

Track-II Diplomacy in Berlin: European Security, nuclear disarmament and the Arab Spring

From July 1st-4th 2011 the “59th Pugwash Conference on Science and World Affairs” with the title “European Contributions to Nuclear Disarmament and Conflict Resolution” was held in Berlin. This kind of track-II conference originated in 1957 in a small fisher village called “Pugwash” in Canada. Back then in the middle of the Cold War it was the first time to successfully assemble experts, scientists and decision-makers in a confidential atmosphere to discuss the possibilities of war prevention in the nuclear age. Since then over 300 workshops were organized to reduce the dangers of war and to find cooperative solutions for global problems. With its scientific expertise Pugwash has significantly contributed to the end of the East-West-conflict and prepared important contracts, e.g. the NPT-, the ABM- or the CFE-Treaty. For these activities Pugwash and its founder Sir Joseph Rotblat were awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1995. Götz Neuneck, deputy director of IFSH, is member of the Executive Committee of the Pugwash Council and together with the Federation of German Scientists (FGS) he was able to bring the conference to Berlin.



Ambassador Michael Steiner, Minister Mohammed M. Stanekzai and Mullah Abdul S. Zaef, both Afghanistan, ambassador William Taylor, United States (Photo: GN)

About 300 experts from science and politics from 43 countries came together in the conference facilities of the Foreign Office in plenary sessions and working groups to talk about a broad range of conflict issues regarding nuclear weapons. Apart from a strong European presence there were delegations from Palestine,

Afghanistan, Israel, Egypt, Iraq, Iran and North Korea. All in all ten ministers of foreign affairs or their deputies were present. The conference began with a one-day symposium dedicated to European security. In his welcoming speech the UN-Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon underlined the merits of Pugwash and the necessity of further disarmament. Minister of Foreign Affairs Guido Westerwelle emphasized in his welcome address the German duty to fight for a world without nuclear weapons. The two following panels were dedicated to nuclear disarmament in Europe and the relationships between NATO, Europe and Russia. Among the participants were for example minister and member of parliament ret. Egon Bahr, the former director of IFSH, the chief of Munich security conference Wolfgang Ischinger and the British former Minister of Defence Lord Browne of Ladyton. The first day closed with presentations of the deputy Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs Sergei Ryabkov and the US-State Department Undersecretary of State Ellen Tauscher.



Minister of Foreign Affairs Guido Westerwelle welcomes Egon Bahr and Götz Neuneck (Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs)

The second day was dedicated to the Middle East and the chances for establishing a nuclear-free zone in that region.

Rolf Ekeus lead the discussion about prospects of a peaceful communication between Israel and Palestine. Rose Gottemoeller, U.S. chief negotiator for the new START-Treaty, gave a lecture about the possibilities of the ratification of the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty (CTBT). The third day of the conference started with a fascinating panel about Afghanistan, lead by Martin Kobler, deputy UN special representative in Afghanistan. Participants were for example Michael Steiner, government commissioner for Pakistan and Afghanistan and Mullah Abdul Salam Zaef, who –

before the US-intervention 2001 – was ambassador of the at that time governing Taliban in Pakistan and afterwards was imprisoned in Guantanamo until 2005. Meanwhile he strongly advocates a peaceful solution of the Taliban-conflict. Another panel addressed the relationship of India and Pakistan as well as the problems and prospects of the “Arabic Spring”. A further highlight was the Dorothy-Hodkin-lecture of Tatsujiro Suzuki, vice chairman of the Japanese Atomic Energy Commission, who gave a comprehensive overview of the developments in Fukushima. He was supported by Viktor Gilinsky, who in 1979 was the authorized representative of the US Nuclear Regulatory Commission and had to manage the nuclear accident of Three Mile Island.

