

Civil Protection and Disaster Assistance on Security Threats

IFSH Study for Federal Office of Citizen Protection and Disaster Assistance

In summer 2013 the Federal Office of Citizen Protection and Disaster Assistance (BBK) in Bonn commissioned the IFSH to work out a comprehensive “analysis of security policy threats and risks under the aspects of civil defense and civil protection”.

During the last years, it became apparent that highly dangerous situations can emerge against the backdrop of deterritorialization and globalization of armed conflicts which can have direct impacts on the population of Germany. Due to the growing interconnectedness of communication, energy supply, transportation and mobility of people and products, new dependencies arise with direct relevance for Germany, which could result in cascading effects in case of war. Therefore, understanding the impact of armed conflicts is of high significance for a quick, effective and well-prepared risk and crisis management.



International Civil Protection Germany/Photo: Atfire87

The study aimed at “determining threats and risks for the Federal Republic of Germany that can result in damages caused by war and warfare, terrorism and the use and abuse of risk technologies”. The focus of closer analysis was especially on possible damages that are relevant to Germany’s civil defense and civil protection. The aim was not to conduct an exact risk analysis but to evaluate the development of trends. To answer this complex question, the working groups ZEUS and IFAR² put together a team of ten scientists and military experts. Based on the available scientific literature (i.e. threat analyses, scientific papers, state

documents etc.) and expert interviews, they summarized – together with members of the BBK – the international expert debate and analyzed present individual cases. The Institute for Strategic Future Analysis of the Carl-Friedrich-von-Weizsäcker-Foundation participated with a subcontract. First of all, a classification of war specifically for Germany was developed. The main focus was on short- and middle-term technological trends, terrorist and military risks and on severe damage situations for Germany. The results and preliminary results were discussed at three workshops with the BBK.



Photo: BBK

The study, completed and presented in July 2014, advocates a continuous threat analysis as well as an analysis of conflict developments with large damage potential on a scientific basis. It provides an overview of the capabilities and intentions of relevant actors and of relevant damage potentials. The proliferation of CBRN weapons (chemical, biological, radiological and nuclear weapons) continues to demand a well-prepared and trained civil defense. In the case of transnational CBRN-incidents, a smooth communication between decision makers, crisis units, affected populations and

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the public is essential for an optimal crisis management. Attacks from cyberspace present a new threat that can also result in great damage during a war regarding critical infrastructure. The implementation of an obligation to report such incidents and a more detailed study of the consequences of critical infrastructure outages, including energy, communication, and transport as well as the development of a binding classification of damage would be a step forward. Götz Neuneck and Roland Kaestner presented the results and recommendations of the approximately 150-page study, which will be published as well, and discussed it with the heads of department of the BBK in the Academy for Crisis Management, Emergency Planning and Civil Protection in Ahrweiler on 11 November 2014. It became apparent that the head of the BBK considers a continuous examination and evaluation of the present emerging risk situations and wants to integrate the ongoing research results. The study's trends and results will be discussed with other departments (BMI, BMVg etc.) as well and will also be used for modern emergency planning and for future risk and crisis management.

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Second Deep Cuts Workshop

From 12-13 December 2014, members of the trilateral German-Russian-U.S. Deep Cuts Commission held their second workshop in Hamburg. The meeting took place at the facilities of DESY Hamburg. This time, Commissioners were supported in their deliberations by Friends of the Commission Ambassador Antje Leendertse.



From left to right: Ulrich Kühn (IFSH), Greg Thielmann (ACA), Andrei Zagorski (IMEMO), Götz Neuneck (IFSH).

The two-day discussions focused on the current Ukraine conflict and its consequences for arms control and disarmament efforts, the INF debate, the legacy of

the IAEA's Trilateral Initiative, the upcoming 2015 NPT RevCon, and further multilateral steps in the P5 process.

