

## 1<sup>st</sup> Report of the “Deep Cuts” Commission Released

On April 28 and 30, selected members of the trilateral “Deep Cuts” Commission presented the First Report of the Commission “Preparing for Deep Cuts: Options for Enhancing Euro-Atlantic and International Security” to the interested public in both Washington and New York.



“Deep Cuts” Commissioners Neuneck, Kühn and Pifer (f.l.t.r.) at the Brookings Institution (c) by Arms Control Association (ACA)

The report, available in English and Russian, concentrates on the current political-military obstacles on the way to achieving deep nuclear reductions to U.S.-Russian arsenals and gives concrete recommendations on how to overcome them. The Commission’s discussions at their first workshop in Hamburg in 2013 (see IFSH news 101) served as the bedrock for the report’s recommendations. The report tackles six thematic issues: further bilateral U.S.-Russian strategic reductions; addressing tactical nuclear weapons in Europe; overcoming outdated nuclear doctrines; missile defense; conventional precision-guided weapons; and conventional forces in Europe.

The process of report drafting took place in the weeks shortly before the ensuing Ukraine crisis. Even though Commissioners fully recognized the negative impact of the crisis on West-Russian relations, the Commission opted for a public release of the report in order to issue a warning against attempts that could lead to a break-up of still intact cooperative measures in the realm of arms control. An addendum attached to the report takes into account the current situation and discusses the likely negative impact of a possible departure from existing transparency and confidence-building measures.

Against the background of this critical international situation, the Commissioners Ulrich Kühn (IFSH), Evgeny Miasnikov (Center for Arms Control, Energy, and Environmental Studies), Götz Neuneck (IFSH), Steven Pifer (Brookings Institution), and Greg Thielmann (Arms Control Association) presented the Commission’s report at an event at the Brookings Institution in Washington on April 28. With approximately 70 participants present, the ensuing open discussion circled mainly around the topic of conventional arms control in Europe and possible additional transparency measures in this realm. Ulrich Kühn outlined the report’s recommendations on additional specifically-tailored transparency measures between NATO and Russia as well as the value of specific limitations in border regions and areas of heightened tensions. Focusing on strategic reductions, Steven Pifer underscored the need to achieve lower ceilings despite the current crisis. Additional reductions could not only save money but also help both states to live up to their international disarmament obligations, Mr. Pifer concluded. Amongst others, press coverage came from the Russian RTVi broadcast station.

Only two days later, members of the Commission again presented the report at a second event at the sidelines of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Meeting of the NPT Preparatory Commission in New York. The public event took place at the Permanent Mission of Germany to the United Nations Headquarter. In his welcoming remarks, German Ambassador Heiko Thoms underscored that the current “crisis testifies to the fact that we need this kind of trilateral dialogue today maybe more than ever”. Mr. Thoms stressed the “gains that could be derived from taking the disarmament agenda forward – and also the costs of failure if we don’t make progress in this field.”

### Contents

1 <sup>st</sup> Report of the “Deep Cuts” Commission Released.....	1
Current IFSH Activities on Ukraine Crisis .....	2
Current Media Work Pertaining to the Middle East Crisis .....	3
Brainstorming Workshop “The Future of OSCE Field Operations (Options)” .....	3
Singapore Conference on CBMs for Cybersecurity .....	4
Call for Papers .....	4
Publications .....	4
Staff News .....	5
Imprint .....	5



*“Deep Cuts” Commissioners Miasnikov, Neuneck, German Ambassador to the Conference on Disarmament Biontino and Commissioner Pifer (f.l.t.r.) at the German Permanent Mission to the UN, New York (c) by GermanyUN.*

In the ensuing discussion, led by the German Representative to the Geneva Conference on Disarmament, Ambassador Michael Biontino, IFSH Deputy Director Götz Neuneck underscored the need to prepare for multilateralizing nuclear reductions by taking forward the bilateral reductions efforts of the United States and Russia. Concentrating on missile defense, Mr. Neuneck placed an impetus on achieving more transparency and cooperation between NATO and Russia, for instance by conducting joint annual field operations. In his remarks, Steven Pifer focused on the positive effects of an earlier implementation of the reductions agreed on under New START, even before the passing of the 2018 deadline. Evgeny Miasnikov pledged for stronger leadership by Germany in the discussions about NATO’s tactical nuclear weapons in Europe.

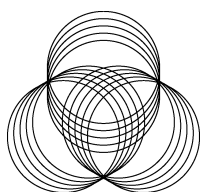
As expected, the New York event was again characterized by the unfolding Ukraine crisis. The Commissioners highlighted that not only arms control measures, but also arms control negotiations, needed to be more crisis-resistant. In conjunction, Mr. Miasnikov issued a warning about the possible ramifications on arms control if relations would relapse into Cold War behavior. Finally, the panelists highlighted their will to continue the debate within the trilateral “Deep Cuts” project throughout the following months and to continue their work for achieving significantly lower levels of nuclear arms.

