

# **Annual Report**

**2010**

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

Das Institut für Friedensforschung und Sicherheitspolitik an der Universität Hamburg (IFSH) besteht seit Juni 1971 und ist eine unabhängige Einrichtung in Form einer Stiftung des Bürgerlichen Rechts. Laut Satzung ist es Zweck der Institutsarbeit, „sich im Rahmen der Friedensforschung speziell mit sicherheitspolitischen Problemen zu befassen und dabei die Kriterien von freier Forschung und Lehre, Förderung des wissenschaftlichen Nachwuchses und Publizierung der Forschungsergebnisse zu erfüllen“. Darüber hinaus erstellt Institut einen Jahresbericht.

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ISSN 0936-0026



## Table of Contents

<b>1. The work of the IFSH in 2010 – Director’s Foreword</b>	4
<b>2. Current Topics in the Institute’s Work 2010</b>	8
2.1 OSCE Summit	8
2.2 Radicalization	12
2.3 Tactical Nuclear Weapons	18
<b>3. Research Units – Research and Consultancy Projects</b>	22
3.1 Centre for OSCE Research (CORE)	22
3.2 Centre for European Peace and Security Studies (ZEUS)	27
3.3 Interdisciplinary Research Group on Disarmament, Arms Control and Risk Technologies (IFAR <sup>2</sup> )	36
3.4 Pan-Institute Projects	42
<b>4. Comprehensive Activities</b>	44
4.1 Working Group on the Research on the Effectiveness of International Institutions	44
4.2 Commission „European Security and the Future of the Bundeswehr” at IFSH	44
4.3 Research Group DemoS	45
4.4 Selected Conferences, Events and Guests	45
4.5 Research Colloquium 2010	47
4.4. Lectures of Fellows and Staff (selection)	49
4.5 Functions of IFSH Staff in Professional Bodies	52
<b>5. Teaching and Promotion of Junior Researchers</b>	54
5.1 Degree Course „Master of Peace and Security Studies - (M.P.S.)” at the University of Hamburg	54
5.2 European Master’s Degree “Human Rights and Democratization” (Venice)	57
5.3 Teaching and Doctoral Cooperation with the East China Normal University (ECNU), Shanghai	57
5.4 The IFSH Doctoral Supervision Program	57
5.5 Teaching by IFSH Staff in 2010	58
<b>6. Services</b>	61
6.1 Public Relations	61
6.2 Peace Research Sponsoring Association (VFIF)	62
6.3 Library, Documentation and Homepage of the IFSH in 2010	62
<b>7. Personnel and Bodies</b>	64
7.1 Board of Trustees	64
7.2 Scientific Advisory Board	64
7.3 Institute Council	65
7.4. Staff Members at the IFSH 2010	65
<b>8. Publications</b>	68
8.1 IFSH Series	68
8.2 Peace Report	69
8.3. OSCE Yearbook	70
8.4 Publications by IFSH Members of Staff in 2010	72
<b>9. Statistical Annex</b>	82



## 1. The Work of the IFSH 2010 – Director’s Foreword

With the hiring of five new research associates, the scientific potential of the IFSH in 2010 grew to a considerable extent. This is, first and foremost, thanks to the successful acquisition of third-party funding in two topic areas: transnational risks of violence and “Global Zero”.

Transnational risks of violence, among which can be included, in addition to international terrorism, further aspects of the „dark side“ of globalization – i.e. the trade in illegal weapons and weapons’ technology, cross-border organized crime, security-relevant effects of climate change but also cyber crime – have dominated the peace and security policy agenda in Germany and Europe for some time. Grappling with these risks by political actors was the focus of the IFSH work program adopted in 2008. In 2010 three larger projects in this topic area were begun at IFSH. The DFG-funded (German Research Foundation) project “*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*“ deals with the question of whether arguments on constitutionally problematic counterterrorism measures within the legal frameworks of the USA, the European Union and Russia have drawn closer to one another over time. In the project “*Piracy and Maritime Terrorism as a Challenge for Maritime Trade Security: Indicators, Perceptions and Options for Action*“, which is being conducted within the framework of the Research Programme for civil security of the Federal Government, concrete management requirements and preferred management options for reducing the risks of piracy by actors in Germany will be studied. In the third project, also financed and carried out through the Research Programme for civil security, “*Terrorism and Radicalization – Indicators for External Influence Factors*” in which IFSH acts as consortium leader for five research institutes and seven associated partners, the selective study of recruiting and radicalizations processes which individuals go through on the way to terrorist acts, is the focus. The two projects financed by the Research Programme for civil security of the Federal Government, in particular, combine research with very current political questions. The primacy of research is documented by *inter alia*, two volumes published in 2010, outlining the research agenda on transnational risks of violence. With these new projects, the central topic of the work program has achieved the intended leading role for research at IFSH. The Institute is, thereby, well on its way to consolidating its international profile in the research on transnational risks of violence.

With reference to the central focus of the work program on transnational risks of violence – keyword, *nuclear terrorism* – but also as a problem of international policy – the topic of disarmament and arms controls is also being worked on at IFSH. These questions, which have played an important role in the work of IFSH since its establishment in 1971, have, since 2009, been the focus of international policy. Symbolized by the awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to US President Obama in December 2009, there are great hopes world-wide – not least in Europe – for a new US arms control policy with the declared long-term goal of global nuclear disarmament. At IFSH a series of studies and workshops with direct relevance for the current arms control agenda was carried out in 2010, among them on: missile defense in Europe, the general framework for the withdrawal of US nuclear weapons from Europe as well as the prospects for including Russian sub-strategic nuclear weapons in the discussions on further disarmament steps. Thereby, IFSH was able to consolidate its well-recognized position in the international research landscape on questions of nuclear arms control and disarmament. This has also been strongly reflected in policy consultation. Evidence for this is not only the close cooperation with the Federal Foreign Office, but also the interest in cooperation with IFSH shown by a newly established initiative of European politicians, the European Leadership Network for Multilateral Nuclear Disarmament and Non-Proliferation.





Both topical areas, transnational risks of violence and disarmament/arms control, exemplify the approach of IFSH, linking scientific research with societal relevance. Thereby, security policy questions, in particular, are to be connected with a peace science perspective, as laid down in the articles of association. The topics dealt with at IFSH essentially reflect the security policy agendas in Germany and in multilateral European institutions. Handling them is done with a normative ambition – the identification of the most non-violent, integrative alternatives for policy design – using recognized scientific methods. Since the topics frequently go beyond individual scientific disciplines, the scientific work of IFSH is often designed to be interdisciplinary.

Thus, in the future as well, it will be the task of the Institute to take up current security policy topics and deal with them scientifically. The societal and scientific policy relevance of the IFSH lies in this pivotal function. This profile should be further enhanced. The enlarged IFSH staff will determine the focus and expand its own capacities through networking and cooperation. The central focus is in the analysis of the dealings with transnational risks of violence developed in the current work program. Also, when “traditional” interstate conflicts, such as those over the supply of resources once again have a stronger weight in the security policy agenda, the work of IFSH over the next few years will be characterized by dealing with this topic area. In second place are questions such as disarmament and arms control, the Bundeswehr reform, inner leadership, OSCE, Central Asia, the European security order and the peace and security policy of the European Union and Germany, on which the expertise and reputation of the IFSH have been built in the past and which can be strengthened selectively, when there is a respective political need and sufficient funding. On this basis, IFSH can and will also take on current security policy topics in the future – as examples here, Afghanistan and raw materials policy could be mentioned. The goal here is to be perceived by the body politic and society and, above all, in the academic area, as one of the first addresses in Germany both for consultation and for information.

Thus, the current expansion of scientific capacity aims both at the increase of the contribution which the IFSH makes to social and political debates around security policy questions in Germany and Europe, as well as a strengthening of the scientific foundation for the work. The expansion of personnel capacities is an important basis for this which, in the future, must be reflected in a greater presence in the academic landscape.

This applies to some indicators of the scientific work of IFSH, in particular publication in reviewed journals and books. As in the previous year, two indicators will be mentioned here: publications in one-sided anonymized (the authors are known to the evaluators) and double-blind evaluation processes. In particular for the second category where, by comparison to 2009, a decline from twelve to six publications can be noted, the results are unsatisfactory. With the other reviewed publications, the results for 2010 are, with 21, above those of 2009 (15). However, the list of accepted, double-blind reviewed texts at the beginning of 2011 indicates that 2010 was, in all probability, a special case. Nevertheless it is obvious that there is a need for improvement here.

Altogether IFSH staff published seven anthologies, six monographs, 16 booklets and reports, 65 articles in books and 29 in periodicals. Comparable figures for earlier years can be found in the statistical part of this annual report and show that the number of volumes published was above average. The IFSH publishes two series of publications addressed to a wider public (the “Hamburger Information” and IFSH-Aktuell [which also appears in English]) and a series (the “Hamburger Beiträge“/ Hamburger Contributions) which addresses a professional public. In addition, since 2009, current opinions have been published on the Internet. Beyond this, there is a series of publications (Demokratie, Sicherheit und Frieden/ Democracy, Security and Peace) and IFSH has editorial responsibility for the periodical (“Sicherheit und Frieden“/ Security and Peace). Beyond that, IFSH is co-editor of two yearbooks, of the Peace Report published by the five leading German peace research institutes and of the OSCE Yearbook which appears in German, English and Russian language versions.



In addition to the publications, lectures and conferences are significant elements of scientific communication. IFSH staff held 118 lectures and took part in 117 conferences in 2010. This is a somewhat higher level than the average of previous years (statistics in the appendix). The IFSH organized 16 scientific conferences of its own, often in cooperation with other institutions besides the aforementioned, on, among other topics, the role of external actors in Afghanistan, the economic analysis of terrorism and on the requirements for rule of law in the OSCE space, as well as a summer school on questions of disarmament and arms control.

An indispensable part of the scientific work of the IFSH is the promotion of young scientists. Twenty-eight graduates successfully finished the 8<sup>th</sup> year of the “Master of Peace and Security Studies (M.P.S.)” conducted jointly with the University of Hamburg and 24 new students began the 9<sup>th</sup> year. In 2011 new accreditation of this course of studies is scheduled, for which preparations were needed, among them a comprehensive reworking of the curriculum. Four doctoral students (two women and two men,) who were being supervised in the Institute’s own doctoral program, finished their doctorates in 2010. At the end of 2010, 16 doctoral students were participating in the IFSH doctoral program.

The three introductory topical articles of this annual report should convey an impression of the spectrum of the scientific work at IFSH. While the article by Wolfgang Zellner deals with the analysis of a current approach to intensifying the political dialogue on security in the OSCE space and thereby outlines a central traditional topic of the IFSH, Daniela Pisiou and Martenia Sirseldoudi, explore the bases for the analysis of radicalization and, thereby, a new project at IFSH. Oliver Meier, on the other hand, traces the debate on tactical nuclear weapons, which was the focus of the debate conducted by the Hewlett Foundation, together with the US Arms Control Association and the NGO, BASIC.

The social and political significance is reflected in a series of indicators. Thus, IFSH staff gave 190 interviews, gave public lectures or took part in podium discussions (147). It should be noted, in particular, that the very good connections in the policy area were able to be further intensified. Particular mention should be made of the activities around the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) through the Centre for OSCE Research at IFSH (CORE), which, in addition to advising the representatives of many Participating states and OSCE institutions, also advises the OSCE department in the Federal Foreign Office. In the preparation for the summit in Astana, the results of which, Wolfgang Zellner reported on in his article, the work of CORE achieved significant international recognition, which was reflected, *inter alia*, in a series of invitations to high-level meetings. A second area, in which policy advice is particularly intensive, is nuclear disarmament. Within the framework of the aforementioned Hewlett project, numerous important decision-makers took part in workshops in Brussels, Warsaw and Ankara. Since the end of 2010, IFSH has had a staff member at the Federal Foreign Office, who is entrusted primarily with a series of joint events for 2011, among them the annual Pugwash Conference in Berlin in July. IFSH staff also took part in several hearings in the German Bundestag (Parliament) on missile defense and the new NATO strategy. Finally, in the area of the Center for European Peace and Security Studies (ZEUS), scientifically-supported consultation for the BMBF (Federal Ministry of Education and Research) and political parties was given.

In 2010, IFSH was able, as well, to achieve good results in the procurement of third-party funding. With 1,554,984 Mio Euro the results were again improved compared to the previous year and were above the level of the institutional support. The primary source for this high level was, in particular, the Research Programme for civil security of the Federal Government. It is not the primary goal of the IFSH to maintain this high level of raising third party funds. For one thing, the Institute has reached its limits in terms of space and the supervisory capacity by experienced project leaders. For another thing, the implementation of the projects begun reduces the capacities for filing new applications. A further expansion of the Institute can, therefore, only be justified with an increase of institutional support.



The basic institutional support for IFSH remains of indispensable importance to being able to conduct independent research. Also a good deal of the third-party funding would not be possible without the institutional funding. Currently, institutional funding comes only through the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg, for which IFSH is very grateful. Broader-based funding would make further development of the IFSH possible. The discussions begun last year about the perspectives for an application to join the Leibniz Scientific Association (WGL) will be intensified in 2011. There is a consensus that submitting an application can only be considered when the chances for a positive evaluation are very high. But in order to achieve this, the IFSH must be strengthened in many respects. Therefore, new courses must be set in 2011.

The Annual Report highlights the multiple activities of IFSH in research, teaching and promotion of young professionals, as well as in policy consultations and public relations. The staff is continually challenged to do justice to the high expectations linked with this spectrum. This can succeed only through the high-level of involvement characterized by the IFSH.

Hamburg, February 2011

Michael Brzoska



## 2. Current Topics in the Work of the Institute in 2010

### 2.1 OSCE Summit

*Wolfgang Zellner*



#### **Between success and failure: the 2010 OSCE Astana Summit**

On 1 and 2 December 2010, an OSCE summit meeting took place in the Kazakh capital Astana, the first since the 1999 Istanbul Summit – eleven years ago. It was also the first OSCE summit to be held in a Central Asian state, the first in a CIS and Shanghai Cooperation Organisation member state and the first in an OSCE state with a majority Muslim population. Expectations were correspondingly high, even though most were to be disappointed. While it proved possible to unite around the *Astana Commemorative Declaration*,<sup>1</sup> the attempt to adopt a working programme, the *Astana Framework for Action*, failed as a result of disagreement over the unresolved conflicts in Georgia and Moldova.

#### *Successes and failures of previous OSCE summits*

Whether a CSCE/OSCE summit is considered to be a success or a failure often varies considerably according to how much time has passed since the event. A wide variety of reasons are also often given as to why a given summit should be considered a success or not. For instance, the 1975 Helsinki Summit, now considered the historical turning point in relations between East and West and the beginning of the end of the Cold War, was at the time not rated so highly by many contemporaries, including then US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. The reasons given by those who thought the Final Act of Helsinki was significant also varied considerably: While the Soviet Union saw it as a means of legitimising the territorial and political status quo in Europe, the West viewed the human-rights provisions of the Final Act as a means of potentially opening up the Eastern “actually existing socialist” system, something Egon Bahr called “change through rapprochement”. The way the 1999 OSCE Istanbul Summit is evaluated has also changed dramatically over time. Immediately after the event, regardless of the fact that the summit had almost collapsed as a result of differences over Chechnya, there was a universal belief that a great success had been achieved. From a contemporary perspective, it looks rather like the last hoorah before the OSCE entered a decade of creeping marginalisation and the inability of the 30 states parties to the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE Treaty) to reach agreement on the ratification and implementation of the Adapted CFE Treaty (ACFE), which had been signed in Istanbul. Although expectations of the summit meeting in Astana were not as high as they had been in the “historic” years of 1975 and 1999, the adoption of a working programme was seen, particularly by the EU states, as the decisive criterion for success.

#### *The Astana Commemorative Declaration*

Despite its brevity, at three-and-a-half pages, the Astana Commemorative Declaration is politically significant. For one, it is, with only two exceptions, the first political declaration agreed upon at an OSCE Ministerial Council or Summit since Istanbul 1999. Moreover, and despite the fact that its primary aim was the reinforcement of existing OSCE commitments, it contains certain features that point the way forward. The clearest example is the introduction of the goal of a “security community”. The Astana Declaration speaks of a “vision of a free, democratic, common and indivisible Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian security community stretching from Vancouver to Vladivostok, rooted in agreed principles, shared commitments and common goals” (para. 1). The concept of a “security

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1 Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, Summit, Astana 2010, Astana Commemorative Declaration: Towards a Security Community, at: [http://www.osce.org/documents/mcs/2010/12/48067\\_en.pdf](http://www.osce.org/documents/mcs/2010/12/48067_en.pdf).



community” was introduced to the OSCE context within the Corfu dialogue process in the first half of 2010, where it rapidly found consensus as a general description of the Organization’s long-term goal. The notion of a “pluralistic security community” was first proposed by Karl Deutsch, who defined it in empirical terms as follows: “[the] existence of a pluralistic security community would be tested operationally by the absence of systematic advance preparations for warfare in terms of significant amounts of manpower and resources”.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, by qualifying the security community as “pluralistic”, Deutsch postulated that its members would interact on the basis of common norms and values. Both these aspects of Deutsch’s definition make it apparent that the “security community” mentioned in the Astana Declaration cannot be considered a description of the current situation, but is rather a long-term goal. Nonetheless, the fact that the participating States believed that they could agree on a long-term goal at all is a reassuring sign.

The Astana Declaration describes the security community as “Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian”. Although the word “Eurasian” occasionally appeared in earlier OSCE documents, it took on a more prominent significance in the context of the Astana Summit: It indicates that Central Asia has grown in importance, that the Central Asian states – not least because of Kazakhstan’s OSCE Chairmanship – have finally come of age within the Organization, and that the OSCE can and should do more in the region.

The Astana Declaration reiterates in full the well-known formula of the 1991 Moscow Document: “We reaffirm categorically and irrevocably that the commitments undertaken in the field of the human dimension are matters of direct and legitimate concern to all participating States and do not belong exclusively to the internal affairs of the State concerned” (paragraph 6). This is anything but trivial, but rather underscores the fact that a normative *acquis* such as that of the OSCE remains politically relevant even when not implemented (or not effectively), as its ongoing existence and reaffirmation keeps alive the possibility that it might be implemented in a satisfactory manner one day.

Finally, it is also worth noting what the Astana Declaration says about the CFE Treaty: “We note that the CFE Treaty is not being implemented to its full capacity and the Agreement on Adaptation of the CFE Treaty (ACFE) has not entered into force. Recognising intensified efforts to overcome the current impasse, we express our support for the ongoing consultations aiming at opening the way for negotiations in 2011” (paragraph 8). That is a clear positive statement on the future of the CFE Process, though the negative message received from Astana – namely the failure of the Framework for Action over the issues of the conflicts in Georgia and Moldova – could also have negative consequences for the CFE regime.

### *The failure of the Astana Framework for Action*

According to several delegation members, negotiations on the eight-page *Astana Framework for Action* were almost complete – all apart from the unresolved conflicts in Georgia and Moldova – when agreement on this programme of activities collapsed precisely over these conflicts. The EU states were prepared to agree upon a joint wording with Russia, but this was rejected by the USA, Georgia and Moldova as insufficient. This was what caused the *Astana Framework for Action* to fail. It has been suggested that the US may have insisted on very precise wording because US officials were determined to omit anything that could endanger the ratification of the new START treaty. After all, it is common knowledge that the US Senate has always insisted that the executive pursue the goal of the withdrawal of Russian forces from Georgia and Moldova and blocks any executive action that could endanger this goal.<sup>3</sup>

Once again a vital OSCE document failed as a result of disagreement over subregional conflicts, just as attempts to ratify and bring into force the Adapted CFE Treaty have failed since 1999 over

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2 Karl W. Deutsch, *Political Community at the International Level. Problems of Definition and Measurement*, 1970, p. 41.

3 Cf. Ulrich Kühn, *From Capitol Hill to Istanbul: The Origins of the Current CFE Deadlock*, CORE Working Paper 19, Hamburg 2009.



the issue of the withdrawal of Russian forces from Georgia and Moldova. This is partly a result of the problem itself, which should certainly not be underestimated. On the other hand, however, and perhaps more seriously, “Moldova” and “Georgia” stand for a deep mistrust between Russia and most Western states, which remains so strong two decades after the epochal events of 1989-90 (and has even increased in certain regards) that it cannot be the basis for truly co-operative relations. However, the failure of the Astana Framework for Action represents more than the eternal return of the same, a constant failure with the self-same cause. It is rather the case that the general shock at the war in Georgia in 2008 – at the fact that open war was possible between Russia and a NATO candidate country – together with the Medvedev initiatives played a large part in creating a new European security dialogue. It was broadly acknowledged that this dialogue, which was carried out by the OSCE over 18 months as “the Corfu Process”, improved the atmosphere and mutual relations among OSCE states, even if it did not achieve concrete results. As a result, there was a general expectation that agreement would be reached on a – more or less satisfactory – working programme. The failure to achieve this was a major blow that could hamper progress both in the OSCE and in related policy areas, such as CFE (see above). What is certain is that further developments following Astana will show how the results of the conference should be evaluated.

The result of the Astana Summit represented an initial test of solidarity for the EU states, which had negotiated under a single leadership for the first time in the OSCE context. The EU states had originally agreed only to vote for a package consisting of both the Astana Declaration and the Framework for Action. When it became clear on the second day that there was no way to salvage the Astana Framework for Action, the Czech Republic and Romania were only persuaded with difficulty to refrain from scuppering the Astana Declaration as well. And while the declaration survived, the Czech Republic made an interpretive statement in which it declared that “[t]he Action Plan should have defined the practical way to continue to restore trust and confidence among OSCE participating States. This opportunity was lost. So was the relevance of the OSCE.”<sup>4</sup> Although these far-reaching conclusions were not shared by most EU states, they indicate a certain potential for frustration, which could negatively influence future developments if it is not nipped in the bud. The European Union, including the Czech Republic, also issued an interpretative statement, in which it attempted to see the positive side of events: “While we regret that the Summit could not approve an action plan, we see that our future work can be energised by the ideas negotiated during the preparations for the Summit.”<sup>5</sup> An even more positive view was reflected in the interpretative statement of the Canadian delegation, which stated that “[w]ith the Astana Summit, you have managed to bring participating States closer than we have been in recent years in addressing pressing regional issues and conflicts; it is with regret that we realize that more time and efforts are needed.”<sup>6</sup> This was underlined at a joint event held at the OSCE in Vienna on 8 December 2010 by the IFSH, the *Polish Institute for International Affairs* (PISM) and the *Moscow State Institute for International Relations* (MGIMO) together with the permanent representations of Germany, Poland and Russia, where a number of heads of delegations stressed the serious and committed efforts made by nearly every state in Astana to reach a solution.

In practical terms, the task ahead is to implement as much as possible of the Astana Framework for Action via initiatives proposed by the OSCE’s 2011 Lithuanian Chairmanship and subsequent Chairmanships. In the words of the Astana Declaration: “To this end, we task the incoming Chairmanship-in-Office with organising a follow-up process within existing formats, taking into consideration ideas and proposals put forward by the participating States, including in the framework of the Corfu Process and in the preparation of the Astana Summit” (Section 12). In this regard, it is therefore worth considering the Astana Framework, negotiations over which were nearly completed, but which was never adopted.

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- 4 Interpretative Statement under Paragraph IV.1(A)6 of the Rules of Procedure of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe by the delegation of the Czech Republic, SUM.DOC/1/10/Corr.1, 3 December 2010, Attachment 5.
  - 5 Interpretative Statement under Paragraph IV.1(A)6 of the Rules of Procedure of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe by the European Union, SUM.DOC/1/10/Corr.1\*, 3 December 2010, Attachment 1.
  - 6 Interpretative Statement under Paragraph IV.1(A)6 of the Rules of Procedure of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe by the delegation of Canada, SUM.DOC/1/10/Corr.1, 3 December 2010, Attachment 2.



### *Key elements of the Astana Framework for Action*

The failure of the Astana Framework for Action is all the more regrettable as it is the most detailed and extensive working programme that the OSCE has negotiated in a long while. There has not been anything similar since at least Istanbul 1999.

The section on early warning and crisis management aims to strengthen the OSCE's operational structures, to develop capacities within the Secretariat in order to support Chairmanship's mediation efforts, to strengthen OSCE mechanisms and procedures and to improve the effectiveness of OSCE decision-making processes.

In the economic and environmental dimension, the Framework focuses on the initiation of dialogues on energy and transport security and migration management, and tasks the OSCE institutions with reworking the 2003 OSCE Strategy for the Economic and Environmental Dimension.

The chapter on the human dimension is remarkably comprehensive and specific. It includes activities on ensuring the protection of journalists, considerations of whether to extend the commitments on freedom of the media, strengthened efforts to combat racism, xenophobia, anti-Semitism, discrimination and intolerance, as well as efforts to implement OSCE commitments concerning Roma and Sinti.