There were a variety of events in addition to the conference programme, for example an evening about the Arms Trade Treaty or two lectures at the Humboldt University and the Free University of Berlin, where Götz Neuneck participated as a panelist. The IFSH was represented well: while Götz Neuneck and Michael Brzoska each chaired a working group, Oliver Meier and Wolfgang Zellner gave lectures. Ulrich Kühn had been hired by the Foreign Office especially for the preparation and realization of the conference. Anne Finger and Christian Alwardt were the main coordinators of the “International Student and Young Pugwash Conference”, which took place two days before the main conference. 32 participants from 18 countries came together to discuss “Conflict and Cooperation – The Global Impact of Regional Security Efforts”. The four days were accompanied by several social events, for example a boat trip along the Spree River. The German Foundation for Peace Research had funded this conference. The Pugwash-Conferences again and again present opportunities to discuss new conflict solutions and learn about different perspectives and arguments in a relaxed atmosphere.

More information about the program and press coverage:
http://www.pugwash.org/reports/pic/59/general_information.htm
<http://www.pugwash.org/reports/pic/59/media.htm>

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IFSH at 40

In the fall of 1971 – the exact date is not clear – the newly founded Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg (IFSH) began its operations in Hamburg Blankenese, Falkenstein. So the IFSH turns 40 this year.

To mark this occasion, the IFSH published a brochure in German which gives short overviews over important

activities in the past and present (www.ifsh.de/pdf/40_Jahre.pdf). This publication, which will soon be available in English, includes summaries of the work done at IFSH on disarmament and arms control, European security policy and internal leadership in the military. Moreover, the current research program is presented. Additional chapters address policy consultancy by IFSH, the promotion of students, interns and doctoral candidates, and public relations. While the IFSH in its early years was largely oriented towards consultancy, it has increasingly turned into an academic institution, as can be seen by its promotion of young researchers or its networking with the University of Hamburg. This change was facilitated by the move of the institute from the Falkenstein in Hamburg Blankenese to Beim Schlump close to the university. Still, policy advice on the basis of academic research remains an important trademark of the institute.

In the fall of 2011 a number of workshops and conferences will be conducted by the IFSH or in cooperation with the IFSH during which current and planned projects will be discussed. Of particular relevance is the workshop “EU Security Governance in the Post-National Constellation: Conceptual, Empirical, and Practical Challenges”. In the framework of this workshop concepts central to the current work program of the institute will be discussed by international experts. This continues a process started in the institute which resulted in a volume of contributions by researchers from the IFSH edited by Hans-Georg Ehrhart and Martin Kahl.¹



Finally, an event is planned for November 14, 2011 to celebrate the occasion. After an introductory overview over the past 40 years of IFSH by Detlev Bald, there will be a panel discussion with Egon Bahr, Alyson Bailes, Winfried Nachtwei and Regine Mehl.

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¹ Hans-Georg Ehrhart/Martin Kahl (Hrsg.), Security Governance in und für Europa – Konzepte, Akteure, Missionen, Baden-Baden 2010.

The subjective dimension of Russia's partnership with the West

International workshop with researchers from Russia, the U.S. and the EU at IFSH

Russia continues to be an important partner for the West: the country is an essential pillar of the European political and security architecture, a key international player and is also of growing importance as an economic partner. For the West, it is crucial to understand Russia's interests and motivations as an actor in this relationship as well as Russian behaviour as a respondent to demands, interests and actions from the West. Such an understanding is, however, often lacking, particularly because the micro-foundations of Russian foreign policy behaviour are not always clear.



The participants of the Workshop at IFSH

Together with its partners from the University of Frankfurt and Tampere University (Finland) IFSH conducted a workshop entitled "The subjective dimension of Russia's partnership with the West. Filling theoretical and empirical voids". The two-day workshop (15 and 16 September 2011) brought together 20 researchers from Russia, the EU and the U.S. and from different disciplines (political science, sociology, history, psychology) in order to discuss the micro-foundations of Russian foreign policy and its repercussions on the dynamic and quality of the Russian-Western partnership. Because what looks like contradictory, ambivalent, costly and sometimes even risky political behaviour in the relations with the West, can in many instances be understood as a consequence of a subjective rationality. Such a subjective rationality can analytically be captured with psychologically inspired research approaches.

