

**“...talk at all levels”**

(Mikhail Gorbachev, 2018)

## Deep Cuts Commission meets in Brussels



*The Deep Cuts Commission at Work*

As part of the Deep-Cuts-Project, the Deep Cuts Commission held a workshop in Brussels from 18-20 March 2018. The Commission, consisting of 21 experts from the USA, Russia and Germany, set itself the objective of collecting suggestions for the further development of nuclear disarmament and discussing them with decision-makers. Over the course of the last three years, three workshops and other working meetings have taken place in Hamburg, Berlin, Washington and Moscow, during which the major barriers to further disarmament were discussed and analysed.

Reductions in the strategic arsenals to below 1,000 warheads per side, still seems possible. Given the progressive worsening of the relationships between the West and Russia, it is particularly urgent to identify areas in which concrete progress is possible. The goal of the current project phase is to discuss, with NATO representatives, the prior results which have been published in three reports and working papers. The background is the most recent publication in the Nuclear Posture Review (NRP) of the Trump Administration and further strategic documents on nuclear policy. At the meeting in Brussels, the Commission discussed both the crisis around the continued existence of the INF Treaty and the troop deployments in the Baltic States, which will also certainly play an important role at the next NATO Summit with NATO representatives in July.

In his introductory address, Thomas Countryman, former Acting Under-Secretary of State, worked through the continuities and fractures of the NPR. Particularly

clear in the new document were the turning away from the active arms control diplomacy of the USA and an ongoing development of the disarmament agenda. In the discussion, it was also clear that the Russian nuclear doctrine “escalate to de-escalate” was not correctly interpreted by the Pentagon. The Russian colleagues want to explain the doctrine in a new working paper. Focal points of the following five rounds of discussion, for which individual, not-yet-published papers were presented, were, first of all, the future of the INF and the N-START treaties. It becomes apparent that the collapse of the INF Treaty can also mean the end of further nuclear disarmament in the framework of the START process. A new armaments race then seems likely. The Commission concluded that the mutual recriminations could be resolved through inspections and the exchange of technical information with relevant cooperative behaviour.



*The German NATO Ambassador Hans-Dieter Lucas at dinner with the Deep Cuts Commission. Opposite: Tom Countryman, Victor Esin, Andrei Zagorski and Andy Weber*

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This could also happen via the immediate offer to extend the N-START, which reached its target figures in February 2018, for another five years (2021-2026). In light of the presentation of new strategic weapons systems by President Putin in his talk on 1 March 2018, the resumption of continuous discussions on “strategic stability” would be of great significance. Also, the incorporation into the arms control process of nuclear-tipped cruise missiles with a long range is overdue. The analysis of the precarious situation of conventional rearmament in the Baltic States but also in the Black Sea, makes a revival of conventional arms control essential. Hereto, concrete risk-reducing measures were suggested and discussed. The scope of the still-valid Vienna Document is too limited and should urgently be expanded and improved. Some participants spoke out for a new nuclear summit of key states, in light of the global nuclear perils. A declaration worked out following the meeting was signed by all Commission members as well as other supporters.

In the evening, the Commission was invited to the residence of the German NATO Ambassador, Hans-Dieter Lucas. At dinner, the necessity of a deeper dialogue was emphasized by all, especially because the strongly different perceptions have frequently led to divergent situational interpretations. Preventing military incidents and curbing the risk of an “accidental” escalation is pertinent here. This applies particularly for scenarios in which military incidents involving conventional means could expand to the nuclear sphere. A political rapprochement of the states is essential in order to create the framework conditions for introducing technical expertise, which, in turn, creates the basis for further arms control and disarmament. The closing part of the meeting on the next day was dedicated to further planning of the Deep Cuts Commission, which will present its findings to the public again in the form of working papers and newspaper articles. First, an event in the framework of the NPT Preparation Conference in Geneva is planned for the beginning of May. Some policy papers on the INF Treaty and the N-START Agreement will be published in the next few days and will then be available on the Homepage of the Deep Cuts Commission.