The report is available online at:

<[www.deepcuts.org/publications/reports](http://www.deepcuts.org/publications/reports)>.

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## Current IFSH Activities on Ukraine Crisis

Since the beginning of 2014, the IFSH has been dealing with the Ukraine crisis: Besides research, there have been a number of discussions, publications, and policy advice by the IFSH on that issue (see IFSH news 103). Below you find an excerpt from a comment by Michael Brzoska on sanctions and the Ukraine crisis, a report on discussions at the IFSH research colloquium and on public relations activities, as well as a report of an expert discussion at the Federal Ministry of Defense.

## Effects of Sanctions on the Ukraine Conflict

Sanctions against political actors in Russia and in Ukraine as well as an arms embargo against Russia make sense. Broader economic sanctions, however, would probably not be helpful but even counterproductive unless a massive escalation of the crisis is attempted. In my view, the following insights from literature on intended and unintended effects of international sanctions are relevant for the political and economic situation in Russia:

- Should the Russian leadership further actively support the strife for autonomy in Eastern Ukraine the broadening of sanctions against more members of the Russian elite would be the right next step.
- The EU and U.S. sanctions have been criticized for being too weak in view of the Russian aggression and also for fostering conflict escalation. Both critical arguments should be considered, but their contradictory character signals that sanctions toward Russia should be part of a balancing act. Hard economic sanctions would shift the balance in the direction of escalation without leading to fundamental changes in the Russian policy towards Ukraine.
- Initiating a policy change in Russia through massive damage to the Russian economy is not very realistic. The leadership in Moscow has made the policy towards Ukraine a key element of its project of national revival on which its quest for legitimacy is increasingly based. Also the relationship between Russia and the West meanwhile has worsened so much that strong economic pressure from outside would more likely strengthen than weaken the government. In any case, it could lead to a significant worsening and hardening of the relations between Russia and the West with respective consequences for a constructive approach to a range of global and regional problems.
- An arms embargo could at least reasonably contribute to a limitation of the Russian room for maneuver that aggravates the access of the Russian military and arms industry to modern technology. Beyond that an arms embargo would send a clear signal: no support for military actions by Russia.

• The sanctions on persons that have been imposed by the U.S. and the EU and that will possibly be extended in the future send important political signals.

Symbolic action through sanctions signals a clear condemnation of the Russian policy towards Ukraine. Sanctions are, even if this sounds like a platitude, a means of international policy between words and wars. In view of the Russian aggression against Ukraine words would not have been enough. Symbolic sanctions are the right instrument of political communication with the Russian leadership beyond words. They signal the importance the conflict has for the West. Symbolic sanctions also contribute to escalation, but they are controllable and they are flexible enough to react to changes in the Russian policy towards Ukraine, for whatever motives in whichever direction.

A broader version of this statement is available online at:

<http://www.sicherheitspolitik-blog.de/2014/05/22/sanktionen-gegen-politische-akteure-in-russland-und-der-ukraine/>.

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## Second Research Colloquium on Ukraine

On 25 June 2014, the IFSH arranged its second research colloquium on the current crisis in Ukraine. Colonel Oleksandr Zhytnyk from the Ukrainian armed forces, a former Baudissin fellow at the IFSH, outlined the military situation and stressed the armed forces' systematic infiltration by Russian secret services. Subsequently, Nataliya Schapeler, a native Ukrainian, outlined President Poroshenko's initial steps, whereas Frank Evers focused on the handling of the situation of the Russian minority in Ukraine as one of the root causes of the conflict. Finally, Elena Kropatcheva dealt with the public discourse in Russia, whereas Wolfgang Zellner shared some observations on the specifics of the crisis regulation process on Ukraine. These inputs were followed by an interested and lively discussion at a well attended research colloquium.

## Expert Discussion "Ukraine as a Challenge" at the Federal Ministry of Defense

On 24 June 2014, the expert discussion "Ukraine as a Challenge – Problems and Perspectives from a Scientific Point of View" took place at the Federal Ministry of Defense. Introductory words of Admiral Thorsten Kähler were followed by five presentations. First, Michael Brzoska gave an outline on the problem of sanctions (see above), Hans-Georg Ehrhart spoke on requirements and difficulties of the security sector reform (SSR) in view of the planned Common Security and Defense Policy (CSDP) on civilian SSR, Frank

Evers gave an overview on the role of the OSCE and its potential for conflict management and Götz Neuneck explained the role of arms control. Katrin Böttger, Deputy Director of the Institute for European Policy (IEP), talked on the European perspectives of Ukraine. The presentations were commented by Colonel Oleksandr Zhytnyk, Ministry of Defense of Ukraine. The session was directed by Colonel Helmut Frieztzsche und Lieutenant-Colonel Johann Schmid.

