

## IFSH organizes international events on disarmament New York and Berlin

### Release of the Second Report of the “Deep Cuts” Commission: Experts Roundtable in New York

Since the outbreak of the Ukraine crisis, not only the regime of conventional arms control in Europe but also the agreements promoting nuclear arms control came under increasing pressure. Even though the current downturn in West-Russian relations calls for reinforced crisis management mechanisms, also in the form of arms control, there is the danger of an increasing erosion of the existing security mechanisms in the years to come. This effect pertains not only to bi- or multilateral agreements under the auspices of the United States, NATO and Russia, but also to the realm of global efforts to achieve nuclear disarmament and to bring proliferation to a halt. Right now (27 April to 22 May), the Review Conference to the Treaty on Nuclear Non-Proliferation (NPT) – the most important nuclear disarmament instrument – took place in New York. Many observers already feared for a failure of this conference.



The panel presenting the Second Report of the “Deep Cuts” Commission, f.l.t.r.: Götz Neuneck, Victor Mizin, Patricia Flor, Steve Pifer, Angela Kane (Photo: © by GermanyUN)

It was against that backdrop that IFSH/IFAR<sup>2</sup> and the German Federal Foreign Office conducted an experts roundtable at the Permanent Mission of Germany to the United Nations in New York on 30 April. On the ...

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### International Workshop “Conventional arms control in Europe: New Approaches in Challenging Times”

The Centre for OSCE Research (CORE) at the IFSH hosted an international workshop together with the German Federal Foreign Office on conventional arms control in Europe at the Red City Hall (Rotes Rathaus) in Berlin on 23-24 April 2015. This was the second joint effort of this kind after an earlier brainstorming event conducted by the Federal Foreign Office and CORE in July 2013.



International Arms Control Workshop in Berlin: Gernot Erler, Special Representative of the Federal Government for the OSCE Chairmanship in 2016, delivering the keynote speech

The aim of the workshop was to give further momentum to discussions on the relevance of conventional arms control as well as Confidence and Security Building Measures (CSBMs) in general and their usability for conflict resolution and confidence building in particular. The workshop was specifically meant to give an input to ongoing preparations of Germany’s OSCE Chairmanship in 2016. For this purpose, it brought ...

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occasion of the release of the second report by the “Deep Cuts” Commission (see publications section, p. 5), the newly appointed German Commissioner on Arms Control Patricia Flor, the retiring High Representative for Disarmament Affairs of the United Nations Angela Kane as well as Steve Pifer (Brookings Institution), Victor Mizin (Russian Academy of Sciences) and Götz Neuneck (IFSH) discussed the recommendations of the Commission contained in the second report. At the heart of the report are concrete political and technical suggestions on how to prevent further unintended spill-over effects of the Ukraine crisis to international arms control.

Both Patricia Flor and Angela Kane warned that the crisis in international nuclear disarmament efforts could intensify. In her opening remarks, Flor underscored that the Russian violation of the so-called Budapest Memorandum of 1994 in conjunction with the annexation of Crimea could lead to a devaluation of negative security guarantees and thus undermine the NPT. Angela Kane pointed to the growing frustrations among NPT non-nuclear-weapon states in view of a lack of compliance of the five official nuclear-weapon states (China, France, Russia, UK, and USA) with disarmament obligations under the treaty. Götz Neuneck stressed the responsibility of those so-called “P5” states to achieve more transparency with respect to their arsenals and their employment strategies.



Angela Kane, High Representative of the United Nations for Disarmament Affairs, talking about the importance of the NPT (Photo: © by GermanyUN)

Steve Pifer and Victor Mizin concentrated on strategic nuclear stability issues and European security in their statements. Both stressed that it is of utter importance to stop the dangerous practice of turning off transponders during military

training flights. Further on, the United States and Russia should explore all political options to ensure mutual compliance of the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty. Since 2014, Washington and Moscow accuse each other of non-compliance with the treaty. In the ensuing Q&A, the so-called “humanitarian initiative”, which aims at a global nuclear weapons ban, featured prominently. Here, Germany has already taken a stance and continues to commit to a policy of “small steps”. However, the New York discussion also showed that further progress in nuclear disarmament becomes increasingly hard to achieve in the current non-cooperative environment.