In the area of transnational threats, the Framework for Action seeks to enhance the operational aspects of the 2003 OSCE Strategy to Address Threats to Security and Stability in the Twenty-First Century, including by developing an anti-terrorism mandate, a strategic framework for OSCE police-related activities and a plan for combating drug-smuggling. A number of measures are concerned with supporting Afghanistan, not only in the areas of border security and border management, but also with elections, good governance, economic development, rule of law and human rights.

And finally, the Framework for Action includes a section on strengthening the OSCE. Specific measures mentioned include improving the OSCE's consultation process, enhancing the role and responsibility of the Secretary General, possibly making improvements in the structure of the Secretariat and improving the effectiveness of OSCE field operations. Moreover, the new OSCE Chairmanship has been charged with examining means of increasing the robustness of the OSCE's legal framework.

The acceptance of these and many other measures would have represented a real breakthrough for the work of the Organization. That this did not prove possible has a significance that goes far beyond the OSCE and indicates that, with a few notable exceptions – the most significant being the New START treaty – the promised co-operative relationship between Russia and the West is very far from being realised.



## 2.2 Radicalisation

*Matenia Sirseloudi/Daniela PISOIU*

### Islamist radicalisation processes in Europe



The potential for radicalisation among Muslims in European societies has been a relevant question at least since terrorists were first recruited in Europe from the second and third generations of Muslim immigrants and young converts. With the arrival of jihadist-inspired terrorist violence, the risk of attacks with large numbers of victims and major material damage has risen significantly, as terrorists with an otherworldly orientation appear to care little for either their worldly reference groups in whose name they allegedly act or themselves – the more devastating the attack, the greater the homage it is alleged to pay to the god in whose name it is carried out.

Following an account of Islamist-inspired terrorist attacks carried out and foiled in Europe in recent years, we shall outline and define the task of radicalisation research as a recently established aspect of terrorism prevention before presenting a number of findings regarding factors in radicalisation.

#### *The threat of Islamist terrorism for Europe: The story so far*

On March 11 2004, ten bombs exploded in four Madrid-bound trains. One hundred and ninety-one people were killed and 1,755 injured (Alonso and Reinares 2006). Europe had gone from being a logistics and operations centre into a target for globally active Islamist-inspired terrorism. A year later, on 7 July 2005, four bombs exploded in London, killing 52 and injuring 770 (BBC News 2005). For the whole of Europe, the question of the causes of home-grown terrorism was suddenly an urgent priority, as three of the 7/7 bombers were British citizens of Pakistani origin who had grown up in the UK. The murderer of the Dutch filmmaker Theo van Gogh, Mohamed Bouyeri was also a second generation immigrant; his letter of martyrdom was written in a typically Dutch style (Darling 2005).

After the shockwaves of the attacks in Madrid and London, there were no further major incidents in Europe as measured by victim numbers, complexity of planning or spectacular results. All the incidents recorded since then have targeted single individuals, such as the attempted arson on the house of the Danish caricaturist Lars Vilks in May 2010 (Wyssuwa 2010) and a number of smaller successful or attempted attacks. In 2008, Nicky Reilly, a British citizen, detonated an explosive device, the only victim of which was the bomber himself (EUROPOL 2009:21f.). On 11 December 2010, two bombs exploded in the centre of Stockholm; two people were injured by the first explosion, the second killed the suicide bomber (Wyssuwa 2010).

Several attacks failed for technical reasons. The German suitcase bombers were two Lebanese citizens who attempted to detonate devices in regional trains departing from Cologne on 31 July 2006. However, mistakes in the chemical composition of the bombs meant that they did not explode. On 29 July 2007, two explosive devices that had failed to detonate were discovered in London; a day later, a car filled with petrol cans and gas canisters was driven into the arrivals terminal of Glasgow Airport. Yet here, too, the gas canisters failed to explode (EUROPOL 2008: 17f.). On 25 December 2009, Abdul Farouk Abdulmutallab, a Nigerian citizen and graduate of University College London, attempted unsuccessfully to blow himself up on a flight from Amsterdam to Detroit (Johnson and Dugan 2009).

One reason why the last major attack occurred more than five years ago is that several large-scale attacks have been successfully prevented. On 9 August 2006, for instance, the so-called “liquid bomb plot” was foiled, and the carrying of fluids on board aircraft has been severely restricted ever since. Twenty-four arrests were made in the UK as part of Operation Overt. The attacks foiled in this manner had involved the deployment of liquid explosive and incendiary devices aboard planes bound for the US from the UK (EUROPOL 2007:19). In Vollsmose, Denmark, nine people were



arrested on 5 September 2006, three of whom were convicted “for conspiring to commit an act of terrorism at an unspecified location, probably in Denmark”(Crone and Harrow 2010). On 4 September 2007, three men (the “Sauerland-Gruppe”) were arrested in Medebach, Germany, and convicted on 4 March 2010 of planning to carry out – under the leadership of the Islamic Jihad Union – car bomb attacks on US soldiers in discos, barracks and airports with the aim of forcing the withdrawal of the *Bundeswehr* from Afghanistan (Spiegel-Online 2010). Finally, in January 2008 in Spain, police arrested fourteen Pakistani and Indian citizens for planning suicide attacks in Barcelona and other European cities (EUROPOL, 2009: 19).

A detailed consideration of the problems of radicalisation and the theories that may explain them should be preceded by some remarks on “homegrown terrorism” and radicalisation in Europe. In terms of nationality and country of origin, the picture that emerges is mixed. In 2009, a fifth of the terrorist suspects arrested were categorised by Europol as “homegrown terrorists” (i.e. born in the EU and citizen of an EU country), while nearly 30 per cent were citizens of an EU country (EUROPOL 2010).<sup>1</sup> In operational and organisational terms, the perpetrators of terrorist attacks enjoy a high degree of autonomy in terms of choice of target, planning and the radicalisation process. On the other hand, in most cases there have been links to foreign terrorist groups, such as the Islamic Jihad Union in Uzbekistan, Ansar al-Islam in Iraq, the Al-Qaeda Organization in the Islamic Maghreb (formerly the Groupe Salafiste pour la Prédication et le Combat [GSPC]) and Tehrik-i-Taliban in Pakistan. According to the most recent findings, the bombers who carried out the 7/7 attack in London were receiving technical instructions from Pakistan until minutes before the attacks (BBC News 2011). And finally, several terrorists frequently visited conflict regions or attended training camps there.

Even if not all the perpetrators correspond to the classical image of having been “born, raised and radicalised” in Europe, it is justified to conclude that the phenomenon of homegrown terrorism is on the rise. The occasional participation of converts is also significant, as is the extent to which factors specific to Europe played a role in radicalisation.

#### *Radicalisation research within the scope of terrorism prevention*

Given the potential consequences of terrorist attacks inspired by Islamism, as illustrated above, efforts to combat terrorism have increasingly concentrated on events and circumstances prior to the terrorist acts themselves, and research has come to focus on the radicalisation and recruitment processes that precede the act – particularly with regard to so-called homegrown terrorism.<sup>2</sup> However, in most cases, radicalisation does not lead to terrorist acts. It is not uncommon for those in the flush of youthful enthusiasm to dedicate themselves to ideals and to wish to struggle against the injustice they perceive in the world. Only a few go through all the stages of the whole radicalisation process, right up to the willingness to kill (and to die).<sup>3</sup>

Since the publication of the EU Communication on “Terrorist Recruitment” in 2005 (Commission of the European Communities 2005), which deals with the factors that contribute to violent radicalisation,<sup>4</sup> the EU has followed a more robust, proactive and prevention-oriented approach to combating terrorism. This has encouraged the production of a large number of publications on

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- 1 Here it should be noted that the data used by EUROPOL is largely intended to reveal trends, not as a realistic representation of the terrorist threat in Europe. That is a result of the fact that the various countries provide data that is of varying quality. The UK, for instance, provides no data at all on terrorism motivated by Islamism. Moreover, terrorist activities are not always prosecuted as such, and hence do not always appear in the statistical record.
  - 2 Since security precautions have been tightened around the world following the 9/11 attacks, Jihadists are increasingly becoming radicalized without direct contacts to al-Qaeda. Since many of this new wave of Jihadist recruits are individuals who were born and/or grew up in the west, and have also undergone radicalization here, this type of recruit has become known as the “homegrown terrorist”.
  - 3 An example is Cüneyt Ciftci, the first German suicide bomber. The 28-year-old German citizen of Turkish origin from Ansbach in Bavaria blew himself up in Khost, Afghanistan, on 3 March 2008.
  - 4 “Violent Radicalisation is a phenomenon in which people embrace opinions, views and ideas that could lead to acts of terrorism” (Commission of the European Communities 2005).



various aspects of violent radicalisation,<sup>5</sup> and has led, among other things, to the establishment of a research centre for violent radicalism at King's College, London.<sup>6</sup>

### *A cluster of determining factors*

Recent research on radicalisation inspired by Islamist doctrine has identified four interwoven factors that have a powerful strengthening effect on radicalisation processes:<sup>7</sup>

- a. individual psychological vulnerability (identity crisis/intimate circles),
- b. the situation in the current country of residence (lack of integration/discrimination/role of religion in the diaspora),
- c. the profile of the Islamist movement and conflict-related developments in places of reference for collective identity (homeland/global ummah/specific regions such as Palestine),
- d. the contextualization of the above factors in the narrative of jihad.

### *Individual psychological vulnerability*

At the level of the individual, there is a clear sociological profile of young men who feel particularly drawn to radical ideas. Islamist-inspired radicalism within the diaspora is a phenomenon associated (though not exclusively) with young people, and socio-psychological factors seem to play a greater role than socio-structural ones (Roy 2006:80 and Waldmann, Sirseloudi et al. 2010). These are primarily factors specific to individuals and their immediate social network, which contribute to the radicalisation of individuals up to the point of jihadist-terrorist violence.<sup>8</sup> A process of radicalisation often begins with feelings of personal dissatisfaction and uncertainty, which can be triggered by various experiences and circumstances, such as discrimination, failure or unsuccessful efforts to achieve social recognition or integration. Affected individuals are possessed by dissatisfaction at how they have lived their lives so far, which leads to an identity crisis associated with social withdrawal and the rejection of former ties.

An identity crisis is generally understood as a cognitive event that calls previously held beliefs or currently held values into question and makes individuals receptive to alternative viewpoints and perspectives. The "cognitive opening" (Wiktorowicz 2005) that frequently triggers a crisis of this kind may be caused by a biographical event or deliberately induced, e.g. by means of discussions or "consciousness raising" regarding the alleged struggle of the unbelievers against Islam. Not infrequently the crisis is overcome with the help of a spiritual leader. This leads to a conversion experience (or the restoration of faith), which grants the doubter new self-assurance and internal security and simultaneously turns the individual into a religious fanatic and zealot. From now on, his brothers in radicalism are his family, while everything from before the conversion experience appears obsolete and irrelevant.<sup>9</sup>

Because of the instability of their identity, the second generation of migrants appears to be particularly susceptible to extremist views (Worbs / Heckmann 2004: 193). In contradictory situations, the turn to radicalism offers a psychologically satisfactory way out of the identity crisis. If the individual demonstrates a certain susceptibility for radical views, this is likely to be deliberately exploited by members of radical networks for purposes of recruitment and intense intellectual influence (*indoctrination*), since individual conversion experiences are generally followed by the search for people of similar views. As radicalisation proceeds, the (initially small) group has an intensifying effect on the radicalisation of the individual (Sageman 2004, Roy 2006: 21). Withdrawal from the public sphere simultaneously reduces opportunities for the small, clandestine group to interact with the non-radical environment. It is this radical "bunch of guys" (Sageman 2004), therefore, that goes out looking for information on al-Qaeda, both indirectly, via the internet and other media, and di-

5 See, for instance, Neumann and Rogers 2007, Coolsaet 2008 and Ranstorp 2010.

6 The International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation and Political Violence (ICSR).

7 Cf. Also Sirseloudi 2008.

8 Cf. Roy 2004, Sageman 2004 and Schiffauer 2008.

9 Cf. Sageman 2004 and Wiktorowicz 2005 or the German jihadist Eric Breininger, who was killed while fighting in Afghanistan. In his autobiography, Breininger described how his conversion to Islam went hand in hand with his rejection of his former social milieu (girlfriend, family, school) and a rapid turn to Jihadism (El Almani 2010).



rectly, by travelling to conflict zones to join their heroes in the struggle against the Western powers, whether in the country of destination or after their return to home soil.<sup>10</sup>

### *Conditions in the country of residence*

A failure of Muslim integration as a result of errors in immigration policy is often given as one of the causes of radicalisation. This may be manifest in things such as shortfalls in political and cultural representation and geographical segregation (Brettfeld/Wetzels 2004; Worbs/Heckmann 2004; Leibold, Kühnel et al. 2006).

The status of being part of a diaspora, even the label “migrant”, can cause feelings of social isolation, alienation and humiliation for affected individuals,<sup>11</sup> who react to these in different ways. Following this logic, it becomes clear why the second and third generations of immigrants are particularly receptive of Islamist efforts: In contrast to the first generation of immigrants, their contact to the “homeland” has almost entirely been broken off, yet they have not developed a sense of belonging to their “society of residence”, which leaves the individual seeking alternative expressions of collective identity open to new ideas, including radical ones.

However, the presence of many converts in Jihadist networks indicates that explanations which assume the primacy of the disadvantaged position of Muslim populations are inadequate. Phenomena such as the deculturation of religion (Roy 2004) and specific religious currents with a close relationship to the jihadist narrative (Sirseldoudi 2010) are moving to the foreground. It appears that specific actors who have an influence on the Muslim diaspora are attempting to make capital out of the socio-economic, political and psychological problems of young Muslims. By postulating a pure religion outside both traditional and Western cultures, they are offering a global Islamic product. Radical groups and individuals include very few representatives of traditional Islam, but rather people who tend to distance themselves from traditional Muslim centres and discourses, including many committed converts who have only limited knowledge of Islam.

### *External influences*

If one considers the explicit motives behind the attempted and actual attacks, it becomes clear that the involvement of Western states in the conflicts in Iraq, Afghanistan and the Middle East must be accorded major importance. In his martyrdom video, Mohammad Siddique Khan, the leader of the 7/7 bombers, commented that “Until you stop the bombing, gassing, imprisonment and torture of my people we will not stop this fight. We are at war and I am a soldier. Now you too will taste the reality of this situation” (BBC News 2005).” The Germany-based Global Islamic Media Front deploys similar arguments, explicitly calling for withdrawal from Iraq and Afghanistan. (Mushbarash 2007).

Muslims in the diaspora, in particular, find points of contact for identity formation in international conflicts. According to Khosrokhavar (2006), feelings of sympathy for fellow believers in places such as Bosnia, occupied Palestine and Chechnya are combined personal with experiences of humiliation or victimisation that are ascribed to “the West”. The young “Beur” of North African origin in France or the “Paki” in the UK identifies with the Palestinian “Shabab”, who is shown in the media as being humiliated by the Israeli army. In this way, Islam is set up as the antithesis of Europe and offers an alternative – reactive – identity, which is sometimes closer to militant jihad than to the culture of the Western country of residence.<sup>12</sup> This situation becomes particularly problematic when the country of residence and the place of reference for collective identity are on opposite sides of an armed conflict – as was the case, for example, with the group known as the “*Hamburger Reisegruppe*” (Hamburg Tour Group) (Scheuermann and Ulrich 2010). But converts with no connection to countries in which Islamic culture has a major influence also identify with

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10 See, for instance, the so-called “Hamburger Reisegruppe” (Scheuermann / Ulrich 2010).

11 Cf. Wippermann/Flaig, 2009: 4.

12 Cf. Roy 2004; Neumann/Rogers 2007; Sirseldoudi 2008.



the global Muslim community (Ummah) and feel affected by the violent conflicts in the Muslim world.

As well as religious elements, personal networks within conflict regions also play a role as enabling factors. For instance, Assadullah Muslih, a native of Kabul, made the necessary contacts for the Hamburg Tour Group, which travelled to the conflict region in Afghanistan in early 2009 (Scheuermann and Ulrich 2010). The jihadists' propaganda machine also makes frequent use of violent "combat scenes" from conflict regions in the videos they rely upon for both recruitment processes and financing efforts. The role of veterans is also important: For Europe, Bosnia appears to have been the key conflict in this regard.<sup>13</sup> As with Afghan veterans of jihad who returned to their countries of origin, former fighters from the Balkans created jihadist networks throughout Europe (Kohlmann 2004). These veterans form the impenetrable core of the transnational radical networks and help to perpetuate the armed struggle, above all as so-called "gatekeepers" and recruitment specialists, thanks to their status as heroes among young receptive Muslims worldwide.

### *The jihadist narrative*

It is only when the objectively given factors are contextualised in an action-guiding jihadist narrative that the individual who accepts this narrative and his role in it is able to pursue this path to the extent that he will be willing to carry out a terrorist attack – something he interprets as his religious duty to perform jihad (Fard-ayn).

In the Jihadist narrative, independent events are transformed by an interpretative process into episodes within a coherent larger history, thereby connecting the past with the present. In this historical interpretation, everything fits into a coherent picture: the crusades, colonialism, the founding of the state of Israel, the wars in Palestine, Afghanistan, Iraq, Somalia, Sudan, Bosnia and Chechnya. In the eyes of the jihadists, these wars represent an imperialist campaign waged by the unbelievers against the Islamic world. Al-Qaeda has successfully presented itself as part of a global historical tradition that interprets global jihad as the necessary continuation of a war between civilisations. In this context, the struggle in the name of Islam appears as a global defensive and revolutionary movement against the West. The great variety of ethnic/national backgrounds and personality types found among radical jihadists demonstrates the integrative potential of the jihadist narrative. This is, above all, a function of its religious content. Religion unites people of different ethnic, national and social origins. For this purpose, jihadists use common religious arguments – e.g. passages from the Koran (often taken out of context), theological arguments, or appeals to solidarity with fellow Muslims suffering at the hand of "the West" (as in Afghanistan or the Palestinian Israeli-occupied territories) – to make their goals appear acceptable to a wider public (Hegghammer 2005, Kepel und Milelli 2006). They struggle against the West is declared to be the individual religious duty of every Muslim, while groups around al-Qaeda give tactical advice as to how this jihad should be carried out.

### *Outlook*

The more young Muslims (including converts) in Europe primarily identify with the global Ummah, the more receptive they become to Islamist tendencies of every kind. Since jihadists frame their messages in generally accepted religious terms, the support of violence appears to involve no fundamental break with religion. At the edges of the Islamic world and within the European diaspora, the Salafiyya movement is undergoing an expansion. Its militant offshoot, jihadist Salafiyya, currently exerts a fascination on the imaginations of young Muslims among whom liberal thinking has not taken root. Images, myths and narratives of the righteous struggle against oppressors and occupying forces, which originate above all in international conflicts, in which Western forces are ranged against Muslim fighters, contribute to the self-perpetuating justification of jihad and provide jihadists with the opportunity to pursue open struggle for an apparently just cause.

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13 For a more detailed consideration of the role of external conflicts in radicalization processes, see Sirseldoudi 2006.



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## 2.3 Tactical Nuclear Weapons

*Oliver Meier*



### Reducing the role of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe

Tactical nuclear weapons (TNWs) weaken European security and are a major obstacle on the way towards a world free of nuclear weapons. Developed during the Cold War to make the use of nuclear weapons more “credible” as a means of countering overwhelming conventional attack from the Soviets, many NATO military planners today recognise that tactical or “battlefield” nuclear weapons no longer serve any practical military purpose.

Russia possesses several thousand of such short-range, tactical nuclear weapons, around 2,000 of which are believed to be still deployable. Under NATO nuclear sharing arrangements, the United States is believed to deploy an estimated 180 tactical weapons in Belgium, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands and Turkey. Pilots from these countries are prepared to deliver these weapons in times of war, although the nuclear strike mission of the Turkish air force has probably expired. A German initiative in October 2009 advocating withdrawal of US nuclear weapons from Europe triggered a lively and unprecedented debate about NATO nuclear policy.

However, several NATO states are reluctant to change policy because of long-held beliefs regarding the value – symbolic or otherwise – of these weapons for extended deterrence, NATO unity and European security. TNWs are seen as bargaining chips in future negotiations with Russia, as insurance against a revival of old conflicts or a hedge against new threats such as a nuclear-armed Iran. Some central European leaders view NATO nuclear sharing arrangements as tokens of transatlantic solidarity. The assurance provided to allies is also seen by some in Washington as a way to discourage the emergence of new nuclear powers.

TNWs present an impediment to more cooperative relations between NATO and Russia, and to further general nuclear reductions. Conservative US lawmakers have used Russia’s larger stockpile of tactical warheads to justify opposing further reductions in US strategic nuclear warhead numbers. Some Russian officials see their TNWs as compensation for conventional inferiority. Moscow has repeatedly demanded the withdrawal of US TNWs from Europe as a precondition to including its short-range nuclear weapons in future arms control talks.

Against this background, in March 2010, the IFSH and its partner organisations the Arms Control Association (ACA) and the British Security Information Council (BASIC) received a grant from the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation for a project to reduce the role of tactical weapons in Europe. The 12-month project, which began in April 2010, seeks to advance understanding of and support for steps to reduce the role and number of TNWs in Europe and Russia, in the context of broader efforts to diminish the salience of nuclear weapons in Europe.

The IFSH, together with its partners and via its networks promotes the following policy outcomes:

- The removal of NATO TNWs from Europe in a manner that involves and retains the confidence of central and eastern European allies as well as Turkey.
- A reduced role for nuclear deterrence in NATO’s defence posture, including a commitment to consider the use of nuclear weapons only in response to a nuclear attack by another nuclear-armed state.
- A shift towards positive engagement between NATO and Russia on the tactical nuclear arms reduction agenda in a manner that overcomes the trust deficit. It is critical that obstacles to agreement on TNWs do not stall broader efforts at the reduction and elimination of all nuclear armaments.



Over the course of 2010, a number of avenues were pursued to achieve this goal. In the run-up to the November NATO summit, which adopted a new Strategic Concept, policy-makers took part in a series of seminars in Brussels, Warsaw, Ankara and Washington to discuss options for change in NATO's nuclear policies. These seminars were hosted by local partners (the Brussels office of the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, the Polish Institute of International Affairs [PISM], the International Strategic Research Organisation [USAK] in Ankara) and were conducted under the Chatham House Rule to provide participants with a safe environment to discuss the future of NATO's nuclear policies and related issues of reassurance and deterrence.

The seminars demonstrated that differences exist among Alliance members on various questions underlying the debate on NATO's nuclear posture. Specifically, new members tend to emphasise the importance of underpinning Article V collective defence commitments with credible military forces, while many West European countries believe that the relative importance of defending NATO's home territory against a major military attack is in decline. The debate over NATO-Russia relations reflects this divide, with new members generally more sceptical about engaging Russia, while West Europeans tend to emphasise the need for more cooperative relations with Moscow. The seminar in Turkey also demonstrated that the discussion of nuclear deterrence is deeply intertwined with the debate about strategic missile defence.

Discussions among participants showed that the continued deployment of US nuclear weapons is valued by several NATO members as a viable demonstration of Alliance solidarity and particularly US commitment to Europe. But, because of the limited military value that NATO assigns to tactical nuclear weapons, nuclear sharing is not regarded as important *per se*. The United States itself is largely agnostic on the future of its tactical nuclear weapons deployed in Europe but wants to avoid a divisive debate in the Alliance, particularly against the on NATO's commitment to a Europe-based component of its missile defence system. Thus, a NATO-wide consensus on the withdrawal of these weapons to the United States appears possible if an acceptable package of measures to compensate for the perceived loss of security could be found.

IFAR staff closely followed the debate over nuclear disarmament, and particularly tactical nuclear weapons, that took place at the May 2010 review conference of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. Götz Neuneck was in New York as a member of the German delegation while Oliver Meier observed proceedings as an NGO observer. NPT members could not agree to specifically mention the importance of reducing the role of tactical nuclear weapons in the final document (partly because of French and Russian resistance), but the issue received an unprecedented amount of attention. NGOs pressed for more action on tactical nuclear weapons, for example by issuing a joint statement titled "Now is the time for action on 'tactical' nuclear weapons", which Oliver Meier was involved in drafting. Götz Neuneck analyzed the NPT outcome in an IFSH statement and Oliver Meier summarised the conference in a policy paper for the Friedrich Ebert Foundation.

The project partners aimed to increase awareness of the importance of addressing tactical nuclear weapons by commissioning and writing original analyses of the issue. A series of *Nuclear Policy Papers* examined it from different national perspectives. The first set of papers, published in the run-up to the NATO summit, included contributions by Peter Gottwald (Federal Commissioner for Disarmament and Arms Control at the German Federal Foreign Office) and Des Browne (former UK Secretary of State for Defence and Convener of the European Leadership Network for Multilateral Nuclear Disarmament and Non-Proliferation). Lukasz Kulesa also wrote a summary of the perception in Central and Eastern European countries of the debate over tactical nuclear weapons. Paul Ingram, the Director of BASIC, and Oliver Meier together published a proposal for a NATO Nuclear Posture Review in the October issue of *Arms Control Today*.<sup>1</sup>

Proposals and analysis developed as part of the project were discussed with policy-makers on a number of occasions, including seminars and briefings in Moscow and Washington. Paul Ingram and Oliver Meier participated in the NATO "Shadow Summit" organised by partner organisation

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<sup>1</sup> All project publications as well as reports from workshops and selected background information can be found at the project website at <http://tacticalnuclearweapons.ifsh.de/>.



