

Annual Report

2009

Institut für Friedensforschung und Sicherheitspolitik
an der Universität Hamburg (IFSH)

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Impressum

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On the Work of IFSH 2009 – Director’s Foreword

The awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to the US President Barack Obama in October 2009 triggered a controversial discussion on peace and security policy, which is also of great relevance for the work of IFSH. Obama received the prize for “strengthening international diplomacy and cooperation between peoples” as well as for his announcement that he would actively advocate for the goal of a nuclear weapons-free world. At the same time, he ordered an increase in the number of US troops in Afghanistan with the foreseeable consequence of an intensification of military action. And as his speech on the occasion of the awarding of the prize made clear, he is not prepared to relinquish war as a means of pursuing goals considered to be legitimate.



How much violence and force are acceptable, under what conditions and for what goals? How far can one go with offers of cooperation? When are they not justifiable or exhausted? These questions were asked in 2009 about the armed conflict in Afghanistan in which the German Federal Army is also participating – in countless articles from IFSH as well. They were also asked in the dispute about the Iranian nuclear program, with which IFSH staff have concerned themselves since 2003 and are, moreover, in the background of the debates on cooperative and confrontational processes in the efforts to control the proliferation of arms-relevant technologies – the topic of an IFSH project begun in 2008 which is supported by the German Foundation for Peace Research.

In the position statements from IFSH in 2009, critical estimates of the US Afghanistan policy predominate. At the same time, considerable potential is ascribed to the approaches for a “new start” for the relationships with Russia and for global nuclear disarmament. Therefore special attention was devoted at IFSH in 2009 to these two topics – relations with Russia and arms control/disarmament – with the goal, above all, of developing new projects. For both topics, IFSH was able to fall back on considerable know-how. European security and arms control have, after all, been the “classic” topics for the work of the Institute over the previous years and decades. Aside from this, an array of other activities was pursued, from participation in international fora to the publication of books.

In this connection the anthology which was produced in June 2009 with a very short period of preparation should be highlighted. At the request of the Federal Foreign Office, Wolfgang Zellner and Götz Neuneck in cooperation with Hans-Joachim Schmidt from the Peace Research Institute Frankfurt (PRIF) compiled a publication with 24 chapters by high-ranking international authors on the status of conventional arms control in Europe, which served as the basis for an international conference of the signatory states to the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces (CFE) in Europe.

Given the limited financial resources of the IFSH, taking on current topics at least potentially collides with working on questions which were developed with a longer-term perspective, as reflected in the work program “Trans-nationalization of risks of violence as a challenge to European peace and security policy” from the year 2008. The IFSH seeks to meet this challenge through a balance that can adequately take into account both maintaining the ability to go into current developments in its traditional topic areas as well as the scientific activities with the “new” topics in the area of dealing with transnational risks of violence, especially through international organizations described in the work program

In the spring of 2009, to promote the scientific work on transnational risks of violence the IFSH held an international conference, the results of which should be published in 2010. Moreover two applications were made within the framework of the German government's program for civil security research. Both were positively assessed in the first round and, at the beginning of 2010, are in the planning stage for final approval. One of the projects deals with piracy and maritime terrorism as challenges for maritime trade security; the other with indicators for the connection between German foreign policy and Islamic radicalization culminating in terrorist attacks. For the first time in the history of the Institute, the IFSH, as lead agency, also developed a large research application within the framework of the research program of the European Union – in the area of Islamic radicalization and de-radicalization.

Apart from the thematic, there is a second balance which IFSH has to find again and again, that between the different areas of activity stipulated in the Charter of the Institute – research, policy consultation, teaching and public relations

In 2009 the number of interviews and other directly measurable media contacts of the IFSH declined. There were many reasons for this. One of them lies in a certain shift of the Institute's focus to scientific research, which brings in its wake less immediate public relations efficacy. Another reason was that the number of wars with high media attention was lower in 2009 than in the year before. Also the move to the Berghof Center for Constructive Conflict Resolution by Hans Joachim Gießmann, who, in the past, had made a particularly significant contribution to the public profile of IFSH, may have contributed to the decline in media interest. Finally, the series of short position statements on the IFSH Website, begun at the end of 2008 at the suggestion of the scientific advisory board, may have led to journalists less often making direct contact with IFSH staff, but rather informing themselves on the views of IFSH through these statements. All in all, therefore, this decline is not worrying; the number of interviews is still very high for a scientific institute the size of IFSH.

In 2009 IFSH participated for the first time in the „Night of Knowledge in Hamburg“. This took place in close cooperation with the Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker Centre for Science and Peace Research (ZNF) and in collaboration with the other two institutes at Beim Schlump 83, the The Research Centre for Contemporary History in Hamburg (FZH) and the Institute for the History of the German Jews (IGdJ). A varied program was offered to the guests. With over 600 visitors, the public response was good. Joint organization by the four institutes was a sign of a productive relationship among the institutes, while by far the greatest interaction in terms of content is with the ZNF.

The degree program, Master of Peace and Security Studies (MPS), which IFSH organizes together with the University of Hamburg and 17 cooperation partners in Germany has great significance for teaching at IFSH. In 2009, 25 graduates successfully finished their studies; 28 students, half of them from abroad, began their studies. The IFSH staff is also involved in a range of other courses of study at the University of Hamburg, among them the Master of European Studies program, the program minor East European Studies and the MSC Integrated Climate System Sciences (ICSS). A further element of the promotion of young scientists is the structured doctoral supervision program in which 23 postgraduates took part in 2009. Three doctorates were successfully completed. In cooperation with the Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker Centre for Science and Peace Research (ZNF) and additional partners from the area of peace and conflict research, an application was made in the spring for a regional graduate school which, unfortunately, was not successful. However IFSH is involved as a partner of the Faculty of Business, Economics and Social Sciences at the University of Hamburg as well as GIGA within the framework of the state-supported excellence initiative „Hamburg International Graduate School on Regional Power Shifts“ An application within the framework of the federal excellence initiative is planned. A further area of IFSH activity is the continuing training of diplomats and experts in specific OSCE-relevant topics. In 2009 a training program was conducted for Kazakh and Lithuanian diplomats – Kazakhstan holds the OSCE chairmanship in 2010. Lithuania will hold it in 2011. The Baudissin Fellowship Program was also continued.

The aforementioned growth of political interest in topics of European security and arms control led to an increased demand for policy consultation. Naturally this sort of request centers primarily on experienced scientists. In addition to the CFE volume mentioned, the multiple activities of Götz Neuneck in the area of nuclear arms control and of Wolfgang Zellner around the “Corfu-Process” should be mentioned. In both areas, consultation involved German as well as international societal, political and state actors.

The scientific work of the IFSH is illustrated by the projects listed in this annual report. The annual report lists in the following all the scientific projects carried out in 2009 in the same form as they are listed in the annual research plan of the IFSH (which, like the medium-term work program can be seen under http://www.ifsh.de/IFSH_english/profil/forschung.htm). The comparison of the 2009 research plan and the 2009 annual report shows that the great majority of the projects were carried out in the form planned. In the case of some projects with financial caveats, the planned third-party funding could not be obtained. As mentioned, a few additional projects on current topics were taken into the program. All together the deviations from the 2009 research plan are minimal.

The three introductory topical articles of this annual report should convey an impression of the spectrum of the scientific work at IFSH. While the contribution of Götz Neuneck traces an important thread of the discourse on “global zero”, namely the opinions of politically important personalities in different countries in the form of editorials in leading newspapers, Patricia Schneider and Thorsten Geise report on the foundations for a planned project at the IFSH on piracy as a security problem. Michael Brzoska summarizes the results of a completed project on increasing the effectiveness of international arms embargos.

Important indicators of the scientific work of the IFSH are the publications. Altogether in 2009 the staff published 170 independent articles (without double counting of articles with more than one author from IFSH) and, thus, a similar number to that in 2008 (167). Among these were 14 anthologies and four monographs. Six of the anthologies were published by international publishing houses and went through an assessment procedure. The 27 refereed publications, that is, those evaluated by independent assessors, are considered a particularly noteworthy sign of quality scientific research. 12 publications were evaluated in a double-blind assessment procedure and 15 were evaluated in a process in which the authorship was apparent to the reviewer.

The scientific work of IFSH takes place, in many cases, in cooperation with partners in Hamburg, in Germany and internationally. Of particular importance is the cooperation with the University of Hamburg which is intense in various projects as well as in teaching. Of particular weight in 2009 was the participation of IFSH in the excellence cluster “Integrated Climate Systems Analysis and Prediction (CLISAP) which, among other things, was reflected in three new doctorates at IFSH. Further points of departure for CLISAP-IFSH cooperation arise from the appointment of Jürgen Scheffran as professor of “Climate Change and Security” at the University of Hamburg. For the first time in 2009, IFSH conducted a study in cooperation with the Academy of Sciences in Hamburg. IFSH, together with ZNF, is taking a leading role in improving networking among the existing interests, initiatives and skills in the area of peace research and security policy in Hamburg. International cooperation in the two projects supported by the EU, EUSECON and MULTIPART, is especially intense, but cooperation with partners in Southeast Europe and in Central Asia, supported by the DAAD, which is reflected both in joint events as well as in guest researcher visits, should also be highlighted.

In 2009 as well, IFSH was able to achieve good results in the procurement of third-party funding. With 1,258 million Euros, the achievement of 2008 (1,356 million Euro) was not quite duplicated but the volume reached in 2009 was more than 50 percent above the average of the five years before 2008. The amount of third-party funding granted in 2009 corresponds to about 90 percent of the funding through the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg (FHH), in the amount of 1.4 million Euros. The primary sources for this high level are, *inter alia*, a newly approved DFG project (“The same kind of

justification? A study of the arguments for the limitation of human rights and civil liberties in combating terror in the USA, the EU and Russia”), also from DFG funds, which were made available to IFSH in a competitive process with external assessors through the CLISAP Climate Research Excellence Cluster; funding for the consultation and continuing education programs of CORE – from the [German] Foreign Ministry and the foreign ministries of other OSCE participating states – and through international cooperation supported by the DAAD. Not all acceptances were immediately effective financially. Thus the total revenue financed through third-party funding was, with 730,000 Euros significantly below the level of the procurement of new funding, but should increase in the next few years.

Even with high third party funds procurement, the basic institutional support for IFSH remains of indispensable importance for being able to conduct independent research. Also, a considerable proportion of the third party funding would not be possible without institutional support. Currently the institutional support comes exclusively through the FHH for which IFSH is very grateful. Here, in particular the approval of an additional position for five years in the area of disarmament/arms control should be mentioned. Pooled, broader support would make further development of IFSH possible. Therefore, discussions at IFSH about a longer-term perspective in the Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz Scientific Community (WGL), in which institutes are jointly supported by the federal and state governments, have begun. There is consensus that submitting an application would only then be considered when the chances of a positive assessment are very good. For that to be the case, however, IFSH must be strengthened in many respects. The next few years will show whether this can be achieved.

The 2009 Annual Report presents an active institute with many facets and a shared desire of the staff to carry out excellent scientific work.

Hamburg, February 2010

Michael Brzoska



2. Current Topics in the Work of the Institute 2009

2.1 Effectiveness of Arms Embargoes

Michael Brzoska



Improving the Effectiveness of Arms Embargoes

International sanctions are a central instrument of international politics. Among international sanctions, arms embargoes are the most prominent. Thus, 10 out of 11 UN sanction regimes active at end 2009 were, or included, arms embargoes. The European Union and its applicant states, as well as the United States, all powerful players in the international arms market, have announced the termination of arms sales and deliveries on a good number of occasions. Considering the frequent use of arms embargoes, at the national, regional and international level, there has been relatively little systematic investigation of the conditions for their failure or success, or in distinguishing among the various problems related to arms embargoes.

This chapter summarizes major results from a study on the effectiveness of arms embargoes led by George Lopez, University of Notre Dame, USA and the current author¹. It particularly focuses on the policy implications of these results – on the question of how to improve the effectiveness of arms embargoes.

The study summarized here consisted of eight case studies – Afghanistan, Angola (UNITA), Burma/Myanmar, Eritrea/Ethiopia, Iraq, Liberia/Sierra Leone, Pakistan, Rwanda/DRC and Yugoslavia – as well as a quantitative analysis of 74 arms embargo episodes. The results illustrate the difficulties that the general public, as well as many decision-makers, have with arms embargoes: Arms embargoes very seldom do the trick of ending a war or changing the behavior of the targeted states or group. Arms are getting through in most cases, and combating forces seldom seem to need to stop fighting for lack of supplies².

The available literature, taking its cue from more general sanctions assessments is often assuming that arms embargoes cannot work³. However, the perception of widespread ineffectiveness is mostly based on loose analysis of singular cases and a failure to appreciate fully both the arms market dynamics, as well as the different goals for arms embargoes. The study provides a more differentiated framework for the analysis of arms embargoes distinguishing various objectives of senders as well as effects in targets of sanctions, in addition to the conventional analysis of changes in arms flows.

In particular, the study demonstrates that in a good number of cases arms embargoes do have noticeable effects on arms supply patterns. UN and other multilateral arms embargoes lead, on average, to some, and in some cases, substantial reductions in arms imports by targeted states and groups. Using a standard developed in the measurement of the effectiveness of environmental regimes – the ‘Potsdam-Oslo-criterion’, a rate of success of stopping arms flows of almost 30 percent is ascertained for the full set of embargo episodes. These effects can primarily be seen in arms supply patterns. Arms supply shifts from established arms exports to now sources, generally supplying less modern and less advanced type of weapons. Open trade is supplanted by clandestine and circuitous resupply. Furthermore, there is strong evidence that the implementation of arms embargoes has improved since the mid-1990s. Arms embargoes are increasingly having effects.

The changes in arms import patterns also influence warfare on the ground. Forces tend to shift to fighting with less advanced weapons and in sporadic, short battles. Increasingly, civilians are tar-

1 Michael Brzoska and George Lopez, eds. *Putting Teeth Into the Tiger. Improving the Effectiveness of Arms Embargoes*, Bingley 2009.

2 See e.g. OXFAM, *amnesty international, IANSA, UN arms embargoes: an overview of the last ten years*, London, March 2006.

3 See e.g. Dominic Tierney, *Irrelevant of malevolent? UN arms embargoes in civil wars*, *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 31, No. 4, 2005 pp. 645-664.; Arne Tostensen and Beate Bull, *Are Smart Sanctions Feasible?* *World Politics*, Vol. 54, No. 3, 2002, pp. 373-403.



geted. Arms embargoes thus demonstrate similar effects to those found in ‘new wars’⁴. On the one hand, this should not surprise, as many of the cases of ‘new wars’, such as those in former Yugoslavia, Angola, Sierra Leone and Liberia, occur under arms embargoes. On the other hand, arms embargoes are only one element leading to the shifts in warfare marking ‘new wars’, such as the dominance of small arms and light weapons, sporadic fighting and the large ratio of civilian victims of warfare. In some of the archetypal ‘new wars’, such as in the DRC, multilateral arms embargoes only came about after many years of ‘dirty fighting’.

The shift towards such fighting lessens the dependence on external arms supplies. But, as particularly the case of the sanctions against UNITA in Angola proves, it does not eliminate the needs for resupply, particularly with ammunitions. Fighting forces can greatly reduce demand for arms substantially and still continue to fight, but they cannot go on forever. Thus the question of whether arms embargoes are able to cut of weapon supplies remains relevant – but the likelihood that fighting will actually cease drops with the adoption of strategies of low-level fighting.

However, arms embargoes have had little effect in changing a targets’ incriminated policies. They have very seldom helped to bring about the termination of a war prior to the exhaustion of a party or pressured a target into policy changes. The success rate for policy change is less than ten percent, again using the Potsdam-Oslo-criterion.

What than to make of arms embargoes? Do they serve a purpose when their main effects are to change arms supplies and war fighting patterns, but they very seldom have the desired political effects of ending wars or changing a target’s policies? How can arms embargoes be improved in a way that has the effects desired by those deciding upon such arms embargoes?

Achieving the political objectives of arms embargoes

Arms embargoes in themselves are not able to achieve political goals. At least in the past, they hardly ever stopped wars nor did they change the political behavior of the targeted states or groups.

In none of the cases studied did restrictions on arms supplies correlate with immediate war terminations. It is more debatable, whether arms embargoes made wars shorter, or reduced violence, for instance in the cases of Angola, Liberia and Sierra Leone. However, what is probably more significant, arms embargoes were embedded in these cases in broader policy measures, including additional sanctions. The wars in Angola, Liberia and Sierra Leone were shortened by packages of international policies in which arms embargoes had an important place. The prime reaction to arms embargoes, however, was, first an expansion of efforts to obtain arms, and, when arms embargoes became to be better enforced and financial sanctions were added, changes in war fighting with the goal to reduce the dependence on external weapons supplies.

Major lessons can be learned from the few cases where the imposition of arms embargoes was correlated with the attainment of political objectives:

- Arms embargoes had a greater chance of correlation with the achievement of policy objectives when combined with other sanctions. Arms embargoes should be part of larger packages of policy measures aiming to achieve the desired policy objectives. Stand-alone arms embargoes have very little chance of achieving policy outcomes.
- Reductions in arms flows are important. They are one element in decision-making over the continuation of the targeted behavior. However, decision-making needs to be influenced on more scores than the difficulties to receive weapons. International policies aimed at changing the behavior of states or groups therefore cannot rely on arms embargoes, but rather needs to be supplemented with other measures.
- Combinations of sanctions are one instrument that can enhance the effectiveness of arms embargoes. Packages of “smart” sanctions, including financial sanctions, travel bans other commodity bans, and, in the case of Liberia, “secondary sanctions”, contributed to the achievement of policy objectives in Angola, Liberia and Sierra Leone. Comprehensive economic

4 See e.g. Mary Kaldor, *New and old wars: organized violence in a global era*, 2nd ed., Cambridge 2006.



sanctions, including arms embargoes, also had effects in the desired directions in the cases of Yugoslavia prior to the Dayton Peace Agreement and Iraq.

- Arms embargoes were more likely to contribute to the achievement of the desired policy outcome, when they were applied asymmetrical, that is, when only one side in a conflict was embargoed, while the other side was allowed to receive weapons. Sanctioned groups were increasingly put at a military disadvantage in Angola, Liberia and Sierra Leone. Furthermore, prior sanctions make subsequent external military more likely to be quickly successful. The government of Saddam Hussein in Iraq and the Taliban in Afghanistan came to a quick end, partly, because troops were not well armed when attacked. In the Kosovo war of 1999, Serbian troops, after many years of arms embargoes, also were not well armed.

Stopping arms flows

Arms embargoes are supposed to work through strictly limiting the availability of weapons to targeted states or groups. But targets react.

One of the usual effects of arms embargoes therefore is an increase in the level of resources devoted to arms purchases if additional resources in the targeted state are available. Fundamental microeconomic theory implies that increased demand and reduced supply will lead to a higher price for weapons and a reduction in the quantities exchanged, with exact quantities depending on the shifts in demand and supply curves as well as their slopes. The case studies provide some evidence, though no solid data on rises in the prices of weapons for targeted states and groups. What, however, is well documented, is that arms suppliers of various sorts are attracted by the opportunities to make money through illicit deliveries provided by arms embargoes.

The shift in arms suppliers is most noticeable for UN arms embargoes. Embargoes by the EU and the US also had some effects – weapons from these embargoing entities were greatly reduced in all relevant cases – however the ‘ripple’ effects stopped short of making unilateral arms embargoes similar to multilateral ones. Among ‘embargo breakers’ noticeable in the cases studied in this book, three groups stand out:

- *Governments allied to the target.* Most embargoed states or groups had friends willing to, at least covertly, supply arms, acts as transshipment state or help in some other way. Examples include Pakistan for the Afghanistan embargo, Burkina Faso for the Liberia sanctions and China for the Burma embargo. Governments have very seldom admitted to behavior in violation of arms embargoes. This was not because they had to fear actions by the UN Security Council or other initiators of arms embargoes. So far, only one government, Liberia in 2002, was reprimanded by the Security Council for violation of a UN arms embargo or lack of national implementation of a UN arms embargo. For instance, although the expert committee which investigated the arms embargo against Angola (UNITA) named a number of governments, such as Burkina Faso, Ivory Coast and Rwanda, no secondary sanctions followed. Judging by its past record, chances are low that the Security Council will actually reprimand a government because of the violation of an embargo. What governments fear most is public exposure of arms embargo violations. A good number of governments have experienced the ‘shaming power’ of international NGOs and the media. Arms embargo violations are material for headlines, and can influence international perception of a government’s behavior in international affairs.
- *Private arms dealers and brokers.* The business of arms embargo breaking is predominantly done by small scale arms dealers. Some of these, such as Victor Bout, gained prominence during the 1990s. He was involved in shipping and selling arms to several of the embargoed groups and states in Africa. While private persons and small companies have predominantly been the sanction violators, but they have benefited from a lack of government oversight and control, and, in some cases direct government support. Skepticism is warranted towards official statements that governments were not aware of any violations of arms embargoes effected by private persons, but it is true that oversight and enforcement capabilities are poor in many countries.
- *Arms producing states without proper export control.* Most of the weapons supplied in defiance of arms embargoes during the 1990s came from East European states, such as Bulgaria, Serbia



and Ukraine. The arms were then shipped to embargoed states and groups by private dealers. The lack of control often begins at the weapon stocks under the control of armed forces, extends to production facilities and goes on to border controls. Not all countries have put much emphasis in enforcing UN arms embargoes. Violations seem more likely to originate from countries where the economic pressure to export weapons is especially strong. Bulgaria and Ukraine, both with sizeable arms industries but in difficult economic circumstances are quite often alleged to be sources of weapons that reach targeted states or groups. In fact, loopholes in national laws, weak enforcement of the law, gaps in border patrol, etc. have been major problems of implementation of all arms embargoes. Because data is limited, it can not be said with certainty, whether targeted states and groups are spending more on arms imports when embargoed. UNITA in Angola is one case where expenditures for arms seem to have increased considerably over time. In other cases, however, such as Burma or Afghanistan, this does not seem to have been the so, rather the targeted states were able to adapt to the situation without having to pay premiums.

A potential mitigating factor for the effectiveness of arms embargoes are domestic weapon production capabilities. Few of the countries studied had the option to shift from imports to domestic production. Even in these cases, such as Serbia and Iraq, there is no strong evidence that this made a difference. It seems that in both cases domestic arms industries were capable of producing some items but not the spectrum of equipment needed by the armed forces. At least, both armed forces were badly equipped after several years of sanctions, as witnessed during the Kosovo and the Second Iraq war.

Both the case studies and the quantitative analysis indicate that the implementation of arms embargoes has improved in the new century. One reason is that states owning or producing arms have improved their export controls. While there are still sources of weapons for private arms dealers, these are not as abundant as they were in the late 1990s. Private arms dealers also are under stronger supervision than they were a few years ago, in most countries. Another reason is that the monitoring of arms embargoes by the UN has had growing importance in raising international awareness over sanction busting, through the work of an active sanction committee and special investigative missions. These are now a regular feature of UN arms embargoes. A watershed in international attention to sanctions compliance seems to have been the UN Secretary General's report on conflicts in Africa in 1998 (S/1998/318). But the UN's monitoring capacity remains hampered by the unwillingness of governments to provide much information, especially intelligence information, a lack of resources available and rules of procedure, such as unanimity in committees established by the Security Council.

Arms embargoes have been least effective in Africa in the 1990s. Small arms were widely available on black markets in various parts of the continent and neighboring countries had very limited means to stop trade, even if they were prepared to do so. African arms embargoes lacked enforcement on the ground, especially in the African cases of the 1990s. The realities of the markets for small arms and surplus major weapons would have required a much stronger investment into enforcement capabilities in many countries, ranging from preventing corrupt officials from signing false end-user certificates to more effective border control.

Proposals for improvement

The obvious deficits in arms embargo implementation have led the Security Council in the late 1990s to adopt a few measures designed to improve the effectiveness of arms embargoes, such as changes in the work of sanction committees, and the authorization of special missions. However, it has been slow in implementing more far reaching proposals, some of which were presented above, even when they came from bodies instituted by the Security Council, such as the International Commission on Inquiry on Rwanda, or as part of a package with a wider scope such as its resolution on the promotion of durable peace and sustainable development in Africa (UN Sec Res 1196/1998).