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together more than 80 government officials and Track-II experts from 25 countries as well as international organizations’ representatives.



Participants of the International Arms Control Workshop in Berlin

The workshop started from the premise that arms control and CSBMs in Europe are facing a series of important security challenges that require action. Gernot Erler, Special Representative of the Federal Government for the OSCE Chairmanship in 2016, noted in his keynote speech that the crisis in Ukraine revealed the gap between the spirit in which the existing conventional arms-control regime was developed and the conditions under which it has to be applied. Patricia Flor, Federal Government Commissioner for Disarmament and Arms Control, emphasized that the regime of conventional arms-control needs to adapt to the changing European security environment and particularly to new types of war and new categories of warfare. Many participants of the workshop agreed that arms control and CSBMs should be further developed for restoring trust and confidence, enhancing transparency and predictability. Modernizing the existing arms-control regime is therefore, in their opinion, an urgent issue.

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## IFSH participates in the “white paper process” of the German government: Second expert workshop by KAS and the Ministry of Defence

The second expert workshop in the context of the “white paper process” organized by the Konrad Adenauer Foundation (KAS) and the Federal Ministry of Defence took place in Brussels on 28 April 2015. In the presence of Minister of Defence Dr. Ursula von der Leyen, Dr. Géza von Geyr (Director General, Federal Ministry of Defence) and Jürgen Schulz (Deputy Political Director, Federal Foreign Office) experts from politics, ministries and research institutions discussed on the overall topic of “Perspectives of Partnerships and Alliances”.

After the keynote speech of Dr. Jamie Shea, NATO Deputy Assistance Secretary General for Emerging Security Challenges, Robert Bell (US Mission to

NATO), General Wolfgang Wosolsobe (Director General, EU Military Staff) and Michael Rühle (Head, Energy Security Section, Emerging Security Challenges Division, NATO) gave a presentation in the first panel under the chairmanship of Jürgen Schulz on “The evolution of international alliances and organizations and their significance for Germany’s security policy”.



*Dr. Jamie Shea (NATO), Dr. Géza von Geyr (German Ministry of Defence) and Minister of Defence Dr. Ursula von der Leyen*

Dr. Gerhard Wahlers (Deputy Secretary General, KAS) chaired the second panel dealing with “Germany’s role and interests in international organizations, alliances and bi- and multilateral partnerships” with inputs by Prof Carlo Masala (Professor for International Politics, University of the German Armed Forces, Munich), Jan Techau (Director, Carnegie Europe) und Hans-Georg Ehrhart (Management Board, IFSH). In the third panel, chaired by Camille Grand (Director, Fondation pour la recherche stratégique), Olivier Landour (Director for Europe, North America and Multilateral Affairs, French Ministry of Defence), Daniel Keohane (Director, FRIDE) and Prof Christopher Dandeker (Professor for Military Sociology, King’s College) discussed the topic „Future missions between high-intensity and capability building – expectations towards Germany“. The experts workshop was closed with a public colloquium, where an introductory speech was held by German Minister of Defence von der Leyen, followed by a panel discussion with Dr Géza von Geyr (Chair), Jürgen Schulz, Dr Gerhard Wahlers, Camille Grand and MdB Gisela Manderla (CDU/CSU).

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## **Preparations for the Review Conference to the Treaty on Nuclear Non-Proliferation (NPT) 2015**

The Review Conference to the Treaty on Nuclear Non-Proliferation (NPT) took place from 27 April to 22 May 2015 in the United Nations Headquarter in New York. Focal issues of the quinquennial conference are,

among others, the dispute with Iran, the still to be held Helsinki Conference for building a zone free of weapons of mass destruction in the Middle-East and the stagnation of nuclear disarmament. Against this backdrop, the members of IFAR<sup>2</sup> engaged in a variety of public events.

On 21 April, for instance, Katarzyna Kubiak and Ulrich Kühn represented the IFSH at a multi-stakeholder dialogue in Berlin, organized by the Heinrich Böll Foundation and ICAN (International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons) Germany. The “Humanitarian Initiative”, which is working towards a global ban of nuclear weapons and trying to exert influence on the NPT Review Conference, stood at the center of that discussion. By now, more than 150 countries declared their support for the “Humanitarian Initiative”. Observers agree that the inclusion of humanitarian aspects of international law is playing a crucial role at the NPT Review Conference. In the first week of the conference, Götz Neuneck and Ulrich Kühn participated in the side event organized by the IFSH and its project partners for the presentation of the Second Report of the Deep Cuts Commission in the German House in New York (see page 1). Götz Neuneck is also a member of the German delegation to the conference.

