

Preface

Peace among nations, the wealth of nations, and the music of the great European composers are the major themes in the work of Dieter Senghaas. If someone covers peace, wealth, and music and offers deeply innovative and seminal contributions to each of them, then we can speak of a great intellectual. Dieter Senghaas is one. He belongs to a breed whose members drove intellectual life in Europe for centuries, but are becoming increasingly rare in the twenty-first century.

I got to know Dieter Senghaas when I was a young member of a research group on international regimes in East-West relations in the late 1980s. When we had produced our first results, Volker Rittberger, who directed the research group, invited Dieter Senghaas. To see him acting in this role was a real experience for me. I met an unquestionably famous political scientist with an enormous reputation who was interested in just one thing: the one that we wanted to talk about. He has always remained a role model in terms of intellectual curiosity and constructive criticism for me.

I consider it good fortune that our paths crossed more than once. Only two years after this meeting, the Berlin Wall came down. After months of surprise, the debates on what this meant for peace and politics and for the future of Europe started. We held a number of debates on this, for instance at the Academy in Loccum in meetings organized by Dieter Senghaas' close friend Jörg Calließ. While Dieter Senghaas indicated the opportunities for democracy, the rule of law, and the extension of the European Union, I emphasized the conflicts which would come now into the open after the dominant East-West cleavage lost its importance. I hope that in the end, history will be on his side.

Most importantly, we had spent almost ten years next door to each other at the *Institute of Intercultural and International Studies* (INIIS), University of Bremen, which we co-directed together with Bernhard Peters from the mid 1990s onwards. It would take too long to describe all of the common activities at this time. It suffices to mention two things: first, a colloquium of the Institute that brought together all the perspectives represented in the Institute. The colloquium always was crowded and for many participants, it is still today considered legendary. Dieter Senghaas of course was at the centre of all debates. Second, those ten years were intellectually my most productive time—thanks to this wonderful environment.

After Dieter Senghaas was emerited and I moved to Berlin, we always kept in contact. I am happy to be able to say that it is friendship that connects this eminent scholar and wonderful human being to me.

In my view, one can distinguish five foci or phases in the work of Dieter Senghaas. While there is certainly a lot of work to be mentioned which lies outside these research areas, these five themes can be seen as the major topics in Dieter Senghaas' oeuvre. The phrase 'foci or phases' will indicate that there is on the one hand indeed a certain chronology, but on the other hand phases overlap and some of the themes dealt with in the earlier years have been picked up again later. One can label these phases "Pathologies and Deterrence", "List and Development", "Political Order and Peace", "Macrodevelopments and World Politics", and "Music and Peace".

The roots of Dieter Senghaas' work on "Pathologies and Deterrence" lie in his joint publications with Karl W. Deutsch. On the basis of theories of learning pathologies, Dieter Senghaas formulated a crushing critique of the dominant discourse about deterrence in strategic studies. He showed that deterrence and military efforts at best partially reflected a process of interaction between the executive bodies of the USA and the Soviet Union. It rather reflected two more or less unrelated systems that were producing systemic pathologies leading to armament dynamics. Dieter Senghaas coined the wonderful term "organized peacelessness" to encapsulate this autistic dynamic. These studies received enormous public attention. They were also extremely influential in organizational terms. It is no exaggeration to see these studies as the founding moment of German Peace and Conflict Research, including the creation of specific institutes and foundations in Frankfurt (PRIO), Hamburg (IFSH), and Berlin (Berghof-Foundation).

"List and development" asked about the conditions under which nations and their economies were able to enter a path of self-sustaining growth and development. The starting point of this work was a critique of classical economic approaches to modernization. Dieter Senghaas therefore closely interacted with leading Latin American theorists of dependencia as well as with Samir Amin and helped enormously to make dependencia theory and the theory of peripheral capitalism well known in Europe. The notions of autocentric development and selective dissociation guided his analyses for a limited period of time. In order to move development theory forward, he then engaged in historically enormously rich studies on development paths in Europe, using the work of the nineteenth-century economist Friedrich List (who lived not far away from the little village in Swabia where Dieter Senghaas was born) as a starting point. His masterly "The European Experience" is a classic in development theory and my favourite Senghaas book. It is this part of Dieter Senghaas' work which has probably been cited most often in academic circles.

There are very few leading scholars in International Relations who have made major contributions to both peace and development. Besides Dieter Senghaas, other great minds of this sort were Karl W. Deutsch and Johan Galtung. Dieter Senghaas is unique in bringing these strands of his thinking together in his contributions on the political order of peace. His most recent Suhrkamp book

“Weltordnung in einer zerklüfteten Welt” (World Order in a Fragmented World) is just another proof of this. This book, which I hope will be translated very soon, is a masterly integration of some of Dieter Senghaas’ most important concepts and insights. The most famous contribution to this branch is of course his “Civilizational Hexagon”, which demonstrates the conditions for both constructive peace and successful development. At the least in the German context, the hexagon, broadly developed in his book “On Perpetual Peace”, has become synonymous with Senghaasian thinking.

Especially from the latter half of 1990s onwards, Dieter Senghaas also contributed to the analyses of broader developments in world politics. “Konfliktformationen im internationalen System” (Conflict Formations in International System), “Wohin driftet die Welt?” (Whereabouts is the World Drifting?), and “Friedensprojekt Europa” (Peace Project Europe) are important book publications in this branch. All of them illustrate what the philosophical term “understanding”, as opposed to “explaining”, can mean. All of them draw a picture of world politics which is deep, sophisticated, and crystal clear. In this area, a fourth Suhrkamp book is my favourite: “The Clash within Civilizations”.

Last but not least, Dieter Senghaas’ books on peace and music are legendary. They give such a deep insight into the role of peace and war in European music and they show at the same time the change in the meaning of peace even within the history of compositions. Though his critique of deterrence and his work on development theory may have been more influential, these recent contributions are the most enjoyable contributions to his enormous oeuvre.

It is obvious that Dieter Senghaas is a master thinker, a founder of critical peace research and critical development theory, and the best known and most important representative of International Relations research in Germany of his generation and beyond.

Michael Zürn

Dieter Senghaas

Pioneer of Peace and Development Research

Senghaas, D.

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