There is a long list of measures which would put more teeth into UN arms embargoes, such as more commitment, common understanding of resolutions, better national implementation, closing of loopholes in national laws, strengthening of legal and administrative authority in supplier and neighboring countries, improved border monitoring, better information gathering and accumulation at the UN, better coordination with similar activities by NGOs, at the state level and by regional organizations and the use of investigative missions to uncover and report on violations of arms embargoes. The scope of reforms deemed necessary may differ among experts, but the direction is clear: more commitment by UN member states, more government oversight, more resources at the UN.

Obviously, the first issue that needs to be addressed is commitment to arms embargoes. Most proposals for reform assume that governments actually want arms embargoes to be effective. If that was not the case, as in the example of Yugoslavia from 1998 or unilateral arms embargoes, improvements in effectiveness will be difficult to achieve as the crucial actors to make them more effective, national governments, have no, or limited, interests in doing so. The best proposals for reform are worthless, if they do not have the political support of governments which are the only actors capable of regulating the trade in arms and related goods.

Sometimes the view is expressed that political will is all that is lacking, that it would be sufficient if governments efficiently used the instruments available. However, this view underestimates the complexities of multilateral arms transfer restraints as well as the practical problems of implementation. Governments need to be able to be clear about what the embargo covers, with respect to goods and destinations. No government with a sizeable arms industry will voluntarily impede more export business than the minimum required by an embargo. Governments also need to be capable of implementing an embargo, in legal terms, as well as with respect to practical means of implementation, such as border controls. Proposals for reform cannot substitute lacking political will, but they can help increase effectiveness of arms embargoes which have been agreed upon in the Security Council.

Laws and regulations need to be properly enforced, and many governments, for instance in Africa lack these capabilities. The threat of the law, even where it exists in authoritative print, becomes empty if there is no enforcement of proper licensing procedures for arms sales, no consistent checks of end-user certificates, loose border controls, unguarded international airports and so on.

In addition to some improvement in monitoring at the UN, there has been an increased interest and capacity by NGOs to improve compliance with arms embargoes. As several of the case studies show, NGOs such as Human Rights Watch, are a major source for information about sanctions busting. As embargo violations do have potential 'shame power' the media has also been interested in investigating and publishing allegations.

While the information provided by NGOs and the media has had much impact at the UN, such as in the case of the DRC or Somalia, which stimulated the sending of a UN special mission, there are limits to the information gathering activities of NGOs. They have limited resources and capacities. Also, they have agendas in addition to monitoring an embargo which may influence the direction of their research efforts.

Arms embargoes remain a potentially potent tool of the international community to help in efforts to prevent, deescalate and stop wars, when sanctions are taken serious. The embargoes against Yugoslavia and Iraq are cases in point. Arms embargoes attained an image of being largely cosmetic in the 1990s because of poor implementation and enforcement in a number of cases but also changes in the way many wars were fought and resupplied. Some improvement is discernable on both fronts: implementation and enforcement is taken more serious than before and the trade in small arms and light weapons is getting much international attention. More needs to be done, however, to substantially increase the chances that all arms embargoes are effective, including better arms export controls in many supplier countries, improved border control in states neighboring targeted states, and more effective monitoring.



2.2 Piracy

*Torsten Geise/Patricia Schneider**

Piracy on the coast of Somalia as a Security Policy Challenge



The waters on the Horn of Africa have, for years, been considered the least safe ocean areas of the world. Nowhere else does today's maritime trade flow traverse a more hostile and dangerous terrain, nowhere else does the globalization of trade and economic interests collide so violently with the consequences of local state failures. The UN Security Council has taken on the issue. Many of the trading nations have sent warships. The long-term success of such an action must still be proven – the far-reaching origins lie not in the ocean but on land.

„Somalia“: The long-forgotten crisis

Somalia is commonly discussed in the literature under the accepted catch-phrase of a *failed state*. Even in the time of the dictator Siad Barre, the political situation in the country was anything but unproblematic. Since his overthrow in 1991, the situation in Somalia has gotten worse in many respects. There is war, violence, destruction, hunger and poverty. The loyalty of the people is to clan structures and radical Islam is gaining strength. The internationally recognized government has little influence. There is no one in sight who might be able to stabilize the country from within. The earlier state of Somalia is today, de facto, a *non-state* whose geo-strategic position makes it something special: Its failure spreads out, not only on land, but also seawards and only due to the consequences of piracy has the international community awakened from its lethargy vis-à-vis the Somalia crisis.

After the *Transitional Federal Government* (TFG) was formed in 2004, following negotiations between some of the hostile groups – with the exclusion of the Islamists – far too little happened for a long time to support this body. The TFG is considered to be weak, corrupt and internally at odds. Its influence and its control are considered remote and fragile at best. It does not have at its disposal the means to fill the power vacuum. In particular, it was not capable of holding its own in the conflict against the Islamist powers of the *Union of Islamic Courts* (UIC), which began to surge from the south to central Somalia, only to soon control the former capital Mogadishu and broad parts of the surrounding heartland.

The piracy off Somalia's coast is a product of the hopeless situation on land. The “peace processes” have not pacified the country. Even after the integration of the moderate UIC forces, the situation in Somalia remains tense. The al-Shabaab militias attempt, from their base in the south, to expand the area they control. They were successful in 2007 and 2008, in, among other places, areas south of Puntland Province, which was until recently, still considered to be “close to the government”. Together with Puntland in the Northeast, which borders on autonomous Somaliland, these regions are Somalia's “pirate area”. However the Islamists have, until now, acted more as adversaries than as allies of the pirates. Piracy, in principle, violates Islamic belief and Islamic law.¹

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1 Among the ironies of the developments is the fact that the UIC's increase in power and influence before 2006 was connected with a decrease in piracy off the coast of Somalia. Only after the UIC was militarily defeated and its “authority” was repelled, did the potential for guidance of Islamic law lose significance and piracy in the regional waters increased once more.



Piracy off Somalia: Influencing Factors

The spread of piracy off Somalia is not solely attributable to inner-Somali factors. It is true that there are problems of considerable dimensions directly connected with the situation in Somalia, but in addition to the local consequences of the crisis there, mistakes of the international community can be spotlighted.

First: *Criminal acts, such as today's piracy, spread where a state is not willing or able to fulfill its control, order and security functions internally and externally.* Looking not only at Somalia, it quickly becomes clear that piracy is concentrated in the southern part of the world.² Many of the sea areas affected border on weak states. Somalia is the *worst case* of state precariousness. Unlike the Southeast Asian states, for instance, Somalia does not have any functioning state institutions. Consequently, diplomatic pressure and/or the strengthening of the maritime order presence do not generate any realistic options for action in the short-term. While the states of Southeast Asia have largely succeeded today in strengthening their maritime law enforcement powers and in coordinating their actions, it is clear looking at Somalia that nothing similar can be found in that country – there is no foundation for intensifying protection and monitoring of local sea routes. The Somali “state” does not have at its command a coastguard. It is also not possible for the weak government to act against piracy from land. “Criminal prosecution” – not only of pirates – is less a practice than a goal to aim for in the far future.

Second: *Piracy is, first and foremost, a crime that aims at personal enrichment.* What at first evolved as “casual piracy” out of primarily individual plights, quickly became, in the face of the on-going poverty and impunity, a form of organized violent crime at sea. Piracy off the coast of Somalia has long since transcended its early state. It is structured over borders if not over continents. The backers and the clients remain carefully under cover. “Soldiers of fortune” are recruited for the dirty work at sea. The left-over “proceeds” on the ground ensure loyalty. This consists of only a part of the violently extorted “profits”. Bases are thus created and spaces to withdraw are established. Moreover, the corruption of the local leaders ensures that, in all probability, they will not intervene in the goings-on.

In addition to the absence of state institutions, the disastrous economic situation in the country is, therefore, also a factor which can be pointed to as significant for the expansion of piracy off the Somali coast. Transparency International speaks of Somalia as one of the poorest and most corrupt regions of the world. The economy of the country has lain in ruins for many years and is widely supposed to be subordinated to the logic of contemporary “civil war economies.” At the same time, the humanitarian need, also intensified by drought, has reached a catastrophic level in many areas of Somalia.

Third: *The international community has contributed to provoking the expansion of piracy at its origins and, through its behavior, created a basis for many Somali coastal residents having a self-perception of piracy as a justifiable act of self-defense and self-protection against the external violations of their rights.* In its early phase, around the middle of the 1990s, piracy was not least a reflex response to what was criticized, with some justification, as “decades of (...) illegal fishing and dumping of toxic waste in Somali waters.” (Cit. EU Observer: 21.04.2009). Above all, European fishing fleets have enriched themselves for years on the tuna fish stocks and fished away the livelihoods of the Somali coastal residents. The fact that industrialized countries have, in addition, disposed of hazardous waste on a large scale in Somali waters, intensified the feeling of being treated unjustly. There has been no lack of protests, but nothing has happened – which is why, though piracy on the Somali coast is certainly different today, the justification has, however, remained the same.

The pirate attacks scarcely target the trawlers any more. They have, meanwhile, moved on to other sea areas. Instead, luxury yachts, general and bulk cargo freighters, container ships, oil and gas

² Above all, off Africa, the Indian sub-continent and South East Asia; individual incidents have been and continue to be registered for the Caribbean and South America as well. (cf. IMB 2007, 2008, 2009).



tankers are attacked and cruise ships too, which cross the Gulf of Aden repeatedly, come under attack by pirate bands which no longer simply steal what the opportunity affords them but hijack ships and crews for the purpose of ransom. Thereby, segments of the piracy trade present themselves as the *Somali National Volunteer Coast Guard*. They complain that the international community still measures with a double standard. They maintain that this is about compensation for damages which the combination of predatory fishing and the disposal of toxic waste within the exclusive economic zone of Somalia have caused local fishermen and coastal residents.

And fourth: *The focus of the international community on the threat of terrorism since 2001 at the latest, has led to seeing the increase of piracy in the regional waters as a secondary challenge.* Measures of international actors, insofar as they are even undertaken, aim, first and foremost, at combating terrorism, whereby even the administration of the US President Bill Clinton, had recognized the south of Somalia as an area of retreat for the al-Qaeda operators behind the attacks on the US Embassy buildings in Kenya and Tanzania in 1998. After “9/11” this perception was perpetuated. It was the basis for the behavior of the US administration of George W. Bush. In 2007 the Islamic positions in the southern provinces of Somalia repeatedly came under massive US missile attacks.

However, the western world community, under the leadership of the USA, was also militarily active against terrorism at sea. Within the framework of *Operation Enduring Freedom* (OEF), decided upon after „9/11“, the regional waters were patrolled by warships, whose mandate was to seriously weaken the logistics of terrorism and to act as a deterrent against attacks on maritime trade.

Even though OEF ships have patrolled the sea area since then, it has developed into the major area of activity for piracy. A mandate to combat this was consciously avoided for a long while and only discussed as the situation on the coast of Somalia became successively worse and finally spiraled out of control in 2008.

Escalation and Reactions

Since around 2005 the perilous situation off Africa has taken on new proportions: Somalia became a *hot spot* on the East African coast – Nigeria became its West African counterpart.³ In 2005 Somali pirates for weeks held a freighter which was on its way to Somalia with relief supplies on behalf of the United Nations’ *World Food Program* (WFP). In the same year a cruise ship was attacked. The *Seaborne Spirit* went far afield of the coast and escaped under fire. These examples show that no later than 2005 one had to – and has to – reckon with further intensification in respect to Somalia. In 2006 there were “only” six; already in 2007 there were a dozen; in 2008 there were 42 and in 2009 – despite military security missions – 49 ships were hijacked. 46 hijackings alone took place in the Gulf of Aden and in Somali waters in 2009. Altogether, Somali pirates carried out 196 reported attacks in 2009. If in 2007 there were only 44 attacks, the number in 2008 had already climbed considerably to 111. Above all, in the Gulf of Aden, the situation had worsened dramatically. After “only” 13 attacks in 2007, 92 cases were noted in 2008 and the number of attacks climbed in 2009 to 116 cases.⁴ First and foremost, it was the maritime trade ships that were affected. But WFP ships repeatedly came under fire.

The interest in the international community increased significantly. The UN Security Council had, in various resolutions, called for doing everything possible for the protection of the sea routes off Somalia and for the security of humanitarian aid deliveries. With Resolutions 1814, 1816, 1838 and 1846, the highest security body of the international community laid the basis for the threat and use

3 If the explosiveness of the situation off Somalia resulted from the significance of the Gulf of Aden for the global trading system, the oil industry and its promotional interests were primarily affected in Nigeria (and West Africa as a whole). Here too a worsening (including the first kidnappings) can be noted in past years. Beyond this, individual attacks and acts of sabotage were carried out against oil platforms near the coast.

4 Numbers from: ICC International Maritime Bureau: Piracy and armed robbery against ships – annual report: 1 January - 31, December 2009.



of military force. Even in 2007 the United Nations system, above all the *International Maritime Organization* (IMO) had addressed the problem. In 2008 it found its way to the highest UN hierarchies: The lethargy was at an end. “Somalia” obtained a place in the media and the political arena. Consequently many countries sent maritime law enforcement officers. Among them were China, India, Malaysia, Japan and Russia. The USA increased the number of its warships in the region. NATO is participating with *Operation Allied Protector*⁵; the EU is active with *Operation Atalanta*.⁶

Effects and Game Plan

The successes of military engagements remain selective: pirate ships are sunk, attackers can be deterred, perpetrators are arrested and their weapons are seized. However, at the end of the day, one thing is clear: Somalia remains a source of ever-new attacks and assaults on ships, despite the short-term successes of military operations off the coast. Observers put forward various reasons for this. They mention the vastness of the area and the scarcity of available means, the multiplicity of goals and the necessity of intervening speedily.⁷ If pirates have captured the targeted ship, almost any action is moot if one does not want to risk life and limb of the crew. Moreover the pirates themselves are extremely flexible in their actions: technically well kitted out, mostly they know exactly where the warships of the other side are to be found and, accordingly evade them by moving to other areas of operations. Their tactics have also been adapted and refined. Mother ships sail out with smaller attack boats. Satellite navigation helps them locate the target ships. Shots are fired more quickly and more frequently – and this goes for both sides. The incidents of conflict get worse. The combat zone is expanding. At the end of April 2009, 17 ships found themselves in the hands of pirates. A further level of escalation was reached in the same month: the case of the *Maersk Alabama*, the freeing of Captain Phillips, the deployment of sharpshooters and, in a countermove, the announcement by the pirates of revenge actions.⁸ A militarization of the conflict settlement looms – and with it the plans for intensifying the action of the world community against piracy off the coast of Somalia progressively take shape.

To the degree to which piracy off the coast of Somalia demonstrates to the naval forces the limits of their effectiveness, the debates on more resolute action increase and the planners themselves do not stop at the possibility of deployment on land. Should more robust action at sea not lead to the desired stabilization of the security situation, it would be necessary to engage the pirates in their hideouts and intervene directly in the convoluted situation on the ground, using military means. Eyl or Harardhere, Hobyo and some other places off whose coasts the ships hijacked by pirates lie at anchor today, are considered possible attack goals. It seems as though the respective game plans are gaining relevancy. First suggested primarily by Presidents Bush and Medvedev⁹, now the Obama administration is also entertaining the possibility of acting with all conceivable means against the bases on land – including the use of military force.¹⁰

5 *Operation Allied Protector* has been present off Somali since March 2009. This follows its predecessor *Operation Allied Provider* (October to December 2008). The latter was relieved by the EU mission.

6 *Atalanta* was decided upon in November 2008 by the European Council and in December of the same year was sent to its theatre of operations as the first maritime mission within the framework of the CSDP. Before, a *Naval Coordination Cell* (NAVCO) had coordinated the contribution of the EU member states.

7 The responsible US Vice-Admiral William Gortney, for instance, complained that the multinational consortium was, by no means, well enough equipped for sufficient protection of maritime trade off Somalia (cf. FAZ-Net 13.04.2009). Winfried Nachtwei (Bündnis 90/Die Grünen), who referred to the problem of reaction times, expressed himself similarly (cf. Nachtwei 2008).

8 On the question of the consequences of the violent freeing of hostages by the USA, Vice-Admiral William Gortney, commented that there was no doubt that such steps can contribute to a worsening of the situation (cf. ZEIT Online 13.04.2009).

9 The joint recommendation of the Presidents of the USA and Russia worked out at the APEC Summit in Lima in November 2008, forms the basis for UN Security Council Resolution 1851 (2008).

10 At the same time, Obama declared that Somalia must be responsible for its own ocean security and it was his intention to support the TFG in this.



Risk scenarios

When one thinks of the complexity of the inner-Somali crisis, the risks and dangers of implementing the respective game plans are obvious.

First: *Any land intervention – and perhaps also the intensification of military actions against the pirates at sea – carries the risk of worsening the situation of the some 300 hostages currently on the hijacked ships – which, up to now, has been described as relatively good and stable.*

Second: *To date, radical Islam and piracy have been viewed as two different risk situations in Somalia. It cannot be ruled out that this separation will be successively blurred by the plans being considered and that both will be more open than they have been up to now, to cooperating with each other in the defense against the “invaders”.*¹¹

Third: *Accelerated by the expected “collateral damage”, the intervening powers run the risk of once again finding themselves entangled in complications that none of them are capable of managing or controlling.*

And finally, fourth: *There is a real danger of further worsening the security situation on the seas and maneuvering both the warships as well as maritime trade into a totally new hazard level.*

What can be done?

The solution to the problem does not, indeed, lie in the waters; however, land interventions are an extremely dangerous way. What alternatives does the international community have to effectively stabilize the situation off the coast of Somalia?

Longer-term orientation: An initial step would involve adjusting the time and expectation framework so that one would no longer calculate with mere short-term successes but rather with longer-term obligations. It is true, that the consequence for maritime trade of such a step would be that it would have to continue to reckon with violent disturbances. However, this does not seem to be much different from the current conditions. The question is whether one is prepared to live with piracy off the coast of Somalia or whether one wants to risk a state of “piracy plus”?

Development of a political strategy: In the time gained in this way, strategies could be developed, which would allow the international community to fundamentally change its course of action and to combine more strongly than heretofore what has, up to now, been a primarily military approach with a political perspective. The solution of the problem lies in the country – it is political. It lies in effectively stabilizing the “state” of Somalia.

Dealing with the central problems: Only on the basis of such a new orientation of international policy towards Somalia will it be possible to deal with those central problems which have already plagued Somalia and its people for so many years and under which piracy flourishes there. A comprehensive concept and considerable effort are necessary for this. Paramount for this are development policy measures but also measures for the development of a Somali security sector. The development of Somali security institutions will fail, however, if there is no legitimate center of power and the humanitarian situation of the people is not visibly improved.

Strengthening and Ensuring Legitimacy: Comprehensive action is urgently needed – and not only from a security policy perspective. It would also enhance the credibility of the external actors, who, up to now, have only acted in their own short-term interests against piracy off Somalia’s coast. The question of credibility is in no way insignificant. This is about effectively legitimizing one’s own actions. In Somalia as well, “winning hearts and minds” applies. Only in this way can dependable

¹¹ Today there are already initial signs of cooperation “between the pirates who operate across clan boundaries and the militant Islamists of al-Shabaab“. Their reliability cannot actually be unequivocally verified, however it is said to involve protection money, weapons deliveries from Eritrea and military training for the pirates (cf. FAZ-Net 02.05.2009). At the same time reports are increasing, according to which the Islamists are hailing the success of the pirates and are showing solidarity with them – at least at a verbal level (cf. ZEIT Online 13.04.2009).



progress on the reduction of piracy be achieved in the medium-term. The first point of criticism relates to the condition that while the international community was, broadly speaking, relatively quick to act militarily against piracy on the coast of Somalia, there have never, however, been even rudimentarily comparable initiatives to reduce the humanitarian need and the widespread poverty as well as the lack of perspectives in the country. A second point of criticism points, in essence, in this same direction: The international community applies different standards. It castigates piracy against global maritime trade – but ignorance about its external dimensions also reigns! Thus it happens, that states whose deep sea fishing fleets have, until very recently, fished illegally off the coast of Somalia, now have sent warships – mandated by the UN Security Council – to patrol the sea space there. Consequently the Somali coastal dwellers rightly have a considerable degree of scepticism with respect to the international community and understand their actions as an expression of a lack of moral awareness of the Somali challenges. Piracy has support along the coast. After all, it brings in some money to a forgotten part of the world which needs to be better off economically without piracy than with it.

Conclusion

There is no short-term solution for „Somalia“. Order and stability should be understood as long-term goals. Whoever rushes apparent solutions, based on short-term expectations, runs the risk of losing themselves in the realities of the state failure and, through their actions, provoking a further, perhaps momentous, worsening of the situation in and off the coast of Somalia. But those who want to plan for longer periods should understand: longer-term means “over a constantly expanding period”. Such action will, in all probability involve set-backs. *Is the international community prepared to muster the necessary funds and patience for a long-term involvement?* Otherwise a new failure is preprogrammed.

Dealing with piracy has been shown to be a dilemma. It seesaws between *short and long-term approaches*. Business and the international public demand short-term success. But truly sustainable progress needs time. Promising strategies are complex, their effects are not predicable and they are expensive. Even small misjudgments can lead to serious reversals. State- and institution- building must be consistent with local needs. Ignorance, reservations or distorted perceptual patterns should not hamper either the readiness of the international community to negotiate or the choice of their negotiation partner. What is needed is a long-term, pragmatic approach to the solution. Dogmatic and short-sighted actions are constraints on the way to a political, legitimate and also ultimately a sustainable solution for the Somali maritime security problem.



2.3 Global Zero

Götz Neuneck

The International Debate on the Attainability of a World without Nuclear Weapons



The vision of a world free of nuclear weapons has been discussed nationally and internationally for the last year under the catchword “Global Zero”. In newspaper articles, former high-ranking statesmen from the United States, Great Britain, Italy, the Netherlands, Poland and Norway have initiated a debate on the revival of arms control and disarmament. US President Barack Obama, in his speech of 5 April 2009 in Prague, declared America’s commitment “to seek the peace and security of a world without nuclear weapons.” He stressed the moral responsibility of the USA in particular and announced: “To put an end to Cold War thinking, we will reduce the role of nuclear weapons in our national security strategy.”¹ Strategic dialogue with Russia has gotten underway again. Significant goals and recommendations of the arms control community which have been worked out by non-governmental organizations, think tanks and commissions over the last few decades, have become components of the administration policy. Sam Nunn compared the desired goal of a nuclear weapons-free world with a mountain peak which is hidden by clouds but must be reached. Many ways lead to this peak but the exact route has not yet been determined. Naturally there are, on the way, rugged stretches, dangerous precipices and sheer unconquerable slopes. At the same time, President Obama, in his speech in Prague, warned against too high expectations: “This goal will not be reached quickly – perhaps not in my lifetime. It will take patience and persistence.”²

The Revival of the Goal of Creating a Nuclear Weapons-Free World

The revival of the debate on a nuclear weapons-free world began with an article by the American „Gang of Four“, George Shultz, Henry Kissinger, William Perry and Sam Nunn, which appeared as a so-called “Op-Ed” on 4 January 2007 in the *Wall Street Journal* under the title of „A World Free of Nuclear Weapons“. The reason for throwing the vision of a nuclear weapons-free world into the ring again was explained by the danger that the world stands before a “new and dangerous nuclear age.” The second article by the “Gang of Four” of 15 January 2008³ with the title “Toward a Nuclear-Free World“, is, by far, more comprehensive and specific. In eight steps the recommendations already made such as, for instance, the strengthening of the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), were concretized.

The first reaction of former politicians came on 30. June 2008 from Great Britain, one of the established small nuclear weapons’ states: Under the title: „Start Worrying and Learn to Ditch the Bomb“, the three former British Foreign Ministers, Douglas Hurd, Malcolm Rifkind and David Owen and the former NATO Secretary General, George Robertson, showed solidarity with the US articles. One month later, on 24 July 2008, an article by the former Italian Foreign Ministers Massimo D’Alema and Gianfranco Fini as well as Giorgio La Malfa, Arturo Parisi and Francesco Cologero appeared in *Corriere della Sera*.