*NATOWatch*, together with BASIC and other NGOs, in Brussels on the eve of the real NATO summit.

Project staff also worked with various German members of Parliament on NATO nuclear issues. In a rare demonstration of political unity, parties in government and in opposition in March adopted a joint resolution, calling on the German government to pursue “with urgency” its policy of advocating withdrawal of US tactical nuclear weapons from Germany and Europe.<sup>2</sup> The Foreign and Defence Committee held a joint hearing on the new concept (at which Michael Brzoska testified) and parliamentarians repeatedly called for greater transparency of NATO deliberations on the new Strategic Concept. Subsequently – and unlike their colleagues in other NATO member states – a few German parliamentarians were granted access to the classified draft of the new Strategic Concept.

Project partners cooperated with the newly formed *European Leadership Network for Multilateral Nuclear Disarmament and Non-proliferation* (ELN), a network of senior European political, military and diplomatic figures that have come together to express concern over the world’s growing nuclear dangers and who work to have those dangers addressed on a multilateral basis. On September 29, 36 ELN members argued in a group statement that NATO members “cannot and should not avoid a re-examination” of its nuclear policy.<sup>3</sup>

ELN convener, former UK Defence Secretary Lord Des Browne, participated in project seminars in Warsaw, Ankara and Brussels. The IFSH hosted an ELN delegation led by Des Browne and former Foreign and Defence Secretary Malcolm Rifkind in Germany on November 8-9. The group spoke in Hamburg at the University of the Federal Armed Forces Hamburg and met with Minister of State Werner Hoyer, members of Parliament and various experts in Berlin. The IFSH intends to intensify its cooperation with the ELN.

The outcome of the November 19-20 NATO summit did not significantly change NATO’s nuclear policy. As project partners ACA and BASIC pointed out in a joint press release, the Alliance’s new Strategic Concept is a “conservative, backward-looking policy, a missed opportunity to reduce the number and role of the 200 forward-deployed U.S. tactical nuclear bombs and engage Russia in a dialogue on removing all tactical nuclear weapons from Europe.” The Strategic Concept states that “as long as nuclear weapons exist, NATO will remain a nuclear alliance.” The Allies also reaffirmed the importance of nuclear sharing by stating that they aim to “ensure the broadest possible participation of Allies in collective defense planning on nuclear roles, in peacetime basing of nuclear forces, and in command, control and consultation arrangements.” The Strategic Concept links changes in NATO’s nuclear posture to a future agreement with Russia by stating that “any further steps [to reduce the number of tactical nuclear weapons] must take into account the disparity with the greater Russian stockpiles of short-range nuclear weapons.”<sup>4</sup> None of these statements indicates a readiness by NATO members to bring the Alliance’s nuclear policy in line with today’s political situation.

However, some key issues were left to be decided under a future “deterrence review” within NATO, which is likely to take place in 2011. Issues on the agenda potentially include declaratory policy, i.e. whether NATO should restrict the scenarios under which it is prepared to use nuclear weapons. In April 2010, Washington strengthened US “negative security assurance” in its Nuclear Posture Review by declaring that the United States “will not use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear weapons states that are party to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and in compliance with their nuclear non-proliferation obligations.” Largely because of French resistance, NATO was unable to bring its new declaratory policy in line with current US policy,

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2 “Deutschland muss deutliche Zeichen für eine Welt frei von Atomwaffen setzen”, Antrag der Fraktionen der CDU/CSU, SPD, FDP, BÜNDNIS 90/ DIE GRÜNEN, Drs. 17/1159, Berlin, 24 March 2010, <http://dipbt.bundestag.de/dip21/btd/17/011/1701159.pdf>.

3 European Leadership Network for Multilateral Nuclear Disarmament and Non-proliferation: “Group Statement on NATO Nuclear Policy”, 29 September 2010, [http://www.europeanleadershipnetwork.org/group-statement-on-nato-nuclear-policy\\_47.html](http://www.europeanleadershipnetwork.org/group-statement-on-nato-nuclear-policy_47.html).

4 “Active Engagement, Modern Defence”, Strategic Concept for the Defence and Security of the Members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Adopted by Heads of State and Government in Lisbon, 19 November 2010, <http://www.nato.int/lisbon2010/strategic-concept-2010-eng.pdf>.



leaving NATO in the awkward situation of appearing to threaten the use of nuclear weapons against a wider range of states than the United States.

Despite the fact that the Strategic Concept has reaffirmed the value of nuclear sharing, details of future US nuclear deployments in Europe remain to be worked out. In the coming years, current host nations need to take decisions on the replacement of ageing dual-capable aircraft. In most of these countries, however, parliaments and voters oppose the continued presence of US nuclear weapons in Europe and are unlikely to support the procurement of new nuclear weapons delivery systems.

Last but not least, after the entry into force of the New START treaty, the problem of bringing tactical nuclear weapons into nuclear arms control becomes acute. One of the conditions under which the US Senate ratified the New START treaty is that “the United States will seek to initiate, following consultation with NATO allies but not later than one year after the entry into force of the New START Treaty, negotiations with the Russian Federation on an agreement to address the disparity between the non-strategic (tactical) nuclear weapons stockpiles of the Russian Federation and of the United States and to secure and reduce tactical nuclear weapons in a verifiable manner.” The Senate also urged the President to seek “cooperative measures to give each Party to the New START Treaty improved confidence regarding the accurate accounting and security of tactical nuclear weapons maintained by the other Party.”<sup>5</sup>

To take discussions on NATO’s future deterrence posture forward and to strengthen the Alliance’s role in arms control, the Allies agreed in Lisbon to conduct a review of NATO’s deterrence posture and to set up a new arms control committee. At the time of writing, NATO members had not agreed the details of those processes, but project partners hope to be able to analyze these proceedings and to foster a consensus on the withdrawal of tactical nuclear weapons from Europe with the goal of paving the way for a binding and verifiable agreement on the irreversible elimination of all tactical nuclear weapons.

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5 U.S. Senate: “Resolution to give advice and consent to the Treaty between the United States of America and the Russian Federation on Measures for the Further Reduction and Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms”, 111th Congress, Washington, D.C., December 22, 2010, <http://thomas.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ntquery/z?trtys:111TD00005:>.



### 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.

In the first project cycle (1999-2006), CORE concentrated on the analysis of the political instruments of the OSCE and other international organizations for crisis management. Since 2009, after the adoption of a new IFSH work program, it has been working on research applications for a second project cycle, which focuses on pan-European security structures, transnational conflict constellations and the enhancement of regional expertise on Russia and Central Asia. In 2010 an application was submitted for a pilot project on the Afghanistan policies of the Central Asian states, which should serve as preparation for a larger research project. A further application was submitted, as well, for a security dialogue network between post-Soviet states. The project proposals on Russian security policy vis-à-vis Western international organizations (NATO, EU, OSCE), and on a comparative analysis of the patterns of behavior of Kazakhstan, Turkmen and Uzbek foreign policy had been processed sufficiently in 2010 that they were able to be submitted in the first half of 2011. An application on conventional arms control in Europe has already been submitted.



Guests from Central Asia in front of the IFSH office (from left to right) Rauschan Serik, Rustam Machmudow, Igor Proklow

With respect to the doctoral work of junior staff, one dissertation was completed, three were continued and one was interrupted due to the researcher's work in an international mission. Here, two topics are related to Central Asia and one to conventional arms control in Europe.

An initial high point in 2010 was the workshop on the topic of "Rule-of-Law Assistance in the OSCE Area" organized jointly with the [German] Foreign Ministry, which took place from 25-26 March at the Vienna Hofburg. High-ranking staff from the judicial systems of Belarus, Russia, Ukraine, Georgia, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan came together with representatives of the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR), the Venice Commission of the Council of Europe, the [German] Foreign Ministry, the GTZ, the Max Planck Institute for Comparative Public Law and International Law, various OSCE offices, as well as CORE, to discuss the development of rule-of-law in their countries and the support of the OSCE. Thereby, it could be seen how openly and fundamentally a problem of this sort can be discussed if superficial politicization is avoided.

Activities on the topic of a European security dialogue form a second focal point. After representatives of CORE had already covered a series of high-ranking events on this topic during the year, CORE, together with the Polish Institute for International Affairs (PISM) and the Moscow State Institute for International Relations (MGIMO), organized a seminar in Vienna on 8 December devoted to the evaluation of the 2010 OSCE Summit in Astana. The event, which was introduced by the OSCE am-



bassadors of Germany, Poland and Russia and moderated by the former Austrian Foreign Minister, Ursula Plassnik, was a success in every respect: The ballroom of the Diplomatic Academy in Vienna was packed; the format of the event was new; the discussion current, controversial and exciting.

### *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)**

*Staff involved:* Anna Kreikemeyer, Wolfgang Zellner.

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 the Central Asian states are not well understood weighs all the more heavily. Thus, the question arises to what degree the diversification behaviour of the foreign and security policies of Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan can be explained by the competing interests of external actors, the individual dependencies of these three states, as well as by the distinctive domestic policy flexibility of their ruling systems and what security policy implications for the Caspian region and Central Asia result from that.

We assume that the diversification behaviors of the countries under study are influenced both by domestic and by foreign policy factors. Thereby, while the domestic political power structures and decisions are, indeed, of relatively great significance, it is external influences that are of decisive importance, particularly those from the hegemonic power Russia and from the competition among the hegemonic powers, Russia, China, the USA and the EU, as well as from the respective structural dependencies of the countries under study.

In 2010, the preparatory work on the project was sufficiently advanced that a project application was able to be submitted in the first half year of 2011. Of central importance for the success of this enterprise is the collaboration with qualified scientists from the region. Therefore, in 2010, application for funding for a *Networking* project was made to the Federal Ministry of Education and Research, in the framework of which one scientist each from Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan as well as a Turkmenistan expert from Russia would be able to come to IFSH for a month to prepare the project together with Anna Kreikemeyer.

#### **CORE-10-F-02: Russian Security Policy in Relation to the EU, NATO, and the OSCE: A New Look at an Old Theme**

*Staff involved:* Elena Kropatcheva, Wolfgang Zellner.

While some Russia experts describe Russian foreign policy as incoherent, erratic and, in general, confrontational and anti-Western, others speak of a continuity and parallelism of cooperative and confrontational behavior. Thereby, there is no clarity about the nature and driving forces of Russian foreign and security policy. In order to better understand this, Russian behavior in or towards international organizations (IO) needs to be studied. There is a series of individual publications that analyze the behavior of the Russian Federation towards the EU, NATO and the OSCE. How-



CORE members on the sidelines of a workshop (from left to right): 1<sup>st</sup> row Diana Digol, Anna Kreikemeyer. 2<sup>nd</sup> row Elena Kropatcheva, Wolfgang Zellner, Frank Evers



ever, a comprehensive theory-led study examining Russian behavior in these three IO together is lacking.

The central question of this project, prepared in 2010, is what patterns of Russian behavior there are within the framework of the three IOs studied, whether these behavioral patterns are more cooperative or confrontational and in what relationship continuity and change stand as a result.

Our basic assumption about this is that, in the formulation of Russian security policy both elements of continuity and of the shift from cooperation to non-cooperation are involved and that the Russian approach also aims at enhancing its position in objective questions as well in subjective positions (prestige, respect). A further assumption is that the relationships between these factors are so difficult to determine because there is no coherent Russian foreign and security policy.

In 2010, as part of the preparation for this project, Elena Kropatcheva presented what she had in mind, at a series of relevant meetings, in particular at the VIII World Congress of the International Council for Central and East European Studies (ICCEES) at the University of Glasgow and at King's College in London. The work on a project proposal has advanced to the point that it will be able to be submitted in the first half of 2011.

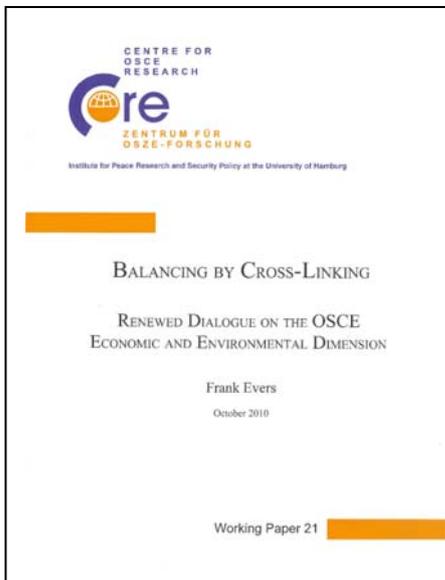
#### **CORE-10-F-06: The Afghanistan Polices of the Central Asian States**

*Staff involved:* Diana Digol, Wolfgang Zellner

Afghanistan and the five Central Asian states represent two destabilizing potentials, which are in the same strategic context but are not, however, connected – or are only minimally so. In the best case, these two potentials for conflict can be kept separate and de-escalated step by step. In the worst case they would combine and escalate together. This could lead to a conflict which could surpass the Yugoslavian follow-on wars with respect to its potential for violence and the involvement of the civilian population. To avoid further conflict escalation, one must understand how the dynamics of the two potentials for conflict are intertwined with each other. The question in this context that has been worked on the least involves the Afghanistan policies of the Central Asian countries.

Hence, the project's central research questions are which policies the Central Asian states conduct with respect to Afghanistan, whether these policies are coordinated with their neighbors and the other parties interested in the conflict (NATO, USA, Russia, etc.) and what domestic interests are behind these policies. Our starting hypothesis is that the Afghanistan policies of the Central Asian states – beyond the general support of the Western alliance – vary considerably depending on the concrete fears of the individual states.

In preparing this project, we concluded that the empirical material from Germany was insufficient for carrying out the project or could only contribute to it. Thus in mid-2010, funding for a five-month pilot project to travel in the region, collect material and conduct interviews was requested from – and has, meanwhile, been granted by – the DSF. Based on this, a larger project application will be submitted in the second half of 2011.





### **CORE-10-F-04: Bargaining for Conventional Stability: The Rise and Crisis of the CFE Treaty**

*Staff involved:* Ulrich Kühn, Wolfgang Zellner.

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. Nonetheless, the newest developments indicate a possible resumption of the CFE process. 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, have 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) and changes in the European security structures (NATO expansion) has decisively influenced the arms control regime.

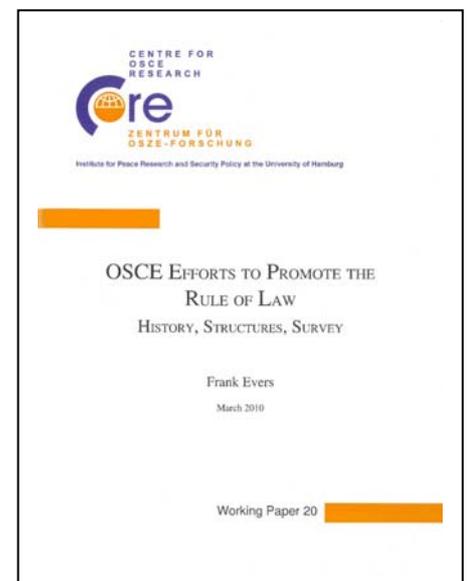
In 2010 a project application was prepared and submitted to the DSF. This project will also serve as the basis for Ulrich Kühn's dissertation.

### **CORE-10-F-05: Joint German-Polish-Russian Initiative: Report on the Future of European Security**

*Staff involved:* Wolfgang Zellner.

Since the intergovernmental European Security Dialogue got started at the end of 2008, it has been expanded to a *Track-2* level through two Euro-Atlantic initiatives originating from the *Carnegie Endowment (Euro-Atlantic Security Initiative)* and the *EastWest Institute (Eminent Persons Group)*. However, up until now, an original European initiative has been lacking. Now, emanating from a core group in a German-Polish-Russian format, a working group involving experts from the relevant states (USA, Russia, Turkey, etc.) is to be formed, which will prepare a report on the future of European security. The German-Polish-Russian triangle is one of the formats developed by the planning staff of the foreign ministries of these three states, which has borne fruit here for the *Track 2* level. The three cooperation partners of the core group are the IFSH, the *Polish Institute of International Affairs (PISM)*, and the *Moscow State Institute for International Relations (MGIMO)*. The initiative is supported by all three foreign ministries.

In 2010 the project was prepared in discussions among the three institutes. Furthermore, a seminar for the evaluation of the OSCE Summit in Astana on 1./2 December 2010 was conducted in the same format at the OSCE in Vienna on 8 December 2010 in cooperation with the permanent representations of Germany, Poland and Russia.



**CORE-Projects**

<b>Call number</b>	<b>Title</b>
CORE-10-F-01	Diversification or Restoration? A Comparative Analysis of Patterns of Action in Kazakh, Turkmen and Uzbek Foreign and Security Policies (1991-2011)
CORE-10-F-02	Russian Foreign Policy in and vis-à-vis Western (Dominated) International Organizations (EU, NATO, CoE, OSCE)
CORE-10-F-03	Russian Foreign Policy on Central Asia
CORE-10-F-04	The Crisis of the European Arms Control Regime
CORE-10-F-05	Joint German-Polish-Russian Initiative: Report on the Future of European Security
CORE-10-F-06	The Afghanistan Polices of the Central Asian States
CORE-10-P-01	Changes in the Euro-Atlantic Security Structures (Corfu Process)
CORE-10-P-02	Publication of the OSCE Yearbook
CORE-09-NF-05	Governance and administration in Kazakhstan
CORE-09-NF-06	Multilateral cooperation in and with Central Asia: Reciprocal adaptation and learning processes in cooperation relations between international institutions (EU and ADB) and Central Asian states
CORE-07-NF-03	Co-optation of Peacebuilding: Dynamics of External-Local Interaction and the Struggle for Local Ownership in Postwar Kosovo
CORE-10-B-01	CORE Framework Project
CORE-10-B-02	OSCE-Related Training Course for Officials from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Country that will hold the Chairmanship in 2012
CORE-10-B-03	Post Soviet Security Dialogue Network
CORE-10-B-04	OSCE-related Information Services
CORE-09-B-03	Establishing an Armenian Diplomatic Academy (Phase II)



### 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 and its partners (non-EU countries, international Organizations, regional organizations, NGOs and other societal actors) to European and world peace. The political coordination in security-related areas within the EU and the external affairs of the EU – thereby, in particular, the development and implementation of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) and its specific strategies, structures and instruments – define the parameters for research at ZEUS. In addition, the roles and security policies of relevant member states are also analyzed as are those of important partner countries.

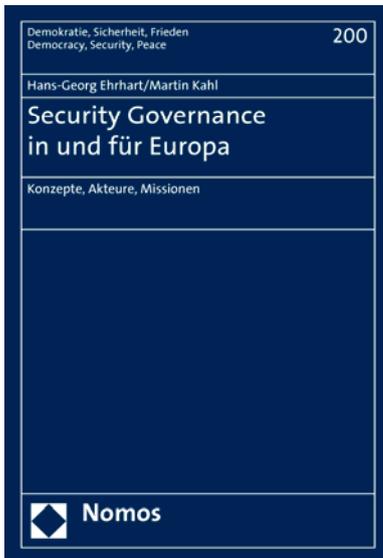
ZEUS makes its own contributions to the overall research focus in the *Medium Term Work Program* of the IFSH, through scientific publications, policy analyses, national and international conferences as well as public statements. The central question is: How, in a time of the post-national constellation, can the EU make the emergence and spread of transnational risks of violence more difficult, stop their transformation into violent conflicts or deal with open transnational violent conflicts constructively?

The following questions will be given particular attention in the projects: 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 – 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 attributed? What conclusions can be drawn for the EU's future course of action in dealing with transnational risks of violence?

In 2010, the EU continued its activities in the area of crisis management in the Balkans, in the Middle East as well as in Afghanistan. A conference on Afghanistan, financed by NATO, was held together with the Command and Staff College of the Bundeswehr and the Queen's Center for International Relations. The efforts of the EU towards stabilizing the neighboring regions within the framework of the European Neighborhood Policy and towards its strategic partner Russian Federation were a sign of continuity. Regina Heller presented the first draft of a DFG application on Russia's relationship to the West and successfully applied to the Volkswagen Foundation for funding for an international workshop. The EU also intensified its involvement in the area of combating piracy and terrorism. On these topics, ZEUS started a large project which was carried out with many partners and for which just under a million Euros was received within the framework of the Research Programme for civil security of the Federal Ministry of Education and Research (BMBF). Terrorism and radicalization are the focus of a further BMBF-financed project that was funded with over 500,000 Euros. The study of the arguments justifying actions taken in combating terrorism is the subject of a research project at ZEUS supported by the German Research Foundation (DFG) with 226,000 €. With Kerstin Petretto, Matenia Sirseloudi and Daniela Pisiou, proven specialists for the three projects were able to be hired.



Staff of the project "Justification with the Same Arguments" (from left to right): 1<sup>st</sup> row: Daniela Marinas, Daniela Pisiou, Helga Eckardt, 2<sup>nd</sup> row: Martin Kahl, Oliver Müser, Regina Heller



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 with the designation “security governance”. A working group was established on this topic which, among other things, published, during the reporting period, a volume edited by Hans-Georg Ehrhart and Martin Kahl. An additional volume edited by Martin Kahl deals with the transnationalization of risks of violence. Further, approaches from impact research (evaluation research, regime analysis and qualitative analysis) were integrated into the work of ZEUS. A separate working group under the leadership of Martin Kahl dealt with impact research. Research results were presented by ZEUS staff members at a number of (international) workshops and conferences (among others, ISA, ECPR and ICCEES).

### *Larger Research Projects*

#### **ZEUS-09-F-01: Security Governance as a Challenge to Dealing with Transnational Conflicts**

*Staff involved:* Hans-Georg Ehrhart, Hendrik Hegemann

The project, extended for two years thanks to its productivity, makes the assumptions 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 are being 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, the nexus between security and development or its role in combating insurgency within the framework of a comprehensive approach. Researched empirically will be which (internal and external) coordination and cooperation problems arise in dealing with violent conflicts and whether or how these can be overcome. The fundamental hypothesis is that the effective and efficient management of transnational conflicts requires security governance. The study will be guided theoretically by the assumption of the governance approach. The focus is on forms and mechanisms of management coordination of autonomous actors dealing with a common security problem. Efforts will be made to refine the theoretical concept of security governance. Thereby a methodological pluralism, which includes sources and literature studies as well as interviews, will be the basis.

The progress of the project in 2010 consisted of the publication of many articles, the volumes, “Security Governance in und für Europa. Konzepte, Akteure, Missionen”, and “The Transnationalization of Risks of Violence”. In addition, two conferences were held, one on the topic of “Security Governance by Comprehensive Approach? NATO and the International Community at the Afghan Crossroads” and the other on the topic of “Development Aid with Steel Helmets? Networked Civilian and Military Planning for Peace and Stability.” Further, the project staff held numerous lectures on relevant topics of the work within the project. Finally,



an international workshop on the topic of “EU Security Governance in the Post-National Constellation: Conceptual, Empirical and Practical Challenges” was applied for at the DSF (German Foundation for Peace Research). Cooperation partners of the project are: Institut für strategische Zukunftsanalyse der Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker-Stiftung; [Institute for Strategic Future Analysis of the Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker Foundation] Queen’s University Centre for International Relations, Führungsakademie der Bundeswehr; [Command and Staff College of the Bundeswehr] The Netherlands Defence Academy; FB Gesellschaftswissenschaften, Universität Frankfurt; [The Faculty of Sociology, University of Frankfurt] Fachbereich Sozialwissenschaften, Universität Osnabrück; [Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Osnabrück] Institut für Politische Wissenschaft, Universität Erlangen, [Institute for Political Science, University of Erlangen,] NATO Public Diplomacy Division, ISIS Brussels.

#### **ZEUS-10-F-04: The Transformation of sub-state Violent Actors between the Struggle for Liberation and Nation Building as a Challenge for the Middle East Policy of the EU**

*Staff involved:* Margret Johannsen

In its contribution to the Israeli-Palestinian peace process the EU, as an external actor, acts in a broad area ranging from state-building support to combating terrorism and transatlantic cooperation. This general observation includes its role in the Middle East Quartet and extends to its cooperation with the Palestinian Authority (PA), especially in making available expertise in the area of security, financing development projects, direct budget aid and humanitarian aid measures. By contrast, there are no official contacts with the rival Islamic resistance movement ( Hamas). On the contrary, the EU has joined in the boycott and isolation of the most significant among the Palestinian organizations which maintain their agenda of armed resistance.