At the invitation of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, Katarzyna Kubiak participated in the conference “70/40/25 – The European peace and security order under threat – open space for a progressive peace policy” from 4-5 May and led a discussion round on the topic: “A new security order for Europe”. In Rome the XIX. Edoardi Amaldi Conference took place from 30-31 March, organized cooperatively by the Italian Academy of Sciences and the Joint Research Centre of the European Commission. The focus of this year’s conference was on “International Cooperation for Enhancing Nuclear Safety, Security, Safeguards and Non-Proliferation”. Götz Neuneck, who is also the Representative for Amaldi-Conferences at the Union of Academies of Sciences, chaired a panel on “Scientific community actions to shape national perspectives towards a better synergy between safety, security and safeguards”. Representatives from EU member states as well as Russia, China and Israel emphasized the importance of arms control for future international non-proliferation policy.

Finally, IFAR<sup>2</sup> published a background paper on the role of the EU at the NPT Conference with the title “Central actor or passive observer? The role and strategy of the European Union in the run-up to the Review Conference to the Treaty on Nuclear Non-Proliferation 2015” (translation) by Luisa-Katharina Häsler.

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## OSCE Panel at the Schlangenbad Talks

At the end of April, under the motto of “The End of the European Home: What Follows?”, the 19<sup>th</sup> Schlangenbad talks took place, a renowned German-Russian discussion format, organized by the Peace Research Institute Frankfurt, together with the Institute for World Economy and International Relations (IMEMO), Moscow, the Friedrich Ebert and the Konrad Adenauer Foundation. The increased role of the OSCE was reflected by the fact that there was, after many years, a specific panel on the OSCE titled: “The OSCE 40 and the pan-European order”. There, Wolfgang Zellner, Head of CORE, discussed with Ambassador Andrei Kelin, Permanent Representative of the Russian Federation to the OSCE, Andrei Zagorski, Head of the Department for Disarmament and Non-Proliferation at IMEMO, and Rolf Mützenich, Deputy Chairman of the Social Democratic faction in the German Bundestag. The Russian side stressed the “renaissance of the OSCE” and proposed a number of subjects – i.e. arms control, transnational conflicts, and the problems of a pan-European economic space – as well as issues to be worked on in the frame of the OSCE. As plausible as these proposals sound, particularly in German ears, the attempt cannot be overlooked, to distract attention from the war in Ukraine and the Russian activities there.

Zellner made an attempt to clarify, in which conflict constellation we actually live and what kind of strategy we need to re-establish a minimum of “pan-European order”. He said, that unfortunately we cannot any longer speak about a regime of co-operative security as this was the case in the 1990s and early 2000s despite all deficits. Rather, the current situation is characterized by a confrontational relationship between Russia and the West, however with co-operative elements. This requires a double strategy of defence and a political stability frame, a kind of revival of the 1967 Harmel Report. Concrete subjects could include strategic early warning, arms control, peacekeeping and a dialogue on a pan-European economic space. All participants agreed in their high expectations in the 2016 German OSCE Chairmanship.

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## „Stell dir vor es ist Krieg. Zum wissenschaftlichen Umgang mit kriegerischer Gewalt“ – The IFSH at the Annual Colloquium of the Working-Group for Peace and Conflict Research (AFK)

From March 19<sup>th</sup> to 21<sup>st</sup>, 2015, the Annual Colloquium of the Working-Group for Peace and Conflict Research (AFK) took place in Berlin under the title: “Imagine it

is war. On the scientific approach to violence in war” (translation). The event started off with an introductory speech by German Minister of Foreign Affairs Dr. Frank-Walter Steinmeier, which was followed by a panel discussion on the Review 2014 process. The IFSH was represented in two panels. Sybille Reinke de Buitrago (ZEUS/IFSH), together with Andrea Schneiker and Henrike Viehrig, presented a paper on “National identities and the logic of appropriateness in military operations”. Johann Schmid (German Ministry of Defence, prev. IFSH) headed the panel “Structural changes in war as a challenge for peace and conflict research”. Hans-Georg Ehrhart (ZEUS/IFSH) gave a talk on the topic “On the way to postmodern warfare?”, Götz Neuneck (IFAR<sup>2</sup>/IFSH) talked about the question of “How significant is high technology for the war of the future?” and Sven Chojnacki (FU Berlin) presented on “New Wars – a critique”.