On 9 January 2009, an additional non-partisan quartet of renowned former politicians spoke up in the „Frankfurter Allgemeinen Zeitung“. German Chancellor (retd.) Helmut Schmidt, the former Federal President, Richard von Weizsäcker, Minister of State (retd.) Egon Bahr and former Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher weighed in, under the title. “For a Nuclear Weapons-Free

1 Obama’s speech in the original and in German translation is at: <http://www.uni-kassel.de/fb5/frieden/themen/Atomwaffen/obama4.html>.

2 Ibid.

3 <http://online.wsj.com/article/SB120036422673589947.html>.



World”,⁴ for the vision of a world without nuclear weapons and called for drastic reductions of the nuclear weapons arsenal. They wrote: “All nuclear short-distance weapons must be destroyed” and explicitly demanded a withdrawal of “the remaining American nuclear warheads from the Federal Republic of Germany” as well as a renunciation of the option of first use (“no first use”) of nuclear weapons by NATO and Russia”. The German Op-Ed pointed to the necessity of also including conventional arms and referred, for one thing, to the suggestion of the Russian President Medvedev, to establish a comprehensive security system in Europe. The politicians emphasized that the reunification of Germany was only achieved through reduction of tensions and cooperation among the former block antagonists and allowed for “historic progress of disarmament and arms control for all of Europe.” Additional articles by politicians from Norway (June 2009), Poland (April 2009), the Netherlands (November 2009) and France (October 2009) showed that, in addition to the need for increased disarmament and arms control, the goal of a nuclear weapons-free world is supported in Western states. Most of the recommendations are initially pragmatic and advocate for a revival of the arms control dialogue. A nuclear weapons-free world is seen as desirable, but as a long-term objective.

Reactions of some governments

Some Western government reacted positively to the contributions of the former politicians. The then-candidates for the US presidency, Obama and McCain, largely took over the “Agenda of the Gang of Four”. The western nuclear weapons states have announced some steps in the above-mentioned direction. The British Prime Minister Gordon Brown, in a speech in New Delhi in January 2008, emphasized the need “to accelerate disarmament amongst possessor states, to prevent proliferation to new states, and to ultimately achieve a world that is free from nuclear weapons.”⁵ The British government has suggested an expert conference of the nuclear weapons states to look more closely at the possibility of verification of nuclear disarmament. The French government reacted more cautiously, did not, however, rule out a reduction of their nuclear arsenal. The Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh said at the opening of a conference „Towards A World Free of Nuclear Weapons“, in New-Delhi in June 2008 that “India is fully committed to nuclear disarmament that is global, universal and non-discriminatory in nature.”⁶ The Russian Prime Minister Wladimir Putin noted in a meeting with Foreign Minister Frank-Walter Steinmeier in June 2009, that the Kremlin would consider giving up its nuclear arsenal if other countries also did this. UN Secretary General Ban Ki-Moon, in an address on 24 October 2008, presented a five point plan for nuclear disarmament in which he called for, among other things, increased research and development efforts for verification, more transparency, regulation under international law, security measures and considering the possibility of beginning negotiations for a nuclear weapons convention. The influence of the international debate could be seen in German politics as well. One can read in the coalition agreement of the conservative-liberal federal government: “We emphatically support the suggestions proposed by US President Obama for wide-ranging new disarmament initiatives – including the goal of a nuclear weapons-free world.” The government wants to campaign within the NATO framework for the withdrawal of all the remaining nuclear weapons in Germany and for the strengthening of the arms control architecture such as, for example, the CFE Treaty. Foreign Minister Guido Westerwelle said at the 46th Munich Security Conference on 6 February 2010: “nuclear and conventional disarmament must go hand in hand.” In the German Parliament most parties are advocating for the withdrawal of the US nuclear weapons from Europe.

Naturally there is no lack of criticism, scepticism and rejection of the various recommendations. Defense experts such as Harrison Brown and John Deutch write that “the goal aspired to – the elimination of all nuclear weapons – is counterproductive”. US Senator Kyl said that the “national security of the USA – and that of our friends and allies – does not permit a nuclear weapons-free

4 <http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/diplo/de/Aussenpolitik/Themen/Abruestung/090116-AtomwaffenFAZ.pdf>.

5 Gordon Brown, Speech at the Chamber of Commence in Delhi, 21 January 2008, at: <http://www.nuclear-securityproject.org/atf/cf/%7B1FCE2821-C31C-4560-BEC1-BB4BB58B54D9%7D/GORDON%20BROWN%20IN%20INDIA%2001%2008.PDF>

6 Speech at: <http://pmindia.nic.in/lispeech.asp?id=688>.



world in the foreseeable future.” Here, some of the significant arguments of the opponents of Global Zero will be addressed. For one thing, this pertains to the provision of nuclear weapons for the protection of friendly countries (“extended deterrence”), for another the ambiguity of nuclear weapons compared with all imaginable threats – by countries and groups as well – that do not have nuclear weapons at their disposal. In many non-nuclear weapons states, the initiatives are viewed with scepticism and are seen, to some degree, as propaganda or sheer rhetoric. Nevertheless, it can be assumed that the goal of creating a nuclear weapons-free world is generally seen as desirable. To date, however, the exact way and the basic conditions for a nuclear weapons-free world have, been scarcely sketched out. Only the first phase, that is the reduction of the horrendous nuclear arsenal and the sorting out of the doctrine on employing them, could be initiated right away.

Chances and hindrances in the nuclear world of today

A glance at the current situation clarifies the need for far-reaching reductions of nuclear weapons. More than 20 years after the end of the East-West conflict, the nuclear weapons states still have over 23,000 nuclear weapons at their disposal, more than 90 percent of them alone in the hands of the USA and Russia. Around 9,000 of them are ready for operation and many thousands of American and Russian warheads are in a high state of alarm. Furthermore, the number of so-called tactical nuclear weapons in both states is not known exactly. NATO insists on the stationing of around 150-240 nuclear warheads in Europe, while Russia justifies the recourse to its ca. 2,000 stored tactical warheads with the conventional superiority of NATO. The nuclear doctrines of both actors foresee the first use of nuclear weapons – in a political environment in which the use of such weapons today is unthinkable. The horrendously high arsenal of both nuclear powers resulted from the first and second use scenarios of the Cold War.

India and Pakistan, both, in addition to Israel, emerging nuclear countries, have for many years conducted a nuclear arms and missile race. There is a great risk of differentiating between “good” and “bad” nuclear powers. Israel’s “opaque” nuclear arsenal is tacitly accepted by the West without seriously striving for an arms control solution. Up to now, the international community has not succeeded in integrating these “nuclear outsiders” into a limitation regime or forcing a disarmament plan on them. In 2006 and 2009, North Korea, which withdrew from the NPT, has been isolated and under UN sanctions, carried out underground nuclear tests and it pursues an aggressive missile program. It is responsible, as is the “father of the Pakistani nuclear program” Abdul Qadeer Khan, for the proliferation of missiles and nuclear production technologies, especially to Libya, Iran and Syria. The argument over the Iranian nuclear program has not yet been resolved, despite the declared willingness for dialogue by the Obama administration. Uranium enrichment marches forward, the UN sanctions show no effects and the calls for a military solution grow louder and louder. A military solution to the conflict could destabilize the Middle East just as much as the unchecked proliferation of nuclear technologies in the region.

A focus on the reduction of strategic weapons covers up the problem of the security of production, storage and destruction of weapons-grade materials. These fissile materials, such as enriched uranium or plutonium, can be found both in military and in civilian nuclear areas of various countries which pursue civilian nuclear energy use. In view of the large and to some degree unsecured amounts of fissile material, the question arises again and again, how secure the storage and production sites really are. The expected “renaissance of nuclear energy” will more likely increase the proliferation problem, the more so since the non-nuclear-weapons states – also Iran – are entitled to the civilian use of nuclear energy. The International Atomic Energy Agency has argued for 1,400 new nuclear reactors by the year 2050. It cannot be regarded as a coincidence that 13 countries in the Middle East besides Iran have declared their interest in using civilian nuclear energy.

The first steps and the central goals of the Obama Administration are the conclusion of a START follow-up treaty, a FMCT (Fissile Material Cut-Off) Treaty and the ratification of a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) as well as other treaties by the US Congress.



START: A new start for bilateral strategic disarmament and global arms control

The bilateral START-I-Treaty of 1991 between the USA and Russia has expired and will probably be replaced in the next few months by a follow-up treaty. The bilateral discussions on possible reductions are taking place and are showing signs of initial success. At the summit meeting of President Dmitri Medvedev and Barack Obama in Moscow in July 2009, general agreement was able to be reached in accordance with which a reduction to 1,500-1,675 warheads and 500-1000 strategic delivery systems should be achieved. Due to the unresolved argument over missile defense, the conventional superiority of NATO and the superior military-technical competency of the USA, Russia has, for the time being, shown little interest in deeper cuts.

All of the initiatives of former politicians are united in the call for the CTBT to come into force rapidly. US President Obama has designated the ratification of the CTBT by the US Congress as an important goal of his foreign and arms control policy. However, the treaty can only come into force when nine outstanding states (USA, China, India, Pakistan, Iran, Israel, Egypt, Indonesia and North Korea) ratify the treaty. Thereby, the USA has been assigned a key role. There is, however, the danger that Obama will not achieve the necessary majority of 67 votes in the US Senate, especially after the Congressional elections in November 2010. Nevertheless, the international community is in agreement that the CTBT absolutely must be implemented.

A verifiable treaty on the ending of nuclear fission production (FMCT) is called for in almost all Op-Eds. The recognized nuclear weapons states have stopped the production of fissionable material for bomb production because they already have enough fissionable material available. By contrast, the de-facto nuclear weapons states, Israel above all but also India and Pakistan, continue to produce fissionable material for bomb production. Questions on definitions, notification and verification as well as the inclusion of the civilian fuel cycle are important here. An equitable balance can only be established when the available stocks are included and controlled. The Geneva Conference on Disarmament has, in fact, again had a work program since May 2008 but cannot begin with the concrete work because of a veto by Pakistan.

The conclusion of a START follow-up treaty, the prospects for further deep cuts in the nuclear arsenals of the two major nuclear powers and the setting in motion of CTBT ratification should have a positive influence on the verification conference of the non-proliferation treaty (NPT) in May 2010. In the light of the Global Zero debate, the expectations for a successful conclusion of the NPT conference that takes place every five years are great. After a 13-point program was adopted in the year 2000, but not implemented, and in the year 2005 no progress whatsoever was made, a repeated failure would be fatal for the future of NPT. Cooperation and consensus are essential on many sides to lead the conference to partial success.

The goals of the new Obama administration are ambitious. Decisive will be to what extent a reduction of the role of nuclear weapons in the 21st century and a relinquishment of first use can be wrested from the nuclear bureaucracy and the resurgent Republicans. The enormous maintenance costs for nuclear weapons – in the USA the budget for nuclear security in 2008 was 33 billion dollars – the danger of nuclear terrorism and the fact that nuclear weapons are the only means of war which could be risky for the US military over the long-term, should aid in achieving some insight that the available arsenal could be drastically reduced. If it is only the central function of nuclear weapons, namely deterrence, that still determines the future planning of the arsenal, reductions to far less than a thousand warheads per side are possible. But other states as well, first and foremost the recognized nuclear powers such as Russia and China, must be persuaded to undertake further steps to disarmament.



The next Steps: What additional ways to a nuclear weapons-free world are possible?

Should the two big nuclear powers achieve a target goal of 1,000 to 500 warheads per side then, in the next step, the other three recognized nuclear powers could be included in a further reduction and could also disarm proportionally. In these multilateral negotiations, important questions such as the destruction of warheads, improved safeguards and the verification of compliance to the treaty must be dealt with. Finally the third step would consist of hammering out an agreement between all nuclear weapons states which aimed at Global Zero, i.e. at the complete renunciation of the production, ownership and use of nuclear weapons. The smaller the arsenals become, the more urgent it is to answer the important questions in international cooperation: Were all warheads actually destroyed? Was the weapons-grade material destroyed irreversibly? Is it certain that no state is operating a secret production program? Can it be verified that civilian nuclear facilities are not being used for weapons programs? Do states have the potential that could allow for nuclear rearmament? What role does missile defense play in a nuclear weapons-free world? Certainly many of these questions are not easy to answer, however the speech of President Obama and the appeals of the former politicians are an invitation to finally overcome the mindsets, instruments and doctrines of the Cold War and to outlaw the use of nuclear weapons. The USA, as the strongest military power on earth, has taken over the lead on the way to a nuclear weapons-free world. This cannot be achieved without the help of friendly states, organizations and experts and without patience, time, scientific and security policy expertise. Further world-wide efforts are needed to surmount the barriers. But to begin with it seriously now, can contribute to ensuring that nuclear weapons will not be used again some day.



3. Research Units – Research and Consultancy Projects

3.1 Centre for OSCE Research (CORE)

The Centre for OSCE Research sees itself as an independent research institution that combines scientific research with consultancy projects in a synergetic manner. Here the research represents the indispensable foundation for responsible consultancy. Conversely, new challenges for scientific research always result from the consultancy work.

After CORE, in an initial project cycle (1999-2006), focused on the instruments of the OSCE and other international organizations for crisis regulation, the second generation of projects has had a stronger focus on power structures, transnational conflict constellations and enhancement of regional expertise on Russia and Central Asia. The initial entry was achieved in 2007 by a discourse and publishing project on the easing of tensions in secular-Islamic relationships in Central Asia and its continuation in 2008 focused on Kyrgyzstan. In 2009/2010, the elaboration of project proposals on Russian security policy vis-à-vis Western international organizations (NATO, EU, OSCE, CoE), Russian foreign policy on the Central Asian states, and on a comparative analysis of the patterns of behavior of Kazakh, Turkmen and Uzbek foreign policy are in the forefront.

With respect to the doctoral work of junior staff, two dissertations were completed, four were continued and a new one was begun. Here, from a regional perspective, the topics have shifted from the western Balkans to Central Asia. A new subject is conventional arms control in Europe.

The first highlight in 2009 was marked by the editing of the volume „Die Zukunft konventioneller Rüstungskontrolle in Europa / The Future of Conventional Arms Control in Europe“ by Wolfgang Zellner together with Hans-Joachim Schmidt (PRIF) and Götz Neuneck (IFAR/IFSH). The book was commissioned by the German Federal Foreign Office and presented by State Minister Gernot Eler at a High-Level Expert Meeting organized by the Foreign Office. Its 24 contributions include nearly all the leading CFE experts. This book project is in the same context as the elaboration of a project proposal on the crisis of the European arms control regime. At a more general security level, contributions were made in 2009 to the OSCE's Corfu Process at conferences and through publications. Currently, this process represents the only inclusive security dialogue in Europe.

The second focal event was the implementation of the third CORE training program for the OSCE chairmanship, 1-14 June 2009 in Vienna. For the first time, the trainees came from two future Chairmanship countries: twelve Lithuanian and six Kazakh diplomats had two weeks time to make the acquaintance of their future colleagues within the OSCE Troika. A second innovation of the training was that for the theoretical part in the first week, three different specializations were offered, whereas in the second week the group worked again in plenary or met a number of high-ranking OSCE partners (national delegations, Secretariat). With its OSCE chairmanship training, CORE offers a real innovation, something not available at any other institution.



Diana Becheri (Chisinau State University), and Diana Digol after their joint lecture in the Research Colloquium, with Wolfgang Zellner



Larger Research Projects

CORE-09-F-01: Diversification or Restoration? A Comparative Analysis of Patterns of Action in Kazakh, Turkmen and Uzbek Foreign Policies (1991-2011)

The Central Asian states are of growing importance for the strategic stability and energy security of Europe. Against this background, the fact that the domestic and external factors influencing the foreign policies of Central Asian states are not well understood weighs all the more heavily. The main research questions of the planned project are therefore: Which factors determine the patterns of action in Kazakh, Turkmen and Uzbek foreign policies along the spectrum between competitive bilateralism and weak multilateralism and what is the role and influence of a) the domestic needs of the different neo-patrimonial regimes, and b) the competitive bilateral (Russia, China, USA) and weak multilateral (EU) approaches of external actors? Our basic assumption is that the decisive factors, which shape the foreign political behaviour of Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan, are related first to the quality of the regimes of these states and second to their dependency: This connection will be further qualified by the respective co-operation strategies of external actors. The goal of this enterprise is to achieve a more exact picture of the interaction of internal and external political factors in the formulation of foreign policy in Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan. The project plan rejected by the Volkswagen Foundation in 2008 was fundamentally refocused in 2009 and will be submitted anew in 2010.

CORE-09-F-02: Russian Foreign Policy in and vis-à-vis Western (Dominated) International Organizations (EU, NATO, CoE, OSCE)

While there is a range of individual publications, which analyze the behavior of the Russian Federation in or vis-à-vis the EU, NATO, OSCE and the Council of Europe in certain phases or with respect to certain questions, or present Russian policy towards the West as incoherent overall, there is no comprehensive study which examines Russian behavior in these four international organizations from a comparative perspective and in two-way linkage. Therefore, the project wants to examine to what extent the Russian policy vis-à-vis the West is consistent in the four international organizations studied or to what extent Russia uses its presence in all four organizations to maximize positional advantages through parallel or selective action, compensation or forum shopping. Our basic assumption is that the Russian behavior is relatively coherently geared to positional advantages with respect to tangible interests, but cross cutting this, intangible factors (emotions, perceptions and “prestige/respect”) can also acquire significance. The goal of this enterprise is to gain more exact insights into continuity vs. discontinuity, parallelism vs. lack of connection, compensation efforts and package deals as well as the relative weight of tangible and subjective interests in Russian policy in or vis-à-vis the EU, NATO, the European Council and the OSCE. The project application prepared in 2009 will be submitted in 2010.



Journalists from Central Asia and Kazakhstan visit CORE during their trip to Germany, organized by the Federal Foreign Office

**CORE-09-F-03: Russian Foreign Policy on Central Asia**

Russian foreign policy *vis-à-vis* the Central Asian states is mostly understood in an oversimplified way as post-imperial securing of space and resources. In the light of the growing significance of Central Asia for the strategic stability and energy supply security of Europe, a more differentiated understanding of this under-researched area would be desirable. Therefore, which tangible (striving for power, access to resources) and intangible (major power identity) factors drive Russian foreign policy *vis-à-vis* the Central Asian states should be studied. Our basic assumption is that the Russian foreign policy is motivated by a relationship between tangible and intangible factors which still needs to be clarified. This connection is further qualified by the respective behavior of the individual Central Asian states and the cooperation strategies of other external actors. In 2009 preparatory steps for a project application were taken, which is to be elaborated in the next year.

CORE-09-F-04: The Crisis of the European Arms Control Regime

With the end of the Cold War, a conventional arms control regime was established in Europe, which can be considered unique world-wide, both with respect to the extent of its material regulation as well as its provisions on transparency and verification. In the last ten years, this regime has been undermined to such an extent that its collapse can no longer be ruled out. Despite countless individual arguments a comprehensive understanding of this process is lacking. The central question is, therefore, which interest positions of key states (USA, Russia, Germany, France, Poland and Turkey) at a sub-regional and European level or in the relationship between the USA and Russia promoted the deterioration of the European arms control regime and how are these factors connected with each other. Here our basic assumption is that the combination of sub-regional secession conflicts (Georgia and Moldova) with changes in the European security structures (NATO expansion) has decisively influenced the arms control regime. In the reporting year, a project application was prepared which is to be developed and submitted in 2010.





CORE Projects

Call number	Title
CORE-09-F-01	Diversification or Restoration? A Comparative Analysis of Patterns of Action in Kazakh, Turkmen and Uzbek Foreign and Security Policies (1991-2011) (Project Director: <i>Wolfgang Zellner</i> , Author: <i>Anna Kreikemeyer</i>)
CORE-09-F-02	Russian Foreign Policy in and vis-à-vis Western (dominated) International Organizations (EU, NATO, CoE, OSCE) (Project Director: <i>Wolfgang Zellner</i> ; Author: <i>Elena Kropatcheva</i>)
CORE-09-F-03	Russian Foreign Policy on Central Asia (Project Director: <i>Wolfgang Zellner</i> ; Author: <i>Diana Digol</i>)
CORE-09-F-04	The Crisis of the European Arms Control Regime (Project Director: <i>Wolfgang Zellner</i> ; Author: <i>Ulrich Kühn</i>)
CORE-09-P-01	Supporting Project “Kazakhstan’s OSCE Chairmanship 2010” (Project Director: <i>Wolfgang Zellner</i>)
CORE-09-P-02	Publication of the OSCE Yearbook (Project Director: <i>Ursel Schlichting</i>)
CORE-09-P-03	Change of Euro-Atlantic Security Structures (Corfu Process) (Project Director: <i>Wolfgang Zellner</i>)
CORE-09-P-04	Publication of the Volume „Die Zukunft konventioneller Rüstungskontrolle in Europa / The Future of Conventional Arms Control in Europe“, Baden-Baden 2009 on behalf of the Federal Foreign Office (<i>Wolfgang Zellner</i> with Hans-Joachim Schmidt and <i>Götz Neuneck</i>)
CORE-09-NF-01	Russian Policy towards Ukraine as a Source of Contention with the West (Author: <i>Elena Kropatcheva</i>)
CORE-09-NF-02	United Nations Field Operations in Ethno-Political Conflicts. On the Effectiveness of UNOMIG Mediation between Georgia and Abkhazia (Author: <i>Marietta König</i>)
CORE-09-NF-03	Post-Conflict Peacebuilding and Local Ownership: International Peace Efforts in Divided Societies under an UN Interim Administration between Success and Failure – A Case Study on Kosovo (Author: <i>Jens Narten</i>)
CORE-09-NF-04	The Influence of the Framework Agreement of Ohrid on the Political System of the Republic of Macedonia. (Author: <i>Merle Vetterlein</i>)
CORE-09-NF-05	The Significance of Informal Information for OSCE Project Work in Kazakhstan (Author: <i>Sebastian Schiek</i>)
CORE-09-NF-06	Multilateral Co-operation with Central Asia: Reciprocal Adaptation and Learning Processes between the UNDP, the EU, and the ADB and Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan (Author: <i>Elena Kulipanova</i>)
CORE-09-B-04	OSCE-related Information Services (Project Director: <i>Uwe Polley/Ute Runge</i>)
CORE-09-B-01	CORE Framework Project (Project Director <i>Wolfgang Zellner</i>)
CORE-09-B-02	OSCE-Related Training Course for Officials from the Lithuanian and Kazakh Ministries for Foreign Affairs (Project Director: <i>Diana Digol</i>)
CORE-09-B-03	Establishing an Armenian Diplomatic Academy (Phase II) (Project Director: <i>Frank Evers</i>)



3.2. Centre for European Peace and Security Studies (ZEUS)

The Centre for European Peace and Security Studies (ZEUS) is concerned, within the framework of the *Medium Term Work Program* of IFSH, with the contribution of European Union foreign, security and defense policies to European and world peace. The development and implementation of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and the European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP) and their specific instruments set the parameters for the research at ZEUS.

With respect to the comprehensive research focal point in the *Medium-Term Work Program* of IFSH, ZEUS made its own contributions with analyses of how the EU can make the emergence and spread of transnational risks of violence more difficult or even stop their transformation into violent conflicts. The following questions are given particular attention: With which political challenges resulting from transnational risks of violence does the EU see itself faced? What norms and values underlie their strategies and political approaches? What structures, strategies and instruments is the European Union developing for the prevention of – and the management of – transnational risks of violence? How and with whom does the EU interact, in which geographical areas and in which functional policy fields? What results have been achieved thus far and to what can these results be traced? What conclusions can be drawn for the EU's future course of action in dealing with transnational risks of violence?



Hendrik Hegemann introduces IFSH; the audience is comprised of conscripts and professional soldiers of the Operational Guidance Company 31 from Holzdorf in Saxony-Anhalt.

The research at ZEUS on preventing, containing and managing transnational risks of violence focuses on the development or the continuation of its own analytical approach (*security governance*) to the multi-level strategies, instruments and policies of the EU as well as complex actor constellations on the part of the EU and third party actors as well, and their interactions. The approaches from the research on the effectiveness of international institutions (evaluation research, regime analysis, quantitative analysis) should be integrated into this. In particular the *unintentional* effects on conditions and actors in the targeted states as well as on the EU itself should be researched.