The central question is how the intervention of an external actor, in the form of a boycott and isolation, affects the agenda of Hamas and the *de-facto* government supported by them in the Gaza Strip. The basic assumption is that in the range of action between the support of state building, combating terrorism and transatlantic cooperation, conflicting sub-goals ensure that the desired transformation of the Palestinian militant group is made more difficult.

The study shows that the hopes placed in the policy of boycotting and isolation in the form of a *hidden agenda* have not been fulfilled. Quite the contrary, it has contributed to the escalation of the conflict between Israel and Hamas as well as to the intensification of the intra-Palestinian division and rather than an erosion of the Hamas rule in the Gaza Strip, a consolidation has been observed. The policy of the EU was detrimental to its involvement for peace in two respects. For one thing, in the course of the escalation of the conflict, the armed wing was strengthened; for another, the intra-Palestinian division undermined the already-endangered two-state solution for ending the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. In this respect the EU policy towards Hamas is a pointed example of unintended effects of political action.

The project was guided theoretically by the assumptions about state-building as a concept within the framework of rationalistic institutionalism. Methodically it rests on the evaluation of documents and interviews with Palestinian and European actors. After using the provisional results



Heidemarie Wiczorek-Zeul and Michael Brzoska at the 2010 Dieter-S. Lutz Lecture at the University of Hamburg



in several publications appearing in 2009, the project was completed in 2010 with two articles and a working paper: “Die palästinensischen Gebiete vor der Vielstaaterei?” [The Palestinian Territories facing multiple-statehood?] in Josef Braml, Thomas Risse and Eberhard Sandscheider (Eds.), *Einsatz für den Frieden. Sicherheit und Entwicklung in Räumen begrenzter Staatlichkeit*. [Engagement for Peace. Security and Development in Areas of Limited Statehood] *Jahrbuch Internationale Politik*, Band 28, München: Oldenbourg-Verlag, 2010, S. 146-153; External Security Governance and Intractable Conflict: Constraints of the EU’s Support to Police Reform in the Palestinian Territories, in: Hans-Georg Ehrhart/Martin Kahl (Eds.): *Security Governance in und für Europa – Konzepte, Akteure, Missionen*, [Security Governance in and for Europe – Concepts, Actors, Missions] Baden-Baden: Nomos 2010, S. 169-190; *Hamas: Mit Terroristen reden? Ja, mit wem denn sonst!* [Hamas: Talk with Terrorists? Yes, with whom else!]: *Schwierige Entscheidungen im Nahost-Konflikt*, [Difficult Decisions in the Middle East Conflict] in: *Arbeitspapiere* [Working Paper] DSF Nr. 7, Osnabrück: Deutsche Stiftung Friedensforschung, i.E. A more elaborated English-language article based theoretically on the German-language working paper is in preparation.

#### **ZEUS-08-F-07: Piracy and Maritime Terrorism as a Challenge for Maritime Trade Security: Indicators, Perceptions and Options for Action (PiraT)**



Staff of the PiraT Project (from left to right): Fabian Giglmeier, Hans-Georg Ehrhart, Ilyas Saliba, Patricia Schneider, Thorsten Geise, Kerstin Petretto, Eckhard Schlopsna

*Staff involved:* Hans-Georg Ehrhart, Kerstin Petretto, Patricia Schneider Harbors, seas and oceans are the basis for global trade, the volume of which reaches new levels of growth every year, thanks to the boom and modernization of East Asia. At the same time, the maritime space is a place of the most varied dangers and the diffusion of non-state violence, recognizable world-wide, also affects the security of sea trade as, doubtless, one of today’s most fundamental areas of globalized economic activity.

Starting from the maritime dependency of Germany and the European Union, the risks to the stability of the global trade and economic systems, in particular those connected with piracy and maritime terrorism, are being studied. In accordance with the hypothesis that both phenomena are likely to generate the potential for widespread systemic damage, the following questions are asked: Which concrete requirements for action to reduce the probability of their occurrence and the consequences connected with each of them are there? And how can cooperation be improved?

As the analytical framework for empirical studies, elements of the current violence and risk research will be connected with each other. In the next step, recommendations for shaping German and European policy for prevention and avoidance of risk will be developed.

From a theoretical point of view, the research project draws on the security governance approach and on the risk research, among other things. Because of the interdisciplinary orientation of the comprehensive twelve partner project, the security analytical perspective will be combined with the political, economic, legal and technical science perspectives as well as the methods of strategic future analysis, and the perceptions of the practice partners will be integrated into the formulation of the recommendations for action.



In the reporting year, the progress of the project, which is coordinated by Patricia Schneider, consisted, among other things, of a boost to the entire project, in the form of an initial Working Paper and the organization of a workshop.

The following serve as collaboration partners: Deutsches Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung (DIW) [German Institute for Economic Research], Technische Universität [Technical University] Hamburg-Harburg (TUHH), Bucerius Law School (BLS), Institut für Strategische Zukunftsanalyse (ISZA)[Institute for Strategic Future Analysis] der Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker-Stiftung UG, Verband Deutscher Reeder (VDR) [Association of German Ship Owners], International Chamber of Commerce (ICC) – Deutschland, Gesamtverband der Deutschen Versicherungswirtschaft (GDV) [The Joint Association of the German Insurance Industry], JWA Marine GmbH, Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Sicherheit in der Wirtschaft (ASW) [Consortium for Security in Commerce], Kriminalistisches Institut 11 des Bundeskriminalamts [Criminal Institute of the Federal Crime Office], Forschungsstelle Terrorismus/Extremismus (KI 11-FTE) [Research Office on Terrorisms/Extremism], Gewerkschaft der Deutschen Polizei (GdP) [German Police Officers Union]; Institut für Sozialwissenschaften, Universität Kiel [Institute for Social Sciences at the University of Kiel].

#### **ZEUS-08-F-04: 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**

*Staff involved:* Regina Heller, Martin Kahl, Daniela PISOIU

The targeted change of normative expectations, which opens up a spectrum of necessary and permissible actions and, thus, has a behavior-regulating effect, represents a significant preliminary stage for the erosion of established norms and the behavior resulting from this. 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. Because of the significance of the USA, the EU and Russia in their totality, it must be assumed that the same or similar persuasive arguments of governmental actors in the three different legal spaces will have an erosive effect on the world-wide applicability of human and civil rights. It will be examined whether the arguments intended to legitimate the limitation of human and civil rights in combating terrorism on national and international levels are similar or have, over time, come closer to each other. 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 draws on the securitization approach, the research on norm changes as well as convergence research. 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 2010, will be studied.

The progress of the project in the reporting year includes the compiling of literature studies, the further development of the study approaches, the review and refinement of the research strategies, development of the search terms for the text selection, as well as data collection from Websites and data banks, development of a provisional coding scheme, a start at coding the texts, using smaller samples for testing the coding scheme,



Daniela PISOIU working on the project “Justification with the Same Arguments”



training the student assistants and the inductive further development of the coding scheme.

The following partners are collaborating on this project: Lehrstuhl für Internationale Politik und Konfliktforschung, Universität Konstanz [Department of International Policy and Conflict Research at the University of Constance]; Berghof Conflict Research; FB Politikwissenschaft II, Universität Kaiserslautern [Department of Political Science II]; Lehrstuhl für Internationale Politik [Chair for International Policy], Universität Frankfurt am Main; Institut für Theologie und Frieden, Hamburg; Institut für Sozialwissenschaften [Institute for Theology and Peace, Hamburg Institute of Social Sciences], FB Politikwissenschaft, [Department of Political Science] Universität Kiel.

### **ZEUS-10-F-01: Russia and the West: New Approaches to Explaining Russian Foreign Policy.**

*Staff involved:* Regina Heller

With the help of new explanatory approaches, the project will explain the essence of Russian foreign policy with respect to the West. Previous attempts to identify the driving forces behind an often contradictory and, from a Western perspective, sometimes strikingly “emotional” or “irrational” Russian foreign policy, have had only limited success. The project will identify blind spots and find new theoretical ways to illuminate them. Relationships between Russia and the West are extremely complex and have multiple fields of action and interaction structures. Thereby, both rational and understandable material (political and economic) interests and motives for action as well as less rational on the Russian side can be identified. The *basic assumption* in this project is that, in addition to rational cost-benefits considerations, “subjective” interests and motives also play an important role and these significantly influence the dynamic and quality of Russia’s interactions with the West.

In order to be able to explain the emotionality and the apparent „irrational” behavior of Russia in relationships with the West, the theoretical view must go beyond the conventional approaches from international relations. Drawing on the knowledge of political or social psychology seems to be enlightening here. The concept of “respect”, in particular, has the potential for building a bridge and should, therefore be used as a central explanatory approach for the influence of “subjective” interests in the development of relationships between Russia and the West.

The progress of the project in the reporting period consisted in the presentation of two conference papers (at ICCEES and SGIR), the submission of a manuscript (book chapter) and a third party funding application – meanwhile granted – for conducting a workshop (VW Foundation) as well as the preparation of an initial draft of an application for a research project. The Institute for Political Science at the University of Frankfurt and Tampere University served as collaborating partners.

### **ZEUS-10-F-02: TERAS-INDEX. Terrorism and Radicalization – Indicators for External Influence Factors**

*Staff involved:* Matenia Sirseldoudi, Martin Kahl, Barbara Kauffmann

With the emergence of Jihadist-motivated terrorist violence, the risk of attacks with a high number of victims and grave material damage has increased significantly. Otherworld-oriented assassins apparently take into consideration neither their reference groups nor themselves – the more devastating the attack, the greater the supposed homage to the God,



Regina Heller working on the project „Russia and the West“



in whose name the attack is carried out. Considering these consequences of terrorist attacks, the battle against terrorism has shifted ever more strongly into the run-up of the actual terrorist act. Similar to other areas of collective violence, such as great escalation of conflicts, genocide and massive violations of human rights, prevention, as opposed to reactive management, is acquiring ever stronger significance. Thereby, the recruiting and radicalization processes which the individual goes through on the way to terrorist acts, moves into the focus of attention. At the same time the foreign and security policy management of the Federal Republic has unintentional consequences for domestic security in the form of radicalization processes. The involvement of the Federal Republic in international conflicts (particularly in the area of combating terrorism) carries with it a potential for radicalization. Coherent and convincing indicators for this potential for radicalization can be developed.

The project aims at working out and testing indicators for radicalization as an undesirable effect of security policy and making available instruments for adequately registering radicalization processes. Methodologically, the knowledge acquired should be through a combination of inductive and deductive approaches. In order to study the effect that the German foreign and security policy involvement in the Muslim world has on the domestic radicalization process, several methods of empirical social research will be combined (method triangulation). In addition to narrative interviews and group interviews, expert interviews with vulnerable, multiply marginalized youth and students as well as members of avowed Islamic milieus, will be conducted. For the data collection on terrorist actors, the evaluation of court transcripts (where necessary, compiled ourselves) and openly available documentary sources will be added.

The progress of the project in 2010 consisted in the publication of an article, the further development of the theoretical concept and the establishment of a pilot data bank. Further, a workshop was conducted. The project was conducted with the following partners: Landeskriminalamt [State Criminal Investigation Office] Hamburg; Bonn International Center for Conversion (BICC); Lehrstuhl für Islamwissenschaft [Chair for Islamic Studies] Universität Erfurt; Lehrstuhl für Soziologie [Chair for Sociology], Universität Augsburg; Terrorism Research Initiative (Vienna).

### **ZEUS-10-F-03: Theory and practice of violent conflicts**

*Staff involved:* Johann Schmid

Violent conflicts and war are part and parcel of human history. All efforts at overcoming them permanently have failed up to now. Resolving specific models of conflict that dominated in the past does not seem to have made the world more fundamentally peaceful or safe. Preventing and avoiding, restricting and limiting them, as well as the ability to be able to successfully and rapidly bring existing violent conflicts to a humane and long-term peaceful end are, therefore, as important as conditions for peace as they have ever been.

The project is based on the premise that a systematic promotion of the aforementioned conditions of peace is not possible without an accurate and fundamental understanding of war and conflict and the related educated judgment of the managing actors. Based on the working hypothesis “Whoever wants peace, must understand war and violent conflict”, the project pursues the goal of contributing to a systematic development of a comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon of war – and also its



Matenia Sirseldou deals with radicalization



difference to other forms of organized violence – uniting theory and practice. Thereby, it will take into account the growing need for an appropriate evaluation of extremely varied and permanently changing forms of war and violent conflict in the global space and make a contribution to the fundamental theoretical classification and limitations of the multifaceted phenomenon of war. Thus, it is connected not only with analytically but also with politically relevant questions. Especially against the background of the Alliance orientation of Germany, it is crucial to be able to make an independent and well-grounded judgment with respect to the evaluation of the current wars and conflict events and those that can be expected in the future, in order to help shape Alliance policies on the basis of what makes sense and what is doable and to be able to create, in a targeted way, the necessary means and instruments for this.

To achieve this goal, selected forms of current war and conflict events will be analyzed on the basis of, among other things, the theory and philosophy of Carl von Clausewitz, so as to lead to starting points for their evaluation and the development of management strategies under the conditions of violent conflicts. At the same time, the project is aiming at the review of – and, where applicable, the further development of – existing theoretical knowledge on the essence of the varied phenomenon of war. Building on this should contribute to working out a deep theoretical understanding of war and violent conflicts

Progress on the project in the reporting period was documented through a journal article and a book chapter. The following partners are collaborating: Zentrum für Transformation der Bundeswehr [Center for the Transformation of the Bundeswehr]; Führungsakademie der Bundeswehr [Command and Staff College of the Bundeswehr]; Universitäten der Bundeswehr [Bundeswehr Universities]; Politisch-Militärische Gesellschaft e.V. (PMG) [Political-Military Society]; Universität zu Köln, Wirtschafts- und Sozialwissenschaftliche Fakultät [Economic and Social Science Faculties], Lehrstuhl für Internationale Politik und Außenpolitik [Chair for International Policy and Foreign Policy]; RWTH Aachen, Institut für Politische Wissenschaft, Teilbereich Internationale Beziehungen und Strategische Studien [Institute for Political Science, Sub-Department for International Relations and Strategic Studies].



Johann Schmid works on “The Theory and Practice of Violent Conflicts”



Podium “What now in Afghanistan?”: Mihai Carp, Hans-Georg Ehrhart, William Moeller, Wolfgang Jamann, from left to right (photo JR)

**ZEUS-Projects**

<b>Call number</b>	<b>Title</b>
ZEUS-10-F-01	Russia and the West: New approaches to an explanation of Russian foreign policy
ZEUS-10-F-02	Terrorism and radicalization – Indicators for external influencing factors
ZEUS-10-F-03	Theory and practice of violent conflicts
ZEUS-10-F-04	The transformation of sub-state violent actors between the struggle for independence and state-building as a challenge for the Middle East policy of the EU
ZEUS-09-F-01	Security Governance as a challenge for coping with transnational conflicts
ZEUS-08-F-04	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
ZEUS-08-F-07	Piracy and Maritime Terrorism as a Challenge for Maritime Trade Security: Indicators, Perceptions and Options for Action
ZEUS-07-F-08	Development, Reform and Collapse of the Security Sector in the Palestinian Territories as a Challenge for the Middle Eastern Policy of the EU
ZEUS-10-P-01	Comprehensive approach and counterinsurgency in Afghanistan
ZEUS-10-P-02	The French return into the military integration of NATO: a German perspective
ZEUS-09-P-01	Transnational Risks of Violence and Intelligence Services in Europe. Democratic Control and Civil Rights of Freedom versus the Primacy of Security of the State and Society?
ZEUS-09-P-02	Bundeswehr in deployments abroad
ZEUS-09-P-03	UN missions in Africa
ZEUS-08-P-01	Peace Handbook
ZEUS-08-P-08	Encyclopedia of European Security
ZEUS-10-NF-01	Mentoring in the Federal Chancellery scholarship program
ZEUS-10-NF-02	Multilateralism in South-East Asian Counterterrorism
ZEUS-09-NF-01	Governing Transatlantic Counterterrorism: Form and Effectiveness of Combating Transatlantic Terrorism
ZEUS-09-NF-02	The relevance of rationalist approaches in the analysis of terrorism and anti-terror policy
ZEUS-08-NF-01	The internationalization of terrorist violence – Causes and conditions
ZEUS-07-NF-01	Conflict prevention and crisis management of the EU: Limits and chances for coherent management in the European multilevel system
ZEUS-07-NF-03	Change of Elites in Bosnia-Herzegovina in Transition
ZEUS-07-NF-06	A comparative assessment of police missions in the European Security and Defense Policy (Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Democratic Republic of Congo and the Palestinian territories). Is there a European police reform in the making?
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
ZEUS-07-B-01	International Baudissin Fellowship-Program



### 3.3 Interdisciplinary Research Group on Disarmament, Arms Control and Risk Technologies (IFAR<sup>2</sup>)

The Interdisciplinary Research Group on Disarmament, Arms Control and Risk Technologies (IFAR<sup>2</sup>) 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. Its work methods involve a combination of natural- and social-science techniques and expertise. Through intensive cooperation with other institutions of various disciplines, basic research is conducted in the natural science/ technical dimension of arms control. In addition, IFAR<sup>2</sup> participates in a range of expert networks, which bring together expertise from the areas of research and practice and concentrate research efforts.

The content of the IFAR<sup>2</sup>-projects and activities in 2010 was focused on the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) Review Conference in May, the debates on NATO's new Strategic Concept, in particular in the area of nuclear policy and missile defense in Europe, as well as the discussion on the achievability of a world without nuclear weapons (Global Zero). Thanks to the impulse given by US President Barack Obama in 2009, international arms control was revived again. Using funding from public scientific authorities, the IFAR group, with Oliver Meier and Anne Finger, was strengthened by two new staff members. Christian Alwardt has been financed as a research assistant at IFAR<sup>2</sup> since the beginning of 2010 by third-party funding through the Climate Excellence Cluster (CliSAP). Workshops on NATO nuclear policy were conducted in Warsaw, Ankara and Brussels and four research papers on NATO's new Strategic Concept were published on a special homepage with funding from the *William and Flora Hewlett Foundation*. Götz Neuneck was a member of the German delegation at the NPT Review Conference in New York in which additional IFAR<sup>2</sup> members participated as observers. In cooperation with the Union of Concerned Scientists (UCS) and DESY as well as with the Japanese-German Center in Berlin, IFAR organized two week-long summer schools.

Götz Neuneck presented the results of the study "Missile Defense in Europe", commissioned by the Hamburg Academy of Sciences in 2009, to the public on 23. November during an Academy meeting. The volume "South-Asia at a Crossroads" was presented to the professional public in May at the German UN representation in New York and at the US Institute for Peace in Washington, D.C. IFAR intensified its collaboration with the Arms Control Department of the (German) Foreign Ministry. Ulrich Kühn has been employed since November 2010 in this department, working on, among other things, preparing the project "Futures and Perspectives for the NPT" for the Pugwash Annual Meeting planned for mid-2011. In addition, following a visit by two former British Defense Ministers, Lord Des Brown of Ladyton and Sir Malcolm Rifkind, collaboration with the European Leadership Network for Multilateral Nuclear Disarmament and Non-Proliferation was intensified.

Moreover, the area of climate change and security was expanded through the establishment of a new working group and an additional workshop was conducted.

The focus of the work of IFAR<sup>2</sup>, besides conceptual and policy consultation activities related to arms control, disarmament and non-proliferation,



Götz Neuneck and David Holloway at the IFSH/ZNF-Colloquium "Deterrence and Enforcement in a World free of Nuclear Weapons" on 10. November 2010



was also in the area of practical international debates and the strengthening of international expert networks.

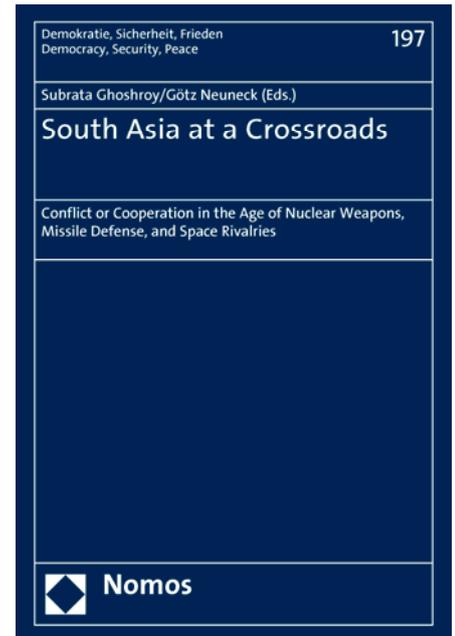
*Larger Research projects:*

### **IFAR-10-P-01 Deterrence, Disarmament and tactical Nuclear Weapons in Europe**

*Staff involved:* Michael Brzoska, Oliver Meier, Götz Neuneck

In 2010 the IFAR<sup>2</sup> staff undertook a range of activities to promote debates on the reduction of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe. In March, the *William and Flora Hewlett Foundation* approved a twelve-month project with the goal of reducing the significance of tactical nuclear weapons in European security. This project, which involves the IFSH collaborating partners, the *Arms Control Association (ACA)* and the *British American Security Information Council (BASIC)*, should contribute, in particular, to creating the conditions under which NATO and Russia can take joint steps towards the disarmament of tactical nuclear weapons and enable the removal of all US nuclear weapons from Europe. The background to this is the promise of the (German) Federal Government to do its utmost for a withdrawal of US nuclear weapons stationed in Germany and Europe, in order to strengthen non-proliferation and move global disarmament efforts forward. In the run-up to the November NATO Summit in Lisbon, at which a new strategic concept was agreed upon and, along with it, the nuclear weapons policy of the Alliance was reworked, the project partners undertook a variety of activities. Thus decision-makers and experts from various NATO countries were brought together during seminars in Brussels, Warsaw and Ankara. The debate on the limited role of nuclear weapons in European security was analyzed in various publications (*inter alia* in *Arms Control Today* and in the *Peace Assessment*) and a new series of *Nuclear Policy Papers*, written by experts and decision-makers, was analyzed. Project staff commented on and evaluated current developments, *inter alia* at meetings and conferences of the Heinrich-Böll-Foundation, the Friedrich-Ebert-Foundation and the *Arms Control Association* in Berlin, Brussels, Moscow, Tokyo and Washington as well as at the NATO “Shadow Summit” conducted at the beginning of November in Brussels, supported by *NATO-Watch* and several other NGOs. The project Website also provides an overview of relevant activities: [http://www.ifsh.de/IFAR\\_english/projekt/projekt.htm](http://www.ifsh.de/IFAR_english/projekt/projekt.htm).

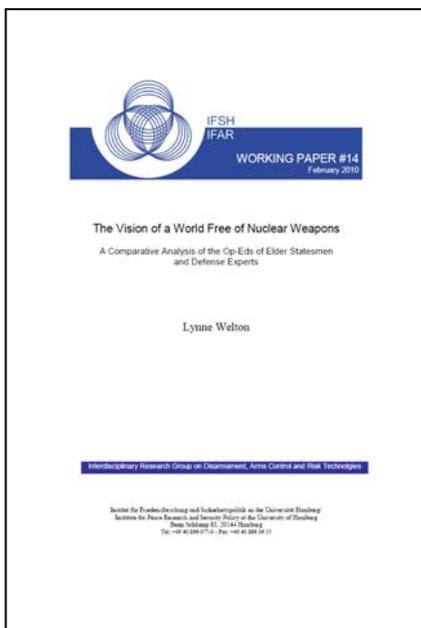
A further focus of the activities on tactical nuclear weapons was on the strengthening of the international network, within which IFAR<sup>2</sup> acts on questions of nuclear disarmament. Thus, at the beginning of November, IFAR<sup>2</sup> accompanied, in Berlin and Hamburg, a high-level delegation of the *European Leadership Network for Multilateral Nuclear Disarmament and Non-Proliferation (ELN)*, which included, among others, the former Foreign and Defense Ministers, Malcolm Rifkind and Des Browne (see IFAR-09-F-01). The collaboration with ELN as well as with ACA and BASIC will be enhanced and intensified in 2011.



**IFAR-10-F-02: New ways of Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Arms Control**

*Staff involved:* Michael Brzoska, Oliver Meier, Götz Neuneck, Anne Finger, Ulrich Kühn, collaboration with Pugwash conferences

In the first half of the year, preparation and observation of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty Review Conference in New York was on the program. In the run-up to this, the staff took part in workshops in Peking, Milan, Warsaw and Brussels. Götz Neuneck was a member of the delegation of the (German) Federal Republic in New York and was able to follow events, in particular the closing phases of the negotiations, while Oliver Meier attended events there as an NGO observer. Anne Finger participated in the conference for two weeks in her capacity as a consultant for the NGO “Mayors for Peace”. From 25 June until 2 July, 2010 the Japanese-German Center in Berlin (JDZB) conducted summer schools in Potsdam and Vienna on the topic of “Non-Proliferation and the Use of Nuclear Power” with the support of the Robert Bosch Foundation. Götz Neuneck and Oliver Meier were responsible for the scientific direction and guidance for the seminar. Half of the participants in the *Young Leader Forums* – academics or those practicing in the areas of politics, business and media – came from Germany and the other half from Japan. Furthermore, work on the nuclear program of Iran, on missile proliferation and on the problems of civilian use of nuclear energy was continued. The second half of the year was influenced by the evaluation of the results of the successful Review Conference. IFAR staff wrote a position paper on the results of the conference as well as several other publications, among them, a working paper for the Friedrich-Ebert Foundation. Master’s student, Franziska Baumann, who conducted research interviews in New York, analyzed the results and the progress of the conference in her final thesis, which was published as a IFAR<sup>2</sup>-Working-Paper. In collaboration with the (German) Foreign Ministry, a project was developed to work out, in close collaboration with the Foreign Ministry, future perspectives for the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty following the Review Conference in 2010.