Particularly in analyzing the reasons for the current Ukraine conflict, views of the Commissioners were rather divergent. However, all agreed that the current crisis makes preserving critical arms control instruments even more salient in order to uphold a certain degree of confidence. In that regard, Commissioners agreed that preserving the INF Treaty – which has come under increased political stress lately – is one of the most urgent tasks. They voiced their commitment to engage in public efforts to lobby for the preservation of this important element of nuclear stability. With regards to the further disarmament process among the P5, the general thrust of opinions was that continuation of the process is important, even though not too much should be expected in terms of concrete disarmament measures.



From left to right: former Ambassador Walter Jürgen Schmid, Andrei Zagorski, former First Mayor of Hamburg Klaus von Dohnanyi.

On the evening of 12 December, workshop participants have been invited by the Councillor of State, Horst-Michael Pelikahn to the Hamburg Rathaus, followed by a speech by former First Mayor of Hamburg, Klaus von Dohnanyi and Niels Annen, Member of the German Bundestag.

At the end of the two days, participants agreed on the elaboration of a second report by the Deep Cuts Commission addressing the current obstacles to nuclear and conventional arms control and disarmament.

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Second Interdisciplinary Hamburg Central Asia Day

State society relations are a crucial object of study in social sciences and are of concern for political scientists, anthropologists, historians, and highly relevant also for questions of peace and conflict. As important

as such fundamental structures like state society relations are, as often are they overlooked in the everyday research process.

The second interdisciplinary Hamburg Central Asia Day, which took place on 5 December 2014 at the IFSH, addressed the question of state society relations in Central Asia. Jointly organized by CORE/IFSH, Jeanne Féaux de la Croix (Tübingen), Aksana Ismailbekova (ZMO), and Anja Franke-Schwenk (Kiel), the workshop was also intended to enhance exchange especially amongst young academics who deal with the topic of Central Asia. The event brought together about 30 junior and senior researchers for an interdisciplinary exchange.

Amongst them were anthropologists, historians and political scientists. Keynote speaker was Prof. Ingeborg Baldauf from the Humboldt University in Berlin, who gave a presentation on the historical intrusion of the state into Central Asian societies. She focused on writers and poets in Uzbekistan and showed how the Soviet state marginalized and eventually incorporated the intellectual field.



From left to right: Aksana Ismailbekova (ZMO), Beate Eschment (Uni Bremen), Irina Morozova (HU Berlin), Anna Kreikemeyer (IFSH), Matthias Schmidt (FU Berlin), Jeanne Féaux de la Croix (Uni Tübingen).

The following three panels brought together researchers discussing “multiple identities: concepts and competition”, “politics of history by states and competing actors”, and issues of regional integration, globalization and security. The workshop ended with a round table discussion where senior researchers debated on the future of Central Asia research.

Aksana Ismailbekova presented the research projects within the “Crossroad Asia Competence Network” and innovative methods like multi-sited ethnography. Beate Eschment gave an overview on 25 years of research in Central Asia and emphasized an ambiguous situation: On the one hand, ‘technical’ conditions for field research have very much improved since the 1990s. On the other hand, the political environments increasingly complicate the situation for local and external researchers. Matthias Schmidt (Hannover) concluded that much of the research on Central Asia still focuses on “post-Soviet” aspects. He stressed the importance to move on, taking into account issues like the role of China, climate change, and the impacts of

neoliberal reform. Anna Kreikemeyer (CORE/IFSH) welcomed the clearly improved understanding of Central Asia research for local and specific contexts in Central Asia as a region of non-Western society. A controversial discussion revolved around the post-colonial character of Central Asian research. As research is still mainly financed by Western donors and dominated by Western scholars, who shape categories and research priorities, there is a continued risk of ‘colonizing’ Central Asian studies.

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

What do the salafist-jihadist movement, the currently reviving right-wing extremism in Europe and the colour revolutions in the post-Soviet area have in common? Despite their diverse goals, local settings and mobilization and organizational patterns, all these contemporary protest movements act in a highly internationalized context. By using new types of media as well as drawing the attention of traditional media, they are able to reach audiences from all over the world, to build global networks, even to globally recruit members and to unfold effects reaching much further than their own original conflict. As a consequence, they are not only local protest movements, but at times even actors of national or even international politics.