Larger Research Projects

ZEUS-09-F-01: Security governance as a challenge for the EU (Hans-Georg Ehrhart)

The project goes on the assumption that transnational risks of violence and conflicts are of a complex nature, that in an international context they need differentiated management, and that while the EU has at its disposal a wide variety of institutional and material instruments for conflict prevention and crisis management, they still need to be networked. Against this background, the goals, role and the EU's way of functioning as a "postmodern" crisis manager will be studied. Both in internal relations and in relations with the outside world, there arise countless coordination and cooperation problems, which demand improved "security governance". This project combines empirical analyses on individual aspects of security governance in the EU such as, for example, civil-military relationships or security sector reform. Researched empirically will be which (internal and external) coordination and cooperation problems arise in



findings, which can strengthen maritime trade security vis-à-vis terrorism at sea and organized piracy. These findings will be reviewed within the framework of symposia and initially presented for discussion in article form before a publication concluding the project combines the individual aspects in a theoretically well-founded way. An application for the first step of the consortial project coordinated by IFSH, within the framework of the Federal government's security research program, has been submitted and approved. By the middle of February 2010, the applications for the total and sub projects will be filed. The project start is scheduled for 1. April 2010.

ZEUS-07-F-04: Analysing EU Institutions' and Member States Approaches to Promote Policy Coherence of Development and Security (Isabelle Tannous)

This project addresses the sensitive interface of development and security in the foreign relations of the European Union. At the core of the project, alongside the EU level, are the so-called *joint up* government approaches in four selected pioneer countries. The country studies include the interlocked governance in Great Britain, Sweden, the Netherlands and the Federal Republic of Germany. Imbedded in the multilevel research, comparative country studies will be conducted on the basis of an analytical grid developed for this purpose. Concluding, the results will be arranged along the time axis using the process tracing method and the interaction between the national and the European levels will be identified. The final report for the VW Foundation has been presented.



Ursel Schlichting, Susanne Bund and Anna Kreikemeyer count visitors and give information during the Night of Knowledge

ZEUS-08-F-05 Combating Terrorism and Human Rights (Regina Heller/Martin Kahl)

The project that was to have studied coherence in the foreign action of the EU in relation to combating terrorism was not further elaborated in favor of filing the application for a BMBF project on radicalization. The project application on radicalization within the framework of the federal government's security research program was submitted in 2009 and has, meanwhile successfully passed the first step of the assessment. In the project "Terrorism and Radicalization – Indicators for External Influence Factors", indicators for radicalization as an undesirable effect of security policy will be compiled and, on this basis, instruments for adequate measurement of the radicalization process shall be made available.

ZEUS-08-F-06: Justification with the same arguments? - Analysing arguments in favour of restricting human and civil rights under the pretext of combating terrorism in the USA, EU and Russia (Martin Kahl/Regina Heller)

The project has, as its subject, the argumentation of government actors in the USA, the EU and Russia, aimed at legitimizing the curtailment of human and civil rights while combating terrorism at national and international levels. With the help of a qualitative content analysis, the arguments and the development of possible patterns in the rationales and justifications of measures planned or already carried out in the time between 2001 and 2008, will be



studied. The goal is to determine whether, in relationship to these rationales for “extraordinary” measures in the combating of Islamic-motivated terrorism, a coalition of governmental “norm challengers” has developed. From a theoretical point of view, the research project falls back on the securitization approach, the research on norm changes as well as convergence research. Tested will be whether the arguments are similar or whether they have grown closer between the legal areas over the course of time. The application was approved by the DFG in 2009. Specific results on the questions raised above are expected, which will be published in the form of articles in peer reviewed journals.



Night of Knowledge

**ZEUS-Projects**

Call number	Title
ZEUS-09-F-01	Security Governance as a Challenge for the EU (Project Director: <i>Hans-Georg Ehrhart</i>)
ZEUS-09-F-02	Russian Foreign Policy Behavior towards the West Re-visited (Project Director: <i>Regina Heller</i>)
ZEUS-08-F-05	Combating Terrorism and Human Rights (Project Director: <i>Regina Heller/Martin Kahl</i>)
ZEUS-08-F-06	Justification with the same Arguments? - Analyzing Arguments in Favor of Restricting Human and Civil Rights under the Pretext of Combating Terrorism in the USA, EU and Russia (Project Director: <i>Martin Kahl/Regina Heller</i>)
ZEUS-08-F-04	The Control of Civil-military Crisis Management of the European Union: The Problems of Institutional Coherence (Project Director: <i>Hans-Georg Ehrhart</i>)
ZEUS-07-F-03	Maritime Security: Sea Trade, Piracy und Terrorism (Project Director: <i>Patricia Schneider</i>)
ZEUS-07-F-04	Analyzing EU Institutions' and Member States' Approaches to Promoting Policy Coherence of Development and Security (Project Director: <i>Hans-Georg Ehrhart/Isabelle Tannous</i>)
ZEUS-07-F-02	Development, Reform and Collapse of the Security Sector in the Palestinian Autonomous Regions as a Challenge for the Middle Eastern Policy of the EU (Project Director: <i>Margret Johannsen</i>)
ZEUS-09-P-01	Transnational Risks of Violence and Intelligence Services in Europe. Democratic Control and Civil Right of Freedom versus the Primacy of Security of the State and Society? (Project Director: <i>Armin Wagner/Patricia Schneider</i>)
ZEUS-09-P-02	The Europeanization of the EU's Russia Policy (Project Director: <i>Regina Heller</i>)
ZEUS-09-P-03	Chinese Police Missions: Structures and Lessons Learnt (Project Director: <i>Bernt Berger</i>)
ZEUS-08-P-01	Peace Handbook (Project Director: <i>Hans-Joachim Gießmann/Bernhard Rinke</i>)
ZEUS-08-P-02	Army „in Action“(Author: <i>Hans J. Gießmann/Armin Wagner</i>)
ZEUS-07-P-03	The Afghanistan Challenge: Hard Realities and Strategic Choices (Project Director: <i>Hans-Georg Ehrhart</i>)
ZEUS-09-NF-01	Governing Transatlantic Counterterrorism: Form and Effectiveness of Combating Transatlantic Terrorism (Author: <i>Hendrik Hegemann</i>)
ZEUS-08-NF-09	The internationalization of terrorist violence – causes and conditions (Author: <i>Dennis Bangert</i>)
ZEUS-08-NF-01	Conflict Prevention and Crisis Management of the European Union – Limitations and Opportunities of Coherent Dealing in the Multi-level European System (Author: <i>Isabelle Tannous</i>)
ZEUS-07-NF-02	Between Threat Perception and Enemy Images. Construction of Security Policy on Terrorism in Germany and the United States – Opportunities for the Transatlantic Security Partnership (Author: <i>Sybille Reinke de Buitrago</i>)
ZEUS-07-NF-03	Change of Elites in Bosnia-Herzegovina in Transition (Author: <i>Naida Mehmedbegovic-Dreilich</i>)
ZEUS-08-NF-08	The Protection of National Minorities in the Republic of Croatia as an Instrument for the Prevention of Ethno-Political Conflicts (Author: <i>Goran Bandov</i>)
ZEUS-07-NF-05	Ethnic Cleansing as a Political Instrument in the Context of State-Building (Author: <i>Emir Suljagic</i>)
ZEUS-07-NF-06	The Role of the Police Missions in the European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP). Comparative Analysis of the Involvement of the European Union in Police Reforms (Author: <i>Isabelle Maras</i>)
ZEUS-07-NF-07	Policy versus Practice: The European Union and Civil-Military Cooperation and Coordination. An Analysis of the EU Crisis Management Engagement in the Democratic Republic of Congo in the Framework of the European Security and Defense Policy (Author: <i>Janina Johannsen</i>)



ZEUS-07-NF-08	International Administration in Kosovo and its Way to Peace (Author: <i>Afrim Hoti</i>)
ZEUS-07-B-01	Baudissin Fellowship-Program (Project Director: <i>Hans-Georg Ehrhart</i>)
ZEUS-07-B-02	Academic Reorganization in Southeast Europe (Project Director: <i>Patricia Schneider/Naida Mehmedbegovic-Dreilich</i>)



Akademisches Netzwerk



Südosteuropa





3.3 Interdisciplinary Research Group on Disarmament, Arms Control and Risk Technologies (IFAR²)

The Interdisciplinary Research Group on Disarmament, Arms Control and Risk Technologies (IFAR²) addresses the complex interaction between the dynamics of armament, potential weapons deployment, debates on strategy as well as the potential of arms control, non-proliferation, and disarmament as instruments of security and peace policy. The increasing complexity of these issues is being examined by an interdisciplinary research group. Its work methods involve a combination of natural- and social-science techniques and expertise. Through intensive co-operation with other institutions of various disciplines, basic research is conducted in the natural science/technical dimension of arms control. In addition, IFAR² participates in a series of expert networks, which bring together expertise from the areas of research and practice and concentrate research efforts.



Götz Neuneck during a lecture on nuclear disarmament during the Night of Knowledge

The foci of the IFAR projects and activities in 2009 were the debates on the future of nuclear non-proliferation and multilateral disarmament, the Iranian nuclear program, the controversy over the introduction of missile defense in Europe and the strengthening of arms control in Europe. Moreover the area of climate change and security was able to be expanded. On top of this was the debate on the possibility of a nuclear weapons-free world (“Global Zero”) introduced into the discussion by the US administration and, in particular, by President Barack Obama. Of importance here is both the immediate effect on the current arms control discussion as well as the longer-term conceptual questions of a nuclear-weapons-free world, including questions of conventional arms, verification and political stability. In some areas of arms control there is again some movement after years of stagnation. The US Congress is considering the ratification of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT). The Geneva Disarmament Conference has agreed on a new work program which also envisions the start of negotiations for a “Fissile Material Cut-off”. Oliver Meier and Götz Neuneck belong to a working group of the Federal Foreign Office on this problem. The German federal government elected in September 2009 announced that it would campaign not only for the withdrawal of US tactical nuclear weapons from German territory, but also for President Obama’s initiative for a nuclear-weapons free world. Consequently, the work of IFAR² lay in the conceptual, policy advising and natural science areas of arms control, non-proliferation and disarmament.

Larger Research Projects

IFAR-07-F-02: Erosion of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT)

Staff involved: Michael Brzoska, Martin Kalinowski, Oliver Meier, Götz Neuneck, Cooperation with Arms Control Association, Pugwash Conferences on Science and Work Affairs

The Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) is in crisis as a result of the lack of strategic disarmament up to now as well as the new nuclear weapons states (Pakistan, North Korea, India, Israel) and *dual-use* nuclear pro-



grams (Iran). This project provides on-going observation and analysis of the activities of the “new” nuclear weapons states as well as the states with proliferation-relevant civilian nuclear programs. One aspect connected with this is the further development of nuclear disarmament and the debate on global missile defense. Thereby natural science and social science aspects are taken into consideration.

On 15 December, 2009, IFAR², in cooperation with the Forum for Peace Research of the Hamburg Academy of Sciences and the German Amaldi Group, held a one-day workshop on the topic of “Missile Defense in Europe” at the Magnus-Haus of the German Physics Association in Berlin. The background to this was a study on the topic commissioned by the Hamburg Academy of Sciences. Twenty participants, among them Cord Jakobeit and Michael Brzoska, discussed the preliminary results of the study which were reported by Götz Neuneck, Hans Christian Gils and Jan Stupl. Introducing the problem was Dr. David Wright, Co-Director of the Global Security Program of the Union of Concerned Scientists, who traveled from Boston and was able to incorporate the newest developments in the USA into his talk.

Giving lectures, presenting statements and chairing panels, Oliver Meier and Götz Neuneck participated in international conferences in Berlin (Middle Power Initiative, Heinrich-Böll Foundation), Paris (EU Institute for Security), Brussels (EU Parliament) and Peking (Pugwash Conferences), which dealt with the future of proliferation regimes. Technical publications on the nuclear program of Iran or India rounded out the work. The group began to deal intensively with the initiatives and recommendations for creating a world without nuclear weapons and the reactivation of arms control.

The connection between nuclear disarmament and arms control and conventional armed forces was also examined more closely in, for instance, the anthology published together with Wolfgang Zellner and Hans-Joachim Schmidt “Die Zukunft der Konventionellen Rüstungskontrolle in Europa / The Future of Conventional Arms Control in Europe“.

IFAR-07-F-03: European Space Policy and Preventive Arms Control

Staff involved: Christian Alwardt, Marcel Dickow, Hans Christian Gils, Götz Neuneck, MIT Science, Technology and Global Security Working Group.

This project contributes to the on-going observation of implementation of the ESP between the German and French EU presidencies. Capabilities of existent and planned space infrastructures, such as, for instance the capacities for “Space Surveillance” were analyzed from a technical and natural science point of view. Special emphasis was given to the interests, programs and initiatives of four national actors: Great Britain, France, Italy and Germany. In addition EU/ESA space activities and programs of their member states were studied with a view to arms control policy approaches, and recommendations for a coherent European course of action were made. The debate on missile defense, the possible weaponization of space and the prospects for arms control in Europe particularly preoccupied IFAR in the reporting period, since expertise from the Federal Foreign Office, from the Parliament (Subcommittee on Arms Control and Disarmament) and some parties was much in demand.



Great public interest in the measurement of radioactivity by Alexander Ramseger (ZNF) during the Night of Knowledge



IFAR-08-F-01: Between Control and Cooperation: Technology Transfers and Efforts around Non-Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction

Staff involved: Michael Brzoska, Oliver Meier, Götz Neuneck, Cooperation with Arms Control Association.

Background of the project is the increasing spread of proliferation-relevant technologies through globalization and secondary proliferation as well as the tightening of control regulations by technology holders, especially as a consequence of the increased perception of threats of terrorist attacks with nuclear, biological or chemical weapons of mass destruction since the attacks of 11 September 2001. Insofar as the project studies what significance regulations concerning the control and promotion of technology transfers have for the legitimacy of non-proliferation efforts, it is helpful to clarify what contribution cooperative arms control policy instruments could make to minimizing the risk of terrorist attacks with means of mass destruction.

By the end of 2009, preliminary theoretical and conceptual work was largely completed and substantial progress achieved in the empirical research. Interviews were conducted with decision-makers and experts, *inter alia*, at meetings of members of the International Atomic Energy Organization and of the Chemical Weapons Convention as well as expert conferences. Preliminary results were presented at international expert conferences as well as published in many professional articles and book chapters

IFAR-08-F-03: Climate Change and Security (CLISAP C-3)

Staff involved: Michael Brzoska, Christian Alwardt, Martin Kalinowski, Götz Neuneck, Jürgen Scheffran, Denise Völker, cooperation with other CLISAP-Partners.

In 2009, work on the question of „securitizing“, that is the discourse on climate change as a security problem was advanced and presented in lectures and publications (Michael Brzoska). Denise Völker continued her work on the effects of forest preservation measures on the conflicts in the Amazon Basin. Christian Alwardt received funding for his dissertation project on questions of modeling river beds. Andreas Bernath began a dissertation in the area of migration and conflicts.

As a result of the appointment of Jürgen Scheffran as Professor for „Climate Change and Security“ in the Excellence Cluster on Integrated Analysis of Climate Change (CLISAP) at the University of Hamburg, the work capacity in this topic area was significantly expanded. The CLISEC Working Group led by Jürgen Scheffran works closely with a CLISAP sub-projects housed at IFSH. Collaboration with the group dealing with communication and media questions in the area of climate change, led by Prof. Irene Neverla was also intensified. IFSH was co-organizer of a very well-attended international conference on the topic “Climate Change, Societal Stress and Violent Conflict” in November 2009. The publication of comprehensive proceedings of the conference by Springer Verlag is planned for 2010.

**S+F Sicherheit und Frieden
Security and Peace**

Herausgeber:
Prof. Dr. Michael Brzoska
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Dr. Patricia Schneider

Themenschwerpunkt:
**Klimawandel und Sicherheit
Climate Change and Security**

The Securitization of Climate Change and the Power of Conceptions of Security
Michael Brzoska

Krisenprävention durch Klima- und Energiesicherheit
Christoph Bals und Rika Schwarz

Klimawandel und Sicherheit im Nahen Osten
Hans Günther Brauch

Ökonomische Aspekte des Klimaschutzes
Stefan Beyer

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IFAR-Projekte

Signatur	Titel
IFAR-07-F-02	Erosion of the Non-Proliferation Treaty (Project Director: <i>Götz Neuneck</i>)
IFAR-07-F-03	European Space Policy and Preventive Arms Control (Project Director: <i>Götz Neuneck/ Marcel Dickow</i>)
IFAR-08-F-01	Between Control and Cooperation: Technology Transfer and Efforts at Non-Proliferation of WMD (Project Director: <i>Götz Neuneck</i>)
IFAR-08-F-03	Climate Change and Security (Project Director: <i>Michael Brzoska/Martin Kalinowski, ZNF</i>)
IFAR-07-P-01/02	Nuclear Awareness and History of the German Pugwash Movement (Project Director: <i>Götz Neuneck</i>)
IFAR-07-P-04	European Armament and Arms Control Policy (Project Director: <i>Michael Brzoska</i>)
IFAR-07-P-05	Control of Conventional Armament Transfer (Project Director: <i>Michael Brzoska</i>)
IFAR-08-P-04	Verification and Monitoring of International Agreements (Authors: <i>Michael Brzoska; Götz Neuneck Christian Alwardt; Oliver Meier</i>)
IFAR-08-P-01	Vulnerability of Satellites and Space Surveillance (Project Director: <i>Götz Neuneck</i>)
IFAR-09-P-01	Multilateralization and Nuclear Energy in the Middle East (Project Director: <i>Götz Neuneck</i>)
IFAR-09-P-02	Deterrence, Missile Defense and Nuclear Disarmament (Project Director: <i>Götz Neuneck</i>)
IFAR-09-NF-01	Conflict Factor Forest Protection? Analysis of the Effects of Forest Protection Measures on Conflict Formation in Selected Regions of the Amazon Basin. (Author: <i>Denise Völker</i>)
IFAR-08-NF-02	Seasonal Modeling of Regional Water Flow Amounts from the Viewpoint of Climate Change (Author: <i>Christian Alwardt</i>)
IFAR-09-B-01	Consultation for the Arms Control Department of the Federal Foreign Office (Project Director: <i>Götz Neuneck</i>)
IFAR-08-B-02	Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs (Project Director: <i>Götz Neuneck</i>)



IFAR Members: Oliver Meier, Michael Brzoska, Michael Schaaf, Götz Neuneck, Christian Alwardt, Hans-Christian Gils (from left to right)



3.4 Pan-Institute Projects

Call number	Title
IFSH-08-F-01	A New Agenda for European Security Economics (EUSECON) (Project Director: <i>Michael Brzoska</i>)
IFSH-08-F-02	Multi-Stakeholder Partnership in Post-Conflict Reconstruction: The Role of the EU (MULTI-PART) (Project Director: <i>Michael Brzoska, Hans-Georg Ehrhart</i>)
IFSH-07-P-01	Peace Report (Project Director: <i>Margaret Johannsen</i>)
IFSH-09-P-01	Workshop on the Intermediate-term Work Program Trans-Nationalization of Risks of Violence (Project Director: <i>Martin Kahl</i>)
IFSH-07-B-01	Consulting to the <i>Subcommittee on Security and Defence</i> of the European Parliament (Project Director: <i>Michael Brzoska</i>)
IFSH-08-B-01	Working Group on the Future of the German Federal Army and European Security (Project Director: <i>Michael Brzoska</i>)



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The editors present the 2009 Peace Report to the Defense Committee of the German Parliament. From left to right: Bruno Schoch, Margret Johannsen, Christiane Fröhlich, Ulrike Merten (Chairperson of the Defense Committee) Jochen Hippler, Andreas Heinemann-Grüder



4. Comprehensive Activities

4.1. Working Group on the research on the effectiveness of international institutions

The working group on the research on the effectiveness of international institutions at IFSH dealt, in seven meetings from April 2009 until the end of the year, with the question of how the effectiveness of political actions could be documented scientifically. The problem of being able to prove effectiveness crops up over and over again in research practice, when, for example, it involves the success of peace missions, of external democracy promotion or the effectiveness of (environmental) regimes. Shedding light on the connection between causes and effects is attempted in research with divergent goals and by means of very different methods and research designs. In the working group, approaches from different scientific disciplines are discussed and further development is attempted. The working group, led by Martin Kahl, is open to all interested persons from the Institute; in 2009 between five and ten staff members took part in the individual meetings.

The results of the discussions are to be made useful for the research projects of IFSH. In addition the presentation of a summary of the research status of effectiveness research in a working paper is planned.

4.2. Commission „European Security and the Future of the Bundeswehr at IFSH

The commission „European Security and the Future of the Bundeswehr“ founded in 1999 and composed of scholars, politicians and the military, held two work sessions in the reporting period. Their focus was on the two topic areas, “European Security and the Structures of the Armed Forces”, as well as “Internal Guidance in the Bundeswehr.” A position paper, “A Plea for Strengthening Internal Guidance in Deployments Abroad” was issued: (at: http://www.ifsh.de/pdf/profil/Plaedoyer_Innere_Fuehrung.pdf).

The current members of the Commission are: Professor Dr Michael Brzoska, Scientific Director IFSH (Chairman); Dr Jürgen Groß (Executive Director); Dr Ingrid Anker, Bundeswehr University in Munich; Dr Detlef Bald, (ret.) Social Science Institute of the Bundeswehr; Jörg Barandat, Lt. Col., General Staff, Federal Foreign Office; Dr Hans-Georg Ehrhart, IFSH; Dr Hans-Günter Fröhling, Lt. Col, Centre for Internal Leadership; Professor Dr Hans-Joachim Gießmann, Director Berghof Research Centre for Constructive Conflict Resolution; Dr Sabine Jaberg, Leadership Academy of the Bundeswehr; Ludwig Jacob, Colonel, (ret.), Institute for Theology and Peace; Professor Dr Berthold Meyer, Peace Research Institute Frankfurt; Dr Reinhard Mutz, former Acting Scientific Director IFSH; Winfried Nachtwei, former MP; Andreas Prüfert, former General Secretary EUROMIL; Dr Bernhard Rinke, University of Osnabrück; Jürgen Rose, Lt. Colonel; Paul Schäfer, MP; Jochen Scholz, Lt. Colonel (ret.), formerly Federal Ministry of Defense; Peter Tobiassen, CEO Central Office for Justice and Protection for Conscientious Objectors, Inc.



Prof. Knut Ipsen giving the 2009 Dieter S. Lutz Lecture on the topic “Defense: New Dimensions of an International and Constitutional Law Term?”