**IFAR-09-F-01 Globalizing Zero: Conditions and Problems of a Nuclear –Free World**

*Staff involved:* Michael Brzoska, Oliver Meier, Götz Neuneck, Ulrich Kühn, cooperation with Pugwash conferences.

The debates on the achievability of and the conditions for a nuclear-weapons-free world were very much influenced by the Review Conference (see IFAR-10-F-02), the debates on NATO’s new Strategic Concept (see IFAR-10-P-01) and the discussion on the conclusion and ratification of the new START treaty. One focal point was the study of the effects of plans for the build-up of missile defense on further nuclear disarmament steps. The study on “Missile Defense in Europe”, prepared in 2010, has a section on the connection between nuclear disarmament and the introduction of missile defense. Oliver Meier and Götz Neuneck wrote a chapter in the 2010 *Peace Assessment* on the role of Germany in the debate on Global Zero. Other papers and lectures by members of the working group were also devoted to the question of how the goal of a nuclear-weapons-free world can be achieved.



An important aspect of the IFAR<sup>2</sup> activities was awakening political awareness for the topic of nuclear disarmament in Germany and Europe and promotion of networking of experts and decision-makers. At a meeting organized jointly by the Helmut-Schmidt University and the IFSH on 8 November 2010, the former British Minister of Defense, Lord Des Browne gave a lecture on the role of Great Britain in nuclear disarmament, which was moderated by Prof. Michael Staack and Götz Neuneck. On 9 November, Browne, along with the former British Foreign and Defense Minister, Malcolm Rifkind, Ian Kearns of the *Royal United Services Institute* as well as Götz Neuneck met the Minister of State, Werner Hoyer, at the (German) Foreign Ministry in Berlin. Along with Egon Bahr, Hans-Dietrich Genscher and Richard von Weizsäcker - who, in January of last year, together with Helmut Schmidt, spoke out in a newspaper commentary for a nuclear-weapons-free world – discussed with the British delegation further possibilities for promoting nuclear disarmament. During a dinner with the members of the German Bundestag Subcommittee on Disarmament, Arms Control and Non-Proliferation, they discussed how the role of Germany in the area of nuclear disarmament can be strengthened. Moreover, there were further meetings in the Bundestag with Members of Parliament. IFSH and ELN have agreed to work together in the future on questions of nuclear arms control and non-proliferation

#### **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.

The 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 perception of increased 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 on 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 mid-2010, the theoretical and conceptual preparations were completed and substantial progress had been made in the empirical research. IFAR staff conducted interviews with decision-makers and experts *inter alia* at meetings of the members of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, of the International Atomic Energy Organization and the Chemical Weapons Treaty, as well on the sidelines of conferences. They presented interim results at international expert meetings and published various professional articles and book chapters. In the second half of 2010, with the permission of the German Foundation for Peace Research, the project was stopped to enable concentration of the project staff on the discussion on a new direction for the NATO nuclear weapons policy.



Hartwig Spitzer, Michael Brzoska and David Holloway on the sidelines of a joint event with ZNF



### **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.

Work on the three focal points of the research work within CliSAP, in which IFSH participates, was continued in 2010. In the area of identifying “hot spots”, in which climate change and vulnerability to violent conflicts meet, Master’s theses from IFSH on conflicts in catchment areas of the Nile as well as on the Chad Sea, provided additional work. Denise Völker continued her research on the study of the effects of forest protection measures on conflicts in the Amazons. Christian Alwardt worked on a model for the water courses in rivers as a basis for assessing potential future water conflicts. In addition, much new work in the C-3 group, led by Jürgen Scheffran, was discussed by colleagues from the University of Hamburg, the Helmut-Schmidt University and the GIGA Institute

The second focal point area on questions of effects of energy options in climate policy on international security is tightly linked with the IFAR<sup>2</sup>-projects on nuclear proliferation and will not be further explained here.

The third area being researched is related to the question of the effects of the identification of climate change as a security problem („securitization“). Michael Brzoska devoted 2010 particularly to the question of whether the representation of climate change as a security problems that was strongly emphasized and controversially discussed internationally in the years 2007/2008 was already the entry point for national planning documents for armed forces and other security forces

The IFSH was co-organizer of the annual meeting of the Working Group for Peace and Conflict Research on the topic of climate change and violent conflicts. Michael Brzoska is co-editor of the publication arising from this conference. In addition, he worked in 2010 on the publication of the conference report, which, following an assessment process, accepted contributions on a larger international conference on climate change and security, organized in November 2009 by IFSH, among others.

Beyond these focal points, preparations were begun in 2010 for a new research field on large scale measures on climate change, also called geo-engineering and climate engineering, which will flow into the CliSAP application for continued funding. In 2011, in collaboration with Adelphi Research Berlin, a scientific conference will be held.



Denise Völker is working on her doctorate at IFAR. Her topic: “Conflict Factor Forest Protection? Analysis of the effects of forest protection measures on conflict formations in selected regions of the Amazon Basin.”

**IFAR-Projects**

<b>Call number</b>	<b>Title</b>
IFAR-10-F-01	Deterrence, disarmament and tactical nuclear weapons in Europe
IFAR-10-F-02	New ways to nuclear non-proliferation and arms control
IFAR-09-F-01	Globalizing Zero: Conditions and problems of a nuclear-weapons-free world
IFAR-08-F-01	Between Control and Cooperation: Technology Transfer and Efforts at Non-Proliferation of WMD
IFAR-08-F-03	Climate Change and Security
IFAR-07-F-02	Erosion of the Non-Proliferation Treaty
IFAR-10-P-01	Deterrence, disarmament and the new strategic concept of NATO
IFAR-10-P-02	Preventing the Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction: EU – South Asia Cooperation and the Management of Dual Use Technology
IFAR-10-P-03	The future of missile defense in different countries
IFAR-10-P-04	Proliferation of delivery systems and the Code of Conduct
IFAR-10-P-05	Nuclear Energy, Security and Non-Proliferation
IFAR-10-P-06	Security relevant technologies: RMA and cyberwar
IFAR-09-P-03	Multilateralization and nuclear energy in the Middle East
IFAR-09-P-05	Weaponization of space and space surveillance
IFAR-08-P-04	Verification and Monitoring of International Agreements
IFAR-07-P-05	Control of conventional arms transfers
IFAR-07-P-06	European Armament and Arms Control Policy
IFAR-09-P-04	The verification and the entering into force of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty
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
IFAR-08-NF-02	Seasonal Modeling of Regional Water Flow Amounts from the Viewpoint of Climate Change
IFAR-09-B-01	Current Trends in Arms Control
IFAR-08-B-01	Consultation for the Arms Control Department of the Federal Foreign Office
IFAR-08-B-02	Pugwash Conference on Science and World Affairs



### 3.4 Pan-Institute Projects

#### **IFSH-08-F-01 A New Agenda for European Security Economics (EUSECON)**

*Staff involved:* Michael Brzoska (Projektleiter), Raphael Bossong, Eric van Um

The primary goals of the EUSECON project are the study and use of methods of economic science for the analysis of international terrorism and organized crime, as well as the measures for stemming them. The IFSH is a member of one of the consortia led by the German Institute for Economic Research (DIW) within the 7<sup>th</sup> Research Framework Program of the European Union. In the reporting period, work was done at IFSH on four sub-projects. Eric van Um completed his conceptual studies on rationality calculations in terror research with a working paper published in the DIW series “Security Economics”. He added a study to it of violent confrontations between groups considered to be terrorists, whereby the question of in how far this behavior can be explained rationally, was of particular interest to him. Michael Brzoska continued his work on financial sanctions as an instrument for combating transnational terrorism. Raphael Bossong, who has reinforced the EUSECON team since the summer of 2010, conducted an analysis of the anti-terror policy of the European Union with the help of the concept of the theory of public good/goods. The goal was, on the one hand, to acquire new knowledge about the EU policy and, on the other hand, to yield new approaches of the theory of public goods. Michael Brzoska participated in the preparation of the publication of a special issue of the journal “Defence and Peace Economics” on the topic of Security Economics” in which articles by, *inter alia*, Eric van Um and Regina Heller, will appear (2011). Furthermore, in November 2010, IFSH conducted a workshop in Hamburg together with the DIW at which the current research projects from both institutions were presented.



#### **IFSH-08-F-03 Multi-Stakeholder Partnership in Post-Conflict Reconstruction: The Role of the EU (MULTIPART)**

*Staff involved:* Michael Brzoska (Project Director), Hans-Georg Ehrhart, Jens Narten

In international relations, the significance of multi-level and multi-actor governance for regulating complex problems is increasing. An important role is given to multi-stakeholder partnerships (MSP) for conflict regulation, creating security and rebuilding in post-war societies. The international multi-part project, funded by the EU, deals with the general question of how, to what degree and under what conditions MSP can contribute to rebuilding in post-war societies and what role the EU plays in this.

The project ended in October 2010 with a scientific meeting in Pisa as well as a presentation of the most important, politically relevant results in Brussels. Michael Brzoska took part in both events as the representative of IFSH and presented results of the IFSH-led Work Package on Multi-Stakeholder Partnerships in the security sector. Earlier, in August 2010 a “national presentation” of important results had taken place at the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) in Berlin



(with a video conference in Bonn). The research work on multipart projects was completed in April 2010. Two conceptual papers (on security governance as a framework concept for the assessment of MSP and on security sector reform) as well as a case study (on demobilization and reintegration programs for former members of the Kosovo Protection Corps) were written for this at IFSH. The revised papers, as well as further studies by project partners, among them case studies on MSP in the area of security in Congo and Afghanistan, will appear as a book in 2011. Additional information as well as the working papers of the project can be found on the Website [www.multi-part.eu](http://www.multi-part.eu).



### 3.4 Pan-institutional Projects

Call number	Title
IFSH-08-F-01	A New Agenda for European Security Economics (EUSECON) (Project manager: <i>Michael Brzoska</i> )
IFSH-08-F-03	Multi-Stakeholder Partnership in Post-Conflict Reconstruction: The Role of the EU (MULTIPART) (Project manager: <i>Michael Brzoska, Hans-Georg Ehrhart</i> )
IFSH-07-P-01	Peace Report (Project manager: <i>Margret Johannsen</i> )
IFSH-09-P-01	Workshop on the Intermediate-term Work Program Trans-Nationalization of Risks of Violence (Project manager: <i>Martin Kahl</i> )
IFSH-10-B-01	Consulting to the <i>Subcommittee on Security and Defence</i> of the European Parliament (Project manager: <i>Michael Brzoska</i> )
IFSH-08-B-01	Working Group on the Future of the German Federal Army and European Security (Project manager: <i>Michael Brzoska</i> )



## 4. Comprehensive Activities

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

In 2010, the working group on the research on the effectiveness of international institutions at IFSH continued to work on 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. Thus the focus is, on the one hand, on short-term cause-effect relationships and, on the other hand, rather on the larger historical development process. In the working group, approaches from various scientific disciplines are discussed and attempts made to develop them further. The results of the discussions should be of use for the research projects of IFSH. Furthermore, it is intended to present a summary of the state of the research, published as a book.



After the evening lecture on “Peace Consolidation”, there was further informal discussion

### 4.2. “European Security and the Future of the Bundeswehr” Commission at IFSH

The “European Security and the Future of the Bundeswehr” Commission, founded in 1999 and composed of scholars, politicians and the military, held two work sessions in the reporting period, which dealt with the questions of future European security and armed forces structures, as well as the current debate on the Bundeswehr reform. Altogether, three joint papers were produced. “Civil Crisis Prevention: Focus of German Peace Policy”, “Savings in Government Expenditures – How much Room for Maneuver is there with the Bundeswehr?” as well as “EUropean Armed Forces” (all published at [www.ifsh.de/ifsh-profil/bundeswehrkommission](http://www.ifsh.de/ifsh-profil/bundeswehrkommission)).

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; Burkhardt Müller-Sönksen, MP, 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.



### 4.3 Research Group DemoS at IFSH

In the reporting period, the external research group, “Democratization of Armed Forces (DemoS)”, which works on the “inner leadership” concept of the Bundeswehr – a traditional topic area of the IFSH since its establishment in 2006 – published a booklet “Democracy and the Military – Democracy and Peace” (Hamburger Beiträge zur Friedensforschung und Sicherheitspolitik (Hamburg Articles on Peace Research and Security Policy) 154/2010). Members of the research group are Dr. Detlef Bald (formerly from the Social Science Institute of the Bundeswehr) Lieutenant Colonel Dr. Hans-Günter Fröhling (Center for Inner Leadership), Dr. Jürgen Groß, Prof. Dr. Berthold Meyer (University of Marburg), Prof. Dr. Claus von Rosen (Baudissin-Documentation Center, Command and Staff College of the Bundeswehr [Führungsakademie]).

### 4.4 Selected Events, Conferences and Guests

On **12 February 2010** the IFSH and the Centre for Science and Peace Research (ZNF) organized an all-day workshop on the topic of „Ways out of the Violence” in which 50 scientists from Hamburg, a third of them from IFSH, participated. The workshop served as networking for peace researchers in Hamburg and, due to the positive response, will be repeated annually.

On **9 March** and on **23 September 2010**, Mr. Abdulaziz Abduganiev, First Secretary of the Embassy of the Republic of Uzbekistan in Berlin, visited Anna Kreikemeyer (CORE) for an exchange of views.

On **24 March 2010** a podium discussion took place at the IFSH at which over seventy interested listeners appeared. The event addressed the question “What to do in Afghanistan? NATO and the International Community at a Crossroads”.

The IFSH was co-organizer of the annual colloquium of the German Association for Peace and Conflict Studies (AFK) that took place this year in Hamburg from **26-28 February**.

On **25/26 March 2010** the IFSH (Hans-Georg Ehrhart) together with the Centre for International Relations of the Queen’s University (Prof. Charles Pentland) and the Command and Staff College of the Bundeswehr (Prof. Sven Gareis) organized an international conference on Afghanistan. In seven panels, over forty participants from international organizations, armed forces, science, politics, non-governmental organizations, the media and civil society discussed the topic „Security governance by comprehensive approach? NATO and the international community at the Afghan crossroads”.

From **25-26 March**, together with the Federal Foreign Office, CORE organized a workshop at the Vienna Hofburg on the topic of “Rule-of-Law Assistance in the OSCE Area” which brought together high level staff of the judicial systems of Belarus, Russia, Ukraine, Georgia, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan with representatives of the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR), the Venice Commission of the Council of Europe, the Federal Foreign Office, the German Society for Technical Cooperation (GTZ), the Max-Planck Institute for Comparative Public Law and International Law, various OSCE offices and CORE to discuss the development of rule of law in their countries and the support of OSCE.



Podium Discussion “Peace Policy on Trial – Six Year Action Plan for Civil Crisis Prevention, Conflict Resolution and Peace Consolidation” together with pbi on 26. May



Martin Kahl and Kerstin Petretto from the “Center for European Peace and Security Studies” (ZEUS) spoke on **27 April 2010** on the topic of “Terrorism and Piracy – Causes, Development and Measures for Combating It”. The lecture was directed to the members of the Deployment Company 31 of the Bundeswehr during an educational excursion in Hamburg.

On the **26 May 2010**, the IFSH organized, together with Peace Brigades International (pbi) a podium discussion on the topic of “Peace Policy under the Microscope – Six Years of the Action Place for Civilian Crisis Prevention, Conflict Resolution and Peace Consolidation”. Monika Griefahn, Minister (retd), Jürgen Klimke, M.P., Annette Fingscheidt, pbi, and Michael Brzoska, IFSH, discussed the topic, with moderation by Hans-Georg Ehrhart

On **31 May**, IFSH, in cooperation with the US Consulate in Hamburg, organized an evening lecture by George Percovich on the results of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty Review Conference that had ended the week before. George Percovich is Vice-Presidents of Studies and Director of the Nuclear Policy Program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in Washington and an expert on nuclear disarmament as well as speech writer for the current US Vice President, Joe Biden.

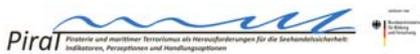
The question of a credible deterrent capability of NATO as well as the possibilities for reducing the role of nuclear weapons in European security, was at the heart of the two-day seminar that IFSH organized together with the Polish Institute for International Relations, the Arms Control Association and the British American Security Information Council on **5 and 6 July** in Warsaw.

The largest IFSH project to date on maritime terrorism and piracy as a challenge for the security of the sea trade launched the collaboration with its partners with a kick-off workshop on **6 July 2010**.

On **13 July 2010** the former head of the Permanent Mission of the Federal Republic of Germany to the OSCE, Ambassador Dr Dieter Boden, lectured on the Kazakh OSCE Presidency. At the same meeting, Dr Klemens Büscher, Senior Advisor of the OSCE’s High Commissioner on National Minorities (HCNM) and former staff member at CORE gave an update on the current focal points of HCNM activity.

From **4-29 August**, three guest scientists from Central Asia and Russia spent time at CORE to work on the empirical and conceptual basis of a scientific project on foreign and security policies of Central Asian states. The initial project was supported by funding from the International Office of the (German) Federal Ministry of Education and Research (BMBF). Members of the working group were Dr Rauschan Serik, research assistant at the Kazakh Institute for Strategic Studies by/of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan (KISI) in Almaty, Dr Rustam Machmudow, Deputy Director of the Center for Political Studies (CPS) in Tashkent and Dr Igor Proklov, Turkmenistan expert at the Center for Caucasus and Central Asian Studies at the GUS Institute in Moscow. Help in implementing the project was provided by the Kazakh doctoral student, Lena Kulipanova (CORE) und Sebastian Schiek, also a doctoral candidate at CORE.

On **12 August 2010** IFSH/ZEUS, together with the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) organized a workshop



Project website:  
<http://www.maritimesicherheit.eu>



in Berlin on the topic of multi-stakeholder partnerships. Michael Brzoska (Scientific Director IFSH), Hans-Georg Ehrhart (Director ZEUS) und Jens Narten (formerly IFSH, now GTZ) presented the results of the EU-funded international research project “Multi-Stakeholder Partnerships in Post-Conflict Countries: The Role of the EU”.

The IFSH was co-organizer of the one-day seminar in Ankara on the role of Turkey and the future of deterrence in NATO on **4. October**

On **12 October 2010** the official presentation of Master’s diplomas to the 8<sup>th</sup> class of MPS students and welcoming of the 9<sup>th</sup> class took place at the University of Hamburg. This year’s Commencement address on the topic of “Perspectives for Peace and Security – Experiences of a Parliamentarian – was given by Winfried Nachtwei.

On **29 October**, the Commander, Brigadier General Axel Binder and the Head of Department for Security, Colonel (General Staff) Jörg Knöchelmann, of the Center for Transformation of the Bundeswehr visited IFSH.

In **November 2010**, the Academic Network South East Europe, under the guidance of Dr Patricia Schneider and Naida Mehmedbegovic-Dreilich, ran a one week workshop in Bosnia and Herzegovina in Sarajevo, Srebrenica, Tuzla, Brčko and Mostar. Participants were students of the Master of Peace and Security Studies in Hamburg as well as students, graduates, doctoral candidates and instructors from the Southeastern European partner universities.

On **11 November 2010**, the seminar, „Introduction to international relations“ at the University of Lüneburg visited IFSH for a lecture by Johann Schmid on the topic „The Bundeswehr in the Afghanistan – Deployment of the ISAF of NATO as an Example for the Practical Shaping of Transatlantic Relations.”

On **23 November** a one-day workshop of the EU project EUSECON (A New Agenda for European Security Economics), in which IFSH participates, took place at IFSH.

On **3-5 December** IFSH and the Protestant Academy Loccum organized an international conference on the topic of „Development Aid with a Steel Helmet? - Networked civilian and military planning for peace and stability in crisis areas.”

Together with the Polish Institute for International Affairs (PISM) and the Moscow State Institute for International Relations (MGIMO), CORE organized a seminar in Vienna on **8 December 2010**, dedicated to the evaluation of the 2010 OSCE Summit in Astana

#### 4.5 Research Colloquium 2010

The IFSH regularly organizes research colloquia for the staff, the M.P.S. students and selected guests. Regina Heller is responsible for directing and organizing the research colloquia.

Klimasicherheit - ein neues Problemfeld internationaler Politik? *Dennis Tänzler*, Adelphi Consult Berlin (13.01.2010)

The Role of International Institutions in Promoting Regional Cooperation in Central Asia: Towards a Framework for Analysis, *Lena Kulipanova*, IFSH (20.01.2010).

Europäische Sicherheitspolitik jenseits des Nationalstaats, *Sebastian Meyer*, Universität Bremen (27.01.2010).



Winfried Nachtwei at the Commencement lecture at the MPS graduation ceremony



- Internationale Akteure und die Beendigung von Bürgerkriegen - Erfahrungen aus dem Sudan, Peter Schumann, Berlin (03.02.2010).
- Inklusion von Menschen mit Behinderung in Entwicklungsdynamiken: Probleme und Perspektiven, *Handicap International*, München (10.02.2010)
- International Politics of Attention - Medien und internationale Interventionen im Kosovo und im Sudan, *Julian Junk*, IFSH-Fellow (17.02.2010)
- Internationalisierung und Europäisierung von Polizei, *Wilhelm Knelangen*, Universität Kiel (24.02.2010)
- Global Health Governance zwischen Menschenrechten und Sicherheitsinteressen, *Wolfgang Hain*, GIGA (03.03.2010)
- Joint Stakeholders for Global Security Governance? Prospects for joint global problem-solving between the EU and China in the field of nuclear non-proliferation, *Stephan Mergenthaler*, GPPI Berlin (10.03.2010)
- 17 Jahre CIMIC in der Bundeswehr: ein Rück- und Ausblick, *Bernd Heydecke*, Führungsakademie der Bundeswehr, Hamburg (17.03.2010)
- Obama's Missile Defense Plans and its Implications for Europe, *Dean Wilkening*, CI-SAC/Stanford (23.03.2010)
- Respekt und Missachtung in den Internationalen Beziehungen, *Reinhard Wolf*, Universität Frankfurt (31.03.2010)
- Europäischer Sicherheitsdialog und der Korfu-Prozess, *Wolfgang Zellner*, IFSH (07.04.2010)
- Piraterie, Kerstin Petretto, IFSH (21.04.2010)
- Elitenkommunikation und Strategiefähigkeit - Struktur- und Führungsprobleme in der deutschen Sicherheitspolitik, *Klaus Naumann*, HIS (28.04.2010)
- Ärzte in der anti-atomaren Friedensbewegung der 1980er Jahre - die deutsche Sektion der IPPNW (International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War), *Claudia Kemper*, FZH (05.05.2010)
- Multi-Stakeholder Partnership in Post-Conflict Reconstruction: The Role of the EU (MULTIPART), *Jens Narten*, IFSH/GTZ (17.05.2010)
- Die historischen Grundlagen und Voraussetzungen der Außenpolitik Russlands, *Rudolf Mark*, HSU (19.05.2010)
- War Time Rape, *Ananda Millard*, BICC (02.06.2010)
- Theoretische Zugriffe auf die Veränderung von Rechtsstaatlichkeit im Kontext von Sicherheitspolitik, *Susanne Krasmann*, Universität Hamburg (16.06.2010)
- Aktuelle Lage Kirgistan, *Anna Kreikemeyer/Lena Kulipanova*, IFSH (23.06.2010)
- Bericht von der NPT Review Conference, *Götz Neuneck*, IFSH (30.06.2010)
- Islamist terrorism and radicalisation processes in Western Europe, *Daniela Pisiou*, IFSH (01.09.2010)
- Der Europäische Auswärtige Dienst im Aufbau – konzeptionelle Planung und konkrete Probleme, *Cornelius Adebar*, DGAP (08.09.2010)
- Türkische Außen und Sicherheitspolitik, *Hüsseyin Bageci*, Istanbul (15.09.2010)
- Die Afghanistan-Debatte aus der Sicht des parlamentarischen Raums, *Stefan Liebich*, MdB (22.09.2010)
- Can there be a rational European counterterrorism policy? A contribution to the interdisciplinary research project "Economics of security" (EUSECON), *Raphael Bossong*, IFSH (29.09.2010)
- Kontouren der neuen NATO-Strategie und ihre Auswirkungen auf die nukleare Abrüstung, *Agnez Malczak*, MdB (20.10.2010)
- Wirkungen von Gewaltkonflikten im Nahen Osten auf die Ausgestaltung und den Wandel regionalpolitischer Ordnungsstrukturen, *André Bank*, GIGA (27.10.2010)
- Entwicklung und Sicherheit, Florian Kühn, HSU (03.11.2010)
- Religion und Konflikt im subsaharischen Afrika (und darüber hinaus), *Matthias Basedau*, GIGA (17.11.2010)
- Präsentation „Raketenabwehr-Studie“, *Götz Neuneck*, IFSH (24.11.2010)
- Die NATO-Russland Militärkooperation im Kontext "kooperativer Sicherheit", Johann Schmid, IFSH (01.12.2010)
- Gewalt zwischen terroristischen Gruppen: Eine rationalistische Perspektive, Eric van Um, IFSH (08.12.2010)



Raphael Bossong is working on the EUSECON project



Causes of War. The struggle for recognition, Thomas Lindemann, CERAPS Lille (15.12.2010)

#### 4.6 Lectures of Fellows and Staff (selection)

##### *Christian Alwardt*

- Der Einfluss klimatischer Veränderungen auf regionale Wasserhaushalte und die hieraus möglicherweise resultierenden Konfliktpotentiale, Frühjahrestagung der Deutschen Physikalischen Gesellschaft, Bonn, 17.-19. März 2010.
- The influence of Climate Change on regional water supplies and thereby possibly caused conflict potentials, 22<sup>nd</sup> International Summer Symposium on Science and World Affairs, Hamburg, 8.-16. Juli 2010.