[www.DeepCuts.org](http://www.DeepCuts.org)

#### CONTACT

GÖTZ NEUNECK

LINA HILGERT

NEUNECK@IFSH.DE

HILGERT@IFSH.DE

## Eurasia Peace Studies Exchange Second EPSE Co-ordination Meeting at IFSH

The Eurasia Peace Studies Exchange (EPSE) Network pursues the objective of bringing together and discussing cultural, normative and political differences in Europe and Eurasia (post-Soviet space and neighbouring countries) through academic dialogue and exchange in the area of peace research. The second EPSE Coordination Meeting took place on the 21st/22nd of March 2018 at IFSH. In an informal exchange of views on the perspectives of peace research in Europe and Eurasia, a roundtable, moderated by Anna Kreikemeyer, on the key issue of “Prospects for Peace in/with Ukraine and Russia” in which teams of the Faculties for International Relations of the Odessa (Volodymyr Dubovyk, Deniz Kuzmin, Sergyi Glebov) and Tbilisi State Universities (David Aprasidze, Giorgi Gvalia, Archil Abashidze), The Academy for Educational Sciences in Kiev (Iryna Hubeladze, Vadym Vasiutynsky), the Department for Social Anthropology of the American University of Central Asia in Bishkek (Cholpon Chotaeva, Aida Abdykanova), of the Centre for Peace Studies at the Arctic University Tromsø (Christine Smith-Simonsen, Elizabeth Sander-sen) and of IFSH (Regina Heller, Elena Kropatcheva, Hans-Georg Ehrhart) took part.



*The EPSE Members at the Co-ordination Meeting at IFSH*

The focus of the Ukrainian and Georgian participants was, only all too clearly, on the conflict behaviour of Russia. By contrast, from the Kyrgyz perspective, efforts for an arrangement with the more powerful neighbour was the priority. All of the project members supported not breaking off the existing channels of communication with the Russian colleagues and developing new contacts. Admittedly, these threat perceptions, primarily directed at Russia, left little room for other issues relevant to peace, such as global climate change or world-wide migration. After the evaluation of the last intensive workshop in Tbilisi in October 2017, the group turned to the preparation of this year’s workshops in

Kiev and Odessa in June 2018. Thereby, it became clearer that, since the first coordination meeting in April 2017 in Tromsø among the core participants of the three year project supported by the Norwegian Centre for International Co-operation in Education (SIU), a trusted platform has emerged.

**CONTACT**

ANNA KREIKEMEYER

KREIKEMEYER@IFSH.DE

## Presidential elections in Russia: Putin takes the line of least resistance



As expected, Vladimir Putin won the presidential elections in Russia on 18 March 2018. Instead of offering solutions to the domestic problems of the country, his election campaign was built nearly exclusively on the rhetoric of strength and anti-Western mobilization. Putin took the line of least resistance and it seems most likely that he will continue to do so during his next term.

*Regina Heller*

### *Anti-Western mobilization in Russia*

The Russian population apparently approved of Putin's main claims from the election campaign, to the effect that Russia is exposed to a massive external threat or, more concretely, to a threat from the West, and only a strong Russia can defend itself from that threat. Russia's internal problems were not more than a sideshow. Economic crisis, stagnation, weak currency – all the results of the Western sanctions regime with Russia a victim of Western destabilization policy.

After all, the West gave a helping hand to Putin's cheap propaganda in the months prior to the elections: Be it the debates in the U.S. on Russia's role in presidential elections, alleged Russian cyber-attacks against European countries, state doping allegations – in all these cases Putin managed to turn Western accusations of Russian misbehavior into increased popularity and domestic support for his policy. The sharp disapproving rhetoric of the West, in the context of the Skripal affair, gave another and final push to voter mobilization.

### *Conflict with the West without any risk*

The election's results not only give Putin more legitimacy and room for maneuver domestically, they also provide him with an encouraging stimulus towards the

outside. Strengthened in the self-staged image of a strong Russia, Moscow is likely to insist more clearly and self-confidently than before, vis-à-vis the West, on the recognition of its interests and force Western hands.

A foreign policy that puts more pressure on the West is without any risk for Russia, given the fact that, in the current international climate, it is not Russia, but the West, which is under pressure from all sides. The stronger the centrifugal forces within the EU or within the transatlantic community, the more U.S.-President Trump destabilizes or even overthrows established co-operation structures, and the more China pushes forward, the easier it will be for Russia to be in the slipstream of these developments and to act out its great power fantasies.

**CONTACT**

REGINA HELLER

HELLER@IFSH.DE

## The OSCE Network: Personnel changes and meetings in Vienna



*Christian Nünlist and Cornelius Friesendorf*

In February, the members of the OSCE Network of Think Tanks and Academic Institutions held elections for a new Steering Committee and the Network Coordinator, a post that had been held by Wolfgang Zellner since the Network's creation in 2013. Eight members were elected to the Steering Committee: Irina Chernykh (KISI, Kazakhstan), Barbara Kunz (IFRI, France), Marko Lehti (TAPRI, Finland), Ambassador Philip McDonagh (Edward M Kennedy Institute for Conflict Intervention, Ireland), Ambassador Philip Remler (Carnegie, USA), Sonja Stojanovic Gajic (BCSP, Serbia), Stefan Wolff (University of Birmingham, United Kingdom), and Andrei Zagorski (IMEMO, Russia). The voter turnout was high, at 79 percent, and the new Steering Committee members were endorsed by a large majority of the votes cast. For the first time, an electronic voting procedure, set up by Eckhard Schlopsna and Naida



Mehmedbegović Dreilich, was used and proved effective.