4.3 Selected Conferences, Events and Guests



The audience carefully follows Prof. Ipsen's explanations

- On 3 February 2009, the Deputy Representative of the [German] Federal Government for questions of disarmament and arms control at the Federal Foreign Office, Ambassador Claus Wunderlich, visited IFSH and held a lecture on "Practice and Perspectives of Future Arms Control".
- 24 February 2009 – Visit of an international managers' seminar of the Friedrich-Naumann Foundation to IFSH.
- 26-27 February 2009, IFSH Workshop with external experts on the current work program of the Institute "Trans-nationalization of the risks of violence as a challenge for European peace and security policy."
- On 9-10 March 2009, an international workshop took place at IFSH within the framework of the EU financed Research Program 7. In the project „Multi-stakeholder Partnerships in Post-conflict Reconstruction: The Role of the EU“ (MULTIPART), IFSH acts as coordinator for the work package Security (WP4a)
- On 22 April 2009, Florian Escudie, First Secretary of the French Embassy in Berlin visited IFSH.
- On 12 May 2009, 25 conscripts and career soldiers of the Operational Guidance Company 31 from Holzdorf in Saxony-Anhalt visited IFSH during a seminar on political education.
- On 27 May 2009, Gernot Erler, Minister of State in the Foreign Ministry, presented his new book "Mission World Peace – Germany's New Role in World Politics" during the course of an event jointly sponsored by IFSH, GIGA and Niels Annen, MdB.
- On June 17, 2009 the renowned expert on international law, Prof. Knut Ipsen held the second Dieter S. Lutz Lecture on the topic of "Defense: New Dimensions of an International Law and Constitutional Term?"
- In June 2009 CORE conducted a two-week training course in Vienna for officials of the Kazakh and Lithuanian Foreign Ministries in preparation for the OSCE Chairmanships of 2010 and 2011.
- IFSH/IFAR together with the Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker Center for Science and Peace Research (ZNF) and the Research Group "Verification and Monitoring", jointly organized a one-day workshop on 10 September 2009 on the topic of "Air and Space-Supported Remote Sensing for Verification, Prevention, Early Warning and Security Provision."
- On 22 September 2009, the new Head of the OSCE and Council of Europe Division of the Federal Foreign Office, Mr. *Lothar Freischlader*, visited CORE.
- On 24 September 2009 Damir Uaszhanov, First Secretary of the Consulate of the Republic of Kazakhstan in Frankfurt, visited CORE.
- On 6 October 2009 the 7th Graduating Class of the „Master of Peace and Security Studies“ program received their Master's diplomas and the 8th class was ceremoniously welcomed. After introductory words by the Vice Dean of the WISO Faculty, Prof. Elisabeth Allgoewer, and by the Senator for Science, Dr. Herlind Gundelach, Catherine M. Kelleher, Professor at the School of Public Affairs of the University of Maryland (College Park) and Senior Fellow at the Watson Institute of Brown University gave the Commencement Lecture on the topic "Is a World Free of Nuclear Weapons Desirable, Realistic and Feasi-



- ble? Obama's New Foreign and Arms Control Policy and the Discussion in the United States about Global Zero".
- On 7 November 2009, the 3rd Night of Knowledge took place in Hamburg. Together with the three other Institutes resident at "Beim Schlump 83", IFSH participated for the first time in a night of knowledge to which over 600 guests found their way.
 - IFSH was co-organizer of a conference on the topic "Climate Change, Social Stress and Violent Conflict" on 19 and 20 November in Hamburg. The conference, in which more than 80 scientists from over 30 countries participated, was supported by the CLISAP-Excellence Cluster in which IFSH takes part (www.clisap.de).
 - On 15 December 2009, IFAR² in cooperation with the Forum for Peace Research at the Hamburg Academy of Sciences and the German Amaldi Group conducted a one-day workshop on the topic „Missile Defense in Europe" at the Magnus Haus of the German Physical Society in Berlin.

4.4 Research Colloquium 2009

The IFSH regularly organizes research colloquia for the staff, the M.P.S. students and selected guests. Hans-Georg Ehrhart handed over the management and organization of the research colloquia to Regina Heller in October 2009.

NATO-Russland, *Elena Kropatcheva*, CORE/IFSH (14.01.2009).

Kontext Nahost: Ein Projekt zur konfliktsensitiven Darstellung, *Felix Koltermann*, MPS (21.01.09).

Vorstellung Peace Brigades International, *Astrid Hake*, Geschäftsführerin PBI (28.01.09)

Comparative assessment of police missions in the ESDP, *Isabelle Maras*, IFSH/ZEUS (04.02.09).

Mögliche Bedingungsfaktoren für Kriegsbeendigung, *Wolfgang Schreiber*, AKUF (18.02.09).

US Foreign Policy and the New White House: Challenges and Opportunities, *Paul Walker*, Global Green USA's, Security & Sustainability program (23.02.09).

Die Bangsamoro Rebellion, *Thomas Boehlke*, Führungsakademie der Bundeswehr (04.03.09).

Selbst- und Koregulierung privater Sicherheits- und Militärfirmen im Rahmen von Governance im Sicherheitsbereich, *Dr. Andrea Schneider*, Universität Hannover (11.03.09).

Aktuelle Stunde: Europäische Sicherheitspolitik im Wandel: Herausforderungen und Tendenzen, *Wolfgang Zellner*, IFSH/CORE (18.03.2009).

Euro-Atlantic Security Institutions in the Fight against Transnational Terrorism - A Framework for Analysis, *Hendrik Hegemann*, IFSH/ZEUS (25.03.2009).

"Global Zero": Auf dem Weg zur völligen nuklearen Abrüstung?, *Dr. Oliver Thränert*, SWP (08.04.2009).

Die künftige NATO-Politik Frankreichs vor dem Hintergrund der Ergebnisse des Gipfels von Strassburg/Kehl, *Florian Escudie*, Erster Sekretär, Französische Botschaft (22.04.2009).

Erfahrungsbericht Afghanistan, OTL *Heidecke*, FüAk (29.04.2009).

Business Interests and Climate Change, *Roman Vakulchuk*, MPS (06.05.2009).

Konfliktbeilegung durch Europäisierung?, *Prof. Heinz-Jürgen Axt*, Universität Duisburg-Essen (13.05.09).





Qualitative Comparative Analysis - Mittelweg zwischen Fallstudien und statistischen Analysen, *Dennis Bangert*, IFSH/ZEUS (20.05.2009).

Mission Weltfrieden. Zur neuen Rolle Deutschlands in der Weltpolitik, Vortrag und Podiumsdiskussion, *Gernot Erler* (MdB), Staatssekretär im Auswärtigen Amt (27.05.2009).

Reconciliation and Democratisation in Europe, *Dr. Anja Mihr*, European Inter-University Centre for Human Rights and Democratisation, Venedig (10.06.2009).

Female suicide bombing. Selbstmordattentäterinnen als Wissensobjekt der Terrorismusforschung, *Dr. Claudia Brunner*, Zentrum für transdisziplinäre Geschlechterstudien der Humboldt-Universität, Berlin (17.06.2009).

The Fight against Transnational Terrorism and the Role of International Institutions: A Framework for Analysis, *Hendrik Hegemann*, IFSH/ZEUS (24.06.2009).

Die Eigendynamik von Gewalt im innerpalästinensischen Konflikt, *Manuel Winkelkotte*, FH Berlin (01.07.2009).

Umstrittene Normen in den internationalen Beziehungen: Das EuGH Urteil 'Kadi und Al Barakaat' und Konsequenzen für die internationalen Beziehungen, *Prof. Antje Wiener*, Chair in Political Science (International Relations Theory), Institute for Political Science, Director, Centre for Globalisation & Governance (CGG) (08.07.2009).

UN im Sudan, *Armin Wagner*, IFSH/ZEUS (15.07.2009).

Cyberwarfare, *Dr. Sandro Gaycken*, Uni Stuttgart (07.10.2009).

Der Transnistrienkonflikt, *Dr. Diana Digol*, IFSH/CORE/*Dr. Diana Beherci*, Chisinau State University (14.10.2009).

Potentialbereich Friedens- und Konfliktforschung - Der neue Struktur- und Entwicklungsplan der Uni Hamburg, *Martin Kalinowski*, ZNF/*Michael Brzoska*, IFSH/*Michael Schaaß*, IFSH (21.10.2009).

Transparenz im globalen Markt für biotechnische dual-use Güter - Das Konzept eines Handelsmonitorings und die Chancen seiner Implementierung, *Gunnar Jeremias*, ZNF (28.10.2009).

Die Zukunft der nuklearen Ordnung, *Prof. Dr. Michael Staack*, Helmut-Schmidt-Universität der Bundeswehr Hamburg (04.11.2009).

Im Namen des 'Effective Multilateralism'. Die UN-EU-Kooperation im Krisenmanagement, *Manuela Scheuermann*, Uni Würzburg (11.11.2009).

Sicherheitsumfeld und multilaterale Sicherheitsstrategien – Überlegungen und Erfahrungen eines Grenzgängers, *Helmut Ganser*, General a.D., Hamburg (18.11.2009).

Power, Public Administration, and Modernization in Kazakhstan, *Sebastian Schiek*, IFSH/CORE (25.11.2009).

Ursachen und Erklärungen gewaltförmiger Konflikte in Demokratien der Dritten Welt :das Fallbeispiel Sri Lanka, *Dr. Mirjam Weiberg-Salzmann*, Uni Münster (02.12.2009).

Eurasia's Unrecognized States: Domestic and International Challenges, *Dr. Oleh Protsyk*, ECMI, Flensburg (09.12.2009).

Zur aktuellen Situation in der Ukraine inkl. Krim, *Frank Evers*, IFSH/CORE (16.12.2009).



Denise Völker and Ulrich Kühn look after the book table during the Night of Knowledge

4.5 Lectures of Fellows and Staff (selection)

Goran Bandov

- „Zaštita nacionalnih manjinskih zajednica“ (Der Schutz nationaler Minderheiten), Sommerakademie der Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung, 17.-20. September 2009, Zadar, Kroatien.

Michael Brzoska

- Keynote Speech “The Foundations of Security Sector Reform in the Euroatlantic Region”, NATO-Advanced Research Seminar “Security Sector Reform”, Plovdiv, Bulgarien, 4. Juni 2009



- „Concepts and Strategies of Security“ Vortrag bei der Summerschool der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik „Reconsidering Democratization and Security“, Berlin 7. Juli 2009
- “Targeted Sanctions” Vortrag, Graduate Institute for International Studies and Development, Genf, 1. Oktober, 2009

Diana Digol

- “Russia’s foreign policy *vis-à-vis* Central Asia”, gemeinsame Konferenz der European Society for Central Asian Studies (ESCAS) und der Central European University Asia Research Initiative, Budapest, 3.-5. September 2009.

Hans-Georg Ehrhart

- „Die Entwicklungszusammenarbeit als Schlüsselfaktor vernetzter Sicherheit“, Vortrag auf dem entwicklungspolitischen Kongress der Hanns-Seidel-Stiftung in München am 1. August 2009.
- „Die Rolle der EU beim Aufbau einer europäischen Friedensordnung“, Vortrag auf der Jahrestagung des Wissenschaftlichen Forums für Internationale Sicherheit am 3. September 2009 in fand in der Julius-Leber-Kaserne in Berlin.
- „France’s Return to NATO: A German Perspective“, Vortrag auf der internationalen Konferenz „France’s return to NATO: Practical Implications for Transatlantic Relations, veranstaltet von der McGill und der Queen’s University vom 10.-12. Dezember in Herstonceux, GB.

Stefan Hensell

- „Der Gendarm als Räuber? Zur patrimonialen Betriebslogik der Polizei in Georgien und Albanien“, Universität Magdeburg am 17. April 2009.
- „Datenerhebung in Feldforschungen: Möglichkeiten und Probleme qualitativer Interviews“, Institut für Sozialwissenschaften, Humboldt-Universität Berlin am 3. Juli 2009.

Margret Johannsen

- „Was lehrt uns die Wiederkehr des ewig Gleichen?“ Vortrag auf der Sommerakademie Schlaining, Österreich, „Söldner, Schurken, Seepiraten“, 9. Juli 2009.
- “The Gaza-War – Latest Chapter in a Never-Ending Conflict”, Vortrag auf der Veranstaltung “Launch of the Peace Report 2009. Key Challenges for European Policy: The Case of Palestine”, von ISIS Europe in Brüssel am 23. Juli 2009.

Martin Kahl

- „Sicherheitspolitische Motivation: Verifikation zur Vertrauensbildung“, Ringvorlesung „Monitoring und Verifikation von internationalen Abkommen“, Universität Hamburg am 29. Oktober 2009.

Marietta König

- „Was geschieht im Kaukasus? Was wissen wir im Westen?“, Podiumsdiskussion im Rahmen der Ringvorlesung „Medien und Demokratie in Osteuropa“, HAW, Hamburg, 15. Dezember 2009.
- “Self-determination’s Belated Victory? Russia’s Recognition of Abkhazia and South Ossetia and its Impact for Upcoming Sovereignty Debates”, Vortrag im Rahmen der 20-Jahresjubiläumskonferenz der International Boundaries Research Unit (IBRU), Durham University, UK, 1.-3. April 2009.
- “South Ossetia: The Role of Transnational Actors in the Perpetuation of Structures of Violence”, internationaler IFSH-Workshop zum Thema “Trans-nationalization of Risks of Violence as a Challenge to European Peace and Security Policy”, 26. Februar 2009.

Anna Kreikemeyer

- Vorträge über “History and institutional development of the OSCE”, “OSCE Field Operations Overview, development and status quo” und “OSCE Field Operations in Central Asia” im Rahmen des Chairmanship Training 2009 für Kasachstan und Litauen in Wien; 1. und 3. Juni 2009.
- Sechs Vorlesungen über die OSZE beim internationalen Seminar “Conflict Prevention by the OSCE” an der kasachischen Nationaluniversität (KAZNU) in Almaty, organisiert vom DAAD, vom 21.-29. November 2009.



Ute Runge on the library tour during the Night of Knowledge



- “Forms of Governance in the post-Soviet Space. Case Study Central Asia“, Veranstaltung der Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, SWP) und the Deutschen Gesellschaft für Osteuropastudien in Berlin. 17.-18. December 2009.

Elena Kropatcheva

- „Ukraine as a Source of Competition between Russia and the West“ im Rahmen des Forschungskolloquiums an der Universität Hannover über den Ost-West Konflikt, 10. November 2009.
- „Die Perspektiven für eine euroatlantische Sicherheitsarchitektur unter Einbeziehung Russlands“, Vortrag im Rahmen des Treffens der außenpolitischen Bundesarbeitsgemeinschaften von Bündnis 90/Die Grünen am 25. April 2009.
- „Russland und die Ukraine streiten ums Gas? Die EU schaut in die Röhre?“, Stadtgespräch von Manuel Sarrazin, MdB, am 19. Februar 2009.



Podium discussion with Gernot Erler, Michael Brzoska, Niels Annen and Thomas Frankenfeld

Isabelle Maras

- „Assessing civilian police missions in the European Security and Defence Policy. An account of EUPM’s achievements“, Vortrag zum Forschungsthema und den vorläufigen Ergebnissen, EU Polizeimission (EUPM) in Sarajewo, Bosnien und Herzegowina, 4. November 2009.
- „The civilian dimension of EU crisis management in practice: the EU police missions in South-Eastern Europe, DAAD Alumni Group Montenegro im Rahmen des Projektes ‚European Way‘, 8. Juni 2009.
- „Regards croisés sur les médias dans l’aire euro-méditerranéenne. Déconstruire les stéréotypes“, Einführungsvortrag zu dem Workshop auf der Euro-mediterranischen Konferenz, Université Libre de la Méditerranée. La paix, à quelles conditions? des Euro-mediterranen Hochschulnetzwerkes REMU und der Rechts- und Politikwissenschaftsfakultät von Mohammédia (Marokko), 6. Juli 2009.

Oliver Meier

- “Which kind of nuclear order? Addressing the challenges posed by the U.S.-India nuclear deal”, Vortrag vor dem Berlin Article VI Forum “New Imperatives and Openings for a Nuclear Weapons-Free World” der Middle Powers Initiative, Berlin, 28.-30. Januar 2009.
- “Abschreckung oder Abrüstung? ‚Global Zero‘ und die Reduzierung der Rolle von Nuklearwaffen in der Sicherheitspolitik des 21. Jahrhunderts”, Keynote Speech auf der Jahrestagung der Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung: „Atomwaffenfreie Welt oder atomare Anarchie? Die Zukunft des nuklearen Nichtverbreitungsvertrags“, Berlin, 10.-11. September 2009.
- “New perspectives of the non-proliferation regime on the eve of the NPT review conference”, Vortrag auf der Anhörung “The non proliferation regime and the future of the Non-Proliferation Treaty” des Unterausschuss für Sicherheit und Verteidigung des Europäischen Parlaments, Brüssel, 30. November 2009.

Jens Narten

- “Peacebuilding is Interaction. Explaining the Outcomes of Postwar Democratic Transitions”, Vortrag auf dem 2009 APSA Annual Meeting in Toronto, 5. September 2009.
- “Range, Characteristics and Roles of Multi-stakeholder Partnerships for Democracy, Good Governance, Rule of Law and Their Significance for Peacebuilding and Human Security”. Vortrag auf dem MultiPart Work Package 4c Meeting in Graz, 6. März 2009.
- “Co-opting Multi-stakeholder Security Provisions. ‘Demobilization by Rearmament’ – The Dual Conversion of the KLA into Kosovo’s New Army”. Vortrag auf der 2009 ISA Annual Convention in New York, 15. Februar 2009.

Götz Neuneck

- “Nuclear Disarmament: What about Missile Defense?”, ISODARCO Wintercourse Andalo, Italien 14. Januar 2009.
- “Quality vs. Quantity: New Weapon Developments and Arms Control”, Berlin-Seminar on Arms Control, RACVIAC-Centre for Security Cooperation in Zagreb, Kroatien, 24.-26. März 2009.
- „Stand der Weltraumbewaffnung“, Unterausschuss für Abrüstung und Rüstungskontrolle des deutschen Bundestages, Berlin 22. April 2009.

*Sibylle Reinke de Buitrago*

- „Die Bundeswehreinsetze im Spiegel der politischen Entscheidungsträger und der Öffentlichkeit Deutschlands und Frankreichs“. Kolloquium: Sortie de la singularité – Retour à la normalité: Politique et interventions militaires extérieures de la RFA depuis 1990 / Université Jean Monnet de Saint-Etienne, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung Paris, Institut Goethe de Lyon, Université de Cergy-Pontoise, Lyon, Frankreich, 12.-13. November 2009
- „The Formation of Security Concepts in the Current Security Debate – A Comparative Perspective“. Post-Doc-Conference – Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik: Many faces of security in a world of complex threats. Key questions – approaches – findings of policy-oriented research in and for Europe, Berlin, 16.-17. September 2009
- „Taking Stock: The Study of Enemy Images Today“. 67th National Conference of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, USA, 2.-5. April 2009.

Ursel Schlichting

- “Human Dimension Challenges and Priorities in 2010/2011 – Strengthening the Human Dimension Means Strengthening the OSCE as a Whole”, Vortrag auf einer Tagung zum Thema “Future OSCE Chairmanships: Policies and Challenges”, veranstaltet vom österreichischen Außenministerium in Zusammenarbeit mit dem österreichischen Verteidigungsministerium, Wien, 9. Juni 2009.

Patricia Schneider

- Skizzierung gemeinsamer Zukunftsprojekte eines „Netzwerkes Friedensrecht“ – Friedensrecht und Friedensforschung, Konferenz „Frieden durch Recht?“ von IA-LANA (International Association of Lawyers Against Nuclear Arms, Deutsche Sektion) in der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin am 26./27. Juni 2009.

Wolfgang Zellner

- “European Security Policy between Old and New: Challenges on the Way Ahead” auf der internationalen Konferenz “New Security Architecture in Europe: Regimes, Mechanisms and Instruments”, organisiert vom Moscow State Institute of Foreign Relations (Universität) des russischen Außenministeriums (MGIMO), Moskau, 2./3. April 2009.
- Eröffnungsvorlesung “Security and Co-operation in the OSCE Area: Conflicts and New Dividing Lines” bei der OSZE-Sommerakademie des Austrian Study Center for Peace and Conflict Resolution, Burg Schlaining, 22. June 2009.
- Key note speech “Cooperative Security versus Unilateralism” und “Different Levels of Security in the OSCE Area” auf dem dritten informellen Wiener Treffen des Korfu-Prozesses der OSZE auf Botschafterebene, Wien, 15. September 2009.



An Egyptian delegation visits CORE

4.6 Functions of IFSH Staff in Professional Bodies*Michael Brzoska*

- Member of the Academy of Sciences in Hamburg
- Member Foundation Advisory Board, Deutsche Stiftung Friedensforschung [German Foundation for Peace Research]
- Member Advisory Board, Hamburger Stiftung zur Förderung der Demokratie und des Völkerrechts [Hamburg Foundation for the Promotion of Democracy and International Law]
- Chairman Governing Board, International Security Information Service, Brussels
- Member Advisory Board, Pôle Bernheim, Université Libre de Bruxelles [Free University of Brussels]
- Member of the Scientific Advisory Board of the Institute for Theology and Peace
- Member of the Board of Directors of the Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker Centre for Science and Peace Research [Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker-Zentrum für Naturwissenschaft und Friedensforschung, Universität Hamburg]
- Corresponding member, Weapons’ Export Section, Joint Commission of the Churches for Development Policy
- Editor of the journal, „Sicherheit und Frieden (S+F) [Security and Peace]
- Editor of the scientific book series „Demokratie, Sicherheit, Frieden (Democracy, Security, Peace)“



- Associate Editor, Journal of Peace Research
- Associate Editor, Economics of Peace and Security Journal
- Member Editorial Advisory Board, International Studies Perspectives

Hans-Georg Ehrhart

- Co-Editor of the textbook series „Elemente der Politik“ [Elements of Politics]“, VS-Publishers Wiesbaden (responsible for international relationships)
- Member of the study group “European integration”
- Member of the German Association for Foreign Policy
- Member of the Blankenese Discussion Group at the Leadership Academy of the Bundeswehr
- Member of the Cercle Stratégique Franco-Allemand
- Liaison professor (Vertrauensdozent) of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation

Regina Heller

- Member of the Scientific Advisory Board of the Cologne Forum for International Relations and Security Policy, Inc. (KFIBS) e.V.
- Member of the Coordinating Committee of the Minor Course of Studies, Eastern Europe at the University of Hamburg

Stephan Hensell

- Co-editor, „Hamburg Review of Social Sciences“, Online-Journal, Institut für Politische Wissenschaft, Universität Hamburg

Margret Johannsen

- Co-Editor of the Peace Report

Martin Kahl

- Steering Committee for the Security Research Program of the German Government (BMBF)
- Reviewer for the Security Research Program of the BMBF
- Editor in Chief of the journal, „Sicherheit und Frieden (S+F) [Security and Peace] (since August 2009)

Elena Kropatcheva

- Member of the Board of the German-Russian Association in Hamburg

Isabelle Maras

- Member of the Editorial Board of the journal *Eyes on Europe* (IEE, Université Libre de Bruxelles).

Oliver Meier

- International representative and correspondent, U.S. Arms Control Association

Jens Narten

- Reviewer for the peer-reviewed „*Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding*”

Götz Neuneck

- Board of Trustees German Physics Association (DPG)
- Speaker for the Research Group on Physics and Disarmament of the German Physical Society
- Member of the Executive Council on „Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs“
- Member of the Scientific Advisory Board of the German Foundation for Peace Research [Deutschen Stiftung Friedensforschung] (DSF)
- Co-Chairman of the Research Association, Natural Sciences, Disarmament and International Security (FONAS)
- Member of the Advisory Board of the IPPNW
- Pugwash Representative of the Federation of German Scientists [Vereinigung Deutscher Wissenschaftler](VDW)
- Member of the Working Group “Fissile Material Cut-off” of the Federal Foreign Office



Berlin excursion with the MPS students



Patricia Schneider

- Editor-in-Chief (until August 2009) and Co-Publisher of the journal „Sicherheit und Frieden (S+F)“ [Security and Peace]
- Co-Leader of the Research Group on Curriculum Development“ of the Center for Peace Research, Bonn (AFB) and the Consortium for Peace and Conflict Research (AFK)
- Co-Leader of the Hamburg group with the leadership of a monthly doctoral colloquium of THESIS – Interdisciplinary Network for Doctoral Candidates

Wolfgang Zellner

- Member of the Editorial Board of the journal Helsinki Monitor. Security and Human Rights
- Member of the Advisory Board of the journal Wissenschaft & Frieden [Science & Peace].



Michael Brzoska with students at the ECNU in Shanghai



5. Teaching and Promotion of Junior Researchers

The „Master of Peace and Security Studies“ at the University of Hamburg, conducted in cooperation with IFSH since 2002, is at the heart of academic teaching and coaching at IFSH. Almost all members of the scientific staff at the Institute are involved in teaching and mentoring in this course of studies. The Master's program is unconditionally accredited until 2012.



Elisabeth Allgöwer (University of Hamburg) and Michael Brzoska present the graduates with their Master's diplomas

Beyond this Master's program, IFSH supports a comprehensive program to promote junior scientific staff development. IFSH attaches particular importance to the advancement of women. Among the traditional components of teaching and coaching are the cooperation of recognized junior scientists in third-party funded research and consultation projects, the integration of student assistants into the scientific and academic work of the Institute as well as the training of interns. In 2009 28 students (16 female, 12 male) completed a practicum at IFSH (distribution over the work areas: ZEUS: 12, CORE: 8, IFAR²:8).