##### *Raphael Bossong*

- International counterterrorism cooperation and collective action problems. A qualitative application of public good theory, Forschungsseminar, Deutsches Institut für Wirtschaft, Berlin, 5.11.2010.
- The 'added value' of EU security and crisis management policies – functionalism vs. symbolism, Tagung 'Public Matters', Utrecht University, School of Governance (USG), 19.-20. November 2010.

##### *Michael Brzoska*

- Thesen zu den sicherheitspolitischen Konsequenzen der Finanz- und Wirtschaftskrise, Bundessicherheitsakademie, Berlin, 18. Januar 2010.
- Versicherheitlichung des Klimawandels. Hauptvortrag Jahrestagung der Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Friedens- und Konfliktforschung, Hamburg, 28. Februar 2010
- Energie und Frieden, EON, München, 3. März 2010.

##### *Hans-Georg Ehrhart*

- "Friedensmission der EU", Tagung der Evangelischen Akademie Loccum in Kooperation mit der Vereinigung Deutscher Wissenschaftler (VDW) zum Thema "Schaf im Wolfspelz? Europäische Sicherheitspolitik nach Lissabon vom 26.-28. Februar 2010.
- "Civil-military cooperation on the ground", Public Hearing of the European Parliament, Subcommittee on Security and Defence, Brüssel, 26. April 2010.
- „Der Einsatz in Afghanistan“, Vortrag auf der Konferenz „Aktuelle Herausforderungen für die Euro-Atlantische Gemeinschaft“, veranstaltet vom Institut für Politikwissenschaft an der Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg am 28. Oktober 2010.

##### *Frank Evers*

- Kasachstans OSZE-Vorsitz: Bedingtheiten, Erfolge, Defizite, Podiumsdiskussion der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Osteuropakunde und der Europäischen Akademie in Berlin zum Thema „Der OSZE-Vorsitz Kasachstans: Wie funktioniert Normentransfer über die OSZE“, Berlin, 13. Oktober 2010.
- Eine Vision formulieren, dimensionsübergreifend handeln, Eröffnungssitzung der Wirtschafts- und Umweltdimension im Rahmen der Überprüfungskonferenz der OSZE im Jahr 2010 (OSCE Review Conference), Wien, 19. Oktober 2010.
- Außenpolitische Optionen der Ukraine vor dem Hintergrund externer Bedrohungen und innenpolitischer Herausforderungen, 4. Kiewer Sicherheitsforum, Open Ukraine Foundation and Chatham House, Kiew (Ukraine), 12. November 2010.

##### *Hendrik Hegemann*

- From Policy Crisis to Governing Crisis? Emergence, Contingencies and Pathologies of Security Governance in Post-9/11 EU Counterterrorism, Nachwuchstagung der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Politikwissenschaft (DGfP), Berlin, 3. November 2010.
- Great Transformation or Politics as Usual? The Many Faces of Security Governance in Post-9/11 EU Counterterrorism, Standing Group on International Relations (SGIR), 7th Pan-European Conference, Stockholm, 9.-11. September 2010.
- How International Organizations Matter. International Cooperation, Organizational Mechanisms, and the Fight against Transnational Terrorism, International Studies Association (ISA), Annual Convention, New Orleans, 17.-20. Februar 2010.

##### *Regina Heller*

- Wo endet Europa? Inklusion und Exklusion in der Europäischen Nachbarschaft, Vortrag im Rahmen der Ringvorlesung "20 Jahre nach dem Ende des Kalten Krieges - zur Ambivalenz gegenwärtiger Friedenspolitik" am Institut für Sozialwissenschaft der Christian-Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel, 27. Mai 2010
- Subjectivity matters. Reconsidering Russia's Relations with the West, Vortrag auf der ICCEES-Tagung "Prospects for Wider Cooperation", Stockholm, 26.-30. Juli 2010.





- Unveiling the ‘unconscious’ – New approaches to the explanation of Russian foreign policy behavior vis-à-vis the West, Vortrag auf der SGIR 7. Pan-European International Relations Conference des ECPR, Stockholm, 9.-11. September 2010

*Margret Johannsen*

- Hamas: Mit Terroristen reden? Ja, mit wem denn sonst! Schwierige Entscheidungen im Nahost-Konflikt. Vortrag beim Parlamentarischen Abend der Deutschen Stiftung Friedensforschung, Osnabrück, 28. September 2010.
- Designing Disarmament Strategies: The Case of Hamas. Vom Werden eines trilateralen Projekts. Vortrag an der Universität Frankfurt, 28. Juli 2010.

*Martin Kahl*

- Krieg und Frieden im Internationalen System, Führungsakademie der Bundeswehr, Hamburg, 22. November 2010.

*Anna Kreikemeyer*

- Diversifizierung oder Restauration. Eine vergleichende Analyse der kasachstanischen, turkmenischen und usbekischen Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik, Vortrag bei der Tagung des Kompetenznetzes Interdisziplinäre Friedens- und Konfliktforschung in der Metropolregion Hamburg, 12. Februar 2010.
- Sicherheitsrisiken in Zentralasien, Vortrag im Museum Boizenburg/Elbe, 23. April 2010.
- Trust in a traditional, tolerant and transparent multi level game? The Kazakhstani OSCE Chairmanship 2010, Vortrag beim 3. GCSP – OSCE Academy – Nupi – Nesa Seminar “Zentralasien 2010” an der OSZE Akademie Bishkek, 17. September 2010.

*Elena Kropatcheva*

- Russia's Policy within and in Relation to European and Euro-Atlantic Institutions: Patterns of (In-)Consistence, Panel “Russia’s Relations with the West: New Views on an old Theme,” VIII World Congress of the International Council for Central and East European Studies (ICCEES), Stockholm, Schweden, 26.-31. Juli.
- Ukraine’s Foreign Policy Choices and Financial Crisis, Workshop “Eastern Europe and the Crisis,” Department of Politics, Glasgow University, UK, 13.-14. Mai.
- The Western Perception of Russia’s Role in European Security: What does Russia want?, within the framework of session the “Security: the National, Regional, International and Global Dimensions: Acute problems of arms control and non-dissemination of WMD,” VI Russian International Studies Association (RISA) Convention “Russia and the World after the Global Crisis: New challenges, new opportunities?”, MGIMO University, Moskau, 24.-25. September 2010.

*Ulrich Kühn*

- Conventional Arms Control in Europe: Overcoming the Impasse, Vortrag auf dem 18. Partnership for Peace International Research Seminar („The Indivisibility of Euro-Atlantic Security“), veranstaltet vom NATO Defense College Rome und dem österreichischen Verteidigungsministerium, Wien, 4.-5. Februar 2010
- Conventional Arms Control in Europe: Past, Present, Future, Vortrag auf dem Workshop „Wege aus der Gewalt: Neue Entwicklungen der Friedens- und Konfliktforschung in Hamburg“, veranstaltet von IFSH/ZNF, Hamburg, 12. Februar 2010

*Lena Kulipanova*

- Functional Cooperation in Central Asia: A Case of Asymmetrical Interdependence?, VIII World Congress of the International Council for Central and East European Studies (ICCEES), Stockholm, 26.-31. Juli 2010.

*Isabelle Maras*

- Le soutien de la Belgique à la mise en oeuvre de la Résolution 1325 en République démocratique du Congo. Modalités et implications pour sa politique de coopération au développement, Vortrag im Rahmen des Runden Tisches der Forschungsgruppe GRAPAX (Groupe de recherche en appui aux politiques de paix) „La Belgique et l’Afrique centrale, quel intérêt aujourd’hui?“, Brüssel, 28. September 2010.

*Naida Mehmedbegovic-Dreilich*

- „Geschichte, Krisenentwicklung und internationales Krisenmanagement am Beispiel Kosovo und Bosnien“ – Vortrag gehalten am Haus Rissen im Rahmen des Seminar-Projekts Nr. 21/06/10 zum Thema „Kosovo und Bosnien“, Hamburg, 28. Juni 2010.

*Oliver Meier*

- Wie Deutschland und Japan gemeinsam die nukleare Abrüstung voranbringen können, Vortrag auf dem japanisch-deutschen Dialog zur Nichtverbreitung, Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung & Japanisch-Deutsches Zentrum Berlin in Zusammenarbeit mit dem Japan Institute für International Affairs, Tokio, 8.-9. März 2010.
- No time for complacency: tackling challenges to the Chemical Weapons Convention, Vortrag auf dem Seminar “The OPCW’s Contribution to the International Security



2010 Dieter S. Lutz Lecture with Heidemarie Wieczorek-Zeul



Dimension: Achievements and Challenges”, Auswärtiges Amt, Berlin, 7.-8. Juni 2010.

- NATO’s new Strategic Concept and the future of tactical nuclear weapons, Vortrag auf der Konferenz “Next Steps in Arms Control: Nuclear Weapons, Missile Defense and NATO”, Arms Control Association/Heinrich Böll Stiftung, Washington, D.C., 8. November 2010.

#### *Jens Narten*

- Multi-stakeholder Partnerships in Post-conflict Settings. Vortrag am Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung (BMZ) in Berlin, 12. August 2010 (mit Michael Brzoska und Hans-Georg Ehrhart (IFSH) und der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ)).
- Demobilization of a Civil Protection Actor: Build-up and Stand-down of the KPC in Kosovo. Paper Presentation at the LSE Workshop “For Better or for Worse? Civil Society and Transitions in the Western Balkans, London School of Economics and Political Science in cooperation with the St. Antony’s College at the University of Oxford, London, 7. Mai 2010.
- The Cooptation of Peacebuilding: Dynamics of External-local Interaction and the Struggle for Local Ownership in Postwar Kosovo. Vortrag auf dem Workshop zum Thema „Wege aus der Gewalt“ des Netzwerks FriedensforscherInnen in Hamburg (IFSH, ZNF, GIGA, u.a.), 14. Februar 2010.

#### *Götz Neuneck*

- Missile Proliferation and Ballistic Missile Defense, Diplomatische Akademie Wien, 1.- 19. Januar 2010.
- Global Zero – Herausforderungen auf dem Weg zu einer kernwaffenfreien Welt. Rüstungskontrolle im Weltraum, Auswärtiges Amt, 26. Forum Globale Fragen, Berlin, 15. Mai 2010:
- Präsentation der Studie „Raketenabwehr in Europa“, Hamburger Akademie der Wissenschaften, 23. November 2010.

#### *Kerstin Petretto*

- Sicherheitspolitische Herausforderungen am Horn von Afrika. Fragile Staatlichkeit, Piraterie und Terrorismus. Veranstaltung: Haus Rissen, Auslandseinsätze der Bundeswehr, Hamburg, 24. November 2010.
- Herausforderungen politischer Maßnahmen zur Pirateriebekämpfung an Land. Veranstaltung: Dimensionen der Pirateriebekämpfung im Indischen Ozean - Möglichkeiten und Perspektiven, Expertentagung der Hanns Seidel Stiftung, Bildungszentrum Kloster Banz, 28./29. Oktober 2010.
- Piraterie – Rückkehr einer Geißel. Fachkongress „Maritime Wirtschaft“, FORUM Institut für Management GmbH, Bremen, 14. Oktober 2010.

#### *Sybille Reinke de Buitrago*

- Regional Security and Global Norms. ECPR European Standing Group on International Relations, Stockholm, Schweden, 9.-11. September 2010.
- China as a Threat in American, German and Japanese Globalization Discourses: Conceptualizing ‘Othering’. ECPR European Standing Group on International Relations, Stockholm, Schweden, 9.-11. September 2010.
- The Advances and Limits of Social Constructivism: A Comparative Study. International Studies Association Convention, New Orleans, LA, USA, 17.-20. Februar 2010.

#### *Sebastian Schiek*

- Neopatrimonialismus und Reformen in Zentralasien, Vortrag an der the Research School of Conflict and Development at the University of Magdeburg, 31. März 2010.
- Security Perceptions in Central Asia, Vortrag an der DAAD Sommerschule “Die OSZE in Zentralasien”, Astana, Kasachstan, 17. Juni 2010.
- Politik, Staatliche Verwaltung und Reformen in Kasachstan, Vortrag auf der “Junge Osteuropa Experten“-Konferenz in Berlin, 23. Oktober 2010.

#### *Johann Schmid*

- Vortrag „Thesen zur Sicherheits- und Verteidigungspolitik Deutschlands vor dem Hintergrund der aktuellen Debatte zur Streitkräftereform“, SPD-Distrikt Harburg-Nord, 22. September 2010.

#### *Patricia Schneider*

- Publish or Perish. Selbstaubeutung, Selbstvermarktung, Selbstbeschränkung – wie entkomme ich der Veröffentlichungsfalle?, KörperForum, Hamburg, 26. Oktober 2010.



Participants in the Afghanistan Conference in March 2010



John P. Holdren, Scientific Advisor to U.S. President Barack Obama, Catherine M. Kelleher and Götz Neuneck

#### *Matenia Sirseloudi*

- Religion and Violence, Summer School „Muslims in the West“, Universität Erfurt, 27. August 2010.
- Radicalisation Motives: From Terrorism to Narratives, 2nd International Symposium on Terrorism and Transnational Crime, Antalya, Türkei, 7.-9. Dezember, 2010.

#### *Eric van Um*

- Concepts of Terrorist Rationality: Implications for Counter-Terrorism Policy. EUSECON Workshop, Universität Athen, 12.-13. April 2010.

#### *Denise Völker*

- Forest Protection vs. Agricultural Expansion Climate Change Mitigation: a factor fostering land use conflict in the Amazon region?, SGIR (Standing Group on International Relations) 7th Pan-European Conference, Stockholm, 9.-11. September, 2010.
- Klimaschutz als Ökoimperialismus?, Ringvorlesung „Unabhängigkeit und neue Abhängigkeiten in Lateinamerika und Afrika - Kritische Betrachtungen aus Anlass der Jahrestage der Dekolonisierung“, Eine Welt Netzwerk Hamburg e.V. und Universität Hamburg 15. Dezember 2010.

#### *Wolfgang Zellner*

- The Code of Conduct on Politico-Military Aspects of Security and Its Possible Contribution to the Corfu Process, Forum für Sicherheitskooperation der OSZE, Wien, 24. Februar 2010.
- OSCE Crisis Prevention: Cases and Instruments, Schweizer Außenministerium, 2. Chambésy Roundtable-Gespräch, Genf, 10. September 2010.
- Das OSZE-Gipfeltreffen am 1./2. Dezember 2010 in Astana/Bewertung der Ergebnisse, Seminar der OSZE-Botschaftern Deutschlands, Polens und Russlands sowie von IFSH, PISM (Polish Institute for International Affairs) und MGIMO (Moscow State Institute for International Relations), Diplomatischen Akademie Wien, 8. Dezember 2010.

## **4.7 Functions of IFSH Staff in Professional Bodies**

#### *Christian Alwardt*

- Member of the Board of Directors, Research Association for Science, Disarmament and International Security (FONAS)

#### *Michael Brzoska*

- Member of the Academy of Sciences in Hamburg
- Chairman 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 (until July 2010)
- 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 of the Journal of Peace Research
- Associate Editor of Economics of Peace and Security Journal

#### *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 Cercle Stratégique Franco-Allemand
- Member of the Cercle Stratégique Franco-Allemand
- Liaison professor (Vertrauensdozent) of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation



- Member of the working group security policy 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
- Editor of the journal „Sicherheit und Frieden (S+F) [Security and Peace]”

*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]
- Mitglied im Expertenkreis Nationale Kontaktstelle, EU-Forschungsprogramm

*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

*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

*Patricia Schneider*

- Editor and Co-Publisher of the journal „Sicherheit und Frieden (S+F)“ [Security and Peace]
- 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].



Podium Discussion at the HSU Library: Ian Kearns (RUSI/London), Lord Des Browne, Prof. Michael Staack, Götz Neuneck



## 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 has been unconditionally accredited until 2011.

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 2010 22 students (16 female, 6 male) completed an internship at IFSH (distribution over the work areas: ZEUS: 15, CORE: 3, IFAR<sup>2</sup>:4).

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 October 2010.

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. Regina Heller was responsible for the organization and implementation of the weekly research colloquium of the Institute. 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 2010, the 9<sup>th</sup> academic year of the M.P.S. Master’s program began with student orientation and an excursion to Berlin.

On 12 October 2010 the 8<sup>th</sup> graduating class was bid farewell in an official ceremony. 28 graduates from thirteen countries (Sierra Leone, France, Brazil, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Ukraine, Latvia, Estonia, Poland, Austria, Switzerland, Bangladesh and Germany) received their Master’s diplomas: Patricia Bashiru-Kargbo, Franziska Anneliese Baumann, Joice Biazoto, Christine Blumauer, Marion Katrin Bolten, Yuliya Borshchevska, Jörn Fiedler, Andreas Graf, Diana Heiman, Daniel Mathias Holler, Nino Khelaia, Dominique Klein, Carlo Koos, Dan Krause, Katarzyna Anna Kubiak, Annegret Kunde, Michel Lipski, Alexandre Maouche, Florence Alessa Metz, Mubashir Mir, Akbikesh Mukhtarova, Maria Nicola Nymalm, Nadine Petri, Franziska Piontek, Evija Rimšāne, Michael Strautmann, Esen Üsük and Solvejg Wiedecke. One student, Ms. Mirjam Mahler, successfully completed her studies in December 2010 due to an addition to her family during the academic year.

For the academic year 2010/2011 24 students from nine countries were enrolled (Japan, USA, Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Moldavia, Por-





tugal, Ireland, Switzerland and Germany); the percentage of women was just under 72 % (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.

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 coordinator in 2010 was Naida Mehmedbegović-Dreilich. Members of the program's joint committee 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 eight participating departments of the University of Hamburg and the cooperating institutions (KoFrieS).



MPS course participants at the Office of the Federal President in Berlin with Federal President Christian Wulff

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 Conflict Research, 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 the
- M.P.S. Alumni and Friends Association



Presentation of MPS Diplomas. Front, from left to right, Naida Mehmedbegovic-Dreilich, Götz Neuneck, Patricia Schneider

Dr Axel Krohn (German Armed Forces Staff College) was re-elected by the consortium as representative to the Joint Committee for the study year 2010-2011.

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 2010 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](http://www.akademischesnetzwerk-soe.net)) to support the advancement of a democratically-oriented scientific landscape in South-eastern Europe. In addition to the visit of a guest scholar from Bosnia-Herzegovina to IFSH and doctoral stipends, this also included the promotion of a joint international workshop with the University of Sarajevo and Sarajevo School of Science and Technology during which MPS students met in Bosnia and Herzegovina 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: “General Elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina: Opportunity or Challenge for Internal and Regional Stability?”

## **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. 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, Clare Preece, was at IFSH and at the University of Hamburg during the 2010 summer semester. She was supervised by Anna Kreikemeyer. Hans-Joachim Gießmann was 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. The ECNU doctoral candidate, Fan Zhou finished his stay at IFSH in October 2010 as planned. The Department of Economy and Politics of the University of Hamburg (Prof. Voegeli) was responsible for conducting a seminar in Shanghai in 2010. The Chinese partner also sent two students to the Master of European Studies Program of this faculty.

## **5.4 The IFSH Doctoral Supervision Program**

The aim of this program is to enable doctoral students to successfully complete their dissertations under the intensive supervision of 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.

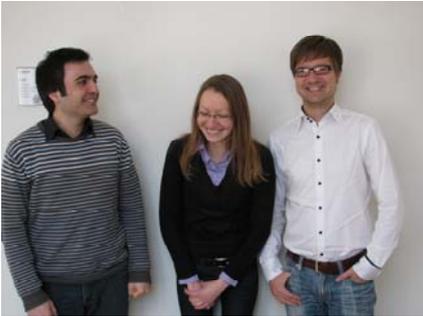


Site of the E.MA course is the former Benedictine Cloister San Nicolo in Venice



## 5.5 Teaching by IFSH Staff in 2010

### Winter semester 2009/2010



CORE Doctoral Students 2010: from left to right: Sebastian Schiek, Lena Kulipanova, Ulrich Kühn

- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Vorlesung und Übung „Political Economy of Conflicts, War and Arms“ (Michael Brzoska)
- Universität Hamburg, Vorlesung „Monitoring und Verifikation von internationalen Abkommen“ (Michael Brzoska, Martin Kahl, Martin Kalinowski, Götz Neuneck and others)
- University of Hamburg/CLISAP, lecture “Climate security, natural resources and conflict geography” (Jürgen Scheffran, Michael Brzoska, Jürgen Ossenbrügge)
- Vorlesung und Übung „Disziplinäre Methoden und interdisziplinäre Friedens- und Sicherheitsforschung“ (Michael Brzoska, Martin Kahl, Götz Neuneck and others)
- 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 Zmoryinska)
- 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)
- University of Hamburg/M.P.S., Block seminar “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)
- University of Hamburg/M.P.S. in cooperation with the University of Podgorica within the framework of the Academic Network of Southeast Europe, supported by the DAAD “Montenegro’s Path towards Euro-Atlantic Integration (Excursion to Montenegro)” (Patricia Schneider, Naida Mehmedbegović-Dreilich)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Block seminar “Perception and Communication in International Politics” (Sybille Reinke de Buitrago)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Vertiefungsseminar „Europäische Sicherheitspolitik: OSZE“ (Wolfgang Zellner)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Vertiefungsseminar, Blocklehrveranstaltung „Der Nahostkonflikt in den Internationalen Beziehungen“ (Margret Johannsen)
- TU Hamburg Harburg, Block seminar “Ethics For Engineers: Moral Issues in Scientific Work” (Oliver Meier, Iris Hunger)

### Summer semester 2010

- Universität Hamburg, Hauptseminar, „Konzepte von Frieden und Sicherheit“ (Michael Brzoska)
- Universität Hamburg, Arbeitsstelle Studium und Beruf, Seminar „Interkulturelle Kompetenz“ (Naida Mehmedbegović-Dreilich)
- Hochschule für Angewandte Wissenschaften (HOPIKOS). Blockveranstaltung/Training „Interkulturelle Kompetenz“, (Naida Mehmedbegović-Dreilich)
- TU Hamburg Harburg, Blockseminar “The Politics of Science” (Oliver Meier, Iris Hunger)



- University of Hamburg/M.P.S. in cooperation with the Department of the Armed Forces, Block seminar (Brussels-Excursion: NATO, EU, BMVg) “New Challenges for the German Security Policy” (Patricia Schneider/Naida Mehmedbegovic Dreilich)