## Current Media Work Pertaining to the Middle East Crisis

The Gaza crisis calls to mind that the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, medially marginalized by the political upheavals and wars in the Arab world since 2011, is still unsolved. In the course of bigger armed struggles in this asymmetrical conflict – as around the turn of the year 2008/09, in November 2012 and again since July 2014 – the demand of independent expertise is rising. Thus, television and radio stations ask about explanations for the current eruption of violence, the military strength of the opponents or the conditions for an interruption of hostilities. Further, there is a general need of information about the motives of the involved conflict parties, in this case the Israeli ones and those of the Hamas in the Gaza Strip, but also about long-term interests and goals of both sides. Most of the time, the requests address Margret Johannsen, who addresses in her research on the Palestinian state project also the role of semi-state stakeholders like Hamas. If interviews last more than four minutes, they sometimes include the potential of foreign diplomatic influence. In contrast, the situation in the occupied West Bank, where the recent escalation began, as well as the recently failed mediation attempts of the US-diplomacy are rarely mentioned. In general, interviews pursue the goal to contrast the markedly skeptical attitudes of the journalists with feasible lasting political solutions.

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## Brainstorming Workshop "The Future of OSCE Field Operations (Options)"

On 27 June 2014, the special co-ordinator of the Helsinki+40 working group to enhance the effectiveness and efficiency of the OSCE, Ambassador Philip McDonagh, convened a brainstorming of the OSCE Network of Think Tanks and Academic Institutions within the framework of the Helsinki+40 process on the subject of "The Future of OSCE Field Operations (Options)". The meeting at the Vienna Hofburg was well attended with around 80 participants, 55 of them

from delegations, and almost 20 from Network member institutes.

The workshop was divided up into four working sessions. The first one dealt with the political background of field operations (FOPS) and was opened by Hlib Yasnytsky from the Office of the OSCE Project Coordinator in Ukraine and Kari Möttölä, University of Helsinki. The second session concerned forms and mandates of FOPS and was kick-started by Ambassador Florian Raunig, Head of the OSCE Presence in Albania and Frank Evers, CORE. Finally, the third session, which dealt with structural and managerial challenges, was opened by the former Head of the OSCE Centre in Ashgabat, Sergey Belyaev, Michael Conneely from the OSCE Mission to Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Pál Dunay, Director of the OSCE Academy in Bishkek. The discussion, in which at least 12 delegations and all Network member institutes took the floor, was quite open, focused on practical issues and, rather surprisingly, was not over-politicized. In the last panel, Ambassador Philip McDonagh, Network Coordinator Wolfgang Zellner and Ambassador Fred Tanner (OSCE Secretariat) provided conclusions and considered prospects for the future of OSCE field operations. After the presentation of the study "Threat Perceptions in the OSCE Area", this workshop was the second event in which the OSCE Network of Think Tanks and Academic Institutions co-operated with the OSCE's Helsinki+40 framework in a quite visible way.

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## Singapore Conference on CBMs for Cybersecurity

On 3 July 2014, Ulrich Kühn delivered a speech on "Applying Insights Gained from Traditional TCBMs to Cyberspace" at the Workshop on CBMs and Norms for Cybersecurity and the Future of the Internet Governance, held by the Centre of Excellence for National Security, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Singapore. Ulrich Kühn pointed out that a yet to be defined process on establishing Transparency and Confidence-Building Measures (TCBMs) should concentrate on actors, assets, areas, and accountability. With regards to actors, stress should be on including a wide range of actors such as private business and civil society. As the most serious obstacle, a clear distinction with regards to attribution of certain actors, for instance in the case of a cyber attack, is almost impossible if carried out in a sophisticated manner. On assets, the implications of dual-use technologies will create additional obstacles. A clear distinction as to what assets are purely military is impossible. As a result, potential transparency and particularly verification measures are very hard to pursue and would need an extremely high degree of cooperation and transparency

willingness amongst a multitude of actors. For areas, traditional TCBMs and limitations normally apply to specific geographic areas of heightened tensions, for instance in border regions. None of those exist in cyberspace. Possible transparency or even limitation measures in cyberspace would need a totally new definition of areas. Finally, regarding accountability actors will have to overcome a lack of governance both on the international level and on the level of international organizations' responsibility. Most likely, an inclusive and continuous dialogue aimed at overcoming the lack in definitions will turn out to be the first real TCBM as such. The next step should be the cautious crafting of common principles and norms for laying out the groundwork for operationalizing TCBMs.