IFSH works cooperatively with, to mention just a few examples, the European “Human Rights and Democratization program (Venice), and the Eastern European program at the University of Hamburg. Within the framework of the cooperation with the East China Normal University (ECNU) in Shanghai, agreed upon in 2007, the first ECNU doctoral candidate, Zhou Fan, came to IFSH in November 2008.

In the reporting period, staff members at IFSH have, in addition to their teaching (for details on courses run by the Institute's scientific staff, see Chapter 5.5 and the statistical annex), written numerous first and second assessments for diploma and master's theses, conducted diploma and master's exams and taken part in doctoral procedures. Until October 2009 Hans-Georg Ehrhart was responsible for organizing and conducting the Institute's weekly research colloquium. With the beginning of the winter semester, Regina Heller took over this task. Michael Brzoska directs the doctoral candidates' colloquium.

5.1 Degree Course „Master of Peace and Security Studies (M.P.S.)“ at the University of Hamburg

In October 2009, the 8th academic year of the M.P.S. Master's program began with student orientation and an excursion to Berlin.

On 6 October 2008 the seventh graduating class was bid farewell in an official ceremony. 25 graduates from eight countries ((Venezuela, France, USA, Brazil, Slovenia, UK, Kazakhstan and Germany) received their Master's diplomas: Antonieta Alcorta de Bronstein, Isabella Bauer, Christophe Bracq-Burgy, Tim Buchholz, Maren Bunger, Caitlin Corrigan, Diego Curvo de Freitas, Julia Dolfen, Katrin Eckert, Katja Gönc, Simone Görtz, Julia Graupe, Emily Knibbs, Felix Koltermann, Ulrich Kühn, Yaëlle Link, Matthew Mackenzie, Jürgen Panzer, Kristin Richter, Michael Schöppner, Roman Vakulchuk, Eric Van Um, Alexandra Varan, Lynne Welton and Jutta Zimmermann.

Following an introduction by Prof. Dr. Elisabeth Allgöwer, Vice-Dean of Academic Studies and Training of the Faculty for Economic and Social Sciences, and Dr Herlind Gundelach, Senator for Science and Research, Professor Dr Catherine M. Kelleher, Senior Fellow at the Watson Insti-



tute, Brown University, gave a guest lecture on the topic: „Is a World Free of Nuclear Weapons Desirable, Realistic and Feasible?“. Director of Studies, Götz Neuneck, and the student representative took stock of the academic year and the Academic Coordinator, Patricia Schneider and Mehmedbegović-Dreilich conducted the program.

For the 8th academic year 2009/2010 29 students from 13 countries were enrolled (Sierra Leone, France, Brazil, Ukraine, Switzerland, Georgia Austria, Poland, Bangladesh, Kazakhstan, Finland, Latvia and Germany); the percentage of women was just under 62 % (18 students). This program is conducted by the University of Hamburg in cooperation with the IFSH as well as with 15 other research and academic teaching institutions of the Cooperation Network of Peace Research and Security Policy (KoFrieS), including the Association of Friends and former M.P.S. students. An officer of the German Federal Army was again delegated to this program.

Coordination of the content and organization of the program is the responsibility of IFSH, which also headed the M.P.S. program in this reporting year. Director of Studies is Götz Neuneck. The academic coordinators in 2009 were Patricia Schneider and Naida Mehmedbegović-Dreilich Members of the program's joint committee in 2008 included the Scientific Director of IFSH, Michael Brzoska (Chair), Götz Neuneck and Wolfgang Zellner. On the admissions committee and on the board of examiners for the course of studies, besides the persons named above, was Patricia Schneider. In addition there are external members from the participating departments of the University of Hamburg and the cooperating institutions (KoFrieS).



MPS Director Götz Neuneck



MPS Classes of 2008/2009 and 2009/2010



Institutional members of the Cooperation Network Peace Research and Security Policy (KoFrieS) are, in addition to IFSH (ZEUS, CORE and IFAR):

- Institute for International Law of Peace and Armed Conflict, Ruhr University Bochum;
- Bonn International Center for Conversion (BICC);
- Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management, Berlin;
- Peace Research Institute Frankfurt (HSFK);
- Institute for Theology and Peace, Hamburg;
- German Armed Forces Staff College (FüAk), Hamburg;
- Protestant Institute for Interdisciplinary Research (FEST), Heidelberg;
- Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker-Zentrum für Naturwissenschaft und Friedensforschung, Hamburg (ZNF);
- German Institute of Global and Area Studies, Hamburg (GIGA);
- Institute for Development and Peace (INEF) at the University of Duisburg-Essen;
- European Centre for Minority Issues (ECMI), Flensburg;
- International Institute for Politics and Economics, Haus Rissen, Hamburg;
- Center for International Peace Operations (ZIF);
- Institute for Political Science at the Helmut Schmidt University - University of the Federal Armed Forces Hamburg
- Three faculties of the University of Hamburg (law, economic and social sciences and history) and
- M.P.S. Alumni and Friends Association



Senator Dr. Herlind Gundelach greets the MSP students

Dr Axel Krohn (German Armed Forces Staff College) was re-elected by the consortium as representative to the Joint Committee for the study year 2009-2010.

The aim of the two-semester program is to introduce highly qualified graduates in the social or natural sciences, from Germany and abroad, as well as academically qualified practitioners, to a demanding level of peace and security policy research and to the basic principles of practice-oriented methodology. Furthermore, the goal is to communicate methods and results in order to prepare students for jobs in peace research and teaching, or peace and security-policy related careers in national and international organizations, administrations, associations and companies as well as governmental offices. The languages of instruction are German and English. Within the framework of the program, M.P.S. cooperates with other courses of study at the University of Hamburg, among them the “Euromaster”, the „Master of European Studies“ and the Eastern Europe Minor Field Program under the leadership of the Faculty of Law .

The first semester is comprised of a modular teaching program, consisting of six modules: international peace and security policy; international law on peace and armed conflict; natural sciences and peace; peace ethics; economic globalization and conflicts; and a cross-sectional module. The second semester consists of theoretical and practice-oriented modules. The students take intensive courses that prepare them for the topics of their Master’s theses. The institutes and organizations, which are part of the Cooperation Network, act, in accordance with their research profile, as the resident institutes for the students in the second semester. At



the same time, they offer students a link between their studies and future career plans after successful completion of the program.

In 2009 the program was funded by various scholarships and grants. We would like to make special mention of the support provided by the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) and the Peace Research Sponsoring Association (VFIF). In addition to scholarships, the DAAD has provided funding for the development of the “Academic Network South East Europe” (www.akademischesnetzwerk-soe.net) to support the advancement of a democratically-oriented scientific landscape in South-eastern Europe. This also included, in addition to visits of guest scholars from Bosnia-Herzegovina and Montenegro to IFSH and doctoral stipends, the promotion of a joint international workshop with the University of Podgorica during which MPS students met in Slovenia with students and graduates of the partner universities (Podgorica, Ljubljana, Sarajevo, Novi Sad, Rijeka, Zagreb, Prishtina, Skopje and Tetovo). The topic for the workshop was: “Montenegro’s Path towards Euro-Atlantic Integration”.

5.2 European Master’s Degree “Human Rights and Democratization” (Venice)

For many years, the University of Hamburg has participated in this post-graduate degree program supported by 40 universities and institutes in EU countries. Since 2006, the university has awarded a joint diploma as one of currently six universities. As early as 2001, IFSH performed teaching, supervisory and examination tasks for the University of Hamburg within the framework of this program. Among these tasks are the seminars in Venice during the winter semester as well as teaching and supervisory tasks in the function as a resident institute for program participants during the second semester. One student was at IFSH in Hamburg during the 2008 summer semester. Dr. Theodora Vrancean and Dr. Patricia Schneider as coordinators responsible for the excursions to Vienna and Strasbourg offered the E.MA students valuable participation in an interesting study element of the M.P.S. program. Mr. Anne Blanksma completed the summer semester at the University of Hamburg and at IFSH. He was supervised by Michael Brzoska, Regina Heller, Martin Kahl and Anna Kreikemeyer. Despite leaving IFSH, Hans-Joachim Gießmann remained responsible as E.M.A Director for the participation of the University of Hamburg in this degree program. Diana Digol took over coordination for IFSH.

5.3 Teaching and Doctoral Cooperation with the East China Normal University (ECNU), Shanghai

The cooperation between the ECNU, IFSH and the University of Hamburg, agreed upon in October 2007 was continued in the reporting period through a teaching visit by Prof. Michael Brzoska, who conducted a block seminar in Shanghai. In November 2008 the first ECNU doctoral candidate, Zhou Fan, began his stay at the IFSH. The Department of Economics and Politics at the University of Hamburg (Prof. Voegeli) and IFSH submitted a joint application for grants for ECNU students and staff for stays in Hamburg at the FHH Senate within the framework of the Hamburg-Shanghai city partnership program. Contact person at IFSH for the program is Michael Brzoska.



Two of the fresh Master’s Degree holders, Britta Varan and Christophe Braque-Burgy, entertain the MPS ceremony with music





5.4 The IFSH Doctoral Supervision Program

The aim of this program is to enable doctoral students to successfully complete their dissertations under intensive supervision by experienced IFSH researchers and, at the same time, to give them the opportunity of acquiring the key qualifications needed to carry out job-related activities within and outside of scientific/research institutes. Depending on the topics of their dissertations, the students are integrated into one of the IFSH research units, so that they are able to actively participate in the scientific and academic life of the Institute. Regular doctoral seminars and weekly research colloquiums offer two platforms for the exchange of scientific views and the presentation of preliminary results. To be able to enter the program, students are required to have a degree in natural or social sciences with an above-average grade point average, a broad knowledge of the basic principles of peace research and to have chosen a peace research-related topic for their dissertations. The IFSH cannot support dissertation work; however, support is given for applications to relevant foundations and institutions. Most doctoral students are affiliated with the University of Hamburg, but this is not a condition for participation in the PhD programme. Responsible for the program in the reporting period was Michael Brzoska who also led the doctoral students' seminar



Flyer for the Night of Knowledge

5.5 Teaching by IFSH Staff in 2009

Winter semester 2008/2009

- Universität Hamburg, MIN-Fakultät/M.P.S., Seminar „Nichtweiterverbreitung und Rüstungsdynamik im Mittleren Osten“ (Götz Neuneck/Christian Alwardt)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Seminar „China – Reemerging player in international affairs“ (Bernt Berger)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Vorlesung und Übung „Political Economy of Conflicts, War and Arms“ (Michael Brzoska)
- Universität Hamburg/IFSH, Doktorandenseminar (Michael Brzoska)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Seminar „Die EU als außen-, sicherheits- und friedenspolitischer Akteur“ (Hans-Georg Ehrhart)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Forschungskolloquium (Hans-Georg Ehrhart)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Blocklehrveranstaltung „Maritime Sicherheit in Südostasien. Eine Einführung“ (Torsten Geise)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S./Euromaster/NF-Studiengang Osteuropa, Haupt- bzw. Vertiefungsseminar „Die neue ‚EU-Ostpolitik‘ im postsowjetischen Raum“ (Regina Heller)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Vertiefungsseminar „Der Nahostkonflikt in den Internationalen Beziehungen“ (Margret Johannsen)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Seminar „Einführung in die Sicherheitspolitik“ (Martin Kahl)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Blocklehrveranstaltung „Die kaspische und die Schwarzmeerregion: Perspektiven für Europas Energiesicherheit“ (Marietta König)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., 2 Blocklehrveranstaltungen, Übung „Wissenschaftliches Schreiben“ (Anna Kreikemeyer)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Blocklehrveranstaltung, „Is Russia a Friend or Foe? Russia's Security Policy“ (Elena Kropatcheva)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Blocklehrveranstaltung „Politicizing Communication: A Study in Security Policy“ (Sybille Reinke de Buitrago)
- Fachhochschule für Öffentliche Verwaltung an den Standorten Münster und Bielefeld, Seminar „Politikwissenschaft“ (Bernhard Rinke)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S. in Kooperation mit der Universität Ljubljana/ Akademisches Netzwerk Südosteuropa „Neighborhood Cooperation and Bridge-building Peace Policy: The role of Slovenia“ (Patricia Schneider/Naida Mehmedbegovic)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Seminar/Exkursion, „Deutsche Außenpolitik zwischen globalem Engagement und nationalen Interessen“ (Patricia Schneider/Götz Neuneck)



- Universität Hamburg/ M.P.S., Orientierungseinheit (Patricia Schneider/Götz Neuneck)
- European Inter-University Center for Human Rights and Democratisation (Venedig), Blocklehrveranstaltung „Introducing Politics“ (Diana Digol)
- European Inter-University Center for Human Rights and Democratisation (Venedig), Blocklehrveranstaltung „Human Rights: Political Prospects and Challenges“ (Diana Digol)
- Berufsakademie Hamburg, Blocklehrveranstaltung „Interkulturelle Kommunikation“, Seminar (Naida Mehmedbegovic)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Blocklehrveranstaltung „Intercultural Communication and Cooperation“ (Naida Mehmedbegovic)
- Universität Hamburg, HOPIKOS, Blockveranstaltung „Training zur Interkulturellen Kompetenz“ (Naida Mehmedbegovic)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Vertiefungsseminar „Europäische Sicherheitspolitik: OSZE“ (Wolfgang Zellner) 2sws

Sommer semester 2009

- Universität Hamburg/MPS, Vorlesung „Internationale Beiträge zur Friedenskonsolidierung in Nachkriegsgesellschaften“ (Michael Brzoska)
- Universität Hamburg/IFSH, Doktorandenseminar (Michael Brzoska)
- Universität Hamburg/Department Physik, Proseminar „Der Mensch im All. Beiträge aus Astronomie, Physik und Friedenswissenschaft“ (Götz Neuneck, Dieter Engels, Dieter Reimers, Hartwig Spitzer)
- Universität Hamburg/Fakultät für Rechtswissenschaft, Blockseminar „Konflikttransformation durch Interventionen externer Akteure in Situationen prekärer Staatlichkeit“ (Martin Kahl, Stefan Oeter)
- Universität Hamburg, Arbeitsstelle Studium und Beruf, Seminar „Interkulturelle Kompetenz“ (Naida Mehmedbegović-Dreilich)
- TU Hamburg Harburg, Blockseminar „Ethics for Engineers: The Politics of Science“ (Oliver Meier, Iris Hunger)
- Université Libre de Bruxelles (Brüssel, Belgien), Seminar „Media and Stereotypes in the relationship between Western and Arab-Muslim Societies“ (Isabelle Maras zusammen mit Professor Eric Remacle).
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S. in Kooperation mit dem Streitkräfteamt „New Challenges for the German Security Policy (Field trip to Bruxelles: NATO, EU, MoD), RI-Seminar in Bonn, Straßburg, Geilenkirchen (Patricia Schneider, Hans-Georg Ehrhart)

Winter semester 2009/2010

- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Vorlesung und Übung „Political Economy of Conflicts, War and Arms“ (Michael Brzoska)
- Universität Hamburg/CLISAP, Vorlesung „Klimawandel und Sicherheit“ (Jürgen Scheffran, Michael Brzoska, Jürgen Ossenbrügge)
- Universität Hamburg/IFSH, Doktorandenseminar (Michael Brzoska)
- Universität Hamburg, Vorlesung „Naturwissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Friedensforschung“ (Götz Neuneck, Martin Kalinowski)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Vertiefungsseminar „Abrüstung und Rüstungskontrolle in Europa: Stand und aktuelle Entwicklungen“ (Götz Neuneck, Wolfgang Zellner)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Methodenseminar im Propädeutikum „Naturwissenschaft und Friedensforschung“, (Götz Neuneck, Martin Kalinowski, Anna Zmorynska)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Orientierungseinheit, 1.- 17. Oktober 2008 (Michael Brzoska, Martin Kahl, Götz Neuneck, Naida Mehmedbegović-Dreilich)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Blocklehrveranstaltung „Verifikation und Rüstungskontrolle“ (Götz Neuneck, Oliver Meier)
- Universität Hamburg: NF-Studiengang Osteuropa/M.P.S/Euromaster, Vertiefungsseminar „Die EU im postsowjetischen Raum“ (Regina Heller)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Vertiefungsseminar „Die Europäische Union als außen-, sicherheits- und friedenspolitischer Akteur“ (Hans-Georg Ehrhart)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Vorlesung „Einführung in die Sicherheitspolitik“ (Martin Kahl)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Blocklehrveranstaltung „Methoden der Friedens- und Konfliktforschung“ (Martin Kahl)
- Universität Hamburg, Arbeitsstelle Studium und Beruf, Seminar „Interkulturelle Kompetenz“ (Naida Mehmedbegović-Dreilich)



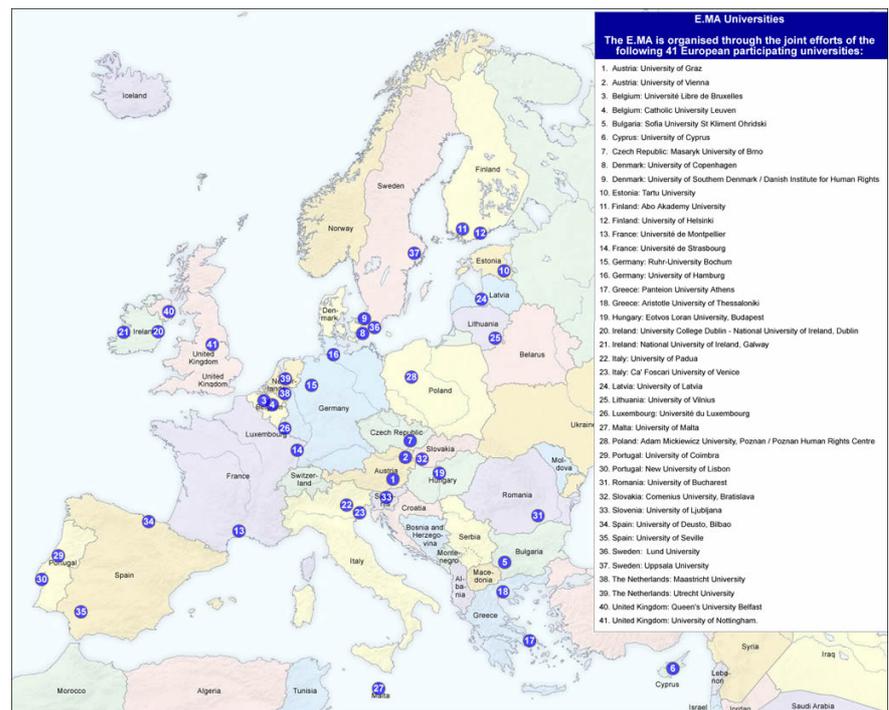
Prof. Dr. Catherine Kelleher giving the graduation lecture for the MSP Class of 2008/2009 and welcoming the new class



- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Blocklehrveranstaltung „Intercultural Communication and Cooperation“, (Naida Mehmedbegović-Dreilich)
- Universität Hamburg/ M.P.S., Seminar/Exkursion, „Deutsche Außenpolitik zwischen globalem Engagement und nationalen Interessen“ (Götz Neuneck, Patricia Schneider, Naida Mehmedbegović-Dreilich)
- Leuphana Universität Lüneburg, Blocklehrveranstaltung/Training „Erfolgreich im interkulturellen Kontext - Interkulturelle Kompetenz“, (Naida Mehmedbegović-Dreilich)
- Hochschule für Angewandte Wissenschaften (HOPIKOS). Blockveranstaltung/Training „Interkulturelle Kompetenz“, (Naida Mehmedbegović-Dreilich)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S. in Kooperation mit der Universität Podgorica im Rahmen des vom DAAD-geförderten Akademischen Netzwerkes Südosteuropa, „Montenegro’s Path towards Euro-Atlantic Integration (Exkursion nach Montenegro)“ (Patricia Schneider, Naida Mehmedbegović-Dreilich)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Blocklehrveranstaltung „Perception and Communication in International Politics“ (Sybille Reinke de Buitrago)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Vertiefungsseminar „Europäische Sicherheitspolitik: OSZE“ (Wolfgang Zellner)

Training and Continuing Education, Guest Lectures

- University of Maastricht/Department of Political Science, Lecture “Gas Relations between Russia, the EU and Ukraine through the Prism of IR Theories (Elena Kropatcheva)



E.M.A Universities (Human Rights and Democratization)



6. Services

6.1 Public Relations

In accordance with the charter of the ISFH, the Institute, in addition to focusing on peace research activities (strictly speaking), is to dedicate itself to “taking inventory of and continuously informing itself of strategic thinking [...] by way of lectures, newspaper and journal articles, radio and television programs, and the publication of its own scientific series” (quantitative data on the relevant activities is provided in detail in the statistical annex).

In 2009 a large number of requests were directed to the Institute. The circle of those inquiring was wide and mirrored the great public interest in the work of the IFSH. The media, in particular, was, of course, responsible for a high percentage of inquiries for background information, interviews and written reports. Radio stations – public-statutory as well as private – and the print media were responsible for the bulk of this public presence, but IFSH was also present on television.

During the reporting period, Institute staff members were interviewees and guests of the following television stations or programs: ARD (Tages-themen, ARD aktuell, Monitor, Morgenmagazin), ZDF (heute), NDR, 3SAT, SAT1, RTL, Phönix, ntv and N24.

The radio departments of NDR, WDR, HR, BR, SWR, ODR, MDR, RBB, and Radio Bremen were as much a part of the circle of the IFSH’s frequent “media customers” – as Deutschlandradio (German Radio), Deutschlandfunk (German Wireless) and Deutsche Welle. In addition, there were numerous queries from private radio stations and news agencies. IFSH staff members were represented with articles and interviews in the following print media: Hamburger Abendblatt, taz, Die Welt, Thüringer Allgemeine, Lübecker Nachrichten, Berliner Zeitung, Süddeutsche Zeitung, Freie Presse Chemnitz, Tagesspiegel, Frankfurter Rundschau, Focus, Sächsische Zeitung, Flensburger Tageblatt, Freitag, Erfurter Allgemeine, Bild and Weserkurier. There were also international “appearances” in the Basler Zeitung (Basel), the Salzburger Nachrichten, Radio Teheran and in Zhongguo Xinwen Zhoukan (China Newsweek).

Beyond the media requests, the Institute has received requests for lecturers and material, from workers’ unions, political parties and their youth organizations, adult education centers, schools, church groups, Federal Armed Forces’ institutions and peace groups, among others.

Thematically speaking, the requests in 2009 have concentrated primarily on current conflicts. Here, in particular, the situation in Afghanistan should be mentioned. But also the discussion on complete nuclear disarmament (“Global Zero”) which was given a new boost by US President Obama’s speech in Prague and attracted the interest of the media over and over again. Moreover, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, the Iranian nuclear program, the deployments abroad of the German Armed Forces, international terrorism, the piracy off the coast of Somalia, the Israel-Palestine conflict, the role of the EU as an international actor, the future of the OSCE, specific arms control and export policy problems, but also the questions of human rights, were topics frequently in demand.



Isabelle Maras at EUPM



Reinhard Mutz (front in the picture) is member of VFIF

Contact person for the Sponsoring Association at the IFSH is Britta Fisch
Tel. 040-866 077 12
Fax: 040-866 36 15
E-Mail: fisch@ifsh.de

The rubric “Statements and Opinions” on the Institute Website reflects these topics, among others: http://ifsh.de/IFSH_php/akt_stellungnahmen_engl.php

6.2 Peace Research Sponsoring Association (VFIF)

The Peace Research Sponsoring Association (VFIF) was founded on 28 January 1997 at the initiative of Dr Heinz Liebrecht and the then-member of the Hamburg State Parliament, Georg Berg.

The association endeavors to support the Institute’s work by acting as a broker, sharing results with the political and public spheres and raising additional funds. Members are invited to the events of IFSH and the Association and receive the newsletter, “IFSH-News”.

The board of directors consists of the following members:

Liane Bayreuther-Lutz (Chairperson)
Andrea Wist (Deputy Chairperson)
Prof. Dr Herbert Wulf (Secretary)
Dr Reinhard Mutz (Treasurer)
Prof. Dr. Michael Brzoska (IFSH Director)

In the reporting period, the Association supported some events of the Institute and was involved, above all, in promoting young academics, *inter alia*, through the establishment of two M.P.S. scholarships and the allocation of travel costs.