*Winter semester 2010/2011*

- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Seminar, „Neustart der Abrüstung? Globale und regionale Rüstungskontrolle in Europa“ (Christian Alwardt, Ulrich Kühn, Götz Neuneck, Wolfgang Zellner)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Vorlesung und Übung „Politische Ökonomie von Konflikten, Kriegen. Terrorismus und Rüstung“ (Michael Brzoska)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Vorlesung und Übung „Disziplinäre Methoden und interdisziplinäre Friedens- und Sicherheitsforschung“ (Mitveranstalter Michael Brzoska)
- Universität Hamburg/NF-Osteuropa/MPS/Euromaster, Seminar „Russland und der Westen: Russische Außenpolitik seit dem Ende des Ost-West-Konflikts“ (Regina Heller)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Vorlesung „Die Europäische Union als außen-, sicherheits- und friedenspolitischer Akteur“ (Hans-Georg Ehrhart)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Vertiefungsseminar, Blocklehrveranstaltung „Der Nahostkonflikt in den Internationalen Beziehungen“ (Margret Johannsen)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Vorlesung „Einführung in die Sicherheitspolitik“ (Martin Kahl)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Orientierungsveranstaltung „Disziplinäre Methoden der Friedens- und Konfliktforschung I“ (Martin Kahl)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Übung „Wissenschaftliches Schreiben“ (Anna Kreikemeyer)
- University of Hamburg/M.P.S., Block seminar “Internal challenges for the security of the Russian Federation” (Elena Kropatcheva)
- University of Hamburg/M.P.S., Block seminar “International Politics in Central Asia” (Lena Kulipanova)
- University of Hamburg/M.P.S., Block seminar „European Civilian Crisis Management Under Scrutiny: Confronting Political Pleas with Operational Practice“ (Isabelle Maras)
- Universität Hamburg, Arbeitsstelle Studium und Beruf, Seminar „Interkulturelle Kompetenz“ (Naida Mehmedbegovic-Dreilich)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Blocklehrveranstaltung (Berlin-Exkursion) „Deutsche Außenpolitik zwischen globalem Engagement und nationalen Interessen (Naida Mehmedbegovic-Dreilich)
- University of Hamburg/M.P.S., Block seminar “Intercultural Communication and Cooperation”, (Naida Mehmedbegovic-Dreilich)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Blocklehrveranstaltung „Bosnien und Herzegowina 15 Jahre nach Dayton: ein Land auf dem Scheideweg (Akademisches Netzwerk Südosteuropa, Teil 1)“, (Dennis Gratz, Naida Mehmedbegovic-Dreilich)
- University of Hamburg/M.P.S. in cooperation with the University of Sarajevo/ Academic Network of Southeast Europe, Seminar “General Elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina: Opportunity or Challenge for Internal and Regional Stability?” (Patricia Schneider/Naida Mehmedbegovic Dreilich)
- Hochschule für Angewandte Wissenschaften (HOPIKOS). Blockveranstaltung/Training „Interkulturelle Kompetenz“, (Naida Mehmedbegović-Dreilich)
- Leuphana Universität Lüneburg, Blocklehrveranstaltung/Training „Erfolgreich im interkulturellen Kontext - Interkulturelle Kompetenz“ (Naida Mehmedbegović-Dreilich)
- TU Hamburg Harburg, Block seminar “Ethics For Engineers: Moral Issues in Scientific Work” (Oliver Meier, Iris Hunger)
- Universität Hamburg, Vorlesung „Naturwissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Friedensforschung“ (Martin Kalinowski, Götz Neuneck)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Vertiefungsseminar „Abrüstung und Rüstungskontrolle in Europa: Stand und aktuelle Entwicklungen“ (Götz Neuneck, Wolfgang Zellner)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Vertiefungsseminar „Neustart der Abrüstung? Globale und regionale Rüstungskontrolle in Europa“ (Christian Alwardt, Ulrich Kühn, Götz Neuneck, Wolfgang Zellner)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Methodenseminar im Propädeutikum, Modul 3 (Naturwissenschaft und Friedensforschung) (Götz Neuneck, Martin Kalinowski, Anna Zmoryinska)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Orientierungseinheit (Götz Neuneck, Naida Mehmedbegovic-Dreilich)



Well-attended event on peace consolidation



- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S, Blocklehrveranstaltung „Terrorismus und liberale Demokratie“ (Daniela PISOIU)
- Leuphana Universität Lüneburg Seminar Einführung in die Internationalen Beziehungen (Sybille Reinek de Buitrago)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Seminar „Krieg und Frieden verstehen auf der Basis Clausewitzschen Denkens“ (Johann Schmid)
- Universität Hamburg/M.P.S., Vertiefungsseminar „Europäische Sicherheitspolitik: OSZE“ (Wolfgang Zellner)

*Training and Continuing Education, Guest Lectures*

- „L'Europe face aux défis de la gestion de crises et de la construction de la paix: les missions civiles de la Politique de sécurité et de défense commune (PSDC)“, Vorlesung im Rahmen der Reihe „Governance & Frieden“ des Netzwerks UNESCO - Ecole de la Paix am IEDES (Institut du Développement Economique et Social), 3 Std., Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne, 21. Mai 2010 (Isabelle Maras)
- InWent, Training „Interkulturelle Praktikumbereitung“, (Naida Mehmedbegović-Dreilich)
- Japanese-German Center Berlin and the Robert-Bosch-Foundation, Summer School of the Young Leader Forums, Seminar Leaders, „Nonproliferation and the Use of Nuclear Power“ (Oliver Meier, Götz Neuneck)
- Austrian Study Center for Peace and Conflict Resolution and Diplomatic Akademie Vienna, 14<sup>th</sup> Summer Academy on OSCE, Double lecture “The Politico-Military Dimension of OSCE: On Top of the Agenda or a Crumbling Foundation?” (Ulrich Kühn)



Presentation of the 2010 Peace Report to the Defense Committee of the Bundestag



## 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 2010 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, Monitor, Panorama, Kontraste), Eins extra, ZDF (heute, Frontal 21), NDR, 3SAT, RTL and Phönix.

The radio departments of NDR, WDR, HR, BR, SWR, MDR, SR, 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. (dpa, Reuters dapd etc.). IFSH staff members were represented with articles and interviews in the following print media: Hamburger Abendblatt, taz, Thüringer Allgemeine, Freie Presse Chemnitz, Frankfurter Rundschau, Flensburger Tageblatt, Kieler Nachrichten, WAZ, tz München, Neue Rhein-Ruhr Zeitung, Mitteldeutsche Zeitung, Kölner Stadtanzeiger, Manager Magazin, Stern and Spiegel. There were also international “appearances” in the *Rezpospolita* (Warsaw), *Stars and Stripes*, *Trend* (Azerbaijan), *Izvestia Kazakhstan*, *Novoe poplenie* (Kazakhstan), *Al Jazeera* and on the Belarusian TV.

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 2010 have concentrated primarily on current conflicts. Here, should be mentioned, above all, “Global Zero”, the consequences of nuclear arms control and disarmament, especially in Europe, with the focus on the new START Treaty and preparations for the review conference of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, the new strategic concept of NATO, the European security architecture, particularly the further development of the OSCE and the relationship of Russia to the West, the OSCE Summit in Astana, the escalation of the security situation and the new orientation of the international interventions in Afghanistan, the piracy off the coast of Somalia, the Israel-Palestinian conflict, questions of radicalization and combating terrorism, the Bundeswehr deployments abroad, human rights questions and the security policy consequences of the Wikileaks publications.



A view from outside of the library and documentation center of IFSH



The rubric “Statements and Opinions” on the Institute Website reflects these topics, among others: [http://ifsh.de/IFSH\\_php/akt\\_stellungnahmen\\_engl.php](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:

Reinhard Mutz (Chairperson)  
Andrea Wist (Deputy Chairperson)  
Prof. Dr. Herbert Wulf (Secretary)  
Prof. Dr. Hans-Joachim Gießmann (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 grants for M.P.S. students and postgraduates, 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 28,775 volumes and 130 magazines (as of 31.12.2010). There was a total of 575 acquisitions, 39 of which were acquired through third-party funding and 405 of which were donated or acquired via exchange of literature. 188 volumes and 66 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.



Reinhard Mutz is the President of VFIF



### *Documentation Unit*

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](http://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 the IFSH is also a collaborating partner of the network.

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.

### *Homepage*

The Internet presence of the Institute became significantly more comprehensive and more informative in 2010 through new Websites.

In addition to the pages administered up until then ([www.ifsh.de](http://www.ifsh.de), [www.core-hamburg.de](http://www.core-hamburg.de), [www.security-and-peace.de](http://www.security-and-peace.de), and [www.akademischesnetzwerk-soe.net](http://www.akademischesnetzwerk-soe.net)), two ZEUS projects and an IFAR project got their own Websites in 2010 ([www.maritimesicherheit.eu](http://www.maritimesicherheit.eu), [www.subjecting-freedom.org](http://www.subjecting-freedom.org) und [www.tacticalnuclearweapons.ifsh.de](http://www.tacticalnuclearweapons.ifsh.de)), with detailed information on the projects and extensive access to the project-relevant resources.

Beyond that, the IFSH took over the administration of the Webpage [www.friedensgutachten.de](http://www.friedensgutachten.de) and gave it a completely new structure. The transfer of the Webpage [www.armscontrol.de](http://www.armscontrol.de) to the IFSH Web server is currently being planned.

Statistical data on the usage of the IFSH Homepage for the year 2010 is not possible because a move of the IFSH Web server was necessary in the course of acquiring the new Internet presences. It can only be determined that the user numbers until the middle of the year indicated that the Internet presence of the Institute enjoyed great popularity similar to that of the previous year.





## 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



Prof. Dr Hans Siegfried Stiehl has been Deputy Chairman of the Board of Trustees since December 2010

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 2010, it comprised the following members:

- *Dr Herlind Gundelach*, Senator for Science and Research of the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg (Chair)
- *Prof. Dr Dieter Lenzen*, (March-December 2010)
- *Prof. Dr Hans Siegfried Stiehl*, Vizepräsident der Universität Hamburg (Stv. Vorsitzender) (Vice President of the University of Hamburg, since December 2010)
- *Niels Annen*, former MP
- *Prof. Dr Leoni Dreschler-Fischer*, Department of Informatics, Research Area Cognitive Systems
- *Jasper Finkeldey*, Student Representative (since December 2010)
- *Prof. Dr Cord Jakobeit*, Chairperson of the Scientific Advisory Board
- *Prof. Dr Martin Kalinowski*, ZNF
- *Antje Möller*, Member of the Hamburg State Parliament
- *Prof. Dr Rolf von Lüde*, Department of Social Sciences, Institute for Sociology
- *Berndt Röder*, Member of the Hamburg State Parliament
- *Michael Schaaf*, Student Representative (until December 2010)

### 7.2 Scientific Advisory Board

In the reporting period the **Scientific Advisory Board** convened once. In 2010, it comprised the following members:

- Prof. Dr Cord Jakobeit* (University of Hamburg) (Chair)
- Prof. Dr Thomas Bruha* (University of Hamburg) (Deputy Chair)
- Prof. Dr Tilman Brück* (DIW Berlin) (since October 2010)
- Prof. Dr Tanja Brühl* (Goethe University Frankfurt / Main) (since October 2010)
- Prof. Dr Susanne Feske* (University of Münster)
- Gunilla Herolf*, PhD (SIPRI)
- Prof. Dr Kathryn Nixdorff* (TU Darmstadt, Institute of Microbiology)
- Prof. Dr Michael Staack* (Helmut Schmidt University, Hamburg)



Prof. Dr Tanja Brühl, Member of the Scientific Advisory Board since October 2010



### 7.3 Institute Council

The **Institute Council** met three times in the reporting period.

### 7.4 Staff Members at the IFSH 2010:

*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  
Dr Martin Kahl  
Ursel Schlichting, M.A.  
Dr Patricia Schneider

*Scientific Staff:*

Christian Alwardt, Dipl. Phys.  
Dr Raphael Bossong (since July 2010)  
Dr Diana Digol  
Dr Frank Evers  
Anne Finger, Dipl. Pol. (since November 2010)  
Janina Johannsen, Dipl. Pol. (since August 2010)  
Dr Anna Kreikemeyer  
Dr Elena Kropatcheva  
Ulrich Kühn, M.A., M.P.S.  
Naida Mehmedbegovic-Dreilich, M.A., M.P.S.  
Dr Oliver Meier  
Jens Narten, Dipl.-Sozialwiss. (until March 2010)  
Kerstin Petretto, M.A. (since April 2010)  
Dr Daniela PISOIU  
Matenia Sirseldoudi, M.A. (since July 2010)  
Eric van Um, M.A., M.P.S.  
Denise Völker, Dipl.-Ing., M.P.S.



Prof. Dr Tilman Brück has been a member of the Scientific Advisory Board since October 2010

*Information Officer:*

Susanne Bund

*Representative of the Armed Forces:*

Oberstleutnant i.G. Dr. Johann Schmid (since July 2010)

*Senior Research Fellows:*

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

*Fellows:*

Dr David Aphrasidze  
Dr Heiko Fürst  
Dr Stephan Hensell  
Dr Sybille Reinke de Buitrago

*Guest Scholars:*

Sabina Cudic (since September 2010)



Oberst Tomislav Galic (until March 2010)  
Dr. Dennis Gratz (October-December 2010)  
Major Elvir Huskanovic (since October 2010)  
Julian Junk (until March 2010)  
Rustam Machmudow (August 2010)  
Fifi Muhabat  
Igor Proklev (August 2010)  
Rauschan Serik (August 2010)  
Zhou Fan, ECNU

*Doctoral Candidates:*

Christian Alwardt, Dipl. Phys.  
Dennis Bangert, Dipl. soz. ök.  
Andreas Bernath  
Alexandr Burilkov  
Sabina Cudic, M.A.  
Thorsten Geise, Dipl. Pol., M.P.S  
Hendrik Hegemann, M.A.  
Gunnar Jeremias, Dipl. Pol., M.P.S.  
Janina Johannsen, Dipl. Pol. (degree October)  
Marietta König, M.A.  
Ulrich Kühn, M.A., M.P.S.  
Elena Kulipanova, M.A., M.P.S.  
Isabelle Maras, M.A.  
Naida Mehmedbegovic-Dreilich, M.A., M.P.S.  
Fifi Muhabat  
Katja Munoz, M.A.  
Jens Narten, Dipl.-Sozialwiss. (degree August)  
Sebastian Schiek, Dipl. Pol.  
Isabelle Tannous  
Eric van Um, M.A., M.P.S.  
Denise Völker, Dipl.-Ing., M.P.S.  
Zhou Fan, ECNU (until October 2010)

*Support:*

Polina Baigarova (since October)  
Alexander Benthien (since November 2010)  
Jerome Cholet (since June 2010)  
Helga Eckardt (since April 2010)  
Nina Elena Eggers  
Fabian Giglmaier (since April 2010)  
Mirko Guth  
Lena Jehle (since September 2010)  
Anna Jessel (until February)  
Barbara Kauffmann (until March and since July 2010)  
Kristian Kouros (since June 2010)  
Tim Kröger (since November 2010)  
Daniela Marinas (since February 2010)  
Inga Matthes (since November 2010)  
Oliver Müser (since April 2010)  
Abd ElKader Niang (since November 2010)  
Eray Öztürk (until June)  
Kathrin Peiffer (January 2010)  
Mona Peter (since November 2010)  
Jochen Rasch (until März 2010)  
Janke Reuschel (March-October 2010)



Egon Bah at a lecture in the HSU (Helmut-Schmidt University of the Bundeswehr) on 19 January 2010. Here with Götz Neuneck



Ilyas Saliba (since Mai)  
Dr Eckhard Schlopsna  
Jirka Schmalfuß (April-August 2010)  
Patricia Stoll (until March 2010)  
Johanna Stolze (since November 2010)  
Selma Toporan (since October 2010)

*Secretariat:*

Madeleine Köhler

*Editing/Translation:*

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

*Library:*

Ute Runge, Dipl. Bibl.

*Documentation:*

Uwe Polley, Dipl.-Pol.

*Administration:*

Britta Fisch  
Jochen Rasch (since April 2010)  
Matthias Riethmüller  
Jutta Stropahl  
Carsten Walter

More information at:

[http://www.ifsh.de/IFSH\\_english/personal/ma.htm](http://www.ifsh.de/IFSH_english/personal/ma.htm)



IFSH staff



## 8. Publications

The members of staff published a total of 13 books in 2010 and, with 147 articles, among them 16 in reviewed journals and books (six double-blind reviews and ten peer-reviewed), participated in the public and scientific discourse.

Since 1987, the Institute 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 Yearbook, 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 is Martin Kahl. Regina Heller, 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.

Since the significant increase in the activities of the IFSH over the last few years, in the form of lectures and public panel debates at the Hamburg Institute itself and the participation of its staff in international conferences, current news about these happenings is primarily and quickly published on the IFSH Website. The newsletter, IFSH aktuell, appearing about every two months and the electronic English-language edition IFSH News are now devoted more to focused reports on new research projects, relevant publications and particularly important events. With this choice, a content-rich and qualitative enhancement of the newsletter, beyond the broad scope of information on the current work of the Institute, is being aspired to.

Johann Schmid is responsible for the „Hamburger Beiträge“; quality control is also the responsibility of the editorial advisory board to which Michael Brzoska, Hans-Georg Ehrhart, Götz Neuneck and Wolfgang Zellner belong. IFSH aktuell is put together by Anna Kreikemeyer.

Two issues of “Hamburger Informationen”, as well as four issues of the IFSH News appeared in this reporting period. Seven articles appeared in the online rubric “Statements and Opinions” [http://www.ifsh.de/IFSH\\_english/publikationen/hambinfo.htm](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](http://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](http://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 2010

The western Afghanistan policy has failed; a great majority in Germany rejects the deployment of the Bundeswehr and the debate on withdrawal is in full swing. Whether the strategy of the Obama government can achieve its goal, to fight the insurgents and, at the same time, to create space for a legitimate and functional Afghan state is in dispute. Reason enough for the *Peace Report* to examine the situation at its focal point, Afghanistan, and to take a position on it.

On 18 May 2010, the representatives of the five publishing institutes presented their results to the public at the Federal Press Conference in Berlin. Afterwards, they discussed their results and recommendations with the Chairman of the Bundestag Committees for Foreign Affairs and Defense, with numerous Members of Parliament, the Department of Peace Development and Crisis Prevention in the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development as well as the Federal Government Commissioner for Disarmament and Arms Control and Global Questions.

Following its focal point of Afghanistan, the question of under what conditions transforming civil war into violence-free forms of political competition can succeed moved to the center of the *Peace Report*. With an



Presentation of the Peace Report to the Defense Committee of the Bundestag, from left to right: Jochen Hippler, Bruno Schoch, Christiane Fröhlich, Susanne Kastner, Margret Johannsen (IFSH), Andreas Heinemann-Grüder



eye to the difficulties of ending the Afghanistan War, it resembles many civil wars, insurgencies and other kinds of intrastate violent conflicts. Frequently they take years, cause a high death toll and destroy the societal foundations of states that are, in any case, weak. In order to resolve them in a sustainable way, creative strategies are needed, which allow violent actors to be transformed into political opponents, competitors or even collaborative partners. Among these are offers to militants whom the government wants to reintegrate and state reforms to create more legitimacy for the rulers

The majority of the individual analyses consist in articles on “Focal Point Afghanistan” and case studies with the focus “From Civil War to Political Competition?” Additional topic areas are devoted to the vision of a nuclear weapons-free world and the security policy consequences of the world economic crisis. The articles from IFSH in the 2010 *Peace Report* were contributed by Michael Brzoska, Regina Heller, Oliver Meier, Götz Neuneck and Arne C. Seifert. Margret Johannsen was responsible for coordination and served as co-editor.

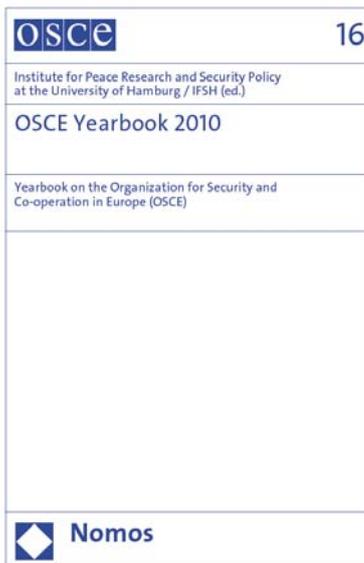
### 8.3 OSCE Yearbook

The OSCE Yearbook has been published by IFSH annually since 1995, in German, English and Russian, in cooperation with Ambassador (ret) Jonathan Dean, Dr Pál Dunay, Prof. Dr Adam Daniel Rotfeld and Dr Andrei Zagorski. 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 2009 OSCE Yearbook were prepared by Mirko Guth, Madeleine Köhler, Peter Morley, Uwe Polley and Sybille Reinke de Buitrago. 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 Yearbook are available as complete texts (English until 2008, German until 2007) on the CORE-Website, <http://core-hamburg.de>.

#### OSCE Yearbook 2010

The articles in the 2010 OSCE Yearbook, written by internationally renowned scientists as well as high-level politicians, diplomats and military officers, provide a comprehensive and intensive insight into the activity of the world’s largest regional security organization. In the first part of the Yearbook “The OSCE and European Security”, Wolfgang Zellner’s analysis of the long-awaited OSCE Summit in Astana as well as a commentary on the Summit by Andrei Zagorski, follow the introductory word of this year’s OSCE Chairman-in-Office, Kazakhstan’s Foreign Minister, Kanat Saudabajew. Following that, the head of the Permanent Mission of the Slovak Republic to the OSCE, Marcel Peško, Wladimir Woronkow from the Russian Foreign Ministry, Graeme Herd and Pál Dunay from the





Geneva Center for Security Policy, the Head of the Polish Mission to the OSCE, Przemyslaw Grudzinski, and Rachel S. Salzman from the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace discuss the further course of the Corfu Process, the Russian draft of a treaty on European security and the future of Euro-Atlantic security from various perspectives.

The topical focus of the OSCE Yearbook in the year of the Kazakh OSCE presidency is Central Asia. Thus, Ailuna Utegenova from the Al-Farabi-University in Almaty presents the long-term development strategy „Kazakhstan 2030“, Thomas Kunze and Lina Gronau (Konrad-Adenauer Foundation) study why, after the “Tulip Revolution” in Kyrgyzstan, it has not been possible to stabilize the country. Central Asian expert Arne C. Seifert describes, together with Jesen Usabaliev, the relationships between the secular state and the Muslim community in Kyrgyzstan. Leonid Golovko studies the chances for and barriers to comprehensive legal reform in Central Asia; Beate Eschment, in her chapter, goes into the nationalities policy and the situation of the national minorities in Kazakhstan; Tim Epkenhans, Central Asia expert from the University of Freiburg and former director of the OSCE Academy in Bishkek, analyzes the role of Islam in the security discourse of the Central Asian States.

In the chapter on the OSCE member States, Oleh Protsyk from the European Centre for Minority Issues (ECMI) in Flensburg deals with political developments in the Ukraine after the Presidential elections of 2010; Stanislav Raščan, Head of the Permanent Mission of the Republic of Slovenia to the OSCE, describes the relationships of his country to the OSCE.

On the topic of „Conflict Prevention and Conflict Resolution” Alice Ackermann and Herbert Salber discuss the effects of the Corfu Process on the activities of the OSCE in this area. Silvia Stöber, free-lance journalist and Caucasus expert, goes into the question of what the OSCE Mission in Georgia – meanwhile closed – accomplished and could have accomplished and Frank Evers informs readers about the state of the intra-societal relationships in the Ukraine, especially in the Crimea.

Within the framework of the three dimensions of the OSCE, Jens-Hagen Eschenbächer and Bernhard Knoll of the ODIHR in Warsaw explain why election observation also makes sense and is necessary in Western democracies. Sarah Riese, Nora Roehner and Christoph Zuercher present the results of a research project on the effect of external democratization strategies in post-war societies, using the examples of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo and Macedonia. The chapter by Roland Bless is dedicated to the question of how combating terrorism affects the protection of media freedom and Natalie Sabanadze introduces the newest recommendations of the High Commissioner on National Minorities. Finally, Patrice Dreiski deals with the topic of “energy security”.

In the section on the structures and institutions of the Organization, Kurt P. Tudyka takes stock of the activity of the Greek OSCE Chairmanship in 2009. Murat Laumulin, from the Kazakh Institute for Strategic Studies, deals with the challenges which face this year’s Kazakh Chairmanship.

Three chapters on the external relations of the OSCE conclude the volume: Nikolai Bordjuscha, Secretary General of the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO) in CIS provides some insight into the structures and operations of the organization; Alice Ackermann, John Crosby, Joop de Haan and Erik Falkehed from the OSCE Conflict Prevention



Editors of the OSCE Yearbook: Ursel Schlichting and Graeme Currie



Center discuss the contribution of the OSCE to mediation. And *last but not least* Monika Wohlfeld outlines the relationships between the OSCE and their cooperation partners in the Mediterranean area.

Data and facts on the 56 OSCE participating States, a chronology of the conferences, seminars and events around the OSCE, as well as a current selection of literature can be found in the appendix. The OSCE Yearbook addresses politicians and decision-makers as well as teachers and students, journalists and the public at large. The publication of the OSCE Yearbook is intended to contribute to the establishment of close connections between science, politics and the public.