The member institutions also elected Cornelius Friesendorf (IFSH, Hamburg) and Christian Nünlist (CSS, Switzerland) as new Network Co-Coordinators (and members of the Steering Committee), for a period of two years. They received 56 votes in favor, no votes against, and 4 abstentions.

On 14 – 15 March, Cornelius Friesendorf and Christian Nünlist, as the new Network Co-Coordinators, conducted a series of meetings in Vienna to introduce themselves to the OSCE family – particularly to Amb. Luca Frattini of the 2018 Italian OSCE Chairmanship, OSCE Secretary General Amb. Thomas Greminger, OSCE CPC Director Amb. Marcel Pesko as well as the heads and representatives of various national Delegations to the OSCE and of the OSCE Secretariat. Together with CORE Deputy Head, Frank Evers, they discussed possible Network projects for 2018. A working lunch that was kindly hosted by the Permanent Representative of Bulgaria to the OSCE, Amb. Svetoslav Spassov, provided an additional opportunity to present the OSCE Network before the OSCE Delegations of more than a dozen EU member countries. The visit program revealed the interlocutors' significant interest in making use of the OSCE Network for the ongoing political discussions in Vienna.

#### CONTACT

CORNELIUS FRIESENDORF

FRIESENDORF@IFSH.DE

## North Korean Crisis in Focus of IFAR

In light of the surprising announcement by US President Trump that he would meet with the North Korean ruler Kim Jong-un in May and the readiness signalled by North Korea to cooperate on speaking about the denuclearization of the Korean peninsula, there is heightened public interest in the North Korean nuclear and missile program. In the lecture series of the working group "Physics and Disarmament" co-organized by IFAR (Spokespersons: Götz Neuneck and Christian Alwardt) in the context of the 82<sup>nd</sup> annual conference of the German Physics Society in Erlangen, many lectures dealt with aspects of the North Korean capabilities. Thus, Markus Schiller from Munich made it clear that the missiles with intercontinental range are no stand-alone products, but are dependent upon external know-how. Götz Neuneck summarized the findings of the missile tests of the UCS scientist, David Wright (Boston), who was, unfortunately, unable to attend. Matthias Englert

(Darmstadt) and Malte Göttsche (RWTH Aachen) analysed North Korea's capabilities for producing weapons-grade material and Ole Ross (BGS Braunschweig) presented the results of the analysis of the North Korean nuclear tests. Each of these lectures had several



hundred listeners.

*The former head of the IAEA "Verification and Security Policy Coordination Office", Tariq Rauf, at the lectures of the DPG Working Group "Physics and Disarmament" at the University of Erlangen*

Guests from abroad were invited for the other lectures. Tariq Rauf (Vienna) lectured on the "IAEA Low Enriched Fuel Bank", Ryan Snyder (Geneva) on "Laser Enrichment of Uranium Isotopes". Additional speakers from the working groups and research centres in Germany (FZ Jülich, RWTH Aachen, BOKU Vienna, Fraunhofer-Institute INT, TU Dortmund et al.) examined the most various peace and security policy topics with natural sciences focuses and methods. At the annual public Max-von-Laue lecture, Götz Neuneck introduced the Keynote Speaker, Paul Richards, a seismologist from Columbia University in New York, who lectured on the topic of "Scientific Work in Support of Bans on Nuclear Testing: Lessons for Science Advice" and the seismological detection methods of the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test Ban Treaty (CTBT). This lecture series has been curated by IFAR and deals, in public lectures, with topics from the broad field of "Physics and Society"

North Korea was also the topic of a lecture in the evening Salon of the Café Hadley, a neighbour of IFSH, at which many speakers from IFSH have been guests in the past several months. Also, in a research colloquium at IFSH, Christian Alwardt and Götz Neuneck brought up the results of the North Korean nuclear capabilities in their lectures. Finally, the topic was the subject of many interviews (NDR, DLF and ZDF) and background discussions, IFAR will continued to deal with the North Korea problem.

#### CONTACT

GÖTZ NEUNECK

NEUNECK@IFSH.DE

## Publications

# S+F Sicherheit und Frieden Security and Peace

### S+F. Security and Peace, Issue 4/2017 Self-Reflexivity – a Contribution to Peace and Security?

Does insufficient self-reflection in peace and security policy not lead to a skewed analysis? Perhaps it even closes off the decisive strategic room for negotiation. For it must actually be easier to correct one's own action than (it is) to steer other actors or even reshape foreign societies.