These new forms and generations of protest movements in the Euro-Asian space are growing topics of interest in social science, psychological and historical research, though the scientific debate of this phenomenon has only just begun. For this reason, the IFSH research units ZEUS and CORE organized an interdisciplinary conference on this topic that took place in Hamburg on 23-24 October 2014. Besides Daniela Pisoiu (ZEUS), Elena Kropatcheva and Sebastian Schiek (both CORE), Klaus Michael Reininger (Institute for Psychology, University of Hamburg) and Anja Franke-Schwenk (Kiel University) were also involved in the organisation. The conference was generously funded by the “Young Science Forum” of the Academy of Sciences and Humanities in Hamburg.

The conference especially aimed to give young colleagues of different disciplines the opportunity to present and discuss their current research projects, which is the reason why most contributions have been ‘work in progress’. Choosing this approach opened up space for discovering interesting similarities, cross-references and disparities between the various projects and also encouraged networking and exchange. The big and at times controversial questions that were addressed by many contributions were focused on the novelty of these protest movements, the motivational

patterns of individual actors as well as the influence of the socio-cultural and political context on the formation and appearance of protest movements. The introductory speech was held by David Canter, director of the International Research Centre for Investigative Psychology at the University of Huddersfield. As a result of the conference, PISOIU, Kropatcheva and Schiek are going to edit a special issue of the journal Contemporary Social Science.

CONTACT:**DANIELA PISOIU****PISOIU@IFSH.DE****ELENA KROPATCHEVA****KROPATCHEVA@IFSH.DE****SEBASTIAN SCHIEK****SCHIEK@IFSH.****Publications**

Michael Brzoska (ed.), European Peace and Security Policy: Transnational Risks of Violence, in: Demokratie, Sicherheit, Frieden, Volume 214, Baden-Baden: Nomos/Bloomsbury 2014, 362 pages.



Since the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001, terrorism and other transnational risks of violence dominate official security policy. Researchers at the Institute of Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg analyzed the consequences of this change for security governance within a large research program. Case studies of select policy fields and measures led to the conclusion that while security policy changed, national governments remained dominant. The transnationalization of threats resulted in only a limited internationalization of security policies. The edited volume combines conceptual work on security governance with empirical studies, for instance on measures in the fight against terrorism and the transformation of security policy in international organisations such as the European Union and the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe.

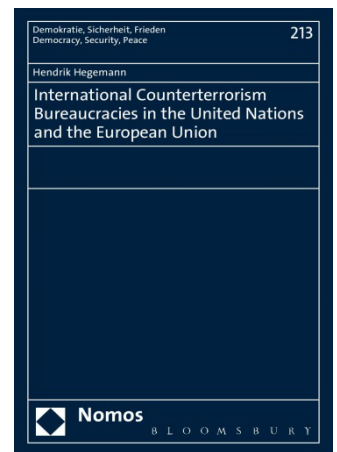
With contributions by Raphael Bossong, Michael Brzoska, Hans-Georg Ehrhart, Hendrik Hegemann, Regina Heller, Margret Johannsen, Roland Kaestner, Martin Kahl, Anna Kreikemeyer, Oliver Meier, Kerstin Petretto, Daniela PISOIU, Johann Schmid, Patricia Schneider, Arne C. Seifert, Matenia Sirseloudi and Wolfgang Zellner.

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Hendrik Hegemann, International Counterterrorism Bureaucracies in the United Nations and the European Union, Baden-Baden: Nomos/Bloomsbury 2014.

Since the attacks of 11 September 2001, a complex web of international structures and rules for the

fight against transnational terrorism has emerged. However, previous research so far disregarded the organizational basis of counterterrorism cooperation. Using the example of bureaucratic actors in the United Nations and the European Union, this study examines how and to which degree international counterterrorism bureaucracies exercise autonomy and perform distinct functions. The examination reveals the special ambivalence of counterterrorism cooperation for international bureaucracies, which need to reconcile calls for effective counterterrorism with the need to maintain an impression of technical impartiality in a particularly contested policyfield. They respond to this challenge with different strategies of politicization and depoliticization.