Since a coherent or single theoretical or analytical framework does not yet exist, it has been the aim of the workshop to identify the empirical and theoretical voids in key assumptions of the established approa-

ches, to fill these voids by offering alternative concepts and to develop more tailored explanations, particularly with the help of psychological thinking. Issues discussed throughout the workshop included the role of emotions, social identity, status, respect claims and perceptions in Russian foreign policy, as well as the influence of collective memories and the function of "history politics". In the final roundtable well-respected researchers like the Russia expert Richard Sakwa (UK), the Finnish political advisor Hiski Haukkala, and the political psychologist Mark Urnov (Russia) assessed the importance of subjectivity for analyzing Russian foreign policy. Finally, Deborah Welch Larson (U.S.) commented on the value of the papers and presentations for further developing a political psychology of international relations.

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Central Asia 2011. International Conference in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan

Ten years ago – during its founding days – the OSCE Academy in Bishkek was supported and advised by CORE for institution building. Since then it has developed into an appreciated institution for education and research in the Central Asian region and beyond. Since 2008 the Academy holds an annual international conference on contemporary security political developments in Central Asia together with the Geneva Centre for Security Policy (GCSP), the Norwegian Institute for International Affairs (NUPI), the Near East South Asia Centre for Strategic Studies (NESAS) in Washington and the George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies in Garmisch-Partenkirchen. Already for the second time Anna Kreikemeyer of IFSH/CORE was invited to participate in this conference. This year she chaired a panel on the role of the OSCE in Central Asia.

The discussion focused on the local and international consequences of the pogroms in South Kyrgyzstan (2010), human security in Tajikistan as well as the situation in Afghanistan in the light of the forthcoming troop withdrawal. Before the first presidential elections after the interim government of President Rosa Otunbaeva in the end of October 2011 serious security risks related to the North-South split of Kyrgyzstan and the closely related ethno-political tensions between Kyrgyzs and Uzbeks became obvious. Despite numerous efforts for mediation and conflict prevention by local

NGOs and external actors like EU and OSCE there is an apparent lack of reliable security structures.



The participants of the conference in front of the OSCE Academy

The dangerous trend towards a security vacuum in Central Asia became also visible in the other panels on the role of the region in international relations. While the Central Asian states join international organisations like CSTO, SCO and OSCE they are still preoccupied with bilateral dependencies and balancing efforts. On the other hand the leaderships of both Russia and the USA ask themselves more than ever before whether they can afford a security political engagement in Central Asia in view of the international financial crisis and policies of austerity. While the emerging neighbour China and the regional power India are ready to cooperate economically stronger with the Central Asian states and Afghanistan, they are not active in the areas of conflict prevention and military security. EU and OSCE are active with comparatively small soft security projects and therefore are not seen as primary security partners. In the end the conference once again made clear that the situation of the Ferghana states has to be seen as critical and an adequate security policy is lacking.

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Workshop on “Arms Race in Cyberspace?”

The Interdisciplinary Research Group on Disarmament, Arms Control and Risk Technologies (IFAR²) of the Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg (IFSH) and the Research Association for Science, Disarmament and International

Security (FONAS) organised a workshop on “Arms Race in Cyberspace?” on June 24th. The aim of the event was the analysis of the current situation regarding possible threats and alternatives of response from a German perspective.

About 40 scientists, government officials and practitioners took part in this interdisciplinary event, where questions such as ‘What is cyberwar?’ and ‘Which limiting measures are available?’ were dealt with. Talks were held by five speakers, amongst others from the MFA and MoD. The experts identified the non-attribution problem of cyber attacks and the partially missing visibility and verifiability of damage as central to the current debate on cyber security. The malware Stuxnet does not constitute a temporary phenomenon – more countries are becoming active in the cyber realm and topics such as prevention and damage limitation gain in importance. Therefore strengthening the international collaboration and increasing each state’s responsibility to prevent attacks originating from their territory, are essential in minimising the risks.