In an introductory article, Gertud Brücher initiates the complex analysis of the topic of self-reflexion. Sabine Jaberg, the editor of this issue, presents the various dispositions of peace and security with respect to self-reflexion. Although the differences fade away on edges of the categories, the initial categories retain their relevance throughout. While peace is conceptually well-prepared for self-reflexion, it must be wrested from security. But then, shouldn't peace research be a self-reflexive science par excellence? In his contribution, Christoph Weller issues a mixed report on the discipline. To be sure, its critical branch has the relevant potential, but is not yet exhausted. Michael Bothe explores the question of whether the Federal Republic's arms export policy complies with the law of peace anchored in the Constitution. While self-reflectivity on this topic can only be rudimentary, Jan Grebe moves it to the centre. Since the Federal Republic of Germany finds itself noticeably on the way to being a political exporter, the significance of the self-reflective discourse is growing. Werner Ruf concentrates the self-reflexive look on the concept and the practice of neo-liberalism and highlights a global discord with the example of the economic and trade policy of the European Union. Claudia Brunner's article multiplies the scepticism, already invoked by Ruf's reasoning, about whether the West, in its hegemonic position would be at all prepared for an about-face caused by self-reflexivity, especially since the colonial legacy extends over the entire epistemic territory of modernity. Self-reflexivity in the context of peace and security is a broad field that urgently needs further exploration – such is the conclusion of this issue.

#### CONTACT

PATRICIA SCHNEIDER

SCHNEIDER@IFSH.DE



### Prospects for a peaceful solution in Ukraine

Together with a number of well-known German experts, Regina Heller commented on the current developments in the armed conflict in Eastern Ukraine and on the prospects for a peaceful solution in Ukraine-Analysen of 25 January 2018.

<http://www.laender-analysen.de/ukraine/pdf/UkraineAnalysen194.pdf>

#### CONTACT

REGINA HELLER

HELLER@IFSH.DE



### North Caucasus

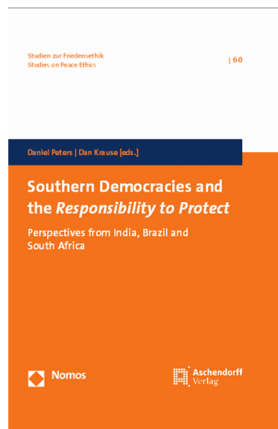
In December 2017, the German Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung (BpB) published the updated conflict portrait "North Caucasus" in its dossier "Intra-state conflicts", written by Regina Heller:

<http://www.bpb.de/internationales/weltweit/innerstaatliche-konflikte/54672/nordkaukasus>

#### CONTACT

REGINA HELLER

HELLER@IFSH.DE



**India, Brazil and South Africa. Studien zur Friedensethik Volume 60. Baden-Baden 2017, pp. 101–48.**

The edited volume “Southern Democracies and the Responsibility to Protect” is comprised of six contributions addressing the perspectives of the three influential southern democracies of India, Brazil and South Africa on the principle of the Responsibility to Protect (R2P). Eduardo Gresse, Fernando Mattos, and Daniel Peters argue in their chapter that domestic development experiences and a related shift in the country’s foreign policy have shaped Brazil’s stance towards R2P under the administrations of Lula da Silva and Dilma Rousseff. The study draws on statements of Brazilian diplomats during informal dialogues about the implementation of R2P at the UN General Assembly and highlights that the Brazilian notion of the concept is guided by a restrictive approach to the use of force and the prioritization of structural conflict prevention over mass atrocity prevention, posing a challenge to the fairly established “narrow but deep approach”. Consequently, by analysing the central threads of Brazil’s understanding of R2P, the authors reveal that the ambition of the country’s foreign policy elite was to mould the concept according to their own understanding of the instruments and scope of international responsibility thereby introducing the government’s preferences into the contested field of international peace and security. The volume was published by Nomos in December 2017 and is part of the series “Studies on Peace Ethics”.