6.3 Library, Documentation and Homepage

Library

The IFSH Library is open primarily to IFSH scholars, PhD students and the students of the MPS program and to the staff of the Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker Centre for Science and Peace Research (ZNF). However, the library may also be used by students of the University of Hamburg and the interested public.

The library collection comprises 28.249 volumes and 128 magazines (as of 31.12.2009). There was a total of 483 acquisitions, 24 of which were acquired through third-party funding and 327 of which were donated or acquired via exchange of literature. 127 volumes and 33 articles were borrowed from libraries in Hamburg or obtained through inter-library loan services and document delivery services.

The IFSH Library also houses the *OSCE Depository Library* in which literature of and about the OSCE is systematically collected. The librarian regularly compiles the bibliography of the OSCE Yearbook as well as the OSCE Online Bibliography on the CORE Homepage.

The Library’s collection has been accessible through the campus catalogue of the University of Hamburg – selections of the inventory of the library since 1971 and the complete inventory since 1994. In the long term, it is planned that the inventory acquired before 1994 also be completely incorporated into the campus catalogue.



Ute Runge directs the IFSH library



Dokumentation

Since 2000 the IFSH has participated in the “World Affairs Online – Expert Information Network on International Politics and Regional Geography” (FIV) – a cooperative network of one Scandinavian and twelve independent German research institutes.

The joint project of these institutes is the data base, World Affairs Online (WAO), which is one of the largest social science literature data bases in Europe. It has some 700,000 literature references – especially journal articles and book sections as well as gray literature – with a thematic focus on global and regional foreign and security policy as well as economic and social developments. The shared network of the FIV makes the documentation of IFSH literature on the OSCE as well as in-house publications accessible.

In addition to openly accessible internet sources and online catalogues of the SUB Hamburg, the electronic data bank of the FIV is the most important source for the relevant professional literature research of the IFSH Documentation Unit. Since September 2008 the WAO-Data Bank has been freely available on the internet as part of the IREON platform (www.ireon-portal.de)

Since 2003 the IFSH has been involved in the development and maintenance of a professional information guide for internet sources in the area of peace research and security policy, initiated by the State and University Library of Hamburg within the framework of the project, “Virtual Specialized Library” supported by the German Research Foundation (DFG). Links can be viewed at <http://www.vifapol.de/systematik/pea/>. Within this framework, IFSH is also a cooperation partner of the network „Academic LinkShare“ (<http://www.academic-linkshare.de/>).

Two data banks, established in the course of the joint project with the Graduate Institute of International Studies (Geneva), which ended in 2008, are integrated into the CORE Homepage. References for over 3,600 OSCE and CSCE-related books and articles, as well as a multitude of internet sources with information on the OSCE countries are available there.



...and Uwe Polley is responsible for documentation

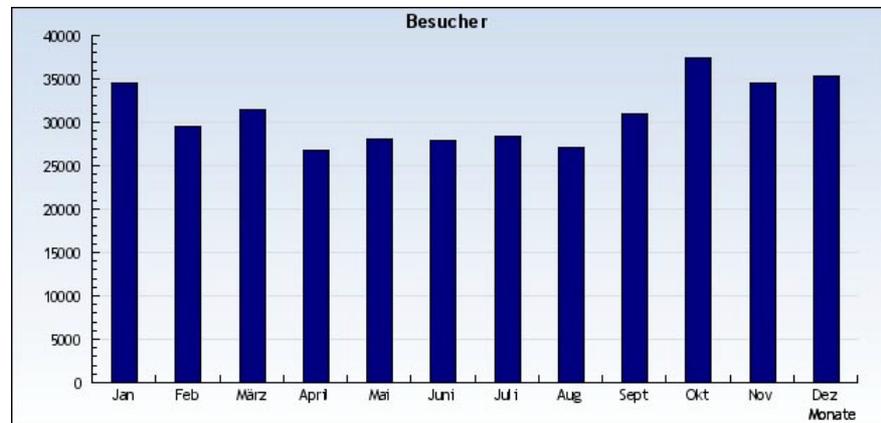


Homepage

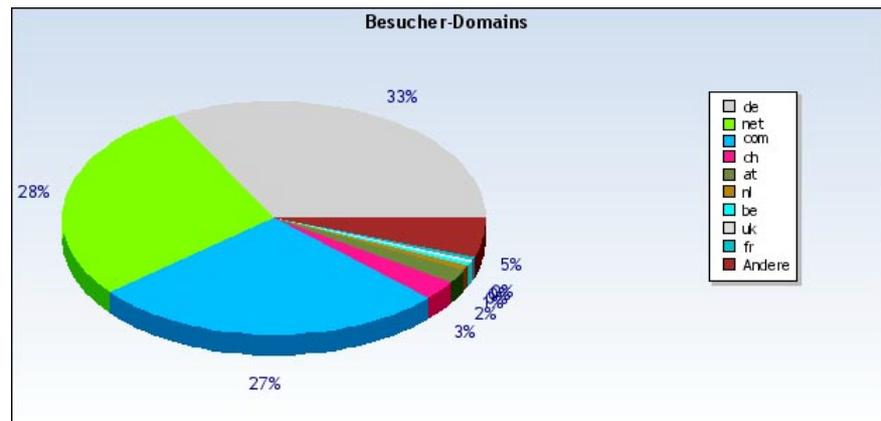
In 2009 the homepage of the Institute was also actively used; about 400,000 visitors the users availed themselves of the IFSH internet offerings, calling up nearly one million pages. Especially in demand – apart from the start page – were the pages with German and English information on the M.P.S. course (see also chapter 5.1), information on the staff, “News “, and the pages of the research units as well as publications.

The visitor domain suggests that internet users from more than 90 countries visited the Institute website, although the majority of the users were from Germany, Switzerland and Austria.

Most of the IFSH texts were distributed electronically and are available to download – an offer that has enjoyed increasing popularity.



Distribution of the use of the IFSH Website over the course of the year



Visitors according to domain



7. Personnel and Bodies

The Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg (ISFH) is a civil law foundation. The Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg, represented by the Ministry for Science and Research, supports the foundation. The organs of the Institute are as follows: Chair of the Foundation, Board of Trustees, Scientific Advisory Board, and Institute Council. The Chair of the foundation is the Scientific Director.

7.1 Board of Trustees

According to the By-Laws of IFSH, the following are members of the Board of Trustees: The Head of the Ministry responsible for science and research as the Chairperson, the President of the University of Hamburg, four representatives named by the University of Hamburg, up to three representatives from public life in Hamburg, who are chosen by the Board of Trustees, as well as the Chairperson of the Scientific Advisory Board.

The **Board of Trustees** of the IFSH convened twice in the annual report period. In 2009, it comprised the following members:

- *Dr Herlind Gundelach*, Senator for Science and Research of the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg (Chair)
- *Prof. Dr-Ing. habil. Monika Auweter-Kurtz*, President of the University of Hamburg (Deputy Chair) (until May 2009)
- *Niels Annen*, MP
- *Prof. Dr Leoni Dreschler-Fischer*, Department of Informatics, Research Area Cognitive Systems
- *Prof. Dr. Cord Jakobeit*, Chairman of the Scientific Advisory Board
- *Prof. Dr Martin Kalinowski*, Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker Centre for Science and Peace Research
- *Prof. Dr Rolf von Lüde*, Department of Social Sciences, Institute for Sociology
- *Antje Möller*, Member of the Hamburg State Parliament
- *Berndt Röder*, President of the Hamburg State Parliament
- *Michael Schaaf*, Student Representative

7.2 Scientific Advisory Board

In the reporting period the **Scientific Advisory Board** convened once (For the tasks and composition of the Board, see the IFSH By-Laws [German only] at www.ifsh.de). In 2009, it comprised the following members:

- *Prof. Dr Cord Jakobeit* (University of Hamburg) (Chair)
- *Prof. Dr Thomas Bruha* (University of Hamburg) (Deputy Chair)
- *Prof. Dr Susanne Feske* (University of Münster)
- *Gunilla Herolf*, PhD (SIPRI)
- *Prof. Dr Kathryn Nixdorff* (Technische Universität Darmstadt, Institute for Microbiology)
- *Prof. Dr Michael Staack* (Helmut Schmidt University of the Federal Armed Forces Hamburg)



Senator Dr Herlind Gundelach,
Chairperson of the Board of Trustees



Prof. Dr Kathryn Nixdorff member of the
Scientific Advisory Board



7.3 Institute Council

The **Institute Council** met twice in the reporting period.

7.4 Staff Members at the IFSH 2009:

Institute Administration:

Director: Prof. Dr Michael Brzoska
Deputy Director: Prof. Dr Götz Neuneck
Deputy Director: Dr Wolfgang Zellner

Senior Researchers:

Dr Hans-Georg Ehrhart
Dr Regina Heller (since March 2009)
Dr Martin Kahl (since May 2008)
Ursel Schlichting, M.A.
Dr Patricia Schneider



Emir Suljagic completed his dissertation in 2009

Scientific Staff:

Christian Alwardt, Dipl. Phys. (until September 2009)
Dr Marcel Dickow (until July 2009)
Dr Diana Digol
Dr Frank Evers
Torsten Geise, Dipl. Pol., M.P.S (until July 2009)
Hans-Christian Gils, Dipl. Phys. (until July and since October 2009)
Dr Anna Kreikemeyer
Dr Elena Kropatcheva
Naida Mehmedbegovic, M.A., M.P.S. (July-December 2009)
Dr. Oliver Meier
Jens Narten, Dipl.-Sozialwiss.
Eric van Um, M.A., M.P.S. (since October 2009)

Information Officer:

Susanne Bund

Representative of the Armed Forces:

Lieutenant Colonel (General Staff) Dr Armin Wagner (until Nov. 2009)

Senior Research Fellows:

Dr Margret Johannsen
PD Dr Reinhard Mutz
Dr Arne C. Seifert
Prof. Dr Kurt P. Tudyka

Fellows:

Dr David Aphrasidze
Bernt Berger, M.Ph.
Dr Heiko Fürst
Cinthia Heanna
Dr Stephan Hensell
Dr Bernhard Rinke
Fausta Šimaityte
Dr Thorsten Stodiek



Jutta Stropahl and Armin Wagner

Guest Scholars:

Diana Benchechi (August-October)
Marem Buzurtanowa (August-October)



Colonel Tomislav Galic (since October 2009)
 Julian Junk (since April 2009)
 Eray Ramazonov (August-October)
 Lieutenant Colonel Zoran Stojkovski (until March 2009)
 Zhou Fan, ECNU

Doctoral Candidates:

Dennis Bangert, Dipl. soz. ök.
 Andreas Bernath (since October 2009)
 Sabina Cudic, M.A. (since May 2009)
 Hendrik Hegemann, M.A.
 Gunnar Jeremias, Dipl. Pol., M.P.S.
 Janina Johannsen, Dipl. Pol.
 Marietta König, M.A.
 Ulrich Kühn (since July 2009)
 Elena Kulipanova, M.A., M.P.S.
 Isabelle Maras, M.A.
 Fifi Muhabat (since October 2009)
 Katja Munoz, M.A.
 Sybille Reinke de Buitrago, M.A. (handed in October 2009)
 Sebastian Schiek, Dipl. Pol.
 Emir Suljagic, M.A. (degree December 2009)
 Isabelle Tannous, M.A. (until July 2009)
 Merle Vetterlein, Dipl.-Pol. (degree December 2009)
 Denise Völker, Dipl.-Ing., M.P.S. (since June 2009)

Support:

Nina Elena Eggert (since April 2009)
 Mirko Guth
 Anna Jessel (since April 2009)
 Barbara Kauffmann
 Eray Öztürk
 Kathrin Peiffer (January-May and since November 2009)
 Jochen Rasch
 Hasina Sarigeorgiou (February 2009)
 Dr. Eckhard Schlopsna
 Patricia Stoll (since June 2009)

Secretariat:

Annelisa Cotone (until June 2009)
 Madeleine Köhler (since August 2009)

Editing/Translation:

Graeme Currie, M.A.
 Elizabeth Hormann (external)
 Ina Schachraj

Library:

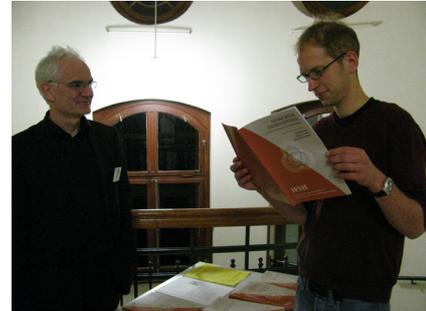
Ute Runge, Dipl. Bibl.

Documentation:

Uwe Polley, Dipl.-Pol.

Administration:

Britta Fisch
 Matthias Riethmüller (since February 2009)
 Jutta Stropahl
 Carsten Walter



Martin Kahl and Hendrik Hegemann
 during the night of knowledge

More information at:
http://www.ifsh.de/IFSH_english/personal/ma.htm

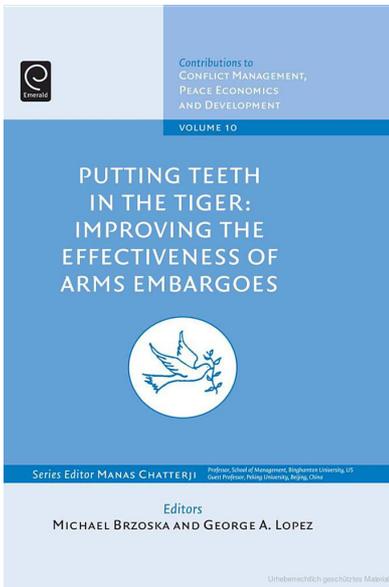


8. Publications

The members of staff published a total of 18 books in 2009 and, with 171 articles, among them 27 in reviewed journals and books (12 double-blind reviews and 15 peer-reviewed), participated in the public and scientific discourse.

Since 1987, the Institute, represented by Margret Johannsen, has been co-publisher of the annual German Peace Report and since 1995 has published the OSCE Yearbook in German, English and Russian.

In addition to the Peace Report and OSCE Year Book, publishing, editing and text review work is continually undertaken. The editorial office of the journal “S+F. Sicherheit und Frieden/Security and Peace” of the Nomos Publishing Company is resident at IFSH. Editor-in-Chief until August 2009 was Patricia Schneider. Since then, Martin Kahl has taken over this function. Sybille Reinke de Buitrago and Susanne Bund are members of the editorial team. The series, “Democracy, Security, Peace” is edited by Michael Brzoska and is overseen editorially by Susanne Bund.



8.1 IFSH-Series

The IFSH itself publishes three series: The “Hamburger Beiträge zur Friedensforschung und Sicherheitspolitik” (Hamburg Contributions to Peace Research and Security Policy) is geared to a professional specialist audience; by contrast the “Hamburger Informationen zur Friedensforschung und Sicherheitspolitik” (Hamburg Information on Peace Research and Security Policy) is aimed at a wider public. These two series are complemented by the newsletter “IFSH-aktuell” (IFSH News). IFSH News is intended as a brief source of information with current position statements as well as notes on new projects, events, visitors and publications of the Institute. Since 2006 an abridged English version of IFSH News has been available, which is exclusively distributed electronically. In 2009 Armin Wagner was responsible for the “Hamburg Contributions” and the IFSH News was compiled by Anna Kreikemeyer.

Two „Hamburger Beiträge“, two booklets in the „Hamburger Informationen“ series as well as five issues of the IFSH News appeared in this reporting period. Nine articles appeared in the online rubric “Current Opinions” http://www.ifsh.de/IFSH_english/publikationen/hambinfo.htm

All IFSH series are on the Institute’s Homepage and can be read and downloaded (<http://www.ifsh.de/>). They are available in printed form at no cost in limited numbers.

The Centre for OSCE-Research publishes three series: *CORE Working Papers*, *CORE News* and the *CORE Annual Report*. These are provided free to a limited number of distributors in printed form and to a broader audience in electronic form. They are also available from the *CORE-Website* (www.core-hamburg.de).

The interdisciplinary research group, Disarmament, Arms Control and Risk Technologies (IFAR) distributes the *IFAR Working Papers* in electronic form. They can be viewed and downloaded at www.ifsh.de/IFAR/serv_bp.htm.

The publications of the Institute receive financial support from the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg.



8.2 Peace Report

Since 1987 IFSH has been co-publisher of the annual [German] Peace Report, the joint yearbook of the five scientific Institutes for peace research in the Federal Republic of Germany: IFSH in Hamburg, the Institute for Development and Peace (INEF) in Duisburg, the Protestant Institute for Interdisciplinary Research (FEST) in Heidelberg, the Peace Research Institute Frankfurt (HSFK) and the Bonn International Center for Conversion (BICC). International conflicts and current threats to peace are continually observed and studied. The opinions of the editors are based on these individual analyses. They collect and weight the results and formulate recommendations for peace and security policy practice with a particular eye to options for action in European and German policy. Beyond assessing developments in political conflict, the Peace Report also aims at clarifying the connections between cause and effect, identifying means of resolution and encouraging readers to make their own judgments.

Peace Report 2009

For a long time the public, the government and the Parliament have blocked out the reality that Germany is a party to the war in Afghanistan. With increasing attacks by insurgents on German soldiers, politics will have to come clean with the public. There is also war in neighboring Pakistan. Whether it is Afghanistan or Pakistan: The helplessness grows and the rallying cries to “stay the course” are less and less convincing.

This is the conclusion to which the 2009 Peace Report came. Representatives of the five publishing institutes presented it to the public on 26 May 2009 at the Federal Press Conference in Berlin. Afterwards they discussed their results and recommendations with the chairs of the Parliamentary Committees for Foreign Policy, Defense, and Economic Cooperation and with numerous Members of Parliament.

The Peace Report focuses on the question of how the wars in Afghanistan, Pakistan but also in Iraq or in Congo, in Sudan or in Palestine can be ended. There is no general formula for ending a war. Urgent challenges for peace and security policy are no longer interstate wars in which regular armies wrestle for victory. In the intra-societal wars which dominate warfare today, the population is the focus. Sustainable strategies for ending the wars in failed states or against insurgents must go on this assumption. One can, in individual cases, argue over the appropriateness of the strategies of intervening states. In the Federal Republic of Germany such an open debate is urgently needed.

The bulk of individual analyses consists of case studies and looks for answers to the overriding question of sustainable strategies for ending wars in the current conflict situations. Other topics of discussion deal with the transatlantic agenda after the American change of administration and methods of conflict resolution.

The individual analyses by IFSH for the Peace Report 2009 were authored by Michael Brzoska, Hans-Georg Ehrhart, Margret Johannsen, Oliver Meier and Wolfgang Zellner. Margret Johannsen coordinated and was co-editor.





8.3 OSCE Yearbook

Now in its 15th edition, the OSCE Yearbook has been published annually in English, German, and Russian since 1995. The IFSH produces the Yearbook in co-operation with retired Ambassador Jonathan Dean, Dr Pál Dunay, Prof. Adam Daniel Rotfeld, and Dr Andrei Zagorski. Prof. Dr. Victor-Yves Ghebali, for many years the co-editor of the Year Book and one of the most significant OSCE researchers, died in January of this year. Wolfgang Zellner paid tribute to his outstanding work in the 2009 OSCE Year Book.

The editorial staff is based at the IFSH in Hamburg. Ursel Schlichting, Editor-in-Chief, is assisted in the tasks of editing and translating by Susanne Bund, Graeme Currie, Elena Kropatcheva, and Ina Shakhrai. Moreover translations for the 2008 OSZE Jahrbuch were prepared by Mirko Guth, Ulrich Kühn and Claudia Vollmer. The German and English editions are published by Nomos, Baden-Baden, while the Russian edition is printed by Izdatelstvo “Prava Cheloveka”, Moscow.

The German Federal Foreign Office funds the printing of the Yearbook and some of the staff costs associated with its production. Additional funds are earmarked for the distribution of free copies to members of parliaments, foreign ministries and OSCE institutions, and to universities, libraries, and other interested institutions. The OSCE Yearbook is used for teaching purposes at universities in CIS countries, at the OSCE Academy in Bishkek, at the MGIMO, and elsewhere. The articles of earlier editions of the OSCE Year Book are available as complete texts (English until 2008, German until 2007) on the CORE-Website, <http://core-hamburg.de>.

OSCE Yearbook 2009

In the 2009 OSCE Yearbook, internationally renowned scientists from different disciplines as well as experienced practitioners, politicians, diplomats and military personnel again address the OSCE itself as well as questions of European security and cooperation. Following the foreword by the OSCE Chairman, the Prime Minister of Greece, and that country’s Foreign Minister, George Papandreou, four articles deal with the initiative of the Russian President Dmitri Medvedev for concluding a European security treaty and thereby form this year’s focus, “The Corfu Process”. Adam Daniel Rotfeld asks about the necessity for a new European security architecture. Andrei Zagorski as well as Pál Dunay and Graeme P. Herd are persuasive with detailed analyses of the Medvedev plan and Egon Bahr and Reinhard Mutz discuss the future of the policy of détente.

In a newly designed chapter on inner political developments in the OSCE participating States and their multilateral involvement, Dennis Sandole from George Mason University describes American foreign policy after George W. Bush; Lithuanian’s OSCE Ambassador, Renatas Norkus, presents the role of the OSCE from the perspective of his country; Astrid Sahn, Director of the “Johannes Rau International Centre for Education and Encounter” (IBB) in Minsk, sketches out possibilities for future cooperation between Belarus and European organizations and Elena Kropatcheva analyzes the inner-political situation in the Ukraine five years after the “Orange Revolution”.





In the section on the work of OSCE in the field, the Director of the OSCE presence in Albania, Robert Bosch, presents an OSCE project for the protection of women from domestic violence. Ulrich Heider deals with military aspects of the work of the OSCE missions in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Marcin Czapliński from the OSCE Conflict Prevention Centre (CPC) describes the changed tasks of the OSCE mission in Kosovo. General (ret.) Bernard Aussebat and the international law expert, Tim Potier, discuss the prospects for a solution to the conflicts in Moldova and around Nagorno-Karabakh. Alexandre Keltchewsky pays tribute to the ten years of operation of the OSCE Center in Astana and Alice Ackerman, also from the CPC, describes the OSCE mechanisms for early warning, conflict prevention and crisis management.

In the chapter on the three dimensions of comprehensive security, Frank Evers first addresses the very contentious topic, within OSCE, of election monitoring. Aaron Rhodes, former Director of the International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights (IHF), in his chapter, advocates for the protection of human rights activists in the participating states and Hans-Joachim Heintze, international law specialist at the Ruhr University in Bochum, discusses the question of whether *de facto* regimes are bound to the human rights guaranteed in international law. Lorenz Barth of the Permanent Mission of Germany to the OSCE analyzes the Council of Ministers' decision on the strengthening of the rule of law; Herbert Salber, Director of the CPC and Alice Ackermann present the OSCE concept for border security and management. Finally, Stephan Hensell deals with the cooperation and competition of international actors in the area of police reform in the Balkans.

In the chapter on OSCE institutions, Janne Taalas and Kari Möttölä evaluate the activities of the Finnish Chairmanship in 2008. Bulat Sultanow from the Kazakh Institute for Strategic Studies looks ahead to the Kazakh Chairmanship in 2010. Oleksandr Pawlujuk looks back at the 10 year history of the OSCE Platform for Cooperative Security and Anna Ekstedt from the Council of the Baltic Sea States (CBSS) deals with the cooperation between the OSCE and CBSS in combating human trafficking. Finally, Daniel Warner, Marianne von Grünigen, Andrei Zagorski and Vesna Marinkovic from the Graduate Institute for International and Development Studies in Geneva look back on the comprehensive work and contributions of Professor Victor Yves Ghebali.

As always, the OSCE Yearbook contains extensive annexes comprising facts and figures on all 56 participating States, a list of recent conferences, meetings, and events, and a selected bibliography of current literature. The OSCE Yearbook is geared to policy makers and decision-makers as well as academics and students, journalists and the general public.