At the end of the year an international conference in cooperation with UNIDIR, the Free University of Berlin and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs will follow. In the scope of this event, confidence-building measures and possibilities for regulatory regimes will be discussed amongst others. (Text: K. Pertermann)

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Publications

Dennis Bangert: Rational Choice, Spieltheorie und Terrorismusforschung, in: Alexander Spencer/Alexander Kocks/Kai Harbrich (eds.): *Terrorismusforschung in Deutschland* (Special issue no. 1, Zeitschrift für Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik), Wiesbaden 2011, pp. 76-98.

Hendrik Hegemann, Regina Heller, Martin Kahl: Terrorismusbekämpfung jenseits funktionaler Problemlösung. Was beeinflusst politisches Handeln im Kampf gegen den Terrorismus? in: Alexander Spencer/Alexander Kocks/Kai Harbrich (eds.): *Terrorismusforschung in Deutschland* (Special issue no. 1, Zeitschrift für Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik), pp. 281-304.



The contributions to the special issue *Terrorism Studies in Germany* illustrate the broad trum of terrorism-related research in Germany from the perspective of different scholarly disciplines. The volume includes two articles from IFSH staff members. Dennis Bangert mines the relevance of tions about terrorist rationality

for the fight against terrorism and its scholarly analysis. For this purpose, he draws on different approaches from game theory and rational choice theory. He focuses on two interpretations of counter-terror measures and their repercussions for international cooperation: counterterrorism as a national, private good and as a global, public good. He highlights the potential and pitfalls of rationalist approaches for the study of terrorism and counterterrorism. Hendrik Hegemann, Regina Heller, and Martin Kahl address the question how and why often non-functional measures are put on the political agenda and eventually get passed. They outline an explorative research agenda for the analysis of the conditions shaping the development of counter-terror measures and the respective political decisions. They propose three logics of action: the logic of strategic bargaining, the logic of symbolic action, and the logic of culture-dependent behaviour. They illustrate their assumptions with examples from different Western democracies.

Elena Kropatcheva, Playing Both Ends Against the Middle: Russia's Geopolitical Energy Games with the EU and Ukraine, in: *Geopolitics*, 16:3, 2011, pp. 553-573.



Ukraine plays an important role as a transit country for the delivery of Russian energy to the EU. This study focuses on Russia's policy towards Ukraine in the energy sphere, presenting it against the background of complex geopolitical energy games, which are taking place among the three actors. Even though these actors share common interests and challenges, geopolitical games complicate and undermine their relationships. There are no true winners. Instead of integration and opportunities, the pursuit of geopolitical benefits creates mistrust, exclusion and vulnerabilities.

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Elena Kropatcheva, Ukraine's Foreign Policy Choices after the 2010 Presidential Election, in: *Journal of Communist and Transition Politics*, 27:3-4, 2011, pp. 520-540.



The main foreign policy puzzle after the 2010 presidential election in Ukraine is whether Viktor Yanukovich will reverse the Western-oriented policy of his predecessor in favour of a single pro-Russian vector. Another question is what impact the global financial crisis has had and will have on Ukraine's foreign policy choices. Finally, what factors are influencing

foreign policy choices made in Ukraine? Neoclassical realism helps to delineate the complexity of the situation in and around Ukraine, which makes various scenarios plausible: from a single pro-Russian or a single pro-Western orientation to attempts to conduct a balanced multi-vector policy.

Götz Neuneck: Wissenschaftliche Herausforderungen in Bezug auf eine Welt ohne Nuklearwaffen, in: **Ulrich Barstoch/Gerd Litfin/Reiner Braun/Götz Neuneck (eds.), Verantwortung von Wissenschaft und Forschung in einer globalisierten Welt: Forschen-Erkennen-Handeln**, Berlin 2011, pp. 69-83.