### 8.4 Publications by IFSH Members of Staff in 2010\*

#### IFSH

- Institut für Friedensforschung und Sicherheitspolitik an der Universität Hamburg/IFSH (Hrsg.), OSZE-Jahrbuch 2009, Baden-Baden 2010.
- Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg/IFSH (ed.), OSCE Yearbook 2009, Baden-Baden 2010.
- Institut issledowanija problem mira i politika bezopasnosti pri uniwersitete Gamburga/Moskowski gosudarstvennyj institut meschdunarodnych odnoscheni (uniwersitet), Eschegodnik OBSE 2008, Moskau 2010.
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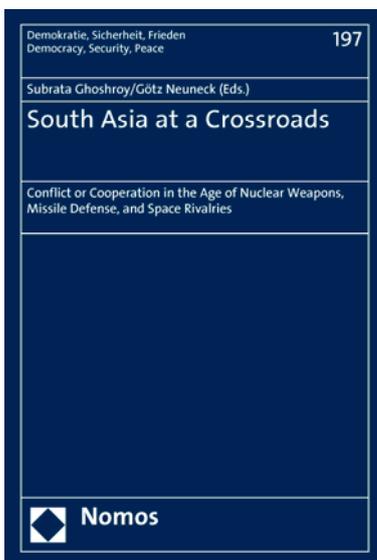
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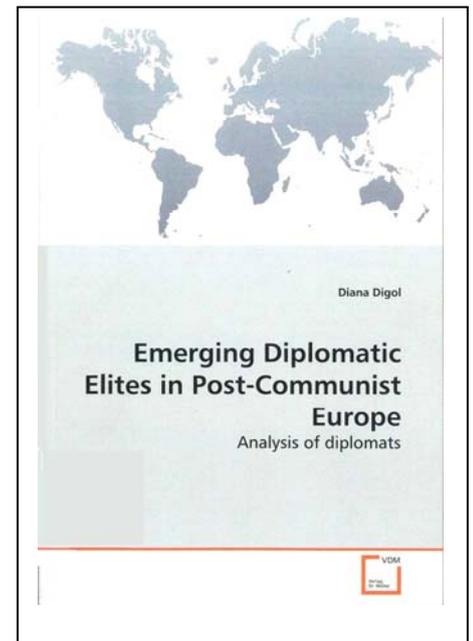
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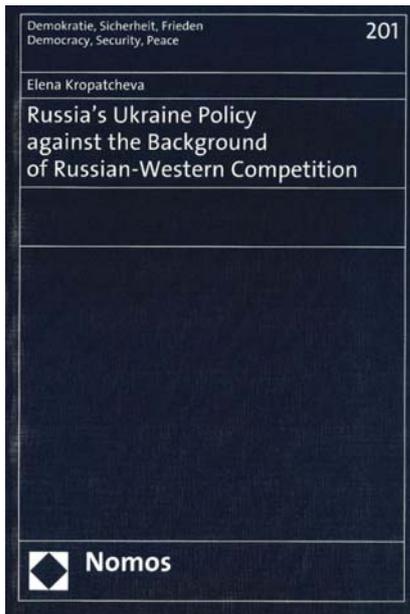
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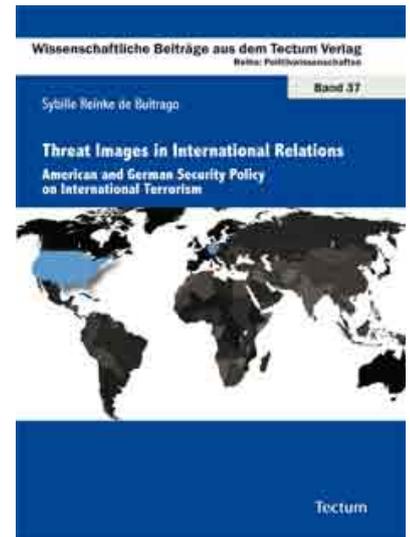
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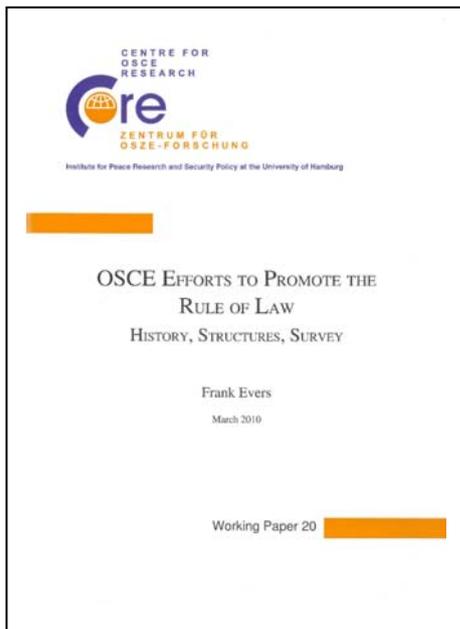
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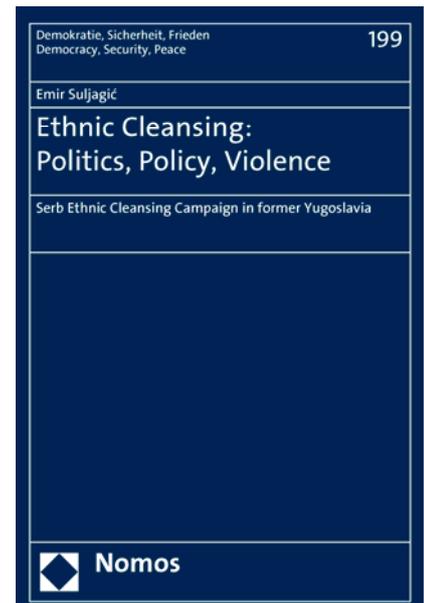
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# S+F Sicherheit und Frieden

## Security and Peace

**Herausgeber:**  
 Prof. Dr. Michael Brzoska  
 Dr. Walter E. Feichtinger  
 Dr. Volker Franke  
 Prof. Dr. Hans J. Giessmann  
 Prof. Dr. Heiner Hänggi  
 Dr. Axel Krohn  
 Dr. Patricia Schneider

**Themenschwerpunkt:**  
**Europäisierung vs. Renationalisierung von Sicherheit**  
 Europeanisation vs. Re-nationalisation of Security

*Glaubwürdigkeit auf dem Prüfstand: Anmerkungen zur Zukunft der Sicherheits- und Verteidigungspolitik der EU*  
 Franco Algeri/Walter Feichtinger

*Shrinking Budgets: Drivers of Europeanisation in Defence?*  
 Bastian Giegerich

*Hybrid Threats: The Shape of Wars to Come*  
 Sammi Sandawi

*Space and Security – Challenges for Europe*  
 Nina-Louisa Remuss

**Weitere Beiträge von ...**  
 Stephan Blanke, Tobias Bunde, Timo Noertzel und Adrian Oroz,  
 Julia Pfeffer

# 3

2010  
28. Jahrgang  
ISSN 0735-074X

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# S+F Sicherheit und Frieden

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 Dr. Axel Krohn  
 Dr. Patricia Schneider

**Themenschwerpunkt:**  
**Afghanistan – Die Internationale Gemeinschaft am Scheideweg?**  
 Afghanistan – The International Community at the Crossroads?

*Aufstandsbeikämpfung – Staatsaufbau – Stabilisierung?*  
 Lehren aus Afghanistan  
 Hans-Georg Ehrhart und Roland Kaestner

*With Enough Nails: Canadian Cohn in Kandahar*  
 Richard Roy

*„Counterinsurgency“ in der Bundeswehr: Konzeption, Interpretation und Praxis*  
 Philipp Münch

*Peace-building and COIN in Afghanistan: The view of NGOs. What is really needed?*  
 Citra D. Mazas

*Non-Governmental Aid Organisations in Afghanistan: Between Impartiality and Counterinsurgency*  
 Robert Lindner

*Towards a comprehensive approach? The EU's contribution to Security Sector Reform (SSR) in Afghanistan*  
 Eva Gross

*Diagnosing the Failings of Security Sector Reform in Afghanistan*  
 Mark Sedra

*Schlingiges Konzept oder Schlagwort? Zu Anspruch und Praxis „Vernetzter Sicherheit“ in Afghanistan*  
 Sven Bernhard Gareis

*Pakistan's Foreign Policy between India and Afghanistan*  
 Christian Wagner

*Pakistan's Afghanistan Policy, Blockades, and Strategic Trade*  
 Julian Schafeldt

# 4

2010  
28. Jahrgang  
ISSN 0735-074X

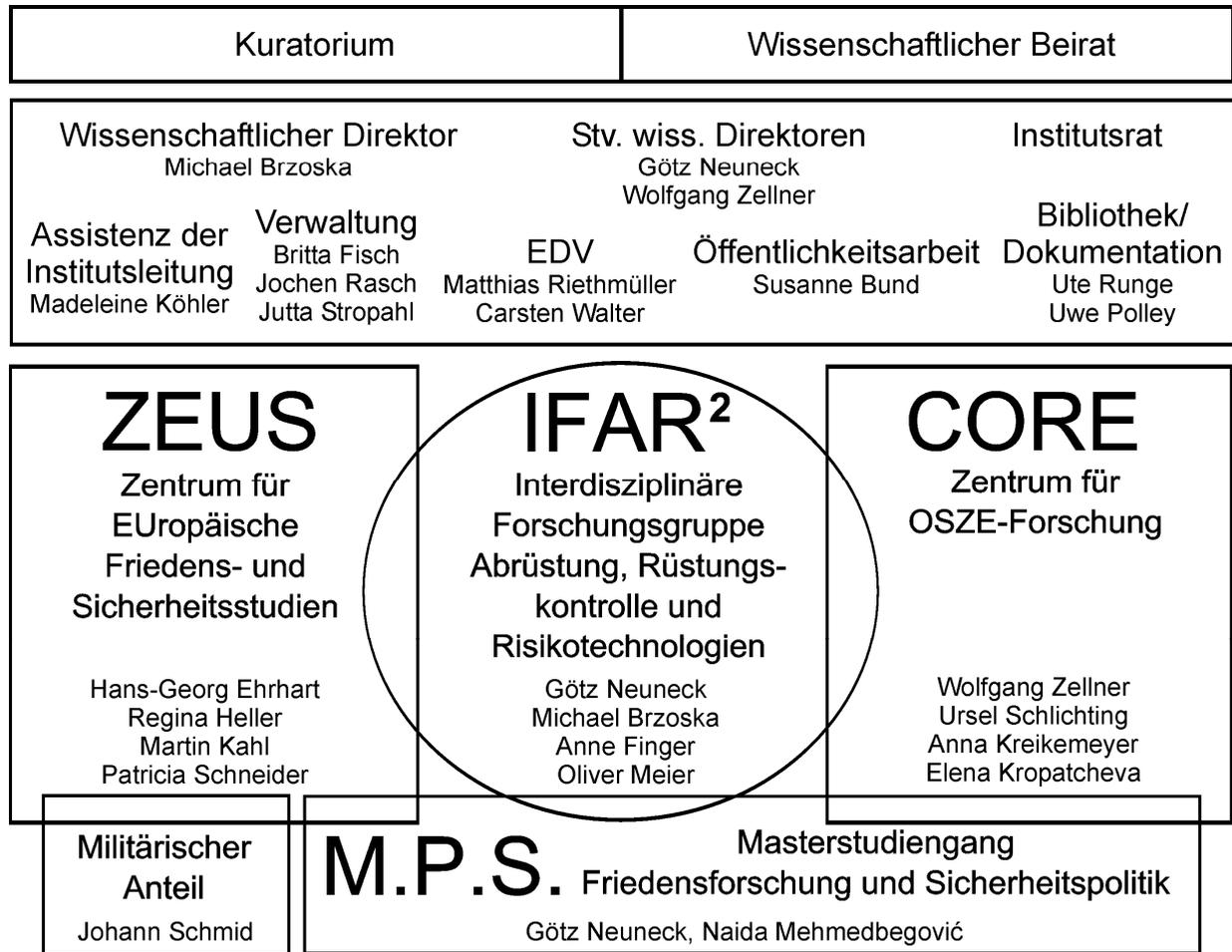
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**Statistischer Anhang**  
**Statistical Annex**



## Organigramm / Organization Chart

Stand 31.12.2010 \*



\* 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)

Arbeits- bereiche	Geber		Jahr				
			2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
ZEUS	Wissenschaftsgesteuerte Drittmittelzuweisungen	DFG	-		1.500	226.200	
		Stiftungen		94.300	15.000		
		DAAD	71.609	13.503	57.118	45.962	50.734
		BMBF					1.040.750
		EU			110.960		
	Bundesministerien						
	Land/Länder		-		-	-	
	EU		-	13.450		-	
	Wirtschaft		1.160		-	-	
	Forschungsstipendien		3.525	9.720	40.700	40.618	15.622
	Sonstige		52.058	50.000	18.900	6.000	9.900
	<b>Summe ZEUS</b>		<b>128.352</b>	<b>180.973</b>	<b>244.178</b>	<b>318.780</b>	<b>1.117.006</b>
CORE	Wissenschaftsgesteuerte Drittmittelzuweisungen	DFG			-	-	
		Stiftungen	15.000				
		DAAD				41.590	
		BMBF					
		EU					
	Bundesministerien		199.000	289.290	296.695	220.650	239.572
	Land/Länder		-		-	-	
	EU		-		-	-	
	Wirtschaft		-		-	-	
	Forschungsstipendien		19.440	14.580	26.150	26.925	24.700
	Sonstige		28.623	92.954	127.958,5	71.742	
	<b>Summe CORE</b>		<b>262.063</b>	<b>396.824</b>	<b>450.808</b>	<b>360.907</b>	<b>264.272</b>
IFAR	Wissenschaftsgesteuerte Drittmittelzuweisungen	DFG					-
		Stiftungen	59.600	69.500	147.400		
		DAAD					
		BMBF					
		EU					
	Bundesministerien		-		15.000	8.750	41.585
	Land/Länder		-		35.000	28.600	
	EU		-	2.800	-	-	
	Wirtschaft		-		6.252	-	
	Forschungsstipendien		-				-
	Sonstige		-	30.950		14.980	88.621
	<b>Summe IFAR</b>		<b>59.600</b>	<b>103.250</b>	<b>203.652</b>	<b>52.330</b>	<b>130.206</b>
IFSH übergreifend	Wissenschaftsgesteuerte Drittmittelzuweisungen	DFG	-		-	420.000	
		Stiftungen				3.300	
		DAAD					
		BMBF					
		EU			343.600		
	Bundesministerien		70.000	70.000	52.550	35.100	37.500
	Land/Länder		-		10.550	10.000	
	EU		-			-	
	Wirtschaft		-		-	-	
	Forschungsstipendien		-		-	12.060	
	Sonstige		35.800	28.200	54.550	45.500	6.000
	<b>Summe IFSH ü.</b>		<b>105.800</b>	<b>98.200</b>	<b>461.250</b>	<b>525.960</b>	<b>43.500</b>



Arbeits- bereiche	Geber	Jahr					
		2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	
IFSH gesamt	Wissenschaftsgesteuerte Drittmittelzuweisungen	DFG			1.500	646.200	
		Stiftungen	74.600	163.800	162.400	3.300	
		DAAD	71.609	13.503	57.118	87.552	50.734
		BMBF					1.040.750
		EU					
	Bundesministerien	269.000	359.290	364.250	264.500	318.657	
	Land/Länder	0		45.550	38.600		
	EU	0	16.250	454.560	0		
	Wirtschaft	1.160	0	6.252	0		
	Forschungsstipendien	22.965	24.300	66.850	79.603	40.322	
	Sonstige	116.481	202.104	201.409	138.222	76.589	
<b>Summe IFSH</b>		<b>555.815</b>	<b>779.247</b>	<b>1.359.888</b>	<b>1.257.977</b>	<b>1.554.984</b>	



### 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		Year				
			2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Centre for European Peace and Security Studies (ZEUS)	Peer-reviewed funding	DFG	-		1.500	226.200	
		Foundations		94.300	15.000		
		DAAD/GAES	71.609	13.503	57.118	45.962	50.734
		BMBF					1.040.750
		EU			110.960		
	Federal gov.						
	State institutions		-		-		-
	EU		-	13.450			-
	Private sector		1.160		-		-
	Scholarship grants		3.525	9.720	40.700	40.618	15.622
Other		52.058	50.000	18.900	6.000	9.900	
<b>Total ZEUS</b>			<b>128.352</b>	<b>180.973</b>	<b>244.178</b>	<b>318.780</b>	<b>1.117.006</b>
Centre for OSCE Research (CORE)	Peer-reviewed funding	DFG			-		-
		Foundations	15.000				
		DAAD/GAES				41.590	
		BMBF					
		EU					
	Federal gov.		199.000	289.290	296.699,5	220.650	239.572
	State institutions		-		-		-
	EU		-		-		-
	Private sector		-		-		-
	Scholarship grants		19.440	14.580	26.150	26.925	24.700
Other		28.623	92.954	127.958,5	71.742		
<b>Total CORE</b>			<b>262.063</b>	<b>396.824</b>	<b>450.808</b>	<b>360.907</b>	<b>264.272</b>
Interdisciplinary Research Group on Disarmament, Arms Control and Risk Technologies (IFAR)	Peer-reviewed funding	DFG					-
		Foundations	59.600	69.500	147.400		
		DAAD/GAES					
		BMBF					
		EU					
	Federal gov.		-		15.000	8.750	41.585
	State institutions		-		35.000	28.600	
	EU		-	2.800	-		-
	Private sector		-		6.252		-
	Scholarship grants		-				-
Other		-	30.950		14.980	88.621	
<b>Total IFAR</b>			<b>59.600</b>	<b>103.250</b>	<b>203.652</b>	<b>52.330</b>	<b>130.206</b>
IFSH overall	Peer-reviewed funding	DFG	-		-	420.000	
		Foundations				3.300	
		DAAD/GAES					
		BMBF					
		EU			343.600		
	Federal gov.		70.000	70.000	52.550	35.100	37.500
	State institutions		-		10.550	10.000	
	EU		-				-
	Private sector		-		-		-
	Scholarship grants		-			12.060	
Other		35.800	28.200	54.550	45.500	6.000	
<b>Total IFSH overall</b>			<b>105.800</b>	<b>98.200</b>	<b>461.250</b>	<b>525.960</b>	<b>43.500</b>



Research units	Donor	Year					
		2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	
Total IFSH	Peer-reviewed funding	DFG			1.500	646.200	
		Foundations	74.600	163.800	162.400	3.300	
		DAAD/GAES	71.609	13.503	57.118	87.552	50.734
		BMBF					1.040.750
		EU					
	Federal gov.	269.000	359.290	364.250	264.500	318.657	
	State institutions	0		45.550	38.600		
	EU	0	16.250	454.560	0		
	Private sector	1.160	0	6.252	0		
	Scholarship grants	22.965	24.300	66.850	79.603	40.322	
	Other	116.481	202.104	201.409	138.222	76.589	
<b>Total IFSH</b>		<b>555.815</b>	<b>779.247</b>	<b>1.359.888</b>	<b>1.257.977</b>	<b>1.554.984</b>	



## 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)	37	12	46	62	157
Abrüstung/KRST Disarmament/Arms control	35	9	34	43	121
Europ. Sicherheit/ European security	17	-	11	12	40
OSZE/OSCE	3	-	5	11	19
Regionale Konflikte/ Regional conflicts	15	2	9	44	70
Friedensforschung (auch IFSH)/Peace research (also IFSH)	3	3	2	7	15
Sonstiges/Others	8	3	10	11	32
<b>Gesamt/Total</b>	<b>118</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>117</b>	<b>190</b>	<b>454</b>

## Öffentlichkeitsarbeit im Vergleich 2006-2010

Jahr/Year	Vorträge/ Lectures	Podiumsdisk./ Podium Disc.	Tagungen/ Conferences	Interviews
2010	118	29	117	190
2009	105	32	90	145
2008	150	37	133	200
2007	165	45	121	263
2006	113	28	103	351

## Vom IFSH organisierte bzw. mitorganisierte Veranstaltungen 2010/ Events organized or co-organized by IFSH in 2010

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

Mehrtägige Konferenzen / wissenschaftliche Tagungen*	6
Eintägige Workshops / Seminare**	6
Podiumsdiskussionen / Öffentliche Vortragsveranstaltungen***	5
<b>Gesamt</b>	<b>16</b>

\* Je eine in Loccum, Wien, Warschu und an mehreren Orten in Bosnien-Herzegowina, zwei in Hamburg

\*\* Je einer in Berlin, Ankara und Wien, drei in Hamburg

\*\*\* Alle in Hamburg



## Veröffentlichungen / Publications 2010

	CORE	ZEUS	IFAR	Übergreifend	Gesamt
<b>Sammelbände / Anthologies</b>	3	3	1	-	<b>7</b>
<b>Monographien / Monographs</b>	4	2	-	-	<b>6</b>
<b>Broschüren / Graue Literatur / Booklets / Gray literature</b>	6	2	3	5	<b>16</b>
<b>Buchbeiträge / Articles in books</b>	18	29	9	9	<b>65</b>
<b>Zeitschriftenaufsätze / Articles in journals</b>	6	8	10	5	<b>29</b>
<b>Zeitungsbeiträge / Newspapers articles</b>	-	-	1	5	<b>6</b>
<b>Rezensionen / Book reviews</b>	2	3	-	-	<b>5</b>
<b>Online-Veröffentlichungen /Online publications</b>	5	8	3	2	<b>18</b>
<b>Sonstiges / others</b>	1	1	-	4	<b>6</b>
<b>Gesamt / Total</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>158</b>

## Referierte Veröffentlichungen 2010/Peer reviewed publications in 2010

	CORE	ZEUS	IFAR	Übergreifend	Gesamt
<b>Bücher/Books</b>	- 1**	- 3**	-	-	- 4**
<b>Buchbeiträge / Articles in books</b>	- * 3 **	- * 6 **	1 * 1 **	- * 2**	1 * 12 **
<b>Zeitschriftenaufsätze / Articles in journals</b>	1* 2 **	3 * 2 **	1 * - **	- * 1 **	5 * 5 **
<b>Gesamt / Total</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>27</b>

\* double blind

\*\* sonstiges Begutachtungsverfahren



## Veröffentlichungen nach Sprache

Sprache	DT	EN	Andere*	Gesamt
<b>Sammelbände / Anthologies</b>	3	3	1	<b>7</b>
<b>Monographien / Monographs</b>	2	4	-	<b>6</b>
<b>Broschüren / Graue Literatur / Booklets / Gray literature</b>	5	11	-	<b>16</b>
<b>Buchbeiträge / Articles in books</b>	36	26	3	<b>66</b>
<b>Zeitschriftenaufsätze /Articles in journals</b>	12	13	4	<b>28</b>
<b>Zeitungsbeiträge /Newspapers articles</b>	6	-	-	<b>6</b>
<b>Rezensionen / Book reviews</b>	3	2	-	<b>5</b>
<b>Online-Veröffentlichungen /Online publications</b>	9	9	-	<b>18</b>
<b>Sonstiges / others</b>	3	3	-	<b>6</b>
<b>Gesamt / Total</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>158</b>

\* Russisch, französisch, spanisch

## Vom IFSH herausgegebene bzw. mitherausgegebene und redaktionell betreute Publikationen 2010/Publications issued or co-issued and edited by IFSH 2010

Reihe	Anzahl
Hamburger Beiträge zur Friedensforschung und Sicherheitspolitik	-
Hamburger Informationen zur Friedensforschung und Sicherheitspolitik	2
IFSH aktuell (IFSH news)	4
Aktuelle Stellungnahmen (online)	7
Schriftenreihe Demokratie, Sicherheit, Frieden	7 (davon 1 extern)
OSZE-Jahrbuch (OSCE Yearbook, Eschegodnik OBSE)	3
Zeitschrift: Sicherheit und Frieden (S+F)	4
Friedensgutachten	1
CORE Working Papers	2
Gesamt	30

## Lehrveranstaltungen / Courses 2010

	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 2009/2010	12	35	32
SS 2010	4	7	5
WS 2010/2011	20	38	34

\* 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*	2010 abge- schlossen	Diplom-/Magis- terarbeiten Diploma/Master's Thesis	2010 abge- schlossen	Master- arbeiten** Master's Projects	2010 abge- schlossen	Praktikanten Interns
IFSH	22	2	5	5	19	28	22
<b>Gesamt/Total</b>							

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

\*\* 28 M.P.S.-Studierende haben 2010 abgeschlossen, die Masterarbeiten wurden jedoch teilweise von Mitarbeiterinnen und Mitarbeitern der Kooperationsinstitute betreut.  
Eine E.MA-Studierende wurde am IFSH von drei Personen betreut.

## Projekte / Projects 2010\*

	Forschungsprojekte	Kleinere Forschungs- oder Publikations- projekte	Nachwuchs-For- schungsprojekte	Beratungsprojekte
<b>IFSH-über- greifend/ IFSH overall</b>	2	2		2
<b>CORE</b>	5	2	3	5
<b>ZEUS</b>	8	4	8	1
<b>IFAR</b>	6	12	2	3
<b>Gesamt / Total</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>11</b>

\* Projekte entsprechen dem IFSH-Forschungsplan (mit Aktualisierungen), unter:  
[http://www.ifsh.de/pdf/profil/Forschungsplan\\_2010.pdf](http://www.ifsh.de/pdf/profil/Forschungsplan_2010.pdf)