politics”, has now appeared in its fourth edition. In view of the regional turmoil following the Arab Spring and the ensuing armed conflicts in a number of states, the author decided to undertake a thorough revision and update of the book. In a historical overview, she traces the conflict from its origins in the late 19th century until the present. There follows a chapter on the peace process of the 1990s, when the parties to the conflict were trying to find a solution through direct negotiations, and on the relapse into violence which, since autumn 2000, has characterized the conflict dynamics. A chronology of the conflict and its antecedents, which the publisher supplies online, help with orientation in the historical dimension. It is followed by a systematic conflict addressing those hard issues, without whose settlement the conflict will, in all probability, not be solved, and those actors whose manners of involvement determine the dynamics of the conflict. The analysis pertains not only to government decisions and actions, but also to those of oppositional forces, parties, armed groups, influential interest groups and the like. Beyond the direct parties to the conflict, actors, such as neighbors, extra-regional states or international organizations which, directly or indirectly, intervene in the conflict, are also dealt with as parts of the comprehensive picture. The book concludes with an outlook, which addresses a number of alternative scenarios of possible developments of the Middle-East conflict.

been welcomed for breaking with alarmist discourses that have framed climate-induced migration as a threat to national or international security. Rothe contributes to this ongoing debate by bringing in a fresh perspective that has so far been neglected: the perspective of gender. Drawing on a poststructuralist perspective on gender, the article reveals that policy debates on climate-induced migration take place within highly gendered discourses.

Applying this perspective to recent policy reports on climate change, migration and resilience, Rothe’s article helps to paint a more nuanced picture of the strongly criticized notion of resilience. The analysis shows that, on the one hand, resilience thinking has helped overcome a masculinized discourse of security as control. On the other hand, it reproduces a series of ‘gender myths’ about the role of women in the so-called Global South. The article is part of a broader special issue on “Human Mobility in Times of Crisis” edited by Christiane Fröhlich – associate member of the IFSH and senior researcher and lecturer at the University of Hamburg.



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Delf Rothe, Gendering Resilience: Myths and stereotypes in the discourse on climate-induced migration, in: 'Human Mobility in Times of Crisis' Special Issue, ed. by Christiane Fröhlich, *Global Policy*, vol. 8, S1, pp. 40-47. In his article, Delf Rothe investigates recent European policy proposals that promote migration as an adaptation strategy to increase the resilience of communities vulnerable to the environmental crisis. Such proposals have

Staff News



The Institute of Oriental Studies at the Russian Academy of Sciences awarded **Arne C. Seifert**, Central Asia Consultant of CORE, an honorary doctorate on

the 04 April 2017 in Moscow. The Institute thereby honoured Mr Seifert's long-time contribution to collaborative research in the field of Central Asia, especially concerning the difficulties of transformation, secular-Islamic relations, as well as interaction with political Islam in Central Asia. Particular mention was made of Mr Seifert's work on Tajikistan. On the occasion of his 80th birthday, CORE/IFSH recognised the multifaceted and long-time commitment of Mr Seifert with the publication of his volume 'Dialogue and Transformation. 25 Years of OSCE und Central Asia Research.' (see above).

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In April 2017, **Janina Pawelz** joined the IFSH's project "PANDORA: Propaganda, Mobilization and Radicalization to Violence in the virtual and real World" funded by the Federal Ministry of Education and Research. Her research interests are the dynamics of violence, youth, gangs, political violence, radicalization and the transformation of violent groups.



In 2016, she completed her doctoral studies in the GIGA Doctoral Program at the GIGA Institute of Global and Area Studies. In her dissertation, she examined the transformation of violence-prone groups in Trinidad and Tobago and Timor-Leste.

Her research is based on six months of fieldwork in the Caribbean and Southeast Asia, where she conducted interviews with gang members. During her field research she was hosted by the Institute for Peace and Conflict Studies, Universidade Nasional Timor Lorosa'e and the Criminology Department at the University of the West Indies in Trinidad and Tobago. Previously, she studied political science, Southeast Asian studies and anthropology at the University of Hamburg and at the Universitas Udayana, Indonesia. Furthermore, she has worked abroad as an international consultant for the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) and is a member of the expert pool for election observation of the Center for International Peace Operations (Zentrum für International Friedenseinsätze – ZIF). Before she joined the IFSH, she was a post-doctoral researcher at the GIGA Institute of Asian Studies.

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In March and April, the Humboldt Prize winner and science historian, **Prof. Roy MacLeod**, from the University of Sydney, was a guest researcher at IFSH. His research focuses, *inter alia*, on: nuclear history, chemical weapons, strategic studies and strategic minerals. Roy MacLeod has worked at several universities:

inter alia in London, Paris, Bologna, Oxford, and Cambridge. He has also been editor of various magazines. As part of IFAR, he was working on topics of strategic stability in Asia-Pacific and rare minerals. His stay was supported by the Humboldt Foundation. The cooperation with IFAR will be continued in the future.

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