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Foreign fighters: An overview of existing research and a comparative study of British and German foreign fighters, IFSH/ZEUS Working Paper 8, available at: <<http://ifsh.de/news/details/of/news-781/>>.

The current conflict in Syria is attracting an unprecedented amount of foreign fighters who have travelled there to join the rebels. Given the high and immediate policy relevance of the topic, the kinds of knowledge we have at the moment on foreign fighters is in the majority empirical and descriptive, rather than analytical and theoretical. This study aimed to provide a sample of British and German foreign fighters in order to gain an insight into their profiles. The results are interesting as many differences can be noted between the two country samples, especially



relating to socio-economic and educational backgrounds. The German foreign fighters are less educated and coming from lower socio-economic strata than the British ones. Also a higher proportion of the German foreign fighters had been previously involved in crime, some in terrorism related offences. In terms of similarities, the majority of recruits from both countries is male, young, and was single at the time of leaving to Syria.

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S+F. Sicherheit und Frieden, Issue 4/2014
Hot Spot Middle East



Once again, the Middle East has regained the world's focus. This is not the first time that a cross-regional wildfire effect is possible. The entanglement and mutually reinforcing impact of conflict escalation make the situation less lucid and predictable than in the past.

The region seems to have turned upside down: usual stabilizers such as Egypt and Jordan appear unsteady, traditional regional powers such as Syria and Iraq are threatened by dismemberment, the oil-rich state of Libya is descending into anarchy, and Kurdish tribes envisage a nation-state erected on the ruins of their crumbling neighbours and hosts. Finally, transnational terrorist groups seem unstoppable as they gain ground and establish regimes of terror wherever they gain territorial control.

The group that self-identifies as Islamic State (IS) represents a particularly crude understanding of "state", against all universal human rights and International Humanitarian Law. The authors of this issue's focus are Yakov Hadas-Handelsman, Khoulood Daibes, Margret Johannsen, Kai Hafez and Linda Berger.

The Forum on "Sanctions against Russia – A Smart Political Instrument?", compiled by Sabine Jaberg, includes contributions by Sven Bernhard Gareis, Manfred Kulesa, Rolf Hasse, Friedrich Glasl and Michael Brzoska.

The next issue of S+F will deal with "The Role of the Security Sector in Democratization Processes".

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Russia's Nuclear Posture: Modernization and the State of Arms Control

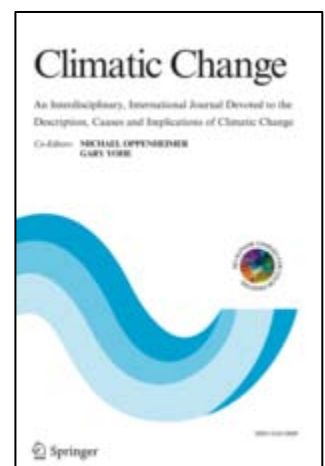


This Deep Cuts Issue Brief by Vincent Fournier (IFSH) and Ulrich Kühn (IFSH) analyzes Russia's nuclear posture, meaning the composition of the Russian strategic triad, its non-strategic nuclear arms, and Moscow's current nuclear doctrine. As part of the modernization process of the Russian Army, Moscow has ordered a significant qualitative overhaul of the Russian nuclear forces in all three legs of the Russian triad. While Moscow is modernizing, its overall arsenal of nuclear warheads still by far exceeds any reasonable security needs. Efforts at reducing the Russian arsenal in a mutually agreed manner with the United States beyond New START are experiencing considerable problems. The fallout from the Ukraine conflict has already damaged bilateral relations. There is the danger that the standstill in U.S.-Russian nuclear arms control relations might severely affect the NPT regime. The Ukraine conflict will certainly continue to complicate any cooperative approach in the short term.

