

IFSH news 121

ACTIVITIES ● RESEARCH PROJECTS ● PUBLICATIONS ● STAFF NEWS

Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg

JULY-SEPTEMBER 2017

Visit to Foreign Minister Gabriel at the Federal Foreign Office Berlin



Roundtable with Foreign Minister Sigmar Gabriel and members of the Deep Cuts Commission

On 16. August 2017, the Deep Cuts Commission, initiated and coordinated by IFSH, had the opportunity to present its results to Foreign Minister Sigmar Gabriel and his team in a discussion at the Federal Foreign Office. The Deep Cuts Commission, founded in 2013, consists of 21 experts from Russia, the United States and Germany and has prepared and published three comprehensive reports as well as diverse working papers on strategic arms control, disarmament and nonproliferation (<www.deepcuts.org>). The focal points of the project, which is supported by the Federal Foreign Office and the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg, are the future of strategic stability in view of new military-technical developments, such as missile defense, the continuance of the INF Treaty and the further development of conventional arms control. The results have been presented and discussed internationally in various working meetings and panel discussions in Hamburg, Berlin, Moscow, Washington D.C., Vienna and New York.

The participants were first introduced by Ambassador Dr. Patricia Flor, who heads the Department of "International Order, United Nations and Arms Control" at the Federal Foreign Office. Then Götz Neuneck introduced the issues and the work results of the Commission. In trilateral cooperation, the Commission has developed recommendations which governments can adopt – assuming the relevant (continued on page 2)

New IFSH Director Prof. Dr. Ursula Schröder

On 1 October 2017, Prof. Dr. Ursula Schröder, took over the leadership of the IFSH as Scientific Director. Simultaneously, she took up the position as Professor for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg. Dr. Schröder was most recently Professor for International Security Policy at the Free University of Berlin where she researched questions on state structure and reforms of the security sector in crisis areas. She studied in Berlin and Aberystwyth (Wales) and received her doctoral degree from the European University Institute in Florence.

Prof. Schröder held her first lecture at the University of Hamburg on the topic of "The Role of Peace and Security Research in Politics and Society" on the occasion of the presentation of diplomas to the graduates of the 15th class and the welcoming of the 16th class of the Master's Degree Program 'Peace and Security' on October 11, 2017.

A detailed profile of the new IFSH Director will appear in ifsh aktuell 122.

Public IFSH Events in November 2017

7. November 2017:

Lecture Series "Essentials in Peace & Security"

17. November 2017:

4th Interdisciplinary Central Asia Day

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left): Lina Hilgert (IFSH), Greg Thielmann (USA, ACA), Andrei Zagorski (Russia, IMEMO), Ambassador Walter J. Schmid (Germany), Ulrich Kühn (Carnegie Endowment), Sergei Rogov (Russia, ISCAN), Daryl Kimball (USA, ACA), Thomas Countryman (USA), Götz Neuneck (IFSH)

political will. Otherwise new forms of arms races and dangerous instabilities threaten. The focus of the subsequent statements was arms control in Europe (in particular, the INF and CFE Treaties) from the US and the Russian perspectives, but also the new challenges, due to North Korea and the questioning of the Iran agreement (JCPOA) of 2015, as well as the outlook for a N-START follow-up agreement on nuclear disarmament.

Thomas Countryman, former U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for International Security and Non-Proliferation in the Obama Administration emphasized that the INF Treaty is not only a bilateral treaty, but also needs clear European engagement for future security. The same applies to the agreement with Iran, which has recently been called into question by US President Trump, although up until now there have been no violations of it from Iran's side. Sergei Rogov, Director of the Moscow Institute for USA and Canadian Studies at the Russian Academy of Sciences (IS-CAN) pointed out that arms control is finding itself in a serious crisis. It must be fundamentally strengthened again in order not to slip into perilous realms. Also, the arms control expertise has gone missing in administrations and parliaments over the course of the years. Many politicians no longer know the bases, the significance and the mechanisms of the valid treaties. The Deep Cuts members emphasize the urgent need to do more for the preservation and expansion of tried and tested arms control regimes and suggested concrete steps for risk avoidance. To avoid dangerous incidents or to prevent a dramatic escalation of accidents in crisis situations, direct contacts between the militaries (i.e. NATO-Russia) are indispensable. Andrei Zagorski (IMEMO, Moscow) thinks the problems between Russia and the USA are primarily of a political nature and

that the open questions could be resolved. Greg Thielmann (Washington, D.C.) emphasized that the US Congress represents a greater threat to the INF-Treaty than the current US government which complicates the situation.

After the hour-and-a-half exchange of views, Foreign Minister Sigmar Gabriel gave a press conference in which he stressed: "We are currently repeating the worst mistakes of the Cold War". At the end of this "Cold War 2.0", the most important treaty from the time of East-West cooperation is threatened with destruction. New arms races and dangerous confrontations are serious threats. The international press, among them Reuters (World News), U.S. News, TASS, Ruptly TV, Express (UK) and The Baltic Post, reported on the event. In further newspaper articles, speeches and interviews, the Foreign Minister advocated for "the revival of the instruments for arms control."

The IFSH plans to continue the "Deep-Cuts Project". A new government in Berlin must be engaged strongly for a consistent and expanded used of arms control and its instruments.

CONTACT: GÖTZ NEUNECK

NEUNECK@IFSH.DE

Public IFSH-Events in November 2017

Lecture series "Essentials in Peace & Security":
Do we need a 'cultural change' in peace research? Offerings from Social Anthropology with Dr. Birgit Bräuchler, Monash University Melbourne Discussants: Amb. Dr. Günther Bächler, Special Representative for the South Caucasus of the German OSCE Chairmanship & Prof. Ursula Schröder, Academic Director, IFSH

7. November 2017, 18:00, IFSH, Beim Schlump 83, 20144 Hamburg, 1. Floor, R. 1/14

Culture is a fundamental factor in social interaction. But what exactly is culture and what role does this factor play in concepts of peace and security? With the "Local Turn" in peace research, the cultural factor has again moved more strongly into the focus of scientific discussion. According to the findings, the "local" influences conflict dynamics and peace processes equally – international actors must have more awareness of this level. However, is the "local" actually always only the "Other"? What kinds of interactions occur between the "local" and the "global"? And what does that mean for peace-policy practice?

The social anthropologist, Birgit Bräuchler, suggests new research approaches, in particular a re-evaluation of culture and anthropology so that the significance of the "local" can be appropriately grasped and, from this, more culturally sensitive and, therefore, more effective, peace strategies can be developed.

Birgit Bräuchler is a Senior Lecturer in Anthropology at the Monash University Melbourne. Her study, "The Cultural Dimension of Peace: Decentralization and Reconciliation in Indonesia", was honored as the best post-doctoral monograph in peace research 2014/2015 with the Ernst-Otto-Czempiel prize of the Peace Research Institute Frankfurt (PRIF/HSFK).

CONTACT: REGINA HELLER

HELLER@IFSH.DE

4th Interdisciplinary Central Asia Day at IFSH Regimes in Central Asia: institutional adaption, political continuity?

17 November 2017, 09:30, IFSH, Beim Schlump 83, 20144 Hamburg, 2. Stock, R. 023

The majority of the Central Asian states are consolidated authoritarian regimes with only distant prospects for democratization. However, regardless of regime type, Central Asian regimes are confronted with a number of internal and external challenges. These challenges range from economic crises and the associated social problems to migration, radicalization or political succession to a changing foreign policy environment in the region.

The 4th Central Asia Day focuses on the following questions: How do governments of Central Asia handle these challenges and use the opportunities that come with them? Where are proven strategies modernized and where do we see unexpected reactions and genuine political innovation?

IFSH invites all interested scholars of Central Asia to discuss these and related issues. Further information online at

https://ifsh.de/file-

IFSH/IFSH/pdf/News/CfP_4._Zentralasientag_Hamburg.pdf.

CONTACTS
ESTHER SOMFALVY
AZAM ISABAEV

SOMFALVY@IFSH.DE

Security Dialogue Article by Delf Rothe on Visual Technologies and Environmental Security

Delf Rothe's article "Seeing like a Satellite: Remote Sensing and the Ontological Politics of Environmental



Security", published in Security Dialogue, vol. 48(4), offers a new perspective on environmental security. This perspective focuses on the crucial role of visual technologies, such as satellite observation, for the identification of environmental risks and threats and the definition of appropriate coping measures. The article traces how both the idea of environ-

mental change as a security problem as well as satellite observation technology emerged in the context of a militarization of the geosciences during the Cold War. Satellite technology rendered large-scale environmental change visible, thereby allowing, in the first place, the emergence of a global conscience for problems such as climate change, the ozone hole or deforestation. At the same time, the fusion of military and research needs established novel relations between actors in the security and the environmental fields. While satellite technology remained firmly in the hands of the superpowers' militaries, environmental security at that time also had its focus on nation- states. The latter were, for example, seen as being threatened by looming resource conflicts or the influx of environmental migrants.

In the aftermath of the Cold War, however, the opening of satellite technology for a range of non-governmental actors, including environmental NGOs or researchers, went along with a redefinition of environmental security. Today, NGOs are using satellite imagery in their work to provide protection for local populations and ecosystems against natural disasters and unfolding environmental changes – thereby shifting the focus of environmental security from nation states to local communities. An emerging commercial intelligence industry around global players, such as Google or DigitalGlobe, even promises to make future environmental risks predictable through what the article calls "big environmental data" – the collection, harmonization and analysis of a broad range of data sources.

The question of how to evaluate these developments is, as Rothe shows, not easy to answer. On the one hand, the shift of environmental security thinking away from nation-states towards the protection of endangered communities as well as the growing availability of satellite data, are certainly welcome. On the other hand, NGOs' access to high-resolution imagery provides them with means to monitor and control populations at a distance. Furthermore, in a commercialized satellite intelligence market, imagery is far from being

freely available: rather than military secrecy, propertyrights regimes and the hefty price tag on satellite images are now regulating access. Finally, the promise of "big environmental data", to render the future predictable, draws on a problematic understanding of societies as quantifiable structures that leaves out the complexities of socio-environmental relations.

Delf Rothe publishes articles on environmental security and visual technologies in Security Dialogue.

CONTACT: DELF ROTHE ROTHE@IFSH.DE

Preventing Religious Radicalization in Tajikistan

CORE conducts roundtable in Dushanbe



The participants in the round table in Dushanbe

Preventing religious radicalization is a highly sensitive issue at the top of the political agenda in Tajikistan. CORE and the Center for Islamic Studies, under the President of Tajikistan, invited about 20 governmental officials, scientists and NGO representatives to a joint brainstorming meeting on this subject. The current renaissance of Islam in Tajikistan is a strong element of state-building and the development of country's national identity. At the same time, as in the neighboring countries, Tajikistan's Muslim religious communities see themselves in an intense competition with other Islamic schools over of Islam's correct contemporary interpretation. Religious issues also play a dominant role in discussions about domestic and national security interests in Tajikistan, particularly in the context of the prevention of radicalization.

In an open-minded dialogue, participants shared their views on these issues, the religious situation in the country, and the government's current religious policy. Furthermore, they discussed forms and tendencies of religious radicalization in the country and factors of the domestic social and political situation that obviously nourish these developments. Particular attention was given to the interests of various state actors and confessional organizations from outside the region and their influence on Central Asia. The roundtable concluded with an exchange on German and Tajik experiences

with the prevention of religious radicalism through civilian means and ways to include relevant governmental and non-governmental players into the respective efforts.

The Tajik participants expressed a lively interest in learning more about the traditional separation of state and religion in Germany, approaches to regulate the relationship between the secular state and religious organizations, and how this relationship was particularly challenged by mass migration and the integration of migrants and refugees of diverse religious backgrounds. The roundtable was complemented by a number of expert interviews.

The event in Dushanbe was the sixth in a series of round tables that CORE has conducted in the course of this year in Moscow, Bishkek and Osh (Kyrgyzstan) and Almaty (Kazakhstan). They are part of a project on "Approaches for the civilian prevention of extremism and radicalization in Central Asia" commissioned by the German Federal Foreign Office. The members of the team working at CORE on this project are Frank Evers, Jeannette Klötzer, Arne Seifert and Esther Somfalvy.

CONTACTS
FRANK EVERS
ESTHER SOMFALVY
SOMFALVY@IFSH:DE

IFAR at the Pugwash-Conference in Astana and at the Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow



The Pugwash-Group in the Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow

At the end of August, the Pugwash Conference on Science and World Affairs, in which Götz Neuneck participated as a Council member, began in the Kazakh capital, Astana.

Pugwash was founded in a small fishing village in Nova Scotia in 1957 and is, perhaps, one of the oldest NGOs. In 1995 it was honored with the Nobel Peace Prize. The group has specialized in international Track II diplomacy in important questions of nuclear weapons. In the Working Group on European Security, in which Bruce Blair (Global Zero, USA), Angela Kane (until 2015 UN High Representative for Disarmament Affairs, Vienna) and Rolf Ekeus (Sweden), among others, participated and which was led by Götz Neuneck, was able to achieve broad agreement in a work report on the continuance of arms control efforts. Moreover, concrete recommendations were worked out. For five days, around 250 participants, among them the Deputy Foreign Minister of Russia, Sergei Ryabkov, the High Representative of the UN, Izumi Nakamitsu or former US Senator Sam Nunn, debated, in fora, panel discussions and working groups, international questions, such as the future of the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons, security in Northeast and Central Asia or peace in Afghanistan. A further high point was the opening of the international fuel bank for low-enriched uranium by the State President Nursultan Nazarbayev, IAEO-General Secretary, Yukiya Amano and Senator Sam Nunn. The fuel bank in Kazakhstan is intended to supply states with civilian nuclear energy for civilian reactors, independent of their own nuclear energy fuel production.

Following this, a Pugwash Workshop on Russia's relationships with the West took place at the Institute for World Economy and International Relationships (IMEMO) in Moscow. Key topics here were questions of European security and adherence to the arms control treaties. A further workshop, which was led by the Swedish Pugwash Chairman, Rolf Ekeus, dealt with the climate effects of a nuclear war. The Pugwash Group, including the Pugwash Secretary General, P. Cotta-Ramusino (Rome) and the heads of the Russian, Swedish and German Pugwash Groups, was welcomed by the Vice-President of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Prof. Lev M. Zelenyi in the old main building of the Academy and agreed on stronger cooperation

CONTACT: GÖTZ NEUNECK NEUNECK@IFSH.DE

The Road to the Charter of Paris (1990)

OSCE Network of Think Tanks and Academic Institutions Workshop in Paris

On 4-5 September 2017, 25 members of the OSCE Network of Think Tanks and Academic Institutions met in Paris with historians and retired diplomats to discuss the negotiations that led to the CSCE Charter of Paris (1990). The aim was to identify the various



The participants of the Paris workshop

interests and ideas that were incorporated into the Charter and which may continue to be represented from different perspectives even today. The workshop was part of the Network project "The Road to the Charter of Paris. Historical Narratives and Lessons for the OSCE Today", which aims to contribute to a better shared understanding of divergent security policy narratives. Among the participants were the former Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Anatoli Adamishin, the former OSCE Secretary General Wilhelm Höynck, the former Polish Foreign Minister Adam Daniel Rotfeld and the ambassadors Marianne von Grünigen (Switzerland), William H. Hill and John J. Maresca (USA), Pierre Morel (France), Stefan Lehne (Austria), Markku Reimaa (Finland) and Jerzy M. Nowak (Poland). CORE was represented by its Head, Wolfgang Zellner, and Deputy Head, Frank Evers.

CONTACT: WOLFGANG ZELLNER

ZELLNER@IFSH.DE

Islam in the Modern Secular State

CORE participates in governmental conference in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan

At the invitation of the State Commission on Religious Affairs of the Kyrgyz Republic, CORE Central Asia Adviser, Arne C. Seifert, attended a conference on the above topic in Bishkek.

In his introductory speech, President Atambayev, the initiator and patron of the conference, spoke of new challenges for the secular state in an increasingly religious, Islam-oriented society. By its tenor, his speech highlighted, *inter alia*, the following accents: The secular state must gain its strength in and from its ability to keep the society in balance even under changing religious and social conditions. He called for tolerance and dialogue between and within different religions, including Islam. He called for "prudent and reasonable" support for a "rational Islam". With its representatives, the state must strive "in a democratic way for consensus". The President proposed to the participants that an "international basis of dialogue" be established in Kyrgyzstan.



Arne C. Seifer at the Bishkek conference (third from right).

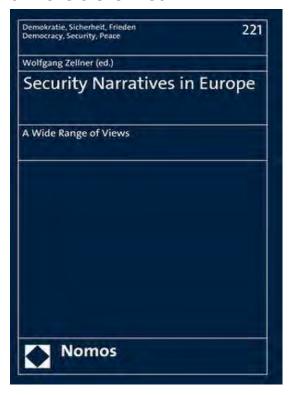
The Kyrgyz organizers emphasized the international dimension of the problems to be dealt with by the broad regional and foreign presence of participants, including the Foreign Minister of India, the Minister of Culture of Egypt, the representative of the Belgian Parliament, the Head of the EU Representation for Central Asia, OSCE, UNDP, heads of authorities on religious and national minorities affairs, including those of the Russian Federation, Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan, all in all, experts from 19 countries. The participants underlined their interest in open, creative treatment of the problem. Arne C. Seifert contributed two presentations on the topics "Relations between the Secular State and Religion in a German Perspective" and "What Could Modernity of Secular Islamic Relations be in a Central Asian Secular State with a Muslim Majority Population?"

In conclusion, the participants supported a draft declaration for the inauguration of an international dialogue platform in Bishkek, which would address aspects, such as the place and role of Islam in the modern state, the promotion of the interaction of state and religion, and interreligious dialogue.

CONTACT: ARNE SEIFERT SEIFERT@IFSH.DE

Publications

Wolfgang Zellner (Editor.), Security Narratives in Europe. A Wide Range of Views, Series 'Demokratie, Sicherheit, Frieden', vol 221, Nomos Publishers Baden Baden, 2017, 218 S., brosch., 49,—€, ISBN 978-3-8487-4507-4.



The relationship between Russia and the West is worse than it has ever been since the end of the Cold War. Substantially contradictory interests are at the core of this new constellation of conflict. But a far-reaching mutual lack of understanding al-so contributes to the fact that even entering into serious dialogue has become difficult for the two sides. Key terms, such as security or stability, mean something quite different to each of them. This precarious situation has led to a new interest in the "narratives" of states, elites and populations. Every attempt at mediation between the different security narratives is doomed to fail. This volume is intended to contribute to the different storytellers' better understanding of what the other sides mean. As a result, the thirteen security narratives published in this book paint a much more differentiated picture than the bipolar East-West pattern would suggest. With contributions by: Kari Möttölä, Barbara Kunz, Kornely Kakachia, Wolfgang Zellner, Serena Giusti, Andris Spruds, Barend Ter Haar, Andrei Zagorski, Christian Nünlist, Benno Zogg, Hüseyin Bagci, Ali Serdar Erdurmaz, Oleksiy Semeniy, James Gow, Philip Remler.

Götz Neuneck, 60 Jahre Nuklearer Prometheus oder Sisyphos?, in: Vereinte Nationen, 4/2017, pp. 172-178.



Beginning with the "Atoms for Peace" speech of US President Eisenhower, this article describes the mandate of IAEO, founded 60 years ago, as well as its further development. Since founding in 1957, the IAEO has had the task, on the one hand, of promoting the peaceful use of

nuclear energy and, on the other hand, of preventing atomic energy from being used for military purposes. Thereby, its mandate has been, from the very beginning, contradictory. The article also describes – in addition to the proliferation of cases of Iraq and Iran – the improvement of safeguards, the various reactions of the member states and the improvements of the technical and procedural instruments.

CONTACT: GÖTZ NEUNECK NEUNECK@IFSH.DE

Götz Neuneck, The US Missile Defense Systems, Europe and Russia, in:





Tommi Koivula: Katariina Si-(Eds.): monen **Arms Control in Europe:** Regimes, **Trends** and Threats, National Defence Universi-Helsinki ty, 2017, pp. 35-55. The article published

in the comprehensive anthology of the

Finnish National Defence University, describes the bases for, the development of and the implications of the various American missile defense systems.

Thereby, it goes into the development potential of the US systems in Europe and the possible consequences for strategic stability.

CONTACT: GÖTZ NEUNECK

NEUNECK@IFSH.DE

Götz Neuneck, Wie weiter nach New START?, in: Friedensforum. Zeitschrift der Friedensbewegung, 30(5) 2017, pp. 32-34.

The arms control dialogue between the USA and Rus-



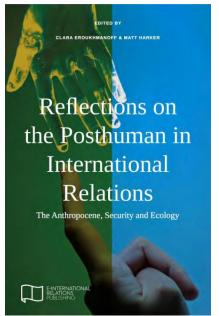
sia has ground to a The article describes the discussion around the INF Treaty, the planned American reaction in the US Congress against the background of an infringement of the treaty by Russia and the consequences for further nuclear arms control and disarmament.

CONTACT: GÖTZ NEUNECK

NEUNECK@IFSH.DE

Delf Rothe, Global Security in a Posthuman Age? IR and the Anthro-pocene Challenge, in: Clara Eroukh-manoff/ Matt Harker (Eds.), Reflections on the Posthuman in International Relations: The Anthropo-cene, Security and Ecolo-

gy,



September 2017, open access E-Book, http://www.e-ir.info/2017/09/29/new-book-reflections-on-the-posthuman-in-international-relations/>.

Delf Rothe published a chapter in the recent edited volume "Reflections on the Posthuman in International Relations: The Anthropocene, Security and Ecology", edited by Clara Eroukhmanoff and Matt Harker. Rothe's chapter discusses the implications of the Anthropocene - the new geological epoch of humanity's own making - for global security and the discipline of International Relations. Rather than normatively debating how security in the Anthropocene should look like (as is done by the existing literature), such an approach would take a closer look at the knowledge politics of security in the Anthropocene. This means studying the practices and methods of knowledge production on planetary changes and their security implications and asking how knowledge on environmental security risks becomes politically relevant. The volume is available in paperback and as an open access E-book (see above).

CONTACT: DELF ROTHE ROTHE@IFSH.DE

Imprint

Responsible for this issue: Susanne Bund, Anna Kreikemeyer