#### CONTACT

**FERNANDO PREUSSER DE MATTOS**

**MATTOS@IFSH.DE**

**Eduardo Gonçalves Gresse/Fernando Preusser de Mattos/Daniel Peters, A Brazilian Perspective on Development and R2P: Analysing the Linkages between Domestic and Foreign Policies under Lula da Silva and Dilma Rousseff, in: Daniel Peters/ Dan Krause (eds.), Southern Democracies and the Responsibility to Protect: Perspectives from**

**Sybille Reinke de Buitrago. Discussing Islamic Peace Ethics: Conceptual Considerations of the Normative. in: H. Shadi (Ed.), Islamic Peace Ethics, Baden Baden, 2018, S. 55-68.**

<https://www.nomos-elibrary.de/10.5771/9783845283494-1/titelei-inhaltsverzeichnis>

This work raises significant issues framing and underlying the discussion of Islamic peace ethics. It refers to representations of Islam in parts of current political and public discourse, as well as related aspects of the application of political power. It points to the question of normative plurality versus universality, as well as to processes of self-other constructions and othering, and, thereby, potentially enabled violence.

#### CONTACT

**SYBILLE REINKE DE BUITRAGO**

**REINKE@IFSH.DE**



**Hans-Georg Ehrhart, Kriege und Kriegführung der Staaten des globalen Nordens im 21. Jahrhundert (Wars and warfare by the States of the global North in the 21st Century), in: Zeitschrift für Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik, issue 1/2018, S. 65-81.**

Today’s warfare by the states of the global North is more complex, its various forms are more difficult to differentiate, its dynamics are more volatile, its orientation is more people-centric and, due to modern technologies, more information-intensive. Its special characteristic lies in the application of tactical and operative effects from capability areas, such as information space, networking, indirect and covert operations, and technological innovation with the aim of maintaining the political room of manoeuvre with as little risk and cost as possible. These changes are taking place in an increasing grey zone between limiting and de-bounding of war that is already a challenge for peace and security.

#### CONTACT

**HANS-GEORG EHRHART**

**EHRHART@IFSH.DE**

**Steffen Stock/Patricia Schneider/Elisabeth Peper/Eva Molitor (Eds.), Erfolgreich wissenschaftlich arbeiten: Alles, was Studierende wissen sollten (Working successfully scientifically: Everything students should know).**



[www.studierendenratgeber.de](http://www.studierendenratgeber.de)

This guide is aimed at students of all disciplines. It familiarizes readers intending to study in Germany with all the techniques needed to successfully accomplish all manner of assignments, tests and exams. This comprehensive guide seeks to impart a thorough understanding of academic reading and writing skills, enabling you to study more efficiently and effectively. Moreover, it provides valuable information on how to prepare for presentations and how to meet even the most stringent academic requirements. In addition, this reader illustrates general assessment criteria for academic writing. It also outlines helpful techniques and strategies on how to manage certain crises, for instance writer's block. In regards to special circumstances, the guide demonstrates coping strategies for unforeseen events or other difficult situations. Based on the findings of lecturers and on their concrete interaction with students, this interdisciplinary guide, written by 69 graduates for the benefit of students, presents the accumulated knowledge of professionals. Hence, it offers comprehensive insights into everything you need to know for academic success.

**CONTACT**

**PATRICIA SCHNEIDER**

**SCHNEIDER@IFSH.DE**

**Imprint**

Responsible for this issue:

**Susanne Bund, Anna Kreikemeyer**

**Staff News**



**Cornelius Friesendorf**

started working as a senior researcher in the Centre for OSCE Research (CORE) at IFSH in March 2018. He is also Co-Coordinator of the OSCE Network of Think Tanks and Academic Institutions.

Before moving to Hamburg, he was senior advisor for an EU police reform support project in Myanmar. Other

positions have included working as a research associate at Goethe University Frankfurt and the Peace Research Institute Frankfurt, fellow at the Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces, postdoctoral researcher at Ludwig-Maximilians-University Munich, and project officer at the Center for Security Studies, Swiss Federal Institute of Technology Zurich.

He received his habilitation from Goethe University Frankfurt in 2017 with a study on military interventions (How Western Soldiers Fight: Organizational Routines in Multinational Missions, Cambridge University Press, 2018). His doctoral thesis (University of Zurich) examines counter-narcotics strategies (US Foreign Policy and the War on Drugs: Displacing the Cocaine and Heroin Industry, Routledge, 2007). He also holds a Diploma in Political Science from the Free University Berlin and a Master of Science in European Studies from the London School of Economics and Political Science. Prior to that, he studied political science in Bristol and Göttingen. Cornelius was guest re-searcher or lecturer at Taras Shevchenko State University Kyiv, St. Petersburg State University, the Centre for Civil-Military Relations Belgrade, the Center for Security Studies Sarajevo, South East European University Tetovo, and the Watson Institute for International Studies, Brown University. From 2018-2021, he will lead, together with Ursula Schröder, a project that examines multinational police missions, funded by the German Research Foundation.

**CONTACT**

**CORNELIUS FRIESENDORF**

**FRIESENDORF@IFSH.DE**