<http://www.lit-verlag.de/isbn/3-643-11285-9>

The book contains contributions of a joint scientific conference of the German Physical Society (DPG) and the Federation of German Scientists (FGS). The conference took place in 2009 to celebrate the 50th birthday of the FGS. Participants addressed scientific questions of nuclear disarmament, climate change, global food crisis, education

and responsibility of science. The part of the volume edited by Götz Neuneck deals with the question what science can contribute on the path to a world without nuclear arms.

Ivanka Barzashka/Timur Kadyshev/ Götz Neuneck/Ivan Oelrich, How to Avoid a New Arms Race, in: *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, 25 Juli 2011.

<http://www.thebulletin.org/web-edition/features/how-to-avoid-new-arms-race>

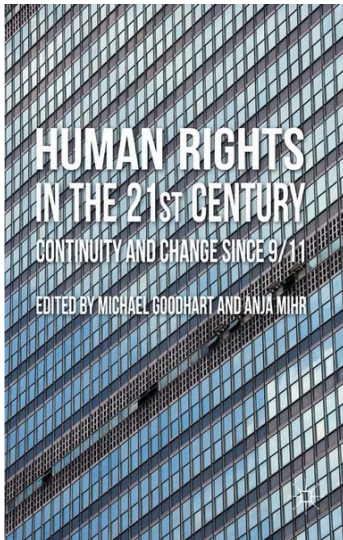
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The four authors from Bulgaria, Russia, Germany and the US discuss the opportunities of the cooperation of NATO with Russia regarding missile fence. They outline a step-by-step plan that enables cooperation in the field of threat analysis, data exchange and tactical defence – given the will of both parties to cooperate.

Patricia Schneider: Terror Blacklists on Trial: Smart Sanctions challenged by Human Rights, in: Michael Goodhart/Anja Mihr (eds.): *Human Rights in the 21st Century. Continuity and Change since 9/11*, Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 150-166, 2011.

<http://www.palgrave.com/products/title.aspx?pid=478719>



The post-9/11 human rights world: has anything changed and how? This anthology aims to answer this very question. The authors of the thirteen articles come from Russia, the EU, America and the Netherlands and themes include the international human rights regime, American exceptionalism, counter-terrorism, torture, the role of NGO's and business. Overall, the articles in this anthology offer insightful perspectives on change and continuity in human rights throughout the 21st century.

Patricia Schneider's article "Terror Blacklists on Trial: Smart Sanctions Challenged by Human Rights" discusses contemporary human rights concerns in response to the creation of counter-terrorism measures. International law is changing and is no longer restricted to states, but now also has a bearing on individuals. This concerns, for example, the UN's controversial blacklisting and delisting procedures and state sanctions. These are analysed whilst taking into account the decisions of the European Court of Justice, the European Court of Human Rights and also national courts. Smart sanctions sometimes infringe upon human rights and thus Schneider concludes by offering possible policy options and highlighting the need for effective, neutral review mechanisms for those targeted by smart sanctions.

Johann Schmid/ Patricia Schneider: Terrorism: A Challenge for Strategy and Legitimacy [translated from German], in: *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, 27/2011, pp. 14-18.

Free download at

http://www.bpb.de/publikationen/XH5AAT,0,0,Strategien_zur_Bek%20mpfung_von_Terrorakteuren_und_Aufst%20ndischen.html#art0

Over the past ten years the struggle against Islamic terrorism has been defined in terms such as "The War on Terror", "The Fight Against Terrorism" or "Counter-Terrorism". Although the efforts have been successful, seeing that there has been no terrorist attack on such a scale since 11th of September 2001, the challenges that Jihadi Terrorism creates have not been overcome so far. What are the strategic consequences of the 9/11 attacks? How are defensive and retaliatory measures designed to work against the Islamic terrorists and how far reaching are the capabilities of Al-Qaida and their associates? Which moral and legitimate



challenges arise when dealing with such actors? Are we experiencing a historical turning point which will permanently reduce the relevance of Islamist terrorist actors?

The goal of this article is to undertake a strategic assessment and evaluation of Islamist terrorism in the ten year period following 9/11 whilst keeping the moral and legitimate dimensions as the main focus.

Imprint

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