Furthermore, the conference dealt with anti-war films, gender perspectives on war and peace, aspects of land and resources, mediation in wars and ethical questions. On this occasion, the working-groups of the AFK also came together. Sybille Reinke de Buitrago participated in the meeting of the Network of Women in Peace Research, where questions of gender equality within AFK and on AFK conferences were discussed.

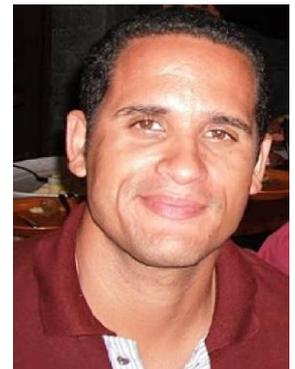
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## Staff News

### Érico Esteves Duarte

From April to December 2015, the IFSH is hosting Érico Esteves Duarte, Assistant Professor on Strategic and International Studies of the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil. He is analyzing international literature and practices on strategic planning for maritime security with the aim of developing a theoretical frame-work to support Brazilian institutional reviews on maritime security.



The sea represents a vital factor for Brazilian development. It has not only made Brazil self-sufficient in oil production, but it will push Brazil to become an oil exporter by 2020 due to the new “pre-salt” deposits found. Due to these new findings the Brazilian Ministry of Defense is undergoing a significant process of review. First, the Joint Chief of Armed Forces was created within the Ministry of Defense and above the Armed Forces, to assist in the planning of a new sys-

tem of national strategy. Second, the development of a new surveillance and weapons system will be concluded in the next four years. Third, the South Atlantic Peace and Cooperation Zone (ZPCSA) was relaunched in 2013 and will lead to Brazil reinforcing its position as provider of naval consultancy, training and exercises to West African countries as well as its important role in the designing and planning of the new center for inter-regional maritime operations of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in Cameroon.

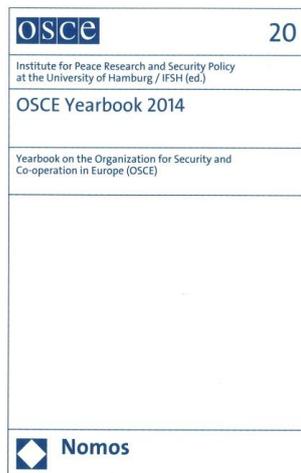
All these developments have been demanding increasing academic support. Since 2012, Érico Duarte has taken part in and coordinated research groups in these areas and in the last two years he has been working alongside the Brazilian Ministry of Defense's cabinet and Naval Chief Command.

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## Publications

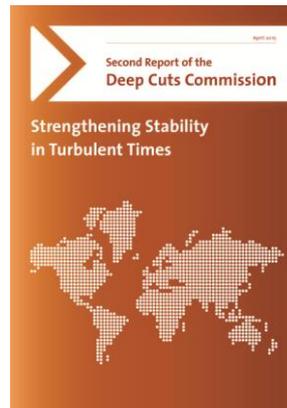
### OSCE Yearbook 2014

The OSCE Yearbook 2014 reviews the unusually intense and headline-grabbing activities of the world's largest regional security organization in 2014. The 20<sup>th</sup> edition of this flagship IFSH publication pays particular attention to the Helsinki +40 Process and the ongoing crisis in Ukraine. Highlights include a defence of the OSCE by former Russian Foreign Minister Igor Ivanov, an evaluation of 40 years of the Helsinki Final Act, various contributions from inside the innovative Swiss-Serbian consecutive Chairmanships, a discussion of the OSCE's role as a regional arrangement under Chapter VIII of the UN Charter by OSCE Secretary General Lamberto Zannier, a review of recent US-Russian relations by Steve Pifer, and several in-depth considerations of the developments in and around Ukraine. A wide variety of high-quality contributions cover many other aspects of the work of the OSCE and developments in its participating States, partners and neighbors: from Scotland to Mongolia, from Afghanistan to North Africa.