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## Call for Papers

### Contemporary Forms of Protest in the Euro-Asian Space: Challenges for Social Science, Psychology and Humanities Research

*Conference funded by the Academy of Sciences and Humanities in Hamburg*

*23-24 October 2014, Hamburg*

This conference aims to focus the efforts of young researchers (PhD students and Post-Docs) in Hamburg, Germany and Europe working on social movements, protest and political violence from different disciplinary perspectives on the handling of empirical and theoretical challenges in this field: 'old' and 'new' protest movements; the motivation of individual actors to engage in protest movements in general and violence in particular; the impact of the socio-cultural and political context on the shape and manifestations of protest movements. The best contributions will be selected for a special issue.

The conference is organized by Elena Kropatcheva, Daniela PISOIU, Sebastian Schiek (all IFSH); Klaus Michael Reininger (University of Hamburg, Institute of Psychology); Anja Franke-Schwenk (Christian-Albrechts University of Kiel, Collegium Philosophicum)

Thanks to financial support provided by the Academy of Sciences and Humanities in Hamburg, accommodation (one night), food and travel expenses (within reasonable limits) for all selected paper givers will be covered by the organizers.

Interested contributors should send an abstract of up to 500 words and a short profile to Daniela PISOIU (pisoiu@ifsh.de) by the 31 August.

For more information please consult:

<<http://ifsh.de/en/news/detail/of/news-665/>>.

## Publications

### S+F. Security and Peace 2-2014: Interventions Between War and Ethics: The Case of Mali

For nearly two decades, Mali was considered as model democracy in Sub-Saharan Africa. However, the last two years revealed the fragility of this view. The rebellion in the North and coup attempts in the South led to international interventions by France, ECOWAS and the United Nations. Based on several UN resolutions, the EU is engaged with a CSDP mission in Mali since April 2013, providing among other things military training and logistical support for the Malian army. Thus, a complex intervention in a non-international armed conflict is to create once more the preconditions for a process of political stabilization. Does this type of intervention display a change in the forms of violence? Which policies do France and Germany pursue in Mali? Which concepts of security sector reform (SSR) are being applied and how are they implemented? How can the international intervention be judged from an ethical point of view? These are the guiding questions of this issue of S+F. Authors are Hans-Georg Ehrhart (guest editor), Stefan Brüne, Julian Junk, Albrecht Schnabel, Ursula Schröder, Christopher Holshek, Winrich Kühne, Gerard F. Powers.

Outside of this issue's theme, Rolf Mützenich and David Bieger discuss ways of international law to deal with armed drones, and Wolfgang Schreiber from the Working Group for Research on the Causes of War (Arbeitsgemeinschaft Kriegsursachenforschung, AKUF) presents war events of 2013. In addition, S+F documents a position paper of the Commission "Europäische Sicherheit und Zukunft der Bundeswehr" (European Security and the Future of the Bundeswehr) about the strengthening of the Parliamentary Participation Act.

The Forum deals with the question: "Early Warning and civil crisis prevention: Scientifically impossible, politically redundant?" With contributions from Jan Pospisil, Claus Neukirch, Angelika Spelten and Winfried Nachtwei.

One full article for download and the abstracts are available online at:

<http://www.sicherheit-und-frieden.nomos.de/index.php?id=2226&L=1>.

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## Staff News

### Delf Rothe



Environmental monitoring programs serving the surveillance of migration movements, climate adaptation measures seeking to prevent violent conflicts, or renewable energy projects aimed at fostering regional integration: linking ecological, security and development aims is a core rationale in contemporary international politics. With his research project at the IFSH Delf Rothe studies exactly this growing trend focusing on ecological concepts in security and development governance: "from sustainability to resilience". Delf has already addressed the question of how the securitization of environmental issues including global climate change impacts policy in different cases in his PhD project. Before joining the IFSH, he has been working with Annette Jünemann at the Helmut-Schmidt-University, running a joint research project on Euro-Mediterranean relations after the Arab Spring. With his new project, supported by Michael Brzoska, Delf will link up to his recent findings. In particular, he is interested in how we can explain the recent political success of the concept of resilience, an ecological concept which many see as THE new paradigm in international politics. He tries to answer this question by providing a genealogical discourse analysis of key documents and debates in the fields of development and security policy since the Earth Summit in Rio 1992. In a second phase of the project he will turn towards the micro-level to study practices of promoting resilience in the Mediterranean region based on participatory observation as well as expert interviews.

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## Imprint

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