S+F

Sicherheit und Frieden
Security and Peace

Herausgeber:
Prof. Dr. Michael Braoska
Dr. Walter E. Feichtinger
Dr. Volker Franke
Prof. Dr. Heiner Hänggi
Prof. Dr. Hans J. Giessmann
Heinz-Dieter Jopp
Dr. Patricia Schneider

Themenschwerpunkt:
Nach 60 Jahren: Die NATO auf dem richtigen Kurs? / NATO at 60: On the right course?

Afghanistan, Deutschland und die NATO
Michael Kühle

Das internationale Engagement in Afghanistan: Pflöcker für einen umfassenden Strategiewechsel
Hans-Georg Ehrhart/Roland Kaestner

NGO Views of NATO Strategy in Afghanistan
Lara Olson and Adja de Beer

„Counterterrorism“ – Neue Einsatzformen für die NATO?
Jochen Hippler

Globale Probleme einer regionalen Allianz: die NATO und die Frage militärischen Engagements außerhalb der Bündnisgrenzen bis 1919
Bernd Lemke

Die Nuklearwaffen der NATO. Das neue Strategische Konzept bietet die Chance einer Neuorientierung
Christos Katakoulis und Christoph Pilger

Russian-NATO Relations after the Crisis in South Ossetia in 2008
Elena Klopatschewa

Weitere Beiträge von ...
Hans J. Giessmann/Frank-Werner Volker Rittberger und
Tim J. Arstid Müller-Wolff/Patricia Schneider

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2009

27. Jahrgang

ISSN 0195-274X

Nomos

**8.4 Publications by IFSH Members of Staff in 2009****IFSH*

- Institut für Friedensforschung und Sicherheitspolitik an der Universität Hamburg/IFSH (Hrsg.), OSZE-Jahrbuch 2008, Baden-Baden 2009.
- Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg/IFSH (ed.), OSCE Yearbook 2008, Baden-Baden 2009.
- Institut issledowanija problem mira i politika bezopasnosti pri uniwersitete Gamburga/Moskowski gosudarstwennyj institut meschdunarodnych odnoscheni (uniwersitet), Eschegodnik OBSE 2007, Moskau 2009.
- „Kampf dem Atomtod!“ – Die Protestbewegung 1957/58 in zeithistorischer und gegenwärtiger Perspektive, Münschen 2009 (Hrsg. mit der Forschungsstelle für Zeitgeschichte in Hamburg und dem Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker-Zentrum für Naturwissenschaft und Friedensforschung der Universität Hamburg).
- Jahresbericht/Annual Report 2008, Hamburg 2009, sowie unter: <http://www.ifsh.de/pdf/jahrbuch/JB2008.pdf> und <http://www.ifsh.de/pdf/jahrbuch/JB2008en.pdf>.
- IFSH-aktuell 76/2009. Januar-Februar 2009. Englische Fassung: IFSH News, unter: <http://www.ifsh.de/pdf/publikationen/ifshaktuell/ifshaktuell76en.pdf>.
- IFSH-aktuell 77/2009. März-April 2009. Englische Fassung: IFSH News, unter: <http://www.ifsh.de/pdf/publikationen/ifshaktuell/ifshaktuell77en.pdf>.
- IFSH-aktuell 78/2009. Mai-Juni 2009. Englische Fassung: IFSH News, unter: <http://www.ifsh.de/pdf/publikationen/ifshaktuell/ifshaktuell78en.pdf>.
- IFSH-aktuell 79/2008. August-Oktober 2009. Englische Fassung: IFSH News, unter: <http://www.ifsh.de/pdf/publikationen/ifshaktuell/ifshaktuell79en.pdf>.
- IFSH-aktuell 80/2009-2010. November-Dezember 2009. Englische Fassung: IFSH News, unter: <http://www.ifsh.de/pdf/publikationen/ifshaktuell/ifshaktuell80en.pdf>.
- CORE Annual Report 2009, Hamburg 2009.

Goran Bandov

- Der Schutz nationaler Minderheiten in der Republik Kroatien als Instrument zur Prävention ethno-politischer Konflikteskalation, Hamburg 2009, 383 S.
- Die Position von Religionsgemeinschaften in serbisch-kroatischen Konflikten in den 1990er Jahren, in: Liedhegener, Antonius/Werkner, Ines-Jacqueline (Hrsg.), Gerechter Krieg – Gerechter Frieden. Religion in aktuellen militärischen Konflikten, Wiesbaden 2009.

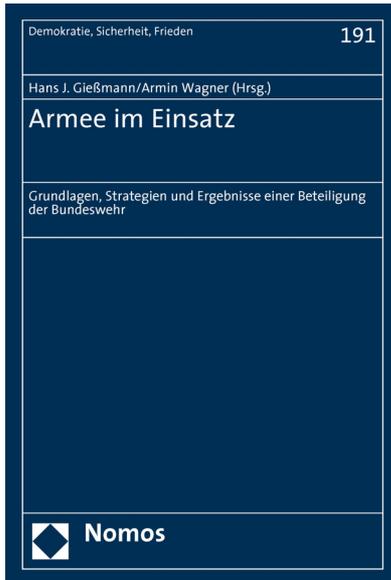
Bernt Berger

- Non-committal entanglement: China's foreign and security policy 20 years after Tiananmen, ISPI Policy Brief, Nr. 141, Juni 2009.
- Chinese Outward Investments – Agencies, Motives and Decision-making, CASCC Briefing Paper 01/2009 (mit A. Berkofsky).

Michael Brzoska

- Overcoming Armed Violence in a Complex World, Opladen/Farmington Hills 2009 (Hrsg. mit Axel Krohn).**
- Putting Teeth in the Tiger: Improving the Effectiveness of Arms Embargoes, Bingley 2009 (Hrsg. mit George Lopez)*
- Nutzen, Ziele, Wirkung, Kosten. Zur Bewertung von militärischen Auslandseinsätzen, in: Hans J. Gießmann/Armin Wagner (Hrsg.), Armee im Einsatz, Baden-Baden, S. 60-73.
- Rüstungsdynamik und -proliferation, in: Mir A. Ferdowsi (Hrsg.), Internationale Politik als Überlebensstrategie. München 2009, S. 25-51.**
- Kriegsbeendigung in Afghanistan? Konsequenzen für das deutsche Engagement, in: Jochen Hippler/Christiane Fröhlich/Margret Johannsen/Bruno Schoch, Andreas Heinemann-Grüder (Hrsg.), Friedensgutachten 2009, Berlin 2009, S. 60-72 (mit Hans-Georg Ehrhart).**

* Referierte Beiträge nach anonymem Begutachtungsverfahren sind mit * gekennzeichnet, nach nicht anonymer Fachbegutachtung mit **.
Articles refereed in a double blind procedure are marked with *; those with an anonymous professional assessment with**.





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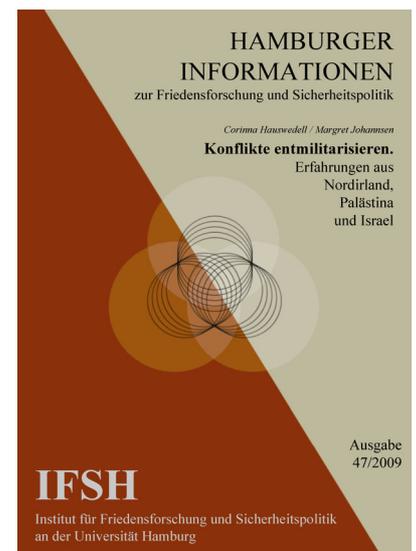
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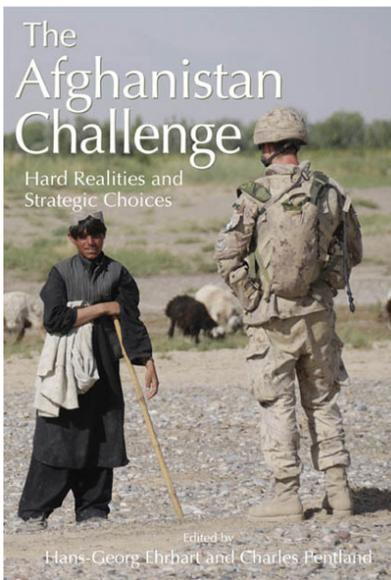
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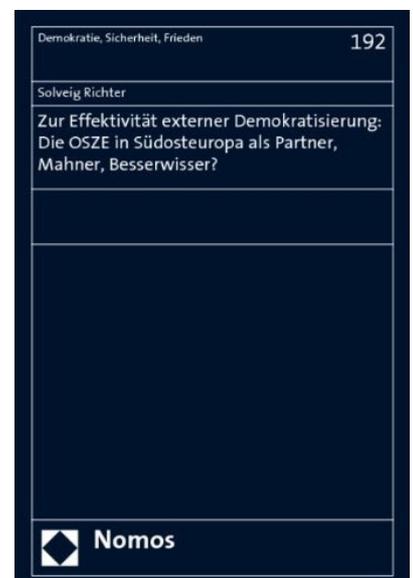
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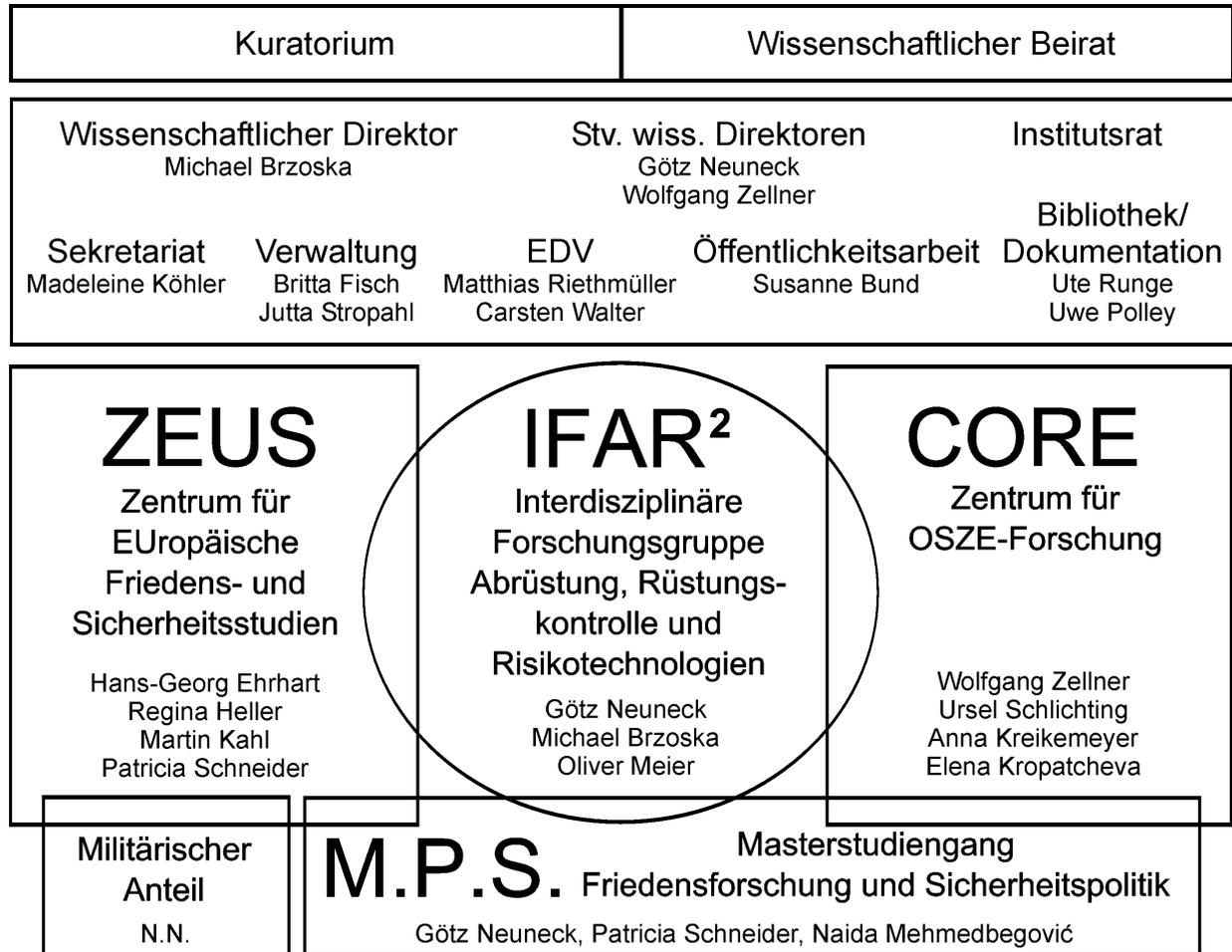


Statistischer Anhang
Statistical Annex



Organigramm / Organization Chart

Stand 31.12.2009 *



* Beschäftigte laut Stellenplan (einschließlich Teilzeit- und befristet Beschäftigte) ohne Drittmittel- und Honorarkräfte.



Vom Institut für Friedensforschung und Sicherheitspolitik an der Universität Hamburg (IFSH) in den Jahren 2004 bis 2009 eingeworbene Drittmittel und Drittmittelgeber (in Euro)

Arbeitsbereiche	Geber	Drittmittel in Euro					
		2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Zentrum für Europäische Friedens- und Sicherheitspolitik (ZEUS)	Wissenschafts-gesteuerte Stiftungen	-	55.863	-	94.300	16.500	226.200
	DAAD	87.692	85.039	71.609		57.118	45.962
	Bundesministerien						
	Land/Länder	16.500	5.000	-	13.503	-	-
	EU	-		-	13.450	110.960	-
	Wirtschaft	-		1.160		-	-
	Forschungsstipendien	20.000	-	3.525	9.720	40.700	40.618
	Sonstige	5.932	7.500	52.058	50.000	18.900	6.000
Summe ZEUS		130.124	153.402	128.352	180.973	244.178	318.780
Zentrum für OSZE-Forschung (CORE)	Wissenschafts-gesteuerte Stiftungen	-		15000		-	-
	DAAD						41.590
	Bundesministerien	205.000	198.000	199.000	289.290	296.699,5	220.650
	Land/Länder	-		-		-	-
	EU	-		-		-	-
	Wirtschaft	-		-		-	-
	Forschungsstipendien	9.720	19.440	19.440	14.580	26.150	26.925
	Sonstige	31.595	52.769	28.623	92.954	127.958,5	71.742
Summe CORE		246.315	270.209	262.063	396.824	450.808	360.907
Interdisziplinäre Arbeitsgruppe Rüstungskontrolle, Abrüstung u. Risikotechnologien (IFAR)	Wissenschafts-gesteuerte Stiftungen		140.000	59.600	69.500	147.400	-
	DAAD						
	Bundesministerien		10.150	-		15.000	8.750
	Land/Länder			-		35.000	28.600
	EU			-	2.800	-	-
	Wirtschaft			-		6.252	-
	Forschungsstipendien	2.000		-			-
	Sonstige		20.300	-	30.950		14.980
Summe IFAR		2.000	170.450	59.600	103.250	203.652	52.330
IFSH übergreifend	Wissenschafts-gesteuerte Stiftungen	-		-		-	423.300
	DAAD	87379					
	Bundesministerien	700.00	70.000	70.000	70.000	52.550	35.100
	Land/Länder	-		-		10.550	10.000
	EU	-		-		343.600	-
	Wirtschaft	-		-		-	-
	Forschungsstipendien	2.596		-		-	12.060
	Sonstige	-		35.800	28.200	54.550	45.500
Summe IFSH ü.		159.975	70.000	105.800	98.200	461.250	525.960
IFSH Gesamt	Wissenschafts-gesteuerte Stiftungen	0	195.863	74.600	163.800	163.900	649.500
	DAAD	175.071	85.039	71.609	0	57.118	87.552
	Bundesministerien	275.000	278.150	269.000	359.290	364.250	264.500
	Land/Länder	16.500	5.000	0	13.503	45.550	38.600
	EU	0	0	0	16.250	454.560	0
	Wirtschaft	0	0	1.160	0	6.252	0
	Forschungsstipendien	34.316	19.440	22.965	24.300	66.850	79.603
	Sonstige	37.527	80.569	116.481	202.104	201.409	138.222
Summe IFSH		538.414	664.061	555.815	779.247	1.359.888	1.257.977



Third party funds raised by the Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg (IFSH) in the years 2004 to 2009 (in Euro)

Research units	Donor	Third party Funds in Euro					
		2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Centre for European Peace and Security Studies (ZEUS)	Peer-reviewed funding	-	55.863	-	94.300	16.500	226.200
	DAAD/GAES	87.692	85.039	71.609		57.118	45.962
	Federal gov.						
	State institutions	16.500	5.000	-	13.503	-	-
	EU	-	-	-	13.450	110.960	-
	Private sector	-	-	1.160	-	-	-
	Scholarship grants	20.000	-	3.525	9.720	40.700	40.618
	Other	5.932	7.500	52.058	50.000	18.900	6.000
Total ZEUS		130.124	153.402	128.352	180.973	244.178	318.780
Centre for OSCE Research) (CORE)	Peer-reviewed funding	-		15000		-	-
	DAAD/GAES						41.590
	Federal gov.	205.000	198.000	199.000	289.290	296.699,5	220.650
	State institutions	-	-	-	-	-	-
	EU	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Private sector	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Scholarship grants	9.720	19.440	19.440	14.580	26.150	26.925
	Other	31.595	52.769	28.623	92.954	127.958,5	71.742
Total CORE		246.315	270.209	262.063	396.824	450.808	360.907
Interdisciplinary Research Group on Disarmament, Arms Control and Risk Technologies (IFAR)	Peer-reviewed funding		140.000	59.600	69.500	147.400	-
	DAAD/GAES						
	Federal gov.		10.150	-		15.000	8.750
	State institutions					35.000	28.600
	EU				2.800	-	-
	Private sector					6.252	-
	Scholarship grants	2.000					
	Other		20.300		30.950		14.980
Total IFAR		2.000	170.450	59.600	103.250	203.652	52.330
IFSH overall	Peer-reviewed funding	-				-	423.300
	DAAD/GAES	87379					
	Federal gov.	700.00	70.000	70.000	70.000	52.550	35.100
	State institutions	-				10.550	10.000
	EU	-				343.600	-
	Private sector	-				-	-
	Scholarship grants	2.596					12.060
	Other	-		35.800	28.200	54.550	45.500
Total IFSH overall		159.975	70.000	105.800	98.200	461.250	525.960
Total IFSH	Peer-reviewed funding	0	195.863	74.600	163.800	163.900	649.500
	DAAD/GAES	175.071	85.039	71.609	0	57.118	87.552
	Federal gov.	275.000	278.150	269.000	359.290	364.250	264.500
	State institutions	16.500	5.000	0	13.503	45.550	38.600
	EU	0	0	0	16.250	454.560	0
	Private sector	0	0	1.160	0	6.252	0
	Scholarship grants	34.316	19.440	22.965	24.300	66.850	79.603
	Other	37.527	80.569	116.481	202.104	201.409	138.222
Total IFSH		538.414	664.061	555.815	779.247	1.359.888	1.257.977



Öffentlichkeitsarbeit / Conference and Media Activities

Themen/Topic	Vorträge/ Lectures	Podiumsdisk./ Podium Disc.	Tagungen/ Conferences	Interviews	Gesamt/ Total
Aktuelle sicherheits- politische Fragen (hier auch Terroris- mus)/Current security policy questions (also terrorism)	16	15	36	59	126
Abrüstung/KRST Disarmament/Arms control	27	5	22	20	74
Europ. Sicherheit/ European security	17	2	10	12	41
OSZE/OSCE	10	-	1	-	11
Regionale Konflikte/ Regional conflicts	14	5	10	37	66
Friedensforschung (auch IFSH)/Peace research (also IFSH)	9	-	1	8	18
Friedenspädagogik/ Peace education	2	1	-	-	3
Sonstiges/Others	10	4	10	9	33
Gesamt/Total	105	32	90	145	372

Vom IFSH organisierte bzw. mitorganisierte Veranstaltungen 2009/ Events organized or co-organized by IFSH in 2009

(außerhalb von Lehrveranstaltungen, Studiengängen etc.)
(apart from the lectures, courses of study, etc.)

Mehrtägige Konferenzen / wissenschaftliche Tagungen*	3
Eintägige Workshops / Seminare**	2
Podiumsdiskussionen / Öffentliche Vortragsveranstaltungen***	4
Gesamt	9

* Eine in Wien, zwei in Hamburg

** Einer in Berlin, einer in Hamburg

*** Alle in Hamburg



Veröffentlichungen / Publications

	CORE	ZEUS	IFAR	Übergreifend	Gesamt
Sammelbände / Anthologies	4	5	-	5	14
Monographien / Monographs	-	4		-	4
Broschüren / Graue Literatur / Booklets / Gray literature	5	8	1	6	20
Buchbeiträge / Articles in books	21	19	6	16	62
Zeitschriftenaufsätze / Articles in journals	11	15	11	8	45
Zeitungsbeiträge / Newspapers articles	-	-	1	3	4
Rezensionen / Book reviews	-	2	-	1	3
Online-Veröffentlichungen /Online publications	1	10	2	4	17
Sonstiges / others				2	2
Gesamt / Total	42	63	21	44	171

Referierte Veröffentlichungen 2009/Peer reviewed publications in 2009

	CORE	ZEUS	IFAR	Übergreifend	Gesamt
Bücher/Books		3* 1**		1* 1**	4* 2**
Buchbeiträge / Articles in books	1 * 1 **	3 **	1 **	2**	1 * 7 **
Zeitschriftenaufsätze / Articles in journals	2 **	6 * 1 **	2 **	1 * 1*	7 * 6 **
Gesamt / Total	4	14	3	6	27

* double blind

** sonstiges Begutachtungsverfahren



Vom IFSH herausgegebene bzw. mitherausgegebene und redaktionell betreute Publikationen 2009/Publications issued or co-issued and edited by IFSH 2009

Reihe	Anzahl
Hamburger Beiträge zur Friedensforschung und Sicherheitspolitik	2
Hamburger Informationen zur Friedensforschung und Sicherheitspolitik	2
IFSH aktuell (IFSH news)	5
Aktuelle Stellungnahmen (online)	9
Schriftenreihe Demokratie, Sicherheit, Frieden	6 (davon 1 extern)
OSZE-Jahrbuch (OSCE Yearbook, Eschegodnik OBSE)	3
Zeitschrift: Sicherheit und Frieden (S+F)	4
Friedensgutachten	1
CORE Working Papers	1
Gesamt	33

Lehrveranstaltungen / Courses 2009

	Lehrende /Tutors*	Semesterwochenstunden / Number of semester hours	davon an der Universität Hamburg / im M.P.S./ of these at the University of Hamburg / in the M.P.S.
WS 2008/2009	17	34	28
SS 2009	8	16	12
WS 2009/2010	12	35	32

* Ein Teil der Lehrenden bietet in allen drei Semestern Lehrveranstaltungen an.
Some instructors offered courses in all three semesters.

Betreuung von Studierenden/Praktikanten Supervision of Students/Interns

2009	Promotionen PhD Thesis*	2009 abge- schlossen	Diplom-/Magis- terarbeiten Diploma/Master's Thesis	2009 abge- schlossen	Master- arbeiten** Master's Projects	2009 abge- schlossen	Praktikanten Interns
IFSH Gesamt/Total	24	3	3	1	20	25	33

* Manche Arbeiten haben zwei Betreuer/innen, hinzu kommen externe Promovierende. Praktikantinnen und Praktikanten werden teilweise von mehr als einer Person betreut.

** 25 M.P.S.-Studierende haben 2009 abgeschlossen, die Masterarbeiten wurden jedoch teilweise von Mitarbeiterinnen und Mitarbeitern der Kooperationsinstitute betreut.
Ein E.MA-Studierender wurde am IFSH von zwei Personen betreut.



Projekte / Projects 2009*

	Forschungsprojekte	Kleinere Forschungs- oder Publikations- projekte	Nachwuchs-For- schungsprojekte	Beratungsprojekte
IFSH-über- greifend/ IFSH overall	2	2	-	2
CORE	4	4	6	4
ZEUS	8	6	10	2
IFAR	4	7	2	2
Gesamt / Total	18	19	18	10

* Projekte entsprechen dem IFSH-Forschungsplan (mit Aktualisierungen), unter:
http://www.ifsh.de/pdf/profil/Forschungsplan_2009.pdf