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### Strengthening Stability in Turbulent Times. Second Report of the Deep Cuts Commission, April 2015, Hamburg, Moscow, Washington.



The Ukraine crisis and the broader deterioration of West-Russian relations pose an acute threat of unintended clashes between Russian and NATO military forces and continue to deflate hopes for significant short-term progress in nuclear arms control. At the same time, arms control is key to avoiding undesirable and unintended consequences of

the current tensions. The second report of the Deep Cuts Commission concentrates on the nuclear and conventional arms control issues that must be addressed to contain unintended spill-over effects from the current crisis on the broader European region and on nuclear stability at the global level. It contains fifteen key recommendations and identifies a number of additional measures, which could foster confidence in – and maintain focus on – the goal of further nuclear disarmament.

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### Christiane Fröhlich, Matthew R. Stevens: Trapped in Refuge: The Syrian Crisis in Jordan Worsens, Middle East Research and Information Project, <<http://www.merip.org/mero/mero030215>>.

Christiane Fröhlich and Matthew Stevens analyse the recent 180 degree turn in the Jordanian government's policy towards refugees from Syria, which – in combination with food voucher cuts for Syrian refugees outside the camps, which were introduced by the World Food Program due to funding issues at the end of 2014 – is severely damaging already fragile Syrian livelihoods in Jordan. Both policy changes together have had dramatic social and economic effects: on the one hand, food security has suddenly and completely collapsed; on the other, there are threats to social peace. But most importantly, with their freedom of movement being restricted more and more and with food assistance reduced to a mere quantitative exercise, refugees are denied twice: once as political subjects, and once as human beings.



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## S+F. Sicherheit und Frieden/Security and Peace, Issue 1/2015, The Role of the Security Sector in Democratization Processes



The Arab uprisings that began in 2011 have demonstrated the pivotal role played by the armed forces and other security actors in not only maintaining authoritarian regimes but also in ending them. Undoubtedly, they will also play a key role in determining the future course of democratization, or relapse into authoritarianism, in these countries. These developments have renewed the interest among academics and policy-makers in the role of the security sector in democratization processes. The following contributions reveal that both democratization and reforms in the security sector are fragile processes in which security sector actors are important agents of change or spoilers along every step of political reform.

Beyond the scope of this issue's theme are two articles that relate to the USA. Florian Böller analyses the US-German relations from 1991 onwards. Sybille Reinke de Buitrago analyses threat perceptions and threat narratives of the U.S. and of three Arab states vis-à-vis Iran. The authors of this issue's focus are Wolfgang Mühlberger, Felix Heiduk, Nadja Douglas, Fairlie Chappuis und Joseph Siegle.

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This issue's Forum deals with the question of how the war against the Islamic State, and the delivery of weapons to western allies fighting them, challenges peace research. Thorsten Bonacker, Tanja Brühl, Olaf L. Müller and Hajo Schmidt contribute to this.

The title of the focus in the next issue of S+F is: "New technologies, different wars, new approaches to arms control?"

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**Egon Bahr/Götz Neuneck: Against Renuclearising Europe, in: Forum: NATO and Russia, Survival Vol. 57 (2), April/May 2015, pp. 130-139.**

The current issue of the IISS journal "Survival" deals with a contribution by Mathew Kroenig in the previous issue, in which the author argues in favor of a reactivation of the "toolbox" of the Cold War as a reaction to the crisis in Ukraine and the annexation of the Crimea,

including the development and stationing of new tactical nuclear weapons, e.g. in Poland. Egon Bahr and Götz Neuneck argue that this would not only lead to a new and dangerous arms dynamic, but is also not at all communicable to the public. More nuclear weapons would not enlarge the deterrent potential of the West. The West is superior in terms of conventional weapons and the arsenals of nuclear weapons are still more than filled. Therefore it would be wise to take up Obama's proposal for a nuclear weapon free world and to consequently transfer it into arms control treaties, instead of using the Western superiority for undermining current treaties like the INF treaty.

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## Imprint

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