The Issue Brief is available online at http://deepcuts.org/files/pdf/Deep_Cuts_Issue_Brief1_Russias_Nuclear_Posture.pdf

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Halvard Buhaug, Jonas Nordkvelle, Thomas Bernauer, Tobias Böhmelt, Michael Brzoska et al, One effect to rule them all? A comment on climate and conflict, Climatic Change, December 2014, Vol. 127, Issue 3-4, pp. 391-397.



This text by a large number of researchers working on the potential links between climate change and armed conflict refutes the results of a widely quoted study. Solomon Hsiang, Marshall Burke and Edward Miguel concluded that it was proven that climate change caused violence on the basis of the first (and so far only) meta-analysis on this topic. However, some of their methodological choices and selection of studies seem questionable. A re-estimation with some plausible changes in methodology leads to different results.

The authors of this text therefore conclude, contrary to Hsiang, Burke and Miguel, that the debate on the consequences of climate change for conflict needs to be continued on the basis of more research.

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Regina Heller, Status and emotions in Russian foreign policy, in: Communist and Post-Communist Studies, Vol. 47, Issues 3–4 (with Reinhard Wolf and Tuomas Forsberg), pp. 261-268.



Regina Heller, Russia's quest for respect in the international conflict management in Kosovo, in: Communist and Post-Communist Studies, Vol. 47, Issues 3–4, pp. 333–343.

Special Issue: Tuomas Forsberg/Regina Heller/Reinhard Wolf (guest editors), Status and emotions in Russian foreign policy, Vol. 47, Issues 3–4.

The importance of status concerns on Russia's foreign policy agenda has been increasingly observed. This preoccupation with status is particularly visible in Russia's relations with the West. Although strong claims about status in Russian foreign policy are frequently made in public and private by researchers, journalists, politicians, diplomats and other commentators, such claims often lack any closer theoretical or empirical justification. The aim of the Special Issue is to present both basic theoretical and methodological components that form the research agenda on status, emotions and identity and to bring together empirical case studies that show the various manifestations of this triangular relationship in Russia's relations with the West.

One of the contributions, authored by Regina Heller, examines the emotion-based status-seeking logic in Russia's foreign policy vis-a-vis the West along Russia's reactions to NATO's military campaign against Serbia in 1999. It is argued that Russian assertiveness in combination with expressive rhetoric must be understood as a result of the ruling elite's need to have Russia's identity and self-defined social status as an equal great power in world politics respected by its Western interaction partners.

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Margret Johannsen, Der israelisch-palästinensische Konflikt: ohne Lösung, ohne Perspektive? Mit einem Nachtrag: Nach dem Gazakrieg, in: Peter Struynski (ed.), Umbrüche und Kontinuitäten. Von den Weltkriegen zum "permanenten Krieg"?, Kassel: Junior, pp. 124-142.



The article discusses the problems that come with charging the territorial conflict on Palestine with elements of collective identity when negotiating the terms of a peace agreement, analyzes the significance of asymmetrical power distribution for a sustainable conflict settlement and investigates the share of external players in the conflict. In the light of the numerous regional hot spots, it remains to be seen whether the Gaza war of 2014 will eventually serve as a lesson that ritualized negotiations have exhausted their potential for arriving at a solution of the century-old conflict.

Margret Johannsen, Hamas ante portas? Die palästinensischen Nationalreligiösen zwischen Widerstand und Regieren, S+F, Sicherheit und Frieden / Security and Peace Vol. 32, Issue 4, pp. 243-248.

In the light of yet another failure of the Israeli-Palestinian peace negotiations, the old rivals Fatah and Hamas made an effort to implement their repeatedly announced will to reconcile and formed a unity government. In case this enterprise succeeds, Hamas will have to meet the challenge of continuing their transformation from a resistance movement into a politically accountable governing party – internal opposition notwithstanding. As the decisive condition for the effort to succeed, the article identifies a sustainable ceasefire and an end to the Israeli blockade.

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