## Militarization and Science

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NATO Counter Summit Cardiff, 2014-08-31

## "Basis":

- Autonomous university / entrepreneurial university
- "prohibition of cooperation"
- Funding of research by the state: 1995-2008 =
  + 6%

Funding of research by "others": 1995-2008 = + 50%

# By "others":

"indispensable element of the scientific competition and the developing of a clear profile in the German academic system"

- For research not for teaching (<> role of teaching, jobs in universities)
- Different forms: funding of projects; endowed professorships (600 funded by companies); "Deutschland"-scholarships

DFG (German Research Foundation) funding of projects = source of 33% of all "other" financing

= "artificial competition"

## "Excellence"

Excellence Initiative for universities:

Excellence clusters (TU Munich – Airbus Group – DLR)

Coalition treaty: "support infrastructures, where universities and companies cooperate"

"university medicines" (faculties of medicine + university hospitals) with elements of the private sector

## Funding by EU:

8th Framework Programme for Research and Technological Development ("Horizon 2020"):

- APPLICATIONS IN SATELLITE NAVIGATION-GALILEO-2015
- FIGHT AGAINST CRIME AND TERRORISM
- BORDER SECURITY AND EXTERNAL SECURITY
- EUROPE AS A GLOBAL ACTOR
- DIGITAL SECURITY: CYBERSECURITY, PRIVACY AND TRUST
- ICT 2014 INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATIONS TECHNOLOGIES
- ...

<German European Security Association (GESA) – founded by German members of European Parliament, + Airbus, Siemens, DLR, ...</p>

## Consequences:

- intransparency of funding, intransparency of research; limitation of publications, ...
- growing role of applied research
- influence on teaching
- critical science?
- nine of ten young scientists on temporary workplaces; 45 % of the personnel in research financed by "others"

>unsafeness, lack of time for political work, obedience (for students: <Bologna process)

<>militarization of society

## = Chance for the military:

- 8 mln € per year from Ministry of Defence for universities
- projects at nearly 50 universities and universities of applied sciences (advanced colleges), details secret since 2010
- funding of projects by the German Ministry of Defence abroad (in Switzerland, EWTH Zurich)

# Pentagon funding:

Projects funded by Pentagon in 22 German universities and scientific institutions (explosive materials, special glass, drones, language structures) since 2000, 10 mln \$

– in public discussion only since 2013

## State policy:

- Coalition treaty: "security and defence industry of national interest- save core competencies and workplaces in Germany, further development of technologies and capabilities"
- German President, Joachim Gauck Munich Security Conference 2014: "make contributions earlier, more resolutely and more substantially"
- Federal Chancellor, Angela Merkel: "save peace by export of arms to reliable partners who want to act"

#### **Humanities:**

- Berlin, Freie Universität: Collaborative Research Center (SFB) 700 "Governance in areas of limited statehood"
- Oldenburg: "culture of intervention"
- Potsdam: master programme "Military Studies" (sociology, history)
- "need" of "Strategic Studies" (Switzerland; USA, GB, Australia, ...)

## 1914-2014

Christopher Clark "The Sleepwalkers" Herfried Münkler

German role in WW I

ready for new wars?

# Science from the New Right:

Martin Böcker, Larsen Kempf, Felix Springer (eds.): Soldatentum. Auf der Suche nach Identität und Berufung der Bundeswehr heute (München: Olzog, 2013) ("in search of identity and vocation of the German Federal Armed Forces today")

Universität der Bundeswehr München, Institut für Staatspolitik: new image of army and soldier:

- Soldier = archaic fighter
- Democratic societies do not clearly define their enemies
- Culture of memory of the German army paralyses developing of up-to-date concepts of soldier
- Learn to estimate military quality and spirit of Wehrmacht soldiers
- "Soldier = principle of behaviour"

## Various themes:

Ministry of Defence implemented projects for military research in **2013**:

nearly 90 complex themes:

- drones improvement (interaction, stealth drones)
- warfare in big cities ("Military Operations in Urban Terrain")
- computer games for education and training of soldiers ("Serious games")

- laser impact on materials
- new fuels for rockets
- military medicine: neutralization of biological and chemical weapons, psychological fitness of soldiers, measurement of radioactivity > chances to survive
- history of the German armed forces after 1990

Institutes of the German Federal Armed Forces, Fraunhofer Society, DLR, industry, *universities* 

## Civil clauses

- = voluntary promises of teaching and research only for peaceful and civil purposes; German history, political experience, wars, political activity in universities
- Tübingen: "peaceful purposes, enrichment of the common life of peoples, sustainability"
- Bremen: "against any contribution to research for military purposes, public discussion of projects that could be used for military purposes, university obliged to work for peace"
- TU Darmstadt: "exclusively peaceful and civil; teaching and research, especially development and improvement of technical systems, only with civil aims"

- activists: students, students' representatives, scientists, members of trade unions
- coordination since 2009 (refusal of civil clause in KIT Karlsruhe)
- in 18 universities in constitutions, codes of conduct, rules of sustainability, ...; federal states' university laws?

- With/without institutions of control:
- declarations for financing of projects by the university (TU Berlin, Dortmund), commissions of university structures (Senat), reports of university administration

## Challenges:

#### **Arguments:**

- liberty of science
- Dual Use
- basic research
- concept of peace, saving of peace

#### Forces:

- conservative political groups in universities
- political forces in parliaments (federal states, Bundestag)

#### Scientists, organizations:

- Joachim Krause, professor, university of Kiel, Institut für Sicherheitspolitik: "influence of left, far-left groups on democratic universities; like in the past when one could not cooperate with Jews"
- Deutscher Hochschulverband: civil clauses break the Constitution

#### Break of civil clauses:

- interpretation as not obligatory, "interesting idea for discussion"
- military research, secret research in Hannover 26 projects, 6.9 mln €
- courses by persons connected with the army
- endowed professorships (Bremen OHB; Bonn, Henry-Kissinger-professorship – Ministry of Defence, Foreign Office), professorship for Wolfgang Ischinger (in Tübingen)
- common congresses with societies for military purposes (e.g., for military medicine and psychology)
- argument "basic research"

Direct influence of army on universities: seminars POL&IS in courses of politology, Summer School of Akademie der Bundeswehr für Information und Kommunikation, University of Cologne, September 2014, for students and young researchers of humanities, with credit points

#### Civil clauses movement needs:

- more efficient clauses
- control elements
- arguments
- better communication
- more partners (movement against army in schools, newly arising movement for conversion, trade unions, ...)

## Trade unions:

Arguments: Workplaces; "security"

2013 press conference of DGB and Ministry of Defence > common declaration about cooperation? november 2013: "workshop" for unions and army

IG Metall: German export rules for arms; "responsibility of the federal government for the German arms industry"; "loss of national core competencies", "loss of strategic capabilities"

(<>German arms to Iraq? – specialization inside the EU?)

- ?: military industry = 0.8% of all working people in Germany, 0.4% of the income of all German companies
- Chance for workplaces: conversion to civil production
- ?: state of the art and export of technologies!; role of German industry in international competition

>science sector!

## By the way:

Dual Use <> CIMIC:

military products for police and security services: optronics, biochemistry, robotics, automation, ...

experience for arms production beginning in the civil sector since 1982 – funded by the Ministry of Research and Technology

"Civil security technics" – 2007-2012 239 mln
 € from the Ministry of Education and Research for arms industry and scientific institutions

> Unmanned (Ground/Aerial) Vehicles (drones)

#### DGB federal congress 2014:

- clear definition of Bundeswehr as intervention army
- support for movements against army in schools
- support for civil clauses (GEW proposition)

common declaration >?>

# Thank you very